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THE LIVES

OF THE NOBLE

Grecians & Romans,

Compared together, by that Grave Learned

PHILOSOPHER & HISTORIOGRAPHER

PLUTARCH

Of C H Æ R O N E A.

Translated out of GREEK into FRENCH, by

JAMES AMIOT Abbot of *Bellozane*, Bishop of
Auxerre, one of the Kings Privy Counsel, and great Almshouse of FRANCE.

With the LIVES of

HANNIBAL & SCIPIO AFRICAN;

Translated out of LATIN into FRENCH, by

CHARLES de l'ESCLUSE,

And out of FRENCH into ENGLISH,

By Sir THOMAS NORTH Knight.

Hereunto are added the Lives of EPAMINONDAS, of PHILIP of *Macedon*, of
DIONYSIUS the Elder, Tyrant of *Sicilia*, of AUGUSTUS CÆSAR, of PLUTARCH,
and of SENECA: With the Lives of Nine other Excellent Chieftains of
Warre: Collected out of ÆMYLIUS PROBUS, by S.G.S.
And Englished by the aforesaid Translator.

And now also in this Edition are further added,

The LIVES of Twenty Selected

EMINENT PERSONS.

Of Ancient and latter times; Translated out of the Work of that famous
Historiographer to the King of FRANCE and POLAND;

A N D R E W T H E V E T.

To which, for clearer Explanation and Emendation of the former Translation (in several places)
are subjoynd Notes and Explications upon

PLUTARCH'S LIVES;

Collected out of XYLANDER, CRUSERUS, HENRY STEPHANUS and Others;
with the SYNCHRONISM'S and COTEMPORARY PERSONS with
THEM; Shewing the several Ages in which They lived.

LONDON, Printed by *Abraham Miller*, and are to be sold by *William Lee*, at the Signe
of the Turks-Head in Fleet-street, over against Fetter-Lane, M. DC. L. VII.



The Frontispice Explain'd.

GRave, Learned PLUTARCH, like the glorious Sunne
 Alone Triumphant in his Radiant Throne,
 Pch' midst amongst the Planets, who receive
 Their lustre thence: So by His Penn he gives
 The Noblest Greek and Roman Heroes,
 Whom Rome or Athens, choicest Nurseries,
 Or other places had brought forth, new Lives. }
 Their crumbled Statues, by all-eating Time,
 Long since devour'd, Hee re-commends to Fame
 Their better part, their Splendid Actions,
 Land and Sea fights, their Consultations,
 Deep Plots, and Military Stratagems,
 Close Policies, and that mysterious Gem,
 The Art of Conquering and Governing.
 The Gown and Sword (both justly meriting
 Victorious Bates) impartially who Crowns,
 And Him too, b whose breath, Her Trumpet's blown,
 Happy, Great PLUTARCH, who giv'st them their due,
 And thereby mak'st thy Self Immortal too.
 The Serpentine wreath'd Orb, doth typifie
 And Hieroglyphick out Eternity,
 That circles Thee, and showres its influence
 On Them. Yet thy just soul cannot dispense
 With tainting crimes, both base Detraction,
 And, Courts-pest, servile Adulation;
 Who equally condemn't; and so mak'st good,
 Their choice, * who being askt, What 'twas they wou'd
 Reprieve from th' flames, should (as too lately some
 Have wish't the same, and worle) that Barb'rous doom
 Finde execution, should all Books be burn'd
 That treat of Humane Learning, they return'd
 This Answer, 'Twas Thy Works; Thou do'st, they knew,
 In thy unflattering Mirror, clearest shew
 What steers the World; to th' life do'st represent
 Vertue and Vice, Reward and Punishment.
 Let Truths out-balance Fictions, and then read
 What's in Romanza's feign'd, here Verifi'd.
 Whence Nobler Spirits will sublimate their flame;
 Baser, amend perhaps, if but for shame.
 * Apollo's (happier if Paul's) Priest, from Thee
 Wou'd Christians need' not learn Moralitie.

* Budaeus.
 Theodorus.
 G. 10.

* Fossius de
 Hist. Graec. l. 2.
 G. 10.



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TO THE
Most High and Mighty Princess
ELIZABETH,

By the Grace of God, of England, France and Ireland
Queen, Defender of the Faith, &c.



Under hope of your Highness Gracious and accustomed Favor, I have presumed to present here unto your Majesty, Plutarchs Lives Translated, as a Book fit to be protected by your Highness, and meet to be set forth in English. For who is fitter to give countenance to so many great States, then such an High and Mighty Princess? who is fitter to revive the dead memory of their Fame, then she that beareth the lively image of their Vertues? who is fitter to Authorize a work of so great Learning and Wisdom, then she whom all do honor as the Muse of the world? Therefore I humbly beseech your Majesty, to suffer the simpleness of my Translation, to be covered under the amplexes of your Highness protection. For, Most Gracious Sovereigne, though this Book be no Book for your Majesties self, who are meetter to be the chief Story, then a Student therein, and can better understand it in Greek, then any man can make it English: yet I hope the common sort of your Subjects shall not only profit themselves hereby, but also be animated to the better service of your Majesty. For among all the prophane Books that are in reputation at this day, there is none (your Highness best knows) that teacheth so much Honor, Love, Obedience, Reverence, Zeal, and Devotion to Princes, as these Lives of Plutarch do. How many examples shall your Subjects read here, of several persons and whole Armies, of Noble and Base, of Young and Old, that both by Sea and Land, at home and abroad, have strained their wits, not regarding their states, ventured their persons, yea cast away their Lives, not only for honor and safety, but also for the pleasure of their Prince?

Then will may the Readers think, if they have done this for Heathen Kings, what should we do for Christian Princes? If they have done this for Glory, what

The Epistle Dedicatory.

Should we do for Religion? If they have done this without hope of Heaven; what should we do; that look for immortality? And so adding the encouragement of these examples, to the forwardness of their own dispositions; what service is there in war, what honor in peace, which they will not be ready to do, for their worthy Queen?

And therefore that your Highness may give grace to the Book, and the Book may do his service to your Majesty. I have Translated it out of French, and do here most humbly present the same unto your Highness, beseeching your Majesty with all humility, not to reject the good meaning, but to pardon the errors of your most humble and obedient subject and servant; who prayeth God long to multiply all graces and blessings upon your Majesty.

Written the 16. of
January, 1579.

Your Majesties most humble
and obedient servant

THOMAS NORTH.

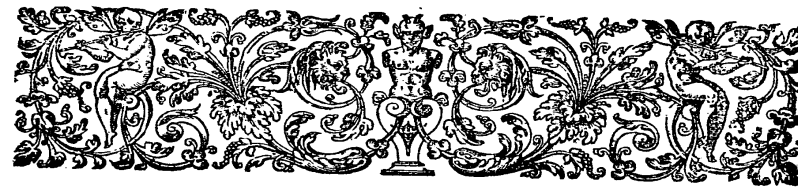
To the Reader.

THE profit of Stories, and the praise of the Author, are sufficiently declared by *Amiot*, in his Epistle to the Reader: so that I shall not need to make many words thereof. And indeed if you will supply the defects of this Translation, with your own diligence and good understanding: you shall not need to trust him, you may prove your selves, that there is no prophane Study better then *Plutarch*. All other learning is private, fitter for Universities then Cities, fuller of contemplation then experience, more commendable in Students themselves, then profitable unto others. Whereas Stories are fit for every place, reach to all persons, serve all times, teach the living, revive the dead, so far excelling all other Books, as it is better to see Learning in Noblemens Lives, then to read it in Philosophers writings. Now for the Author, I will not deny but love may deceive me, for I must needs love him with whom I have taken so much pain: but I believe I might be bold to affirm, that he hath written the profitablest Story of all others. For all other were faine to take their matter, as the fortune of the Countries whereof they wrote, fell out: But this man being excellent in wit, learning, and experience, hath chosen the special Acts of the best persons, of the famousst Nations of the world. But I will leave the judgement to your selves. My onely purpose is to desire you to excuse the faults of my translation, with your own gentleness, and with the opinion of my diligence and good intent. And so I wish you all the profit of the Book. Fare ye well.

The 24. of Jan.
1579.

THOMAS NORTH.

AM IOT.



A M I O T TO THE READERS.



THE reading of books which bring but a vaine and unprofitable pleasure to the Reader, is justly misliked of wise and grave men. Again, the reading of such as do but only bring profit, and make the Reader to be in love therewith, and do not ease the pain of the reading by some pleasantness in the same: do seem somewhat harsh to divers delicate wits, that cannot tarry long upon them. But such Books as yeeld pleasure and profit, and do both delight and teach, have all that a man can desire why they should be universally liked and allowed of all sorts of men, according to the common saying of the Poet Horace:

That he which matcheth profit with delight,
Doth win the prize in every point aright.

Either of these yeeld his effect the better, by reason the one runneth with the other, profiting the more because of the delight, and delighting the more because of the profit. This commendation (in my opinion) is most proper to the reading of stories, to have pleasure and profit matched together, which kind of delight and teaching, meeting in this wise *Arme in Arme*, hath more allowance then any other kind of writing or invention of man. In respect whereof it may be reasonably avowed, that men are more beholding to such good wits, as by their grave and wise writing have deserved the name of Historiographers then they are to any other kind of Writers: because an history is an orderly register of notable things said, done, or happened in times past, to maintain the continual remembrance of them, and to serve for the instruction of them to come.

And like a memory is as a store-house of mens conceits and devices, without the which the actions of the other two parts should be imperfect, and well-near unprofitable: so may it also be said, that an History is the very treasury of mans life, whereby the notable doings and sayings of men, and the wonderful adventures and strange cases (which the long continuance of time bringeth forth) are preserved from the death of forgetfulness. Hereupon it riseth that Plato the wise saith, that the name of History was given to the recording of matters, to stay the fleeting of our memory, which otherwise would be soon lost, and retain little. And we may well perceive how greatly we be beholding unto it, if we do no more but consider in how horrible darkness, and in how beastly and pestilent a quagmire of ignorance we should be plunged: if the remembrance of all things that have been done, and have happened before we were born, were utterly drowned and forgotten. Now therefore I will overpass the excellency and worthiness of the thing it self, forasmuch as it is not onely of more antiquity then any other kind of writing that ever was in the world, but also was used among men, before there was any use of letters at all: because that men in those dayes delivered in their life times the remembrance of things past to their successors, in songs, which they caused their children to learn by heart, from hand to hand, as is to be seen yet in our dayes by the example of the barbarous people that inhabit the new-found Land in the West, who without any records or writings, have had the knowledge of things past, well near eight hundred yeeres afore; Likewise I leave to discourse, that it is the surest, safest, and durablest monument that men can leave of their doings in this world, to consecrate their names to immortality. For there is neither Picture, nor Image of Marble, nor Arch of Triumph, nor pillar, nor sumptuous Sepulchre, that can match the durability of an eloquent History furnished with the properties which it ought to have. Again, I mind not to stand much upon this, that it hath a certain truth in it, in that it alwayes professeth to speak truth, and for that the proper ground thereof is to treat of the greatest and highest things that are done in the world: inasmuch that (to my seeming) the greatest profit thereof is, as Horace saith, that it is commonly called the mother of truth and uprightness; which commendeth it so greatly, as it needeth not elsewhere to seek any authority, or ornament of dignity, but of her very self. For it is a certain rule and instruction, which by examples past, teacheth us to judge of things present, and to foresee things to come: so as we may know what to like of, and what to follow: what to mislike, and what to eschew. It is a Picture, which (as it were in a

table)

To the Readers.

table) setteth before our eyes the things worthy of remembrance that have been done in old time by mighty Nations, Noble Kings and Princes, wise Governors, valiant Captaines, and persons renowned for some notable qualities, representing unto us the manners of strange Nations, the laws and customs of old time, the particular affairs of men, their consultations and enterprises, the means that they have used to compass their wishall, and their demeaning of themselves when they were come to the highest, or thrown down to the lowest degree of state. So as it is not possible for any case to rise either in peace or war, in publick or private affairs, but that the person which shall have diligently read, well conceived, and thoroughly remembered Histories, shall find matter in them whereat to take delight, and counsel whereby to resolve himself to take a part, or to give advice unto others, how to choose in doubtful and dangerous cases that which may be for the most profit, and in time to find out to what point the matter will come, if it be well handled: and how to moderate himself in prosperity, and how to cheer up and bear himself in adversity. These things it doth with much greater grace, efficacy, and speed, then the Books of Moral Philosophy do: forasmuch as examples are of more force to move and instruct, then are the arguments and proofs of reason, or their precise precepts; because examples be the very forms of our deeds, and accompanied with all circumstances. Whereas reasons and demonstrations are general and tend to the proof of things, and to the beating of them into understanding: and examples tend to the shewing of them in practise and execution, because they do not onely declare what is to be done, but also work a desire to do it, as well in respect of a certain natural inclination which all men have to follow examples, as also for the beauty of vertue, which is of such power, that whereforever she is seen, she maketh her self to be loved and liked. Again, it doth things with greater weight and gravity, then the inventions and devices of the Poets: because it helpeth not its self with any other thing then with the plain truth, whereas Poetry doth commonly enrich wherewith it rewardeth well-doers, is a very lively and sharpe spur for men of noble courage and gentleman-like nature, to cause them to adventure upon all manner of noble and great things. For books are full of examples of men of high courage and wisdom, who for desire to continue the remembrance of their name by the sure and certaine record of Histories, have willingly yielded their lives to the service of the Common weal, spent their goods, sustained infinite pains both of body and mind in defence of the oppressed, in making common buildings, in establishing of Laws and Governments, and in the finding out of Arts and Sciences necessary for the maintenance and ornament of mans life: for the faithful registering whereof, the thank is due to Histories. And although true Vertue seek no reward for her commendable doings like a hireling, but contenteth her self with the conscience of her well-doing: yet notwithstanding I am of opinion, that it is good and meet to draw men by all means to good doing; and good men ought not to be forbidden to hope for the honour of their vertuous deeds, seeing that honor doth naturally accompany vertue, as the shadow doth the body. For we commonly see, that not to feel the sparks of desire of honor, is an infallible signe of a base, vile, and clownish nature: and that such as count it an unnecessary, needless, or unseemly thing to be praised, are likewise no doers of any thinge worthy of praise, but are commonly men of faint courage, whose thoughts extend no further then to their lives, whereof also they have no further remembrance, then is before their eyes. But if the counsel of old men be to be greatly esteemed, because they must needs have seen much by reason of their long life: and if they that have travelled long in strange Countries, and have had the managing of many affairs, and have gotten great experience of the doings of this world, are reputed for Sage, and worthy to have the reins of great Governments put into their hands: how greatly is the reading of Histories to be esteemed, which is able to furnish us with more examples in one day, then the whole course of the longest life of any man is able to do? Inasmuch that they which exercise themselves in reading as they ought to do, although they be but young, become such in respect of understanding of the affairs of this world, as if they were old and gray headed, and of long experience. Yea though they never have removed out of their houses, yet are they advertised, informed, and satisfied of all things in the world; as well as they that have shortened their lives by innumerable travels and infinite dangers, in running over the whole earth that is inhabited: Whereas on the contrary part, they that are ignorant of the things that were done and come to pass before they were born, continue still as children, though they be never so aged, and are but as strangers in their own native Countries. To be short, it may be truly said, that the reading of Histories is the School of Wisdom, to fashion mens understanding, by considering aduisedly the fate of the world that is past, and by marking diligently by what Laws, Manners, and Discipline, Empires, Kingdoms, and Dominions, have in old time been established, and afterward maintained and increased: or contrariwise changed, diminished, and overthrowen. Also we read, that whensoever the right Sage and Vertuous Emperor of Rome, Alexander Severus, was to consult of any matter of great importance, whether it concerned Wars, or Governments: he always called such to counsel, as were reported to be well seen in Histories. Notwithstanding I know there are that will stand against me in this point, and uphold, that the reading of Histories can serve to small purpose, or none at all, towards the getting of skill: because skill consisteth in action, and is generated by the very experience and practise of things, when a man doth well mark and thoroughly bear away the things that he hath seen with his eyes, and found true by proof, according to the saying of the Ancient Poet Akranius:

My

To the Readers.

My name is Skill, my Syre Experience high,
And Memory bred and brought me forth to light.

Which thing was meant likewise by the Philosopher that said, that the hand is the instrument of skill. By reason whereof it cometh to pass (say they) that such as speak of matters of Government and State, but specially of matters of War by the book, speak but as book Knights, as the French Proverb termeth them, after the manner of the Grecians, who call him a book-Pilot, which hath not the sure and certain knowledge of the things that he speaks of: meaning thereby, that it is not for a man to trust to the understanding which he hath gotten by reading, in things that consist in the deed doing, where the hand is to be set to the work: no more then the often hearing of men talke and reason of painting, or the disputing upon colours, without taking of the pensill in hand, can stand a man in any stead at all to make him a good Painter. But on the contrary part, many have proved wise men and good Captains, which could neither write nor read. Besides this, they alledge further, that in matters of war, all things alter from yeer to yeer; by means whereof the sleights and policies that are to be learned out of books, will serve the turn no more then Adonis that are blown up. According whereunto Cambyles telleth his son Cyrus in Xenophon, that like as in Musick the newest songs are commonly the best liked of for once, because they were never heard of afore: So in the Wars, those policies that never were practised afore, as those that take best success, and commonly have the best effect, because the enemies do least doubt of them. Nevertheless I am not he that will maintain, that a wise Governor of a Common-weal, or a great Captain, can be made of such a person, as hath never travelled out of his study, and from his book: howbeit that which Cicero writeth of Lucius Lucullus, is true, that when he departed out of Rome as Captain General and Lieutenant of the Romanes, to make War against King Mithridates, he had no experience at all of the Wars, and yet afterward he bestowed so great diligence in the reading of histories, and in considering upon every point with the old Captains and men of long experience whom he carried with him, that by the time of his coming into Asia, where he was indeed to put his matters in execution, he was found to be a very sufficient Captain, as appeared by his deeds: insomuch that by those wayes, clean contrary to the common order of War, he discomfited two of the most puissant and greatest Princes that were at that time in the East. For his understanding was so quick, his care so vigilant, and his courage so great, that he needed no long training nor great instruction by experience. And although I grant there have been divers Governors and Captains which by the only force of nature (furthered by long continued experience) have done goodly and great exploits: yet can it not be denied me, but that if they had matched the gifts of nature with the knowledge of learning and the reading of histories, they might have done much greater things, and they might have become much more perfect. For like as in every other cunning and skill wherein a man intendeth to excell: so also to become a perfect and sufficient person to Govern in peace and war, there are three things of necessity required, namely, Nature, Art, and Practise. Nature (in the case we treat of) must furnish us with a good mother-wit, with a body well disposed to endure all manner of travel, and with a good will to advance our selves: Art must give us judgement and knowledge, gotten by the examples and wise discourses that we have read and double read in good Histories: and Practise will get us readinesse, assurednesse, and the ease how to put things in execution. For though Skill be the ruler of doing the deed, yet it is Vertue of the mind which teacheth a man the mean point between the two faulty extremities of too much and too little, wherein the commendation of all doings consisteth. And who-soever he is that goeth about to attain to it by the onely trial of experience, and had rather learn it at his own cost, then at another mans: he may well be of the number of those that are touched by this ancient Proverb, which saith, Experience is the School-mistress of fools: because mans life is so short, and experience is hard and dangerous; specially in matters of war, wherein (according to the saying of Tamachus the Athenian Captain) a man cannot fault twice, because the fautes are so great, that most commonly they bring with them the overthrow of the state, or loss of the lives of those that do them. Therefore we must not tarry for this wit that is won by experience, which costeth so dear, and and is so long in coming, that a man is oftentimes dead in seeking of it before he have attained it, so as he had need of a second life to employ it in, because of the over late coming by it. But we must make speed by our diligent and continual reading of Histories both old and new, that we may enjoy this happiness which the Poet speaketh of:

A happy wight is he that by mishaps
Of others, doth beware of afterclaps.

By the way, as concerning those that say that paper will bear all things: if there be any that unworthily take upon then the name of Historiographers, and do deface the dignity of the story for hatred or favor, mingling any untruth with it: that is not the fault of the History, but of the men that are partial, who do abuse that name unworthily, to cover and cloak their own passions withall, which thing shall never come to pass, if the writer of the story have the properties that are necessary required in a story-writer, as these: That he set aside all affection, be void of envy, hatred and flattery: that he be a man experienced in the affairs of the world, of good utterance and judgement, to discern what is to be said, and what to be left unsaid; and what would do more harme to have it declared, then do good to have it reprov'd or condemned: forasmuch as his chief drift ought to be to serve the Common-weal, and that it is but as a register to set down the judgements and definitive sentences of Gods Court; whereof some are given according

Three things
necessary for
Magistrate, or
Captain.

To the Readers.

according to the ordinary course and capacity of our weak natural reason, and other some go according to Gods Infinite Power and Incomprehensible Wisdom, above and against all discourse of mans understanding, who being unable to reach the bottom of his judgements, and to finde out the first motions and grounds thereof, doe impute the cause of them to a certain fortune, which is nought else but a fained device of mans wit, dazzled at the beholding of such brightness, and confounded at the gazing of so bottomlesse a deep: howbeit, nothing cometh to pass nor is done without the leave of him that is the very right and truth itself, with whom nothing is past or to come, who knoweth and understandeth the very original causes of all necessity. The consideration whereof teacheth men to humble themselves under his mighty hand, by acknowledging that there is one first cause which over-ruleth nature, whereof it cometh, that neither hardiness is alwayes happy, nor wisdom alwayes sure of good success. These so notable commoditie are every where accompanied with singular delight, which proceedeth chiefly of diversity and novelty, wherein our nature delighteth, and is greatly desirous of: because we having an earnest inclination towards our best prosperity and advancement, it goeth on still, seeking in it every thing which it taketh to be goodly, or good in this world. But forasmuch as it findeth not wherewith to content itself under the scope of heaven, it is soon weary of the things that it had earnestly desired before, and so goeth on wandering in the unskilfulness of her likings, whereof she never ceaseth to make a continual changing untill she have fully satisfied her desires, by attaining to the last end, which is, to be knit to her chief felicity, where is the full perfection of all goodliness and goodness. This liking of variety cannot be better relieved then by that which is the finder out and the preserver of time, the father of all novelty, and messenger of antiquity. For if we finde a certain singular pleasure, in hearkening to such as be returned from some long voyage, and do report things which they have seen in strange Countries, as the manners of people, the natures of places, and the fashions of lives, differing from ours: and if we be sometime so ravished with delight and pleasure at the hearing of the talke of some wise, discreet, and well spoken old man, from whose mouth there floweth a stream of speech sweeter then honey, in rehearsing the adventures which he hath had in his green and youthful years, the pains that he hath endured, and the perils that he hath overpassed, so as we perceive not how the time goeth away: how much more ought we to be ravished with delight and wondering, to behold the state of mankind, and the true success of things, which antiquity hath and doth bring forth from the beginning of the world; as the setting up of Empires, the overthrow of Monarchies, the rising and falling of Kingdoms, and all things else worthy admiration, and the same lively set forth in the fair, rich, and true table of Eloquence? And that so lively, as in the very reading of them we see our minds to be so touched by them, not as though the things were already done and past, but as though they were even then presently in doing, and we finde our selves carried away with gladness and grief through fear or hope, well near as though we were then at the doing of them: whereas notwithstanding we be not in any pain or danger, but only conceive in our minds the adversities that other folkes have endured, our selves sitting safe with our contentation and ease, according to those verses of the Poet Lucretius:

It is a pleasure for to sit at ease
Upon the Land, and safely for to see
How other folkes are tossed on the Seas,
That with the blustering winds turmoiled be.
Not that the sight of others miseries
Doth any way the honest heart delight:
But for because it liketh well our eyes,
To see harms free, that on our selves might light.

Also it is seen that the reading of Histories doth so hold and allure good wits, that divers times it not maketh them to forget all other pleasures, but also serveth very fitly to turn away their griefs, and sometimes also to remedy their diseases. As for example, we find it written of Aphonius King of Naples, that Prince so greatly renowned in Chronicles for his wisdom and goodness, that being sore sicke in the City of Capua, when his Physicians had spent all the cunning that they had to recover him his health, and he saw that nothing prevailed: he determined with himself to take no more medicines, but for his recreation caused the story of Quintus Curtius, concerning the deeds of Alexander the Great, to be read before him: at the hearing whereof he took so wonderful pleasure, that nature gathered strength by it, and overcame the waywardness of his disease. Whereupon having soon recovered his health, he discharged his Physicians with such words as these: Feare me no more with your Hippocrates and Galene, for they can no skill to helpe me to recover my health: but well fare Quintus Curtius that could so good skill to helpe me to recover my health. Now if the reading and knowledge of Histories be delightful and profitable to all other kind of folke: I say it is much more for great Princes and Kings, because they have to do with charges of greatest weight and difficulties, to be best stored with gifts and knowledge for the discharge of their duties: seeing the ground of stories is, to treat of all manner of high matters of estate, as Wars, battels, Cities, Countries, treaties of peace and alliances; and therefore it seemeth more fit for them, then for any other kind of degrees of men: because they being bred and brought up tenderly, and at their ease, by reason of the great regard and care that is had of their persons (as meet is for so great states to have) they take not so great pains in their youth for the learning of things as becometh those to take which will learn the noble ancient languages, and the painefull doctrine comprehended in Philosophy. Again, when they come to mans estate, their charge calleth them to deal in great affairs, so as there remaineth

To the Readers.

no exercise of wit more convenient for them, than the reading of Histories in their owne Tongue; which without paine is able to teach them even with great pleasure and ease, whatsoever the painfull Workes of the Philosophers concerning the Government of Common-wealths, can shew them: to make them skilfull in the well Ruling and Governing of the People and Countries that God hath put under their subjection. But the Work is, that they ever (or for the most part) have such manner of persons about them, as seeke nothing else but to please them by all the waies they can, and there are very few that dare tell them the truth freely in all things: Whereas on the contrary part, an History flattereth them not, but layeth open before their eyes, the faults and vices of such as were like them in greatness of Degree. And therefore Demetrius Phalerius (a man renowned as well for his skill in the good Government of a Common-wealth, as for his excellent knowledge otherwise) counselled Ptolomy, first King of Egypt after the death of Alexander the Great, that he should often and diligently read the Bookes that treated of the Government of Kingdoms, because (said he) thou shalt finde many things there, which thy servants and familiar friends dare not tell thee: Moreover this is another thing, that such great Personages cannot easily travele out of the bounds of their Dominions, to go view strange Countries, as private persons do: because the jealousy of their Estate, and the regard of their Dignity, requires that they should never be in place where another man might command them. And oftentimes for want of having seen the Countries, and knowne the People and Princes that are their neighbours, they have adventured upon Attempts without good ground: To avoid the which, the instruction they may have by the reading of Histories, is one of the easiest and fittest remedies that can be found. And though there were none other cause than only this last, surely it ought to induce Princes to the often and diligens reading of Histories, wherein are written the Heroicall Deeds of Wise and Valiant Men, specially of Kings that have been before them: the consideration whereof may cause them to be desirous to become like them, specially which were of Stately and Noble Courage: because the seeds of Princely Vertues that are bred with themselves, do then quicken them up with an emulation towards those that have been or are equal in Degree with them, as well in respect of Nobleness of Blood, as of Greatness of State, so as they be loth to give place to any person, and much lesse can finde in their hearts to be out-gone in Glory of Vertuous doings. Whereof innumerable examples might be alledged, if the thing were not so well known of it self, that it were much more against reason to doubt of it, than needfull to prove it. Therefore a man may truly conclude, that an History is the School-Mistress of Princes, at whose hand they may without paine, in way of pastime, and with singular pleasure learne the most part of the things that belong to their Office. Now, according to the diversity of the matter that it treateth of, or the order and manner of writing that it useth, it hath sundry names given unto it: but yet among the rest, there are two chiefe kinds. The one, which setteth downe mens doings and adventures at length, is called by the common name of an History: The other, which declareth their natures, sayings and manners, is properly named their Lives. And although the ground of them both do close very neare in one, yet doth the one respect more the Things, and the other the Persons: the one is more common, and the other more private: the one concerneth more the things that are without the man, and the other the things that proceed from within: The one, the events; the other, the consultations: between the which there is oftentimes great odds, according to this answer of the Persian Sirammes, to such as marvelled how it came to passe, that his devices being so politike, had so unhappy successe: It is (quoth he) because my devices are wholly from mine owne invention, but the effects of them are in the disposition of Fortune and the King. And surely among those that ever have taken upon them to write the Lives of Famous men, the chiefe prerogative, by the judgement of such as are clearest sighted, is justly given to the Greek Philosopher Plutarch, born in the City of Chæronea in the Countrey of Bœotia, a Noble man, perfect in all rare Knowledge, as his Workes may well put men out of doubt, if they list to reade them through, who all his life long, even to his old age, had to deal in affairs of the Common-wealth, as he himselfe witnesseth in divers places, specially in the Treatise which he intituled, Whether an old man ought to meddle with the Government of a Common-wealth or not: and who had the hap and Honour to be Schoolmaster to the Emperour Trajan, as is commonly beleev'd, and as is expressly pretended in a certain Epistle set before the Latine translation of his matters of State, which (to say the truth) seemeth in my judgement to be somewhat suspicious, because I finde it not among his Workes in Greeke: besides that it speaketh as though the Booke were Dedicated to Trajan, which thing is manifestly disproved by the beginning of the Booke, and by divers other reasons. Yet notwithstanding, because methinks it is largely and gravely written, and well-beseming him, I have set it down here in this place: Plutarch unto Trajan sendeth greeting: "I know well, that the modesty of your nature was not desirous of Sovereignty, though you have always endeavoured to deserve it by your Honourable conversation: by reason whereof you have been thought so much the worthier of it, as you have been found the further off from all ambition. And therefore I do now rejoyce in your Vertue and my Fortune, if it be so great as to cause you to administer that thing with Justice, which you have obtained by Desert. For otherwise, I am sure you have put your self in hazard of great danger, and me in perill of slanderous tongues, because that Rome cannot away with a wicked Emperour, and the common voice of the people is alwaies wont to cast the faults of the scholars in the teeth of their School-masters: As for example, Seneca is railed upon by slanderous tongues, for the faults of his scholar Iar Nero: The scapes of Quintilians young scholars, are imputed to Quintilian himself: and

"Socrates

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"Socrates is blamed for being too milde to his hearers. But as for you, there is hope you shall do all things well enough, so you keep you as you are. If you first set your self in order, and then dispose all other things according to Virtue, all things shall fall out according to your desire. I have set you down the means in writing, which you must observe for the well Governing of your Common-wealth, and have shewed unto you of how great force your behaviour may be in that behalfe. If you thinke good to follow these things, you have Plutarch for the director and guider of your life: if not, I protest unto you by this Epistle, that your falling into danger, to the overthrow of the Empire, is not by the Doctrine of Plutarch. This Epistle witnesseth plainly, that he was the Schoollmaster of Trajan, which thing seemeth to be avowed by this writing of Suidas: he was the Schoollmaster of Trajan, which thing seemeth to be avowed by this writing of Suidas: Plutarch being born in the City of Chærenea in Boeotia, was in the time of the Emperor Trajan, and somewhat before. But Trajan honoured him with the Dignity of Consulship, and commanded the Officers and Magistrates that were throughout all the Countrey of Illyria, that they should not do any thing without his Counsell and Authority. So doth Suidas write of him. And I should not do any thing without his Counsell and Authority. So doth Suidas write of him. And I am of opinion, that Trajan being so wise an Emperor, would never have done him so great Honour, if he had not thought himself beholding to him for some speciall cause. But the thing that maketh me most to beleve it true, is, that the same goodnesse and justice appeared to be naturally imprinted in most of Trajans sayings and doings, whereof the pattern and mould (as a man may terme it) is cast and set down in Plutarchs Morals, so as men may perceive expressly, that the one could well skill to performe rightly, that which the other had taught wisely: For Dion writeth, that among other Honours which the Senate of Rome gave by Decree unto Trajan, they gave him the title of the Good Emperour. And Eutropius reporteth, that even unto his time, when a new Emperour came to be received of the Senate, among the cries of good handsell, and the wishes of good luck that were made unto him, one was; Happier be thou than Augustus, and better than Trajan. Howsoever the case stood, it is very certain that Plutarch Dedicated the collection of his Apophthegmes unto him. But when he had lived a long time in Rome, and was come home again to his own house, he fell to writing of this excellent Work of Lives, which he calleth Parallellon, as much to say, as a compiling or matching together, because he matcheth a Grecian with a Roman, setting down their Lives each after other, and Comparing them together, as he found any likeness of Nature, Conditions, or Adventures betwixt them, and examining what the one of them had better or worse, greater or lesser than the other: which things he doth with so goodly and grave Discourse every where, taken out of the deepest and most hidden secrets of morall and naturall Philosophy, with so sage Precepts and fruitfull Instructions, with so effectfull commendation of vertue, and detestation of vice, with so many goodly allegations of other Authors, with so many fit comparisons, and with so many high inventions; that the Book may better be called by the Name of the Treasury of all rare and perfect Learning, than by any other name. Also it is said, that Theodorus Gaza, a Grecian of singular Learning, and a worthy of the ancient Greece, being asked on a time by his familiar friends (which saw him so earnestly given to his study that he forgot all other things) what Author he had severest choise, if he were at that point that he must needs choise some one to hold him to alone, did answer, that he would choise Plutarch; because that if they were all put together, there was no one both so profitable, and so pleasant to read, as he. Sossius Senecio to whom he Dedicated his Worke, was a Senator of Rome, as witnesseth Dion, who writeth that the three persons whom Trajan most loved and honoured, were Sossius, Parma, and Celsus, insomuch that he caused Images of them to be set up. True it is that he wrote the Lives of many other men, which the spitefulnesse of the time hath bereft us of, among which he himselfe maketh mention of the Lives of Scipio Africanus, and Metellus Numidicus. And I have read a little Epistle of a sonne of his, whose name is not expressed, copied out of an old copy in the Library of St Marke in Venice, wherein he writeth to a friend of his, a Register of all the Books that his Father made: and there among the couples of Lives, he setteth down the Lives of Scipio and Epaminondas, and lastly, the Lives of Augustus Caesar, of Tiberius, of Caligula, of Claudius, of Nero, of Galba, of Vitellius, and of Otho. But having used all the diligence that I could in searching the chiefe Libraries of Venice and Rome, I could never finde them out. Only I drew out certain diversities of readings, and many corrections, by conferring the old Written Copies with the printed Books: which have stood me in great stead to the understanding of many hard places: and there are a great number of them which I have restored by conjecture, by the judgement and help of such men of this age, as are of greatest knowledge in Humane Learning. For all this, there remain some places unamended, howbeit very few, because some lines were wanting in the Originall Copies, whereof (to my seeming) it was better for me to witness the want by marking it with some starre, than to guesse at it with all adventure, or to adde any thing to it. Now finally, If I have overset my self in any thing, as it is very easie to do in so hard and long a Worke, specially to a man of so small ability as I am: I beseech the Readers to vouchsafe for my discharge, to admit the excuse which the Poet Horace giveth me, where he saith:

A man may well be overseen
In Workes that long and tedious been.

Specially first that of so many good men, and men of skill, as have heretofore set hand to the translating of it, there was never yet any one found, that went through with it in any Language, at leastwise that I have seen or heard of: and that such as have enterprised to translate it, specially into Latine,

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Latine, have evidently witnessed the hardnesse thereof, as they may easily perceive which list to con-
ferre their Translations with mine. Nevertheless if it is so fortune that men finde not the speech of this Translation so flowing, as they have found some other of mine, that are abroad in mens hands: I beseech the Readers to consider, that the office of a fit Translator consisteth not onely in the faithfull expressing of his Authors meaning, but also in a certain resembling, and shadowing out of the form of his style, and the manner of his speaking: unlesse they will commit the error of some Painters, who having taken upon them to draw a man lively, do paint him long where he should be short, and grosse where he should be slender, and yet set out the resemblance of his countenance naturally. For how harsh or rude soever my speech be, yet am I sure that my Translation will be much easier to my Countrymen, than the Greeke Copy is, even to such as are best practised in the Greeke Tongue, by reason of Plutarchs peculiar manner of inditing, which is rather sharp, learned, and short, than plain, polished, and easie. At the hardest, although I have not compassed my matters so happily as ye would have wished and desired: yet do I hope that your Lordships in reading it will hold the parties good will excused, which hath taken such pains in doing of it to profit you. And if my labour be so happy as to content you, God be praised for it, which hath given me the grace to finish it.

Errata.

P Ag. 662. for An. Mund. 337. reade 3700. pag. ibid. for An. Christ. 3611. reade 240. pag. 699.
518. 3712. 3430. 252.
for An. Mund. 356. reade 3590. pag. ibid. for An. Christ. 3592. reade 350. pag. 711. for An. Mund.
870. reade 3870.

The

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THE



THE LIVES

OF THE NOBLE
GREEKS AND ROMANS,
The most of them compared together by that grave
and Learned Philosopher and Historiographer
PLUTARCH of Chæroneæ.



Ann. Mund.
2716.

THESEUS.

Ant. Christi.
1232.



LIKE as the Historiographers which do set forth the description of the Earth in Figure (my Friend *Sossius Senecio*) are wont to place in the lowermost part of the Mapps, the farre distant Regions unknown unto them, and to mark in the Margent such like Notes and Reasons as these: Beyond these Countries are nothing but deep dry sands without water, full of foul ill favoured venemous beasts; or much mudd unnavigable, or SCYTHIA forsaken for cold, or else the Sea frozen with Ice: Even so in this my History, I could speak of strange things, and more ancient, and further off from mens memory. But herein I have compared the Lives of some Noble men, the one with the other, having followed all those times, whereof the Monuments remain yet so whole, that men may speak of very great likelihood, or rather write a very troth. What hath been written before, is but of strange faynings, and full of monstrous fables, imagined and devised by Poets, which are altogether uncertain, and most untrue. Howbeit having heretofore set forth the Lives of *Lycurgus* (which established the Laws of the LACEDÆMONIANS) and of King *Numa Pompilius*, methought I might with reason also ascend unto the time of *Romulus*, thence I was come to hear unto his time. Wherefore having long debated with my self what *Æschylus* the Poet said:

Sossius Senecio
a Senator of
Rome.

B

What

*What Champion may with such a man compare?
Or who (think I) shall be against him set?
Who is so bold? or who is he that dare
Defend his force in such encounter met?*

In the end I resolv'd to compare him which did set up the noble and famous City of ATHENS, unto him which founded the glorious and invincible City of ROME. Wherein I would have wish'd that the Fables of her Antiquity had been set out so in our writings, that we might yet have graced them with some appearance of Historical narration. But if by chance in some places they range a little too boldly out of the bounds or limits of true appearance, and have no manner of conformity with any credibleness of matter: the Readers in courtesie must needs hold me excused, accepting in good part that which may be written and reported of things so extremely old and ancient. Now surely me thinks, that *Theseus* in many things was much like unto *Romulus*. For being both begotten by stealth and out of lawful Matrimony, they were both bruited to be born of the seed of gods.

Both valiant were, as all the world doth know,

Both were very wise and strong besides of body. The one of them built ROME, and the other the City of ATHENS, two of the most noble Cities of the world. The one and the other were ravishers of women, and neither the one nor the other could avoid the mischief of quarrell and contention with their friends, and to defile themselves with the blood of their nearest kinsmen. Moreover, they say that both the one and the other in the end did get the hate and ill-will of their Citizens. At the least if we beleave those things which are left written, and carry greatest shew of troth, *Theseus* of his Fathers side was descended of the right lineage of *Erichtheus* the great, and of the first Inhabitants which occupied the Countrey of ATTICA, the which since were called AUTOSTHONES, as much to say, as born of themselves. For there is no memory or other mention made, that they came out of any other Countrey then that. And of his Mothers side he came of *Pelops*, who was in his time the mightiest King of all the Countrey of PELOPONNESUS, not so much for his goods and riches, as for the number of children which he had. For his Daughters which were many in number he bestowed them on the greatest Lords of all the Countrey; his Sons also which likewise were many he dispersed into every City and Free-Town, finding means to make them Governours and Heads of the same. *Pitheus* Grandfather to *Theseus* on the Mothers side, was one that founded the little City of TROEZEN, and was reputed to be one of the best learned and wisest men of his time. But the knowledge and wisdom, which only carried estimation at that time, consisted altogether in grave sentences and moral sayings; as those are which wan the Poet *Hesiodus* such fame for his Book entituled, *The works and daies*, in the which is read even at this present this goodly sentence, which they father upon *Pitheus*:

*Thou shalt perform thy promise and thy pay
To hired men, and that without delay.*

And this doth *Aristotle* the Philosopher himself testifie: and the Poet *Euripides* also, calling *Hippolytus* the Scholler of the holy *Pitheus*, doth sufficiently declare of what estimation he was: But *Aegus* desiring (as they say) to know how he might have children, went into the City of DELPHES to the Oracle of *Apollo*: where by a Nunne of the Temple, this notable Prophecie was given him for an answer; the which did forbid him to touch or know any woman, until he was returned again to ATHENS. And because the words of this Prophecie were somewhat dark and hard, he returned by the City TROEZEN, to tell it unto *Pitheus*. The words of the Prophecie were these:

*O thou which art a gemme of perfect grace,
Pluck not the tappe out of thy trusty tunne,
Before thou do return unto thy place.
In Athens Town, from whence thy race doth runne.*

Pitheus understanding the meaning, perswaded him, or rather cunningly by some device deceived him, in such sort, that he made him to lie with his Daughter called *Ethra*. *Aegus*, after he had accompanied with her, knowing that she was *Pitheus* Daughter with whom he had lien, and doubting that he had gotten her with child, left her a Sword and a pair of Shoes, the which he hid under a great hollow stone, the hollownes whereof served just to receive those things which he layed under it, and made no living creature privie to it but her alone; straightly charging her, that if she happened to have a Sonne, under it which he left there; that he should then send him unto him by those Tokens, as secretly as the could, that no body else might know of it: for he did greatly fear the Children of one called *Pallas*, the which lay in wait and spiall by all the means they could to kill him, only of despite because he had no children, they being fifty brethren, and all begotten of one Father. This done, he departed from her: And *Ethra* within few months after was delivered of a goodly Sonne, the which from that time was called *Theseus*: and as some say, so called, because of the Tokens of knowledge his Father had layed under the stone. Yet some others write, that it was afterwards at ATHENS when his Father knew him, and avowed him for his Sonne. But in the mean time, during his infancie and childhood, he was brought up in the house of his Grandfather *Pitheus*, under the government and teaching of one called *Conidas*, his Schoolmaster: in honour of whom the ATHENIANS to this day do sacrifice a Weather, the day before the great Feast of *Theseus*, having more reason to honour the memory of this Governour, then of a *Silanian* and of a *Paribafus*, to whom they do honour also, because they painted and cast moulds of the Images of *Theseus*. Now there was a custome at that time in GREECE, that the young men

Theseus and Romulus very like.

The Linage of *Theseus*.

Pelops King of *Peloponnesus*.

Pitheus, the Grandfather of *Theseus*. The Wisdom of *Pitheus*.

Aegus the Father of *Theseus*.

Ethra the Daughter of King *Pitheus*, and the Mother of *Theseus*.

The Pallantides. *Pallas* had fifty Sennes. Why *Theseus* was so called.

Conidas *Theseus* Schoolmaster.

after their infancie and growth to mans state, went into the City of DELPHES, to offer part of their hairs in the Temple of *Apollo*. *Theseus* also went thither as other did: and some say that the place where the ceremony of this Offering was made, hath ever since kept the old name (and yet continueth) *Theseia*. Howbeit he did not shave his head but before only, as *Homer* faith, like the fashion of the ABANTES in old time: and this manner of shaving of hairs, was called for his sake, *Theseida*. And as concerning the ABANTES, in troth they were the very first that shaved themselves after this fashion: nevertheless they learned it not of the ARABIANS, as it was thought of some; neither did they it after the imitation of the MISSIANS; but because they were warlike and valiant men, which did joyn neer unto their enemy in battell, and above all men of the world were skillfull in fight hand to hand, and would keep their grounds as the Poet *Archilochus* witnesseth in these verses:

*They use no slings in foughren fields to have,
Nor bended bowes: but Swords and trenchant blades.
For when fierce Mars beginneth for to rave
In bloody field, then every man invades
His fiercest foe, and fighteth hand to hand:
Then do they deeds, right cruell to recomfort,
For in this wise, the brave and Warlike band
Do shew their force, which come from Negropont.*

The cause why they were thus shaven before, was, for that their enemies should not have the vantage to take them by the hairs of the head while they were fighting. And for this self-same consideration, *Alexander* the great commanded his Captains to cause all the MACEDONIANS to shave their beards: because it is the easiest hold (and readiest for the hand) a man can have of his enemy in fighting, to hold him fast by the same. But to return to *Theseus*. *Ethra* his Mother had ever unto that time kept it secret from him, who was his true Father. And *Pitheus* also had given it out abroad, that he was begotten of *Neptune*, because the TROEZONIANS have this god in great veneration, and do worship him as patron and protector of their City, making Offerings to him of their first fruits: and they have for the mark and stamp of their Money, the three pick'd Mace, which is the sign of *Neptune*, called his *Trident*. But after he was come to the prime and lustiness of his youth, and that with the strength of his body he shewed a great courage, joyned with a naturall wildome and staydnesse of wit: then his Mother brought him to the place where this great hollow stone lay, and telling him truly the order of his birth, and by whom he was begotten, made him to take his Fathers tokens of knowledge, which he had hidden there, and gave him counsell to go by sea to ATHENS unto him. *Theseus* easily list up the stone, and took his Fathers tokens from under it: Howbeit he answered plainly, that he would not go by sea, notwithstanding that it was a great deal the safer way, and that his Mother and Grandfather both had instantly intreated him, because the way by land from TROEZEN to ATHENS was very dangerous, all the wayes being beset by robbers and murderers. For the world at that time brought forth men, which for strongnesse in their arms, for swiftnesse of their feet, and for a generall strength of the whole body, did farre passe the common force of others, and were never weary for any labour or travell they took in hand. But for all this, they never employed these gifts of nature to any honest or profitable thing, but rather delighted villanously to hurt and wrong others: as if all the fruit and profit of their extraordinary strength had consisted in cruelty and violence only, and to be able to keep others under and in subjection; and to force, destroy, and spoyl all that came to their hands. Thinking that the more part of those which think it a shame to do ill, and commend justice, equity and humanity, do it of faint cowardly hearts, because they dare not wrong others, for fear they should receive wrong themselves: and therefore, that they which by might could have vantage over others, had nothing to do with such quiet qualities. Now *Hercules*, travelling abroad in the world, drave away many of those wicked theevish murderers, and some of them he slew and put to death; other as he passed through those places where they kept, did hide themselves for fear of him, and gave place: inasmuch as *Hercules* perceiving they were well tamed and brought low, made no further reckoning to pursue them any more. But after that by fortune he had slain *Iphitus* with his own hands, and that he was passed over the seas into the countrey of LYDIA, where he served Queen *Omphale* a long time, condemning himself unto that voluntary pain for the murder he had committed: all the Realm of LYDIA during his abode there, remained in great peace and security from such kinde of people. Howbeit in GREECE, and all thereabouts, these old mischiefs began again to renew, growing hotter and violenter then before: because there was no man that punished them, nor that durst take upon him to destroy them: By which occasion, the way to go from PELOPONNESUS to ATHENS by land was very perilous. And therefore *Pitheus* declaring unto *Theseus*, what manner of theeves they were that lay in the way, and the outrages and villanies they did to all travellers and wayfaring men, fought the rather to perswade him thereby to take his voyage along the seas. Howbeit in mine opinion, the fame and glory of *Hercules* noble deeds, had long before secretly set his heart on fire, so that he made reckoning of none other but of him, and lovingly hearkened unto those which would seem to describe him what manner of man he was, but chiefly unto those which had seen him, and been in his company, when he had said or done any thing worthy of memory. For then he did manifestly open himself, and he felt the like passion in his heart, which *Themistocles* long time afterwards endured, when he said; that the victory and triumph of *Miltiades* would not let him sleep. For even so, the wonderfull admiration which *Theseus* had of *Hercules* courage, made him in the night that he never dreamed but of his noble acts and doings,

A custome to offer hairs at Delphes. *Theseus* manner of shaving. The Abantes.

The cause of shaving their hairs before. *Alexander* made the Macedonians shave their beards.

Theseus said to be *Neptunes* Sonne. The *Tragenians* Coin stamped with *Neptunes* three pick'd mace. *Theseus* youth. Great robbing in *Theseus* time. *Thucyd.* lib. i.

Hercules a destroyer of theeves.

Hercules serveth *Omphale*.

Theseus followeth *Hercules*.

Defire of fame
pricke men
forward to
great enter-
prises.
Theseus and
Hercules near
kinmen.

Periphetes Co-
rnyetes, a fa-
mous robber,
slain of The-
seus.
Theseus carried
the Clubbe he
wore of Peri-
phetes as Hercu-
les did the Ly-
ons skinne.

Sinnis Pity-
cametes a cruell
murderer
slain.
Perigouna, Sin-
nis Daughter.

Theseus begat
Menalippus of
Perigouna.
Foxus Menalip-
pus sonne,
Jaxides.

Phæa the wild
Sow of Crom-
myon slain.

Phæa a woman
thief.

Sciron a no-
table robber,
thrown down
the rocks by
Theseus.

Ægeus,
Cecrops.

Cercyon the
Arcadian slain
of Theseus by
wrestling.

and in the day time, pricked forward with emulation and envy of his glory, he determined with him-
self one day to do the like; and the rather, because they were near kinmen, being Cousins removed by
the mothers side: For *Æthra* was the daughter of *Pisibemus*, and *Alcmena* (the mother of *Hercules*)
was the daughter of *Lyfidices*, the which was half-sister to *Pisibemus*, both children of *Pelops* and of
his wife *Hippodamia*. So he thought he should be utterly shamed and disgraced, that *Hercules* trav-
elling through the world in that sort, did seek out those wicked thieves to rid both sea and land of
them: and that he, farre otherwise, should flye occasion that might be offered him, to fight with
them that he should meet on his way. Moreover, he was of opinion, he should greatly shame and
dishonour him, whom fame and common bruit of people reported to be his father: if in shunning
occasion to fight, he should convey himself by sea, and should carry to his true father also a pair of
shoes (to make him known of him,) and a sword not yet bathed in blood. Where he should ra-
ther seek cause, by manifest tokens of his worthy deeds, to make known to the world of what noble
bloud he came, and from whence he was descended. With this determination, *Theseus* holdeth on his
purposed journey with intent to hurt no man, yet to defend himself, and to be revenged of those
which would take upon them to assault him. The first therefore whom he flew within the territories
of the City of *EPIDAUROM*, was a robber called *Periphetes*. This robber used for his ordinary
weapon to carry a clubbe, and for that cause he was commonly furnished *Cornyetes*, that is to say, a
clubbe carrier. So he first strake at *Theseus* to make him stand: but *Theseus* fought so lustily with
him, that he killed him. Whereof he was so glad, and chiefly for that he had won his clubbe, that ever
after he carried it himself about with him, as *Hercules* did the Lyons skinne. And like as this spoile of
the Lyon did witness the greatnesse of the beast which *Hercules* had slain, even so *Theseus* went all
about, shewing that his clubbe which he had gotten out of anothers hands, was in his own hands
invincible. And so going on further, in the freights of *PELOPONNESUS* he killed another, called
Sinnis, furnished *Pitycametes*, that is to say, a wreather or bower of Pine-apple trees: whom he
put to death in that self cruell manner that *Sinnis* had slain many other travellers before. Not that
he had experience thereof, by any former practise or exercise: but onely to shew, that clean strength
could do more then either Art or exercise. This *Sinnis* had a goodly fair daughter called *Perigouna*,
which fled away when she saw her father slain: whom he followed and fought all about. But she
had hidde her self in a grove full of certain kinds of wild pricking rushes called *Stæbe*, and wild *Spe-
rage*, which the simply like a child intreated to hide her, as if they had heard, and had sense to un-
derstand her: promising them with an oath, that if they saved her from being found, she would
never cut them down, nor burn them. But *Theseus* finding her, called her, and swore by his faith he
would use her gently, and do her no hurt, nor displeasure at all. Upon which promise she came out of
the bush, and lay with him, by whom she was conceived of a goodly boy, which was called *Menal-
ippus*. Afterwards *Theseus* married her unto one *Deioneus*, the sonne of *Egeus* the *Oecbalian*.
Of this *Menalippus* the sonne of *Theseus*, came *Joxus*: the which with *Ornytus* brought men into
the country of *CARIA*, where he built the City of *JOXIDES*. And hereof cometh that old an-
cient ceremony, observed yet unto this day by those of *JOXIDES*, never to burn the briers of wild
Sperage, nor the *Stæbe*, but they have them in some honour and reverence. Touching the wild
savage Sow of *Crommyon*, otherwise named *Phæa*, that is to say, overgrown with age: she was
not a beast to be made light account of, but was very fierce, and terrible to kill. *Theseus* notwith-
standing tarried for her, and killed her in his journey, to the end it should not appear to the world,
that all the valiant deeds he did, were done by compulsion and of necessity: adding thereto his opi-
nion also, that a valiant man should not only fight with men, to defend himself from the wicked:
but that he should be the first, to assault and slay wild hurtfull beasts. Nevertheless others have
written, that this *Phæa* was a woman robber, a murderer, and naught of her body, which spoiled
those that passed by the place called *CROMMYONIA*, where she dwelt: and that she was furnished
a Sow, for her beastly brutish behaviour and wicked life, for the which in the end she was slain
by *Theseus*. After her he killed *Sciron*, entering into the territories of *MEGARA*, because he rob-
bed all travellers by the way, as the common report goeth: or as others say, for that of a cruell, wicked,
and savage pleasure, he put forth his feet to those that passed by the sea side, and compelled
them to wash them: And then when they thought to stoop to do it, he still spurned them with his
feet, till he thrust them heading into the sea: so *Theseus* threw him headlong down the rocks. How-
beit the writers of *MEGARA* impugning this common report, and desirous (as *Simonides* saith) to
overthrow it that had continued by prescription of time, did maintain that this *Sciron* was never any
robber, nor wicked person, but rather a pursuer and punisher of the wicked, and a friend and kinsman
of the most honest and justest men of *GREECE*. For there is no man but will confesse that *Æacus* was
the most vertuous man among the *GREECIANS* in his time, and that *Cyclops* the *SALAMINIAN* is
honoured and revered as a God at *ATHENS*: and there is no man also but knoweth that *Pelemus* and
Telamon were men of singular a vertue. Now it is certain, that this *Sciron* was sonne in law to *Cyclops*
father in law of *Æacus*, and grandfather to *Pelemus* and *Telamon*, the which two were the children of *En-
deides*, the daughter of the said *Sciron*, and of his daughter *Chariclo*. Also it is not very likely, that so many
good men would have had affinity with so naughty and wicked a man: in taking of him, and giving him
that which men love best of all things in the world. And therefore the Historiographers say, that it was
not the first time, when *Theseus* went unto *ATHENS*, that he killed *Sciron*, but that it was many days
after, when he took the City of *ELEUSIN*, which the *MEGARIANS* held at that time, where he de-
ceived the Governour of the City, called *Diocles*, and there he flew *Sciron*. And these be the objections
the

the *MEGARIANS* alledged touching this matter. He flew also *Cercyon* the *ARCADIAN*, in the
City of *ELEUSIN*, wrestling with him. And going a little further, he flew *Damastes*, otherwise sur-
named *Procrustes*, in the City of *HERMIONIA*: and that by stretching of him out, to make him
even with the length and measure of his beds, as he was wont to do unto strangers that passed by.
Theseus did that in imitation of *Hercules*, who punished Tyrants with the self-same pain and torment
in wrestling. So he put *Cercyon* to death, fighting with him man to man. So he brake *Terminus* head,
from whom this Proverb of *Terminus* evil came, which continueth yet unto this day: for this *Ter-
minus* did use to put them to death in this sort whom he met; to joll his head against theirs. Thus pro-
ceeded *Theseus* after this self manner, punishing the wicked in like sort, justly compelling them to abide
the same pain and torments, which they before had unjustly made others abide. And so he held on
his journey until he came to the River of *CEPHISUS*, where certain persons of the house of the
Phyalides were the first which went to meet him, to honour him, and at his request they purified him
according to the Ceremonies used at this time: and afterwards having made a sacrifice of propitiation
unto their gods, they made him great cheer in their houses: and this was the first notable entertain-
ment he found in all his journey. It is supposed he arrived in the City of *ATHENS*, the eight day
of the month of *June*, which then they called *Cronius*. He found the Commonwealth turmoiled
with seditions, factions and divisions, and particularly the house of *Ægeus* in very ill termes also,
because that *Medea* (being banished out of the City of *CORINTH*) was come to dwell in *ATHENS*,
and remained with *Ægeus*, whom she had promised off by vertue of certain medicines to make him
to get children. But when she heard tell that *Theseus* was come, before that the good King *Ægeus*
(who was now become old, suspicious and afraid of sedition, by reason of the great factions within
the City at that time) knew what he was, she perswaded him to poison him at a feast which they
would make him as a stranger that passed by. *Theseus* failed not to go to this prepared feast where-
unto he was bidden, but yet thought it not good to disclose himself. And the rather to give *Ægeus*
occasion and mean to know him, when they brought the meat to the board, he drew out his sword
as though he would have cut withall, and shewed it unto him. *Ægeus* seeing it, knew it straight,
and forthwith overthrew the cup with poison which was prepared for him: and after he had enquired of
him and asked things, he embraced him as his sonne. Afterwards in the common assembly of the in-
habitants of the City, he declared, how he avowed him for his sonne. Then all the people received
him with exceeding joy, for the renew of his valiantnesse and manhood. And some say, that when
Ægeus overthrew the cup, the poison which was in it, fell in that place, where there is at this present
a certain compass inclosed all about within the Temple which is called *Delphinion*. For even there in
that place, in old time, stood the house of *Ægeus*: in witness whereof, they call yet at this present
time the image of *Mercury* (which is on the side of the Temple looking towards the rising of the
Sunne) the *Mercury* gate of *Ægeus*. But the *PALLANTIDES*, which before stood always in
hope to recover the Realm of *ATHENS*, at the least after *Ægeus* death, because he had no children:
when they saw that *Theseus* was known, and openly declared for his sonne and heir, and successor to
the Realm, they were not able any longer to bear it, seeing that not only *Ægeus* (who was but the
adopted sonne of *Pandion*, and nothing at all of the blood Royall of the *Erethrides*) had usurped the
Kingdom over them, but that *Theseus* also should enjoy it after his death. Whereupon they determined
to make warre with them both; and dividing themselves into two parts, the one came openly in arms
with their father, marching directly towards the City: the other lay close in ambush in the village
of *GARGETTUS*, meaning to give charge upon them in two places at one instant. Now they
brought with them an Herald born in the Town of *AGNUS*, called *Leos*, who bewrayed unto
Theseus the secret and device of all their enterprise. *Theseus* upon this intelligence went forth, and
set on those that lay in ambush, and put them all to the sword. The other which were in *Pallas*
company understanding thereof, did break and disperse themselves incontinently, and this is the
cause (as some say) why those of *PALLENA* do never make affinity nor marriage with those
of *AGNUS* at this day: and that in the Town when any Proclamation is made, they never
speak these words which are cried every where else throughout the whole country of *ATTICA*,
Accoute Leos, (which is as much to say as hearken O people) they do so extremely hate this
fame word *Leos*, for that it was the Heralds Name that wrought them that treason. This done,
Theseus who would not live idly at home and do nothing, but desirous therewithall to graffie the
people, went his way to fight with the Bull of *Marathon*, the which did great mischief to the inha-
bitants of the country of *TETRAPOLIS*. And having taken him alive, brought him through the
City of *ATHENS*, to be seen of all the inhabitants. Afterwards he did sacrifice him unto *Apollo*
Delphius. Now concerning *Hecale*, who was reported to have lodged him, and to have given
him good entertainment, it is not altogether untrue. For in the old time, those Towns and villages
thereabouts did assemble together, and made a common sacrifice which they called *Hecaleion*, in ho-
nour of *Jupiter Hecalion*, where they honoured this old woman, calling her by a diminutive Name,
Hecaleina: because that when she received *Theseus* into her house, being then but very young,
she made much of him, and called him by many pretty made Names, as old folks are wont to
call young children. And forasmuch as she had made a vow to *Jupiter* to make him a solemn sacri-
fice, if *Theseus* remained safe from the enterprise he went about, and that she died before his re-
turn; in recompence of the good cheer she made him, she had that honour done unto her by *The-
seus* commandment, as *Philochorus* hath written of it. Shortly after this exploit, there came certain

*Damastes Pro-
crustes*, a cruell
murderer slain
of *Theseus*.
Hercules do-
ing.

Terminus evil.

Cephisus a Ri-
ver of *Æonia*.
The *Phyalis-
tes* the first
men that feast-
ed *Theseus* in
their houses.
This sacrifice
Plutarch cal-
leth *Mitribia*.

Medea perswa-
ded *Ægeus* to
poison *The-
seus*.

Ægeus ac-
knowledgeth
Theseus for
his sonne.

The *Pallanti-
des* take arms
against *Æ-
geus* and *The-
seus*.
Leos an He-
rald bewrayeth
their treason
to *Theseus*.
Theseus killeth
the *Pallantides*.

The Bull of
Marathon ta-
ken alive by
Theseus.
Apollo Delphius

*Jupiter He-
calion*.

The Athenians
paid Tribute
unto Minos
King of Creta,
for the death
of Androgeus
his sonne.

The manner
of the Tribute
conditioned.

The Minotaur
what it
was.
The Labyrinth
a prison in
Crete.

Taurus one of
Minos Cap-
tains.

Of the Botrei-
ans, Pind. lib. 4.
cap. 2.

King Minos
defamed by the
Poets in the
Theaters at
Athens.

Radamanthus.
The third time
of payment of
the Tribute.
The Athenians
are grieved to
depart with
their Children.

Theseus fleeth
to go with the
Children into
Crete.

Long drawn for
the Children
that should go.

The Athenians
sent their
Children into
Crete in a ship
with a black
saile.

of King Minos Ambassadors out of CRETA, to ask a Tribute, being now the third time that it was demanded; which the ATHENIANS paid for this cause. Androgeus, the eldest sonne of King Minos, was slain by treason within the country of ATTICA: for which cause Minos pursuing the revenge of his death, made very hot and sharp warres upon the ATHENIANS, and did them great hurt. But besides all this, the gods did sharply punish and scourge all the country, as well with barrennesse and famine, as also with plague and other mischiefs, even to the drying up of their Rivers. The ATHENIANS perceiving these fore troubles and plagues, ran to the Oracle of Apollo, who answered them that they should appease Minos, and when they had made their peace with him, then the wrath of the gods would cease against them, and their troubles should have an end. Whereupon the ATHENIANS sent immediately unto him, and intreated him for peace: which he granted them, with condition that they should be bound to send him yearly into CRETA, seven young boyes, and as many young gyrls. Now thus farre all the Historiographers do very well agree, but in the rest not. And they which seem furthest off from the troth, do declare, that when these young boyes were delivered in CRETA, they caused them to be devoured by the Minotaur within the Labyrinth: or else that they were shut within this Labyrinth, wandering up and down, and could finde no place to get out, untill such time as they died, even famished for hunger. And this Minotaur, as Euripides the Poet saith, was

A Corps combin'd, which monstrous might be deem'd:

A Boy, a Bull, both man and beast it seem'd.

But Philochorus writeth, that the CRETANS do not confesse that, but say that this Labyrinth was a goal or prison, in the which they had no other hurt, saving that they which were kept there under lock and key, could not flee nor start away: and that Minos had in memory of his sonne Androgeus, instituted games and playes of prize, where he gave unto them that won the victory, those young children of ATHENS, the which in the mean time notwithstanding were carefully kept and looked unto in the prison of the Labyrinth: and that at the first games that were kept, one of the Kings Captains called Taurus, who was in best credit with his master, won the prize. This Taurus was a churlish and naughty natured man of condition, and very hard and cruell to these children of ATHENS. And to verifie the same, the Philosopher Aristotle himself, speaking of the Commonwealth of BOTTEIANS, declareth very well, that he never thought that Minos did at any time cause the children of ATHENS to be put to death: but saith, that they poorly toyled in CRETA, even to crooked age, earning their living by true and painfull service. For it is written, that the CRETANS (to satisfie an old vow of theirs, which they had made of ancient time) sent sometime the first-born of their children unto Apollo in the City of DELPHES: and that amongst them also they mingled those which were defended of the ancient prisoners of ATHENS, and they went with them. But because they could not live there, they directed their journey first into ITALY, where for a time they remained in the Realm of PUGLIA; and afterwards from thence went into the confines of THRACIA, where they had this name of BOTTEIANS. In memory whereof the daughters of the BOTTEIANS in a solemn Sacrifice they make, do use to sing the foot of this Song: *Let us to Athens go.* But thereby we may see how perilous a thing it is, to fall in displeasure and enmity with a City which can speak well, and where Learning and eloquence do flourish. For ever since that time, Minos was always blazed and disgraced throughout all the Theaters of ATHENS. The testimony of Hesiodus, who calleth him the most worthy King, doth nothing at all help him, nor the praise of Homer, who nameth him Jupiters familiar friend; because the tragicall Poets got the upper hand in disgracing him, notwithstanding all these; and upon their stages where all the Tragedies were plaide, they still gave forth many ill favoured words and foul speeches of him, as against a man that had been most cruell and unnaturall. Yet most men think, that Minos was the King that established the Laws, and Radamanthus the Judge and preserver of them, who caused the same also to be kept and observed. The time being now come about for payment of the third Tribute; when they came to compell the fathers which had children not yet married, to give them to be put forth to take their chance and lot: the Citizens of ATHENS began to murmur against Eggeus, alledging for their griefs, that he who only was the cause of all this evil, was only alone exempted from this grief. And that to bring the government of the Realm to fall into the hands of a stranger his baird, he cared not though they were bereft of all their naturall children, and were unnaturally compelled to leave and forsake them. These just sorrowes and complaints of the fathers whose children were taken from them, did pierce the heart of Theseus, who willing to yeeld to reason, and to run the self same fortune as the Citizens did, willingly offered himself to be sent thither, without regard taking to his hap or adventure. For which the Citizens greatly esteemed of his courage and honourable disposition, and dearly loved him for the good affection he seemed to bear unto the commonalty. But Eggeus having used many reasons and perswasions to cause him to turn and stay from his purpose, and perceiving in the end there was no remedy but he would go, he then drew Lots for the Children which should go with him. Hellanicus notwithstanding doth write, that they were not those of the City which drew Lots for the Children they should send, but that Minos himself went thither in person, and did choose them, as he chose Theseus the first, upon condition agreed between them: that is to wit, that the ATHENIANS should furnish them with a Ship, and that the Children should ship and imbarke with him, carrying no weapons of warre: and that after the death of the Minotaur this Tribute should cease. Now before that time, there was never any hope of return, nor of safety of their children; therefore the ATHENIANS alwayes sent a Ship to convey their Children, with a black saile, in token of assured losse.

Nevertheless

Nevertheless Theseus putting his father in good hope of him, being of a good courage, and promising boldly that he would set upon this Minotaur, Eggeus gave unto the Master of the ship a white saile, commanding him that at his return he should put out the white saile if his sonne had escaped: if not, that then he should set up the black saile, to shew him as farre off his unlucky and unfortunate chance. Simonides notwithstanding doth say, that this saile which Eggeus gave to the Master, was not white, but red, died in grain, and of the colour of Scarlet, and that he gave it him to signifie as farre off their delivery and safety. This Master was called Phereclus Amasias, as Simonides saith. But Philochorus writeth, that Scirus the SALAMINIAN gave to Theseus a Master called Naufibemus, and another mariner to tackle the saile, who was called Phaeas; because the ATHENIANS at that time were not greatly practised to the sea. And this did Scirus, for that one of the Children on whom the Lot fell was his nephew: and thus much the Chappels do testifie, which Theseus built afterwards in honour of Naufibemus, and of Phaeas, in the village of Phalerus, joyning to the Temple of Scirus. And it is said moreover, that the feast which they call Cybernesia, that is to say, the feast of Patrons of the ships, is celebrated in honour of them. Now after the Lots were drawn, Theseus taking with him the Children allotted for the Tribute, went from the Pallace to the Temple called Delphinion, to offer up to Apollo for him and for them an offering of supplication, which they call Hiceteria, which was an Olive bow hallowed, wreathed about with white wool. After he had made his prayer, he went down to the sea side to imbarke, the sixth day of the month of March: on which day at this present time they do send their young girls to the same Temple of Delphinion, there to make their prayers and petitions to the gods. But some say, that the Oracle of Apollo in the City of DELPHES had answered him, that he should take Venus for his guide, and that he should call upon her to conduct him in his voyage: for which cause he did sacrifice a Goat unto her upon the sea side, which was found suddenly turned into a Ramme, and that therefore they surnamed this goddesse Epirragia, as one would say, the goddesse of the Ramme. Furthermore, after he was arrived in CRETA, he flew there the Minotaur (as the most part of ancient Authors do write) by the means and help of Ariadne: who being fallen in fancie with him, did give him a clue of thred, by the help whereof she taught him, how he might easily wind out of the turnings and cranks of the Labyrinth. And they say, that having killed this Minotaur, he returned back again the same way he went, bringing with him those other young children of ATHENS, whom with Ariadne also he carried afterwards away. Phereclus saith moreover, that he brake the keels or bottoms of all the ships of CRETA, because they should not foddainly set out after them. And Demon writeth, that Taurus (the Captain of Minos) was killed in fight by Theseus, even in the very haven mouth, as they were ready to ship away, and hoise up saile. Yet Philochorus reporteth, that King Minos having set up the games, as he was wont to do yearly in the honour and memory of his Sonne, every one began to envy Captain Taurus, because they ever looked that he should carry away the game and victory, as he had done other years before; over and above that, his authority got him much ill will and envy, because he was proud and stately, and had in suspicion that he was great with Queen Pasiphae. Wherefore when Theseus required that he might encounter with Taurus, Minos easily granted it. And being a solemn custom in CRETA, that the women should be present, to see those open sports and fights, Ariadne being at these games, amongst the rest, fell further in love with Theseus, seeing him so goodly a person, so strong, and invincible in wrestling, that he farre exceeded all that wrestled there that day. King Minos was so glad that he had taken away the honour from Captain Taurus, that he sent him home frank and free into his country, rendering to him all the other prisoners of ATHENS: and for his sake clearly released and forgave the City of ATHENS the Tribute, which they should have payed him yearly. Howbeit, Clidemus searching out the beginning of these things to the utmost, reciteth them very particularly, and after another sort. For he saith, about that time there was a general restraint throughout all GREECE, restraining all manner of people to bear saile in any vessell or bottom, wherein there were above five persons, except only Jason, who was chosen Captain of that great ship Argus, and had Commission to saile every where, to chase and drive away rovers and pirats, and to scour the seas throughout. About this time, Dedalus being fled from CRETA to ATHENS in a little Bark, Minos contrary to this restraint, would needs follow him with a fleet of divers vessels with owers; who being by force of weather driven with the coast of SICILIE, fortune to die there. Afterwards his sonne Dencalion, being marvellously offended with the ATHENIANS, sent to summon them to deliver Dedalus unto him, or else he would put the children to death, which were delivered to his father for hostages. But Theseus excused himself, and said he could not forsake Dedalus, considering he was his near kinsman, being his Cofingerman; for he was the sonne of Merope, the daughter of Erichtheus. Howbeit by and by he caused many vessels secretly to be made, part of them within ATTICA it self in the village of Thymetades, farre from any high wayes; and Part of them in the City of TROEZEN, by the sufferance of Pirheus his grandfather, to the end his purpose should be kept the more secret. Afterwards when all his ships were ready, and rigged out, he took sea before the CRETANS had any knowledge of it: inso much as when they saw them as farre off, they did take them for the Barks of their friends. Theseus landed without resistance, and took the haven. Then having Dedalus, and other banished CRETANS for guides, he entred the City it self of GNOSUS, where he flew Dencalion in a fight before the gates of the Labyrinth, with all his guard and officers about him. By this means the Kingdom of CRETA fell by inheritance into the hands of his sister Ariadne. Theseus made league with her, and carried away the young children of ATHENS which were

Eggeus giveth
the master of
the ship a
white saile, to
signifie the
safe return of
Theseus.

Cybernesia
games.

Hiceteria offer-
ing.
Theseus taketh
ship with the
Tribute chil-
dren the sixth
day of March, and
saileth into
Crete.
Venus Epirra-
gia.
Theseus slew
the Minotaur
by means of
Ariadne King
Minos daugh-
ter.
Theseus return
out of Crete.
Taurus over-
come of These-
us, was a man.

Taurus susce-
ed with 'Pasi-
phae King Mi-
nos wife.
How Ariadne
fell in love
with Theseus.
Minos tenderth
Theseus home
with his pri-
soners, and re-
leaseth the
Athenians of
their Tribute.
A marine
Law.
Dedalus flight.

King Minos
died in Sicilie.
Dencalion King
Minos son sent
to Athens to
demand Da-
dalus.

Theseus sailed
into Crete, and
won the City
of Gnossus, and
slew Dencalion.

were kept as hostages, and concluded peace and amity between the ATHENIANS and the CRETANS: who promised, and sware, they would never make warres against them. They report many other things also touching this matter, and specially of *Ariadne*: but there is no troth nor certainty in it. For some say, that *Ariadne* hung her self for sorrow, when she saw that *Theseus* had cast her off. Other write, that she was transported by mariners into the Ile of NAXOS, where she was married unto *Oenarus* the Priest of *Bacchus*: and they think that *Theseus* left her, because she was in love with another, as by these verses should appear:

*Aegles the Nymph was lov'd of Theseus,
who was the Daughter of Panopeus.*

Hercules the MAGARIAN saith, that these two verses in old time were among the verses of the Poet *Hesiodus*, howbeit *Pisistratus* took them away: as he did in like manner add these other here in the description of the hells in *Homer* to gratifie the ATHENIANS.

*Bold Theseus, and Perithous stout,
Descended both from gods immortal race,
Triumphing still, this weary world about
In fears of arms, and many a comely grace.*

Others hold opinion, that *Ariadne* had two children by *Theseus*: the one of them was named *Oenopia*, and the other *Staphylus*. Thus amongst others the Poet *Jon* writeth it, who was born in the Ile of CHIO, and speaking of this City, he saith thus:

*Oenopian which was the soune of worthy Theseus,
Did cause men build this stately Town, which now triumpheth thus.*

Theseus leaveth *Ariadne* in Cyprus.

Ariadne dieth with child in Cyprus.

The ceremony of the sacrifice done to *Ariadne* in Cyprus. *Venus* *Ariadne*. Two *Minors* and two *Ariadnes*. *Corcina* *Ariadne* Nurse.

Theseus returneth out of Creta with child in the Ile of Delos.

Theseus Dance with the Crane.

Palm a token of victory. *Theseus* Master of his ship forgot to set out the white sail. *Aegleus* death. *Theseus* arriveth safe with the Tribute-Children in the haven of *Phalerus*. The Herald bare a rod in his hand.

Now what things are found seemly in Poets fables, there is none but doth in manner sing them. But one *Paenon* born in the City of AMATHUNTA, reciteth this clean after another sort, and contrary to all other: saying, that *Theseus* by tempest was driven with the Ile of CYPRUS, having with him *Ariadne*, which was great with child, and so fore sea-sick, that she was not able to abide it. In so much as he was forced to put her a land, and himself afterwards returning aboard, hoping to save his ship against the storm, was compelled forthwith to loofe into the sea. The women of the countrey did courteously receive and intreat *Ariadne*: and to comfort her again (for she was marvellously out of heart, to see she was thus forsaken) they counterfeited Letters, as if *Theseus* had written them to her. And when her groaning time was come, and she to be layed, they did their best by all possible means to save her, but she died notwithstanding in labour, and could never be delivered: So she was honourably buried by the Ladies of CYPRUS. *Theseus* not long after returned thither again, who took her death marvellously heavily, and left money with the inhabitants of the Countrey, to sacrifice unto her yearly: and for memory of her, he caused two little Images to be molten: the one of copper, and the other of silver, which he dedicated unto her. This Sacrifice is done the second day of September, on which they do observe this ceremony: they do lay a young Child upon a bed, which pitifully crieth and lamenteth, as women travelling with child. They say also, that the AMATHUNIANS do yet call the grove where her Tombe is set up, the wood of *Venus* *Ariadne*. And yet there are of the NAXIANS, that report this otherwise: saying, There were two *Minors*, and two *Ariadnes*, whereof the one was married to *Bacchus* in the Ile of NAXOS, of whom *Staphylus* was born: and the other the youngest, was ravished and carried away by *Theseus*, who afterward forsook her, and she came into the Ile of NAXOS with her Nurce called *Corcyna*, whose grave they do shew yet to this day. The second *Ariadne* died there also, but she had no such honour done to her after her death, as to the first was given. For they celebrate the Feast of the first with all joy and mirth: where the Sacrifices done in memory of the second, be mingled with mourning and forrow. *Theseus* then departing from the Ile of Creta, arrived in the Ile of DELOS, where he did sacrifice in the Temple of *Apollo*, and gave there a little Image of *Venus*, the which he had gotten of *Ariadne*. Then with the other young boyes that he had delivered, he danced a kind of dance, which the DELIANS keep to this day, as they say: in which there are many turns and returns, much after the turnings of the *Labyrinth*. And the DELIANS call this manner of dance, the Crane, as *Dicaearchus* saith. And *Theseus* danced it first about the Altar, which is called *Ceraton*, that is to say, horn-staffe; because it is made and builded of horns only, all on the left hand well and curiously set together without any other binding. It is said also, that he made a game in this Ile of DELOS, in which at the first was given to him that overcame, a branch of Palm for reward of victory. But when they drew near to the coast of ATTICA, they were all joyfull, he and his Master, that they forgot to set up their white sail, by which they should have given knowledge of their health and safety unto *Aegleus*. Who seeing the black sail afarre off, being out of all hope evermore to see his sonne again, took such a grief at his heart, that he threw himself headlong from the top of a cliff, and killed himself. So soon as *Theseus* was arrived at the Port named *Phalerus*, he performed the sacrifices which he had vowed to the gods at his departure: and sent an Herald of his before unto the City, to carry news of his safe arrivall. The Herald found many of the City mourning the death of King *Aegleus*. Many other received him with great joy, as may be supposed. They would have crowned him also with a garland of flowers, for that he had brought so good tydings, that the Children of the City were returned in safety. The Herald was content to take the garland, yet would he not in any wise put it on his head, but did wind it about his Herald's rod he bare in his hand, and so returned forthwith to the sea, where *Theseus* made his sacrifices. Who perceiving they were not yet done, did refuse to enter into the Temple, and stayed without for troubling of the sacrifices. Afterwards all ceremonies finished, he went

went in and told him the news of his fathers death. Then he and his company mourning for sorrow, halted with speed towards the City. And this is the cause, why to this day, at the feast called *Osseophoria* (as who would say the feast of boughs) the Herald hath not his head, but his rod only crowned with flowers, and why the assistants also after the Sacrifice done, do make such cries and exclamations: *Eli, leuf, ion, ion*: whereof the first is the cry and voice they commonly use to another to make haste, or else it is the foot of some song of Triumph: and the other is the voice and cry of men as it were in fear and trouble. After he had ended the Obsequies and Funerals for his Father, he performed all his Sacrifices unto *Apollo*, which he had vowed, the seventh day of the month of October, on which they arrived at their return into the City of ATHENS. Even so the custom which they use at this day to feeth all manner of pulse, cometh of this: that those which then returned with *Theseus*, did feethe in a great brasse pot all the remain of their provision, and therewith made good cheer together. Even in such sort as this come up the custom to carry a branch of Olive, wreathed about with wool, which they call *Iresione*: because at that time they carried boughs of supplication, as we have told you before. About which they hang all sorts of fruits: for then barrenness did cease, as the verses they sang afterwards did witnesse.

*Bring him good Bread that is of sweety taste,
With pleasant Figs, and drops of dulcet mell:
Then simple Oyl, his body for to baste,
And pure good Wine, to make him sleep full well.*

Howbeit there are some which will say, that these verses were made for the *Heraclides*, that is to say, those that descended from *Hercules*: which flying for their safety and succour unto the ATHENIANS, were entertained and much made of by them for a time. But the most part hold opinion, they were made upon the occasion aforesaid. The vessell in which *Theseus* went and returned, was a Galliot of thirty oars, which the ATHENIANS kept until the time of *Demetrius* the *Phalerian*, always taking away the old pieces of wood that were rotten, and ever renewing them with new in their places. So that ever since, in the disputations of the Philosophers touching things that increase, to wit, whether they remain always one, or be made others: this Galliot was always brought in for example of doubt. For some maintained, that it was still one vessell: others to the contrary defended it was not so. And they hold opinion also, that the feast of boughs which is celebrated at ATHENS at this time, was then first of all instituted by *Theseus*. It is said moreover, that he did not carry all the wenches upon whom the Lots did fall, but chose two fair young boyes, whose faces were sweet and delicate as maidens be, that otherwise were hardy and quick-spirited: but he made them so oft bathe themselves in hot bathes, and keep them from the heat of the Sunne, and so many times to wash, annoint, and rub themselves with Oyls, which serve to supple and smooth their skins, to keep fresh and fair their colour, to make yellow and bright their hairs: and withall did teach them so to counterfet the speech, countenance and fashion of young maids, that they seemed to be like them, rather than young boyes: For there was no manner of difference to be perceived outwardly, and he mingled them with the gyrls, without the knowledge of any man. Afterwards when he was returned, he made a procession, in which both he and the other young boyes were apparelled then, as they be now which carry boughs on the day of the feast in their hands. They carry them in the honour of *Bacchus* and *Ariadne*, following the fable that is told of them: or rather because they returned home just at the time and season, when they gather the fruit of those trees. There are women which they call *Deiphophores*, that is to say, supper-carriers, which are assistants to the Sacrifice done that day, in representing the Mothers of those upon whom the Lots did fall, because they in like sort brought them both meat and drink. There they tell tales, for so did their Mothers tattle to their children to comfort and encourage them. All these particularities were written by *Demon* the Historiographer. There was moreover a place chosen out to build him a Temple in: and he himself ordained, that those houses which had paid tribute before unto the King of Creta, should now yearly thenceforth become contributors towards the charges of a solemn Sacrifice, which should be done in the honour of him: and he did assign the order and administration of the same, unto the house of the *Phyalides*, in recompence of the curtesie which they shewed him when he arrived. Furthermore after the death of his Father *Aegleus*, he undertook a marvellous great enterprise: for he brought all the inhabitants of the whole Province of ATTICA, to be within the City of ATHENS, and made them all one Corporation, which were before dispersed into divers Villages, and by reason thereof were very hard to be assembled together, when occasion was offered to establish any Order concerning the common State. Many times also they were at variance together and by the ears, making warres one upon another. But *Theseus* took the pains to go from village to village, and from family to family, to let them understand the reasons why they should consent unto it. So he found the poor people and private men ready to obey and follow his will, but the rich, and such as had authority in every village, all against it. Nevertheless he won them, promising that it should be a Commonwealth, and not subject to the power of any sole Prince, but rather a popular State. In which he would only reserve to himself the charge of the Warres, and the preservation of the Laws: for the rest, he was content that every Citizen in all, and for all should bear a like sway and authority. So there were some that willingly granted thereto. Other who had no liking thereof, yielded notwithstanding for fear of his displeasure and power; which then was very great. So they thought it better to consent with good will, unto that he required, then to tarry his forcible compulsion. Then he caused all the places where Justice was ministred, and all their Halls of assembly to be overthrown and pulled down: He removed straight all

The Feast of *Osseophoria*.

October called *Pyranxion*, in the Attican tongue. Herald of *Iresione* in the life of *Humea* and *Suidas*.

Theseus went into Creta with the Tribute-Children, in a Galliot of thirty oars. Disputation about increase. The Galliot alledged for a doubt.

Theseus thankful to the *Phyalides*, who were the first that feasted him in their houses.

Theseus brought the inhabitants of the countrey of Attica into one city.

After the Town-house of the Athenians. The Feast Panathenaea and Metacia. Theseus refuged his Kingdom, and maketh Athens a Commonwealth. The Oracle of Apollo at Delphes.

all Judges and Officers, and built a Town-house, and a Counsell-hall, in the place where the City now standeth, which the ATHENIANS call ASTY; but he called the whole Corporation of them, ATHENS. Afterwards he instituted the great Feast and common Sacrifice for all the Countrey of ATTICA, which they call Panathenaea. Then he ordained another Feast also upon the sixteenth day of the moneth of June, for all strangers which should come to dwell in ATHENS, which was called Metacia, and is kept even to this day. That done, he gave over his Regall power according to his promise, and began to set up an Estate or policy of a Commonwealth, beginning first with the service of the gods. To know the good successe of his enterprife, he sent at the very beginning to the Oracle of Apollo in DELPHES, to enquire of the fortune of this City: from whence this Answer was brought unto him:

*O thou which art the Sonne of Aegæus,
Begot by him on Pithæus Daughter dear:
The mighty Jove, my Father glorious,
By his decree hath said there shall appear
A fat all end of every City here.
Which end he will shall also come adown,
Within the Walls of this thy stately Town.
Therefore shew thou, a valiant constant minde,
And let no care, nor eare thy heart displease:
For like unto a bladder blown with Winde
Thou shalt be tost, upon the surging Seas,
Yet let not dunt of dolours thee displease.
For why? thou shalt, not perishe nor decay,
Nor be overcome, nor yet be cast away.*

It is found written also, that Sibylla afterwards gave out such a like Oracle over the City of ATHENS:

*The bladder blown may fleet upon the fludde,
But cannot sink, nor stick in filthy mudd.*

Moreover, because he would further yet augment his people, and enlarge his City, he enticed many to come and dwell there, by offering them the self same freedom and priviledges which the naturall born Citizens had. So that many judge, that these words which are in use at this day in ATHENS, when any open Proclamation is made, *All people, come ye hither*: be the self same which Theseus then caused to be proclaimed, when he in that sort did gather a people together of all Nations. Yet for aught that, he suffered not the great multitude that came thither tagge and ragge, to be without distinction of degrees and orders. For he first divided the Noblemen from Husbandmen and Artificers, appointing the Noblemen as Judges and Magistrates to judge upon matters of Religion, and touching the service of the gods: and of them also he did chuse Rulers, to bear civill Office in the Commonwealth, to determine the Law, and to tell all holy and divine things. By this means he made the Noblemen and the two other estates equall in voice. And as the Noblemen did passe the other in honour, even so the Artificers exceeded them in number, and the Husbandmen them in profit. Now that Theseus was the first who of all others yielded to have a Commonwealth or popular Estate (as Aristotle saith) and did give over his Regall power: Homer himself seemeth to testify it, in numbering the Ships which were in the GRÆCIANS Army before the City of TROIA. For amongst all the GRÆCIANS, he onely calleth the ATHENIANS People. Moreover Theseus coyned Money, which he marked with the stamp of an Oxe, in memory of the Bull of Mrrathon, or of Taurus the Captain of Minos, or else to provoke his Citizens to give themselves to labour. They say also that of this Money they were since called Hecatombion, and Decabion, which signifieth worth an hundred Oxen, and worth ten Oxen. Furthermore having joynd all the territory of the City of MEGARA unto the country of ATTICA, he caused that notable four-square Pillar to be set up for their confines within the strait of PELOPONNESUS; and engraved thereupon this superscription, that declareth the separation of both the countries which confine there together. The superscription is this:

*Where Titan doth begin, his beams for to display,
Even that way stands Ionia, in fertile wife alway:
And where again he goeth, adown to take his rest,
There stands Peloponnesus land, for there I count it West.*

It was he also which made the Games called Isthmia, after the imitation of Hercules, to the end that as the GRÆCIANS did celebrate the Feast of Games called Olympia, in the honour of Jupiter, by Hercules ordinance: so, that they should also celebrate the Games called Isthmia, by his order and institution, in the honour of Neptune. For those that were done in the Straights in the honour of Melicerta, were done in the night, and had rather form of Sacrifice or of a mytery, then of Games and open Feast. Yet some will say, that these Games of Isthmia were instituted in the honour and memory of Sciron, and that Theseus ordained them in satisfaction of his death; because he was his Cousin-germain, being the Sonne of Canethus, and of Heniocha the Daughter of Pithæus. Other say that it was Sinis and not Sciron, and that for him Theseus made these Games, and not for the memory of the other. Howsoever it was, he specially willed the CORINTHIANS, that they should give unto those that came from ATHENS to see their Games of Isthmia, so much place to sit down before them (in the most honourable part of the feast place) as the saile of their ship should cover, in the

Olympia.

Theseus erected the Games Isthmia, in the honour of Neptune.

the which they came from ATHENS: thus do Hellanicus and Androm. Halicarnassensis write hereof. Touching the voyage he made by the sea Maior, Philochorus, and some others hold opinion; that he went thither with Hercules against the AMAZONES: and that to honour his valiantnesse, Hercules gave him Antiopa the AMAZONE. But the more part of the other Historiographers, namely Hellanicus, Pherecides, and Herodotus, do write, that Theseus went thither alone, after Hercules voyage, and that he took this AMAZONE prisoner; which is likeliest to be true. For we do not finde that any other who went this journey with him, had taken any AMAZONE prisoner besides himself. Bion also the Historiographer, notwithstanding this faith, that he brought her away by deceit and stealth. For the AMAZONES (saith one) naturally loving men, did not flee at all when they saw them land in their countrey, but sent them presents, and that Theseus enticed her to come into his Ship, who brought him a present: and so soon as she was aboard, he hoysed his sayl, and so carried her away. Another Historiographer Menecrates, who wrote the History of the City NICEA in the country of BYTHINIA, saith: That Theseus having this AMAZONE Antiopa with him, remained a certain time upon those coasts, and that amongst other he had in his company three younger brethren of ATHENS, Ennimus, Thous, and Solois. This last, Solois, was marvellously in love with Antiopa, and never bewrayed it to any of his other companions, saving unto one with whom he was most familiar, and whom he trusted best: so that he reported this matter unto Antiopa. But the utterly rejected his suit, though otherwise he handled it wisely and courteously, and did not complain to Theseus of him. Howbeit the young man despairing to enjoy his love, took it so inwardly, that desperately he leapt into the River, and drowned himself. Which when Theseus understood, and the cause also that brought him to this desparation and end, he was very fory, and angry also. Whereupon he remembered a certain Oracle of Pythia, by whom he was commanded to build a City in that place in a strange countrey, where he should be most fory, and that he should leave some that were about him at that time, to govern the same. For this cause therefore he built a City in that place, which he named PYTHOPOLIS, because he built it onely by the commandment of the Nunne Pythia. He called the River in the which the young man was drowned, Solois, in memory of him: and left his two Brethren for his Deputies and as Governours of this new City, with another Gentleman of ATHENS, called Hermus. Hereof it cometh, that at this day the PYTHOPOLITANS call a certain place of their City, Hermus house. But they faile in the accent, by putting it upon the last syllable: for in pronouncing it so, Hermus signifieth Mercury. By this means they do transerre the honour due to the memory of Hermus, unto the god Mercury. Now hear what was the occasion of the warres of the AMAZONES, which me thinks was not a matter of small moment, nor an enterprife of a woman. For they had not placed their Camp within the very City of ATHENS, nor had not fought in the very place it self (called PNYCE) adjoining to the Temple of the Muses, if they had not first conquered or subdued all the countrey thereabouts: neither had they all come at the first, so valiantly to assaile the City of ATHENS. Now whether they came by land from so farre a countrey, or that they passed over an arme of the sea, which is called Bosphorus Cimmericus, being frozen as Hellanicus saith, it is hardly to be credited. But that they camped within the precinct of the very City it self, the names of the places which continue yet to this present day do witness it, and the graves also of the women which died there. But so it is, that both Armies lay a great time one in the face of the other, ere they came to battell. Howbeit at the length Theseus having first made Sacrifice unto Feare the goddess, according to the counsell of a Prophecy he had received, he gave them battell in the moneth of August, on the same day, in the which the ATHENIANS do even at this present day solemnise the Feast, which they call Boedromia. But Clidemus the Historiographer, defining particularly to write all the circumstances of this encounter, saith; that the left point of their battell bent towards the place which they call AMAZONION: and that the right point marched by the side of CHRYSA, even to the place which is called PNYCE, upon which the ATHENIANS coming towards the Temple of the Muses, did first give their charge. And for proof that this is true, the graves of the women which died in the first encounter, are found yet in the great street, which goeth towards the gate Piræica, near unto the Chappell of the little god Chalcodus, And the ATHENIANS (saith he) were in this place repulld by the AMAZONES, even to the place where the Images of Eumenides are; that is to say, of the Furies. But on the other side also, the ATHENIANS coming towards the quarters of Palladium, Ardetus, and Lucium, drave back their right point even to within their Camp, and slew a great number of them. Afterwards, at the end of four moneths, peace was taken between them by means of one of the women called Hyppolita. For this Historiographer calleth the AMAZONE which Theseus married, Hyppolita, and not Antiopa. Nevertheless, some say that she was slain (fighting on Theseus side) with a dart, by another called Molpadia. In memory whereof the Pillar which is joynd to the Temple of the Olympian ground, was set up in her honour. We are not to marvell, if the history of things so ancient, be found so diversly written. For there are also that write, that Queen Antiopa, sent those secretly which were hurt then into the City of CALCIDE, where some of them recovered, and were healed: and others also died; which were buried neare to the place called AMAZONION. Howsoever it was, it is most certain that this warre was ended by agreement: For a place adjoining to the Temple of Theseus, doth bear record of it, being called Orcomisum: because the peace was there by solemne oath concluded. And the Sacrifice also doth truly verifie it, which they have made to the AMAZONES, before the Feast of Theseus, long time out of minde. They of MEGARA also do shew a Tombe of the AMAZONES in their City, which is as they go from the market place; to the place they call Rhus; where they finde an ancient Tombe;

Theseus journey into Maremajor.

Antiopa the Amazone ravished by Theseus.

Solois fell in love with Antiopa.

Solois drowned himself for love.

Solois ff.

Pythopolis built by Theseus.

The cause of the warres of the Amazones against the Athenians.

Bosphorus Cimmericus an arm of the sea.

Theseus fighteth a battell with the Amazones. The order of the Amazones battell.

Peace concluded at four moneths end, by the means of Hyppolita.

Orcomisum the name of a place.

Ancient
Tombs of
loisenge fa-
shion.
Thermodon now
called Hemon fi.

Hippolitus The-
seus Sonne by
Antiope.
Phadra The-
seus Wife and
Chinos Daugh-
ter King of
Crete.
Thefeus mar-
riages.

Thefeus battels.

Proverbe, Not
without The-
seus.

Proverbe, This
is another The-
seus.

Thefeus valiant-
nesse the cause
of Pirithous
friendship with
him.

Pirithous and
Thefeus sworn
brethren in the
field.
Pirithous mar-
ried Deidamia.
The Lapiths
overcome the
Centauri.
Thefeus and
Hercules met at
Trachina.

Tombe, cut in forme and fashion of a losenge. They say that there died other of the AMAZONES also, neare unto the City of CHÆRONEA, which were buried all along the little brook passing by the same, which in the old time (in mine opinion) was called *Thermodon*, and is now named *Hemon*, as we have elsewhere written in the Life of *Demosthenes*. And it seemeth also, that they did not passe through THESSALY without fighting: for there are seen yet of their Tombs all about the City of SCOTUSA, hard by the rocks which he called the Doggs-head. And this is that which is worthy memory (in mine opinion) touching the warres of these AMAZONES. How the Poet telleth, that the AMAZONES made warres with *Thefeus* to revenge the injury he did to their Queen *Antiope*, refusing her, to marry with *Phadra*: and for the murder which he telleth that *Hercules* did, that me thinks is altogether but a device of Poets. It is very true, that after the death of *Antiope*, *Thefeus* married *Phadra*, having had before of *Antiope* a Sonne called *Hippolitus*, or as the Poet *Pindarus* writeth, *Demophon*. And for that the Historiographers do not in any thing speak against the tragically Poets, in that which concerneth the ill happe that chanced to him, in the persons of this his Wife, and of his Sonne: we must needs take it to be so, as we finde it written in the Tragedies. And yet we finde many other reports touching the marriages of *Thefeus*, whose beginnings had no great good honest ground, neither fell out their ends very fortunate: and yet for all that they make no Tragedies of them, neither have they been played in the Theaters. For we reade that he took away *Auxo*, the TROEZENIAN, and that after he had killed *Sinnis* and *Cercyon*, he took their Daughters perforce: and that he did also marry *Pherebea* the Mother of *Ajax*, and afterwards *Pherebea*, and *Joppa* the Daughter of *Iphicles*. And they blame him much also, for that he so lightly forsook his Wife *Ariadne*, for the love of *Egle* the Daughter of *Panopeus*, as we have recited before. Lastly, he tooke away *Hellen*: which ravishment filled all the Realme of ATTICA with warres, and finally was the very occasion that forced him to forsake his country, and brought him at length to his end, as we will tell you hereafter. Albeit in his time other Princes of GRECE had done many goodly and notable exploits in the warres, yet *Herodorus* is of opinion, that *Thefeus* was never in any one of them: saving that he was at the battell of the *Lapiths* against the *Centauri*. Others say to the contrary, that he was at the journey of *Calchide* with *Jason*, and that he did help *Melaeager* to kill the wild Bore of *Calydonia*: from whence (as they say) this Proverbe came: *Not without Thefeus*: meaning that such a thing was not done without great helpe of another. Howbeit it is certain that *Thefeus* selfe did many famous acts, without aide of any man, and that for his valiantnesse this Proverbe came in use, which is spoken: *This is another Thefeus*. Also he did helpe *Adrastus* King of the ARGIVES, to recover the bodies of those that were slaine in the battell, before the City of THEBES. Howbeit it was not, as the Poet *Euripides* saith, by force of armes, after he had overcome the THEBANS in battell; but it was by composition: And thus the greatest number of the most ancient writers do declare it. Furthermore, *Philochorus* writeth, that this was the first treaty that ever was made to recover the dead bodies slain in battell: Neverthelesse we reade in the histories and gifts of *Hercules*, that he was the first that ever suffered his enemies to carry away their dead bodies, after they had been put to the sword. But whosoever he was, at this day in the village of ELEUTHERES, they do shew the place where the people were buried, and where Princes Tombs are seen about the City of ELEUSIN, which he made at the request of *Adrastus*. And for testimony hereof, the Tragedy *Æschylus* made of the ELEUSINIANS, where he causeth it to be spoken even thus to *Thefeus* himselfe, doth clearly overthrow the petitioners in *Euripides*. Touching the friendship betwixt *Pirithous* and him, it is said it began thus: The renowne of his valiancy was marvellously blown abroad through all GRECE, and *Pirithous* desirous to know it by experience, went even of purpose to invade his country, and brought away a certain booty of Oxen of his taken out of the country of MARATHON. *Thefeus* being advertised thereof, armed straight, and went to the rescue. *Pirithous* hearing of his coming, fled not at all, but returned back suddenly to meet him. And so soon as they came to see one another, they both wondred at each others beauty and courage, and so had they no desire to fight. But *Pirithous* reaching out his hand first to *Thefeus*, said unto him; I make your selfe judge of the damage you have sustained by my invasion, and with all my heart I will make such satisfaction, as it shall please you to asseffe it at. *Thefeus* then did not only release him of all the damages he had done, but also requested him he would become his friend, and brother in armes. Hereupon they were presently sworn brethren in the field: after which oath betwixt them, *Pirithous* married *Deidamia*, and sent to pray *Thefeus* to come to his marriage, to visit his country, and to make merry with the *Lapiths*. He had bidden also the *Centauri* to the feast: who being drunk, committed many lewd parts, even to the forcing of women. Howbeit the *Lapiths* chastised them so well, that they slew some of them presently in the place, and drave the rest forwards out of the country by the help of *Thefeus*, who armed himselfe, and fought on their side. Yet *Herodorus* writeth the matter somewhat contrary, saying, that *Thefeus* went not at all untill the warre was well begun: and that it was the first time that he saw *Hercules*, and spake unto him neare unto the City of TRACHINA, when he was then quiet, having ended all his farre voyages and greatest troubles. They report that this meeting together was full of great cheere, much kindnesse, and honourable entertainment betwene them, and great curtesie was offered to each other. Neverthelesse me thinks we should give better credit to those writers that say they met many times together, and that *Hercules* was accepted and received into the brotherhood of the myteries of ELEUSIN, by the means of the countenance and favour which *Thefeus* shewed unto him: and that his purification also was thereby allowed of, who was to be purged of necessity of all his ill deeds and cruelties, before he could enter into the

the company of those holy myteries. Furthermore, *Thefeus* was fifty yeares old when he took away *Hellen* and ravished her, which was very young, and not of age to be married, as *Hellanicus* saith. By reason whereof, some seeking to hide the ravishment of her as a haynous fact, do report it was not he, but one *Idas* and *Lyncus* that carried her away, who left her in his custody and keeping: and that *Thefeus* would have kept her from them, and would not have delivered her to her Brethren *Castor* and *Pollux*, which afterwards did demand her againe of him. Others againe say, it was her owne Father *Tyndarus*, who gave her to keep, for that he was afraid of *Enarphoborus* the Sonne of *Hippocoon*, who would have had her away by force. But that which cometh nearest to the troth in this case, and which indeed by many Authours is testified, was in this sort. *Thefeus* and *Perithous* went together to the City of LACEDÆMON, where they took away *Hellen* (being yet very young) even as she was dancing in the Temple of *Diana*, surnamed *Oribia*: and they fled for life. They of LACEDÆMON sent after her, but those that followed went no further then the City of TEGEA. Now when they were escaped out of the Countrey of PELOPONNESUS, they agreed to draw Lots together, which of them two should have her, with condition that whose Lot it was to have her, he should take her to his Wife, and should be bound also to helpe his Companion to get him another. It was *Thefeus* hap to light upon her, who carried her to the City of APHIDNES, because she was yet too young to be married. Whither he caused his Mother to come to bring her up, and gave his Friend called *Aphidnes* the charge of them both, recommending her to his good care, and to keep it so secretly, that no body should know what was become of her. Because he would do the like for *Perithous* (according to the agreement made betwixt them) he went into EPIRUS with him to steale the Daughter of *Aidonius*, King of the MOLOSSIANS, who had surnamed his Wife *Proserpina*, his Daughter *Proserpina*, and his Dogge *Cerberus*, with whom he made them fight which came to aske his Daughter in marriage, promising to give her to him that should overcome his *Cerberus*. But the King understanding that *Perithous* was come, not to request his Daughter in marriage, but to steale her away, he tooke him Prisoner with *Thefeus*: and as for *Perithous*, he caused him presently to be torne in pieces with his Dogge, and shut *Thefeus* up in close prison. In the mean time there was one at ATHENS called *Menestheus*, the Sonne of *Petus*: which *Petus* was the Sonne of *Orneus*, and *Orneus* was the Sonne of *Erichonius*. This *Menestheus* was the first that began to flatter the people, and did seeke to win the favour of the commonalty, by sweet enticing words: by which device he stirred up the chieft of the City against *Thefeus* (who indeed long before began to be weary of him) by declaring unto them how *Thefeus* had taken from them their Royalties and Signiories, and had shut them up in such sort within the walls of a City, that he might the better keep them in subjection and obedience in all things, after his will. The poore inferiour sort of people he did stirre up also to Rebellion, perswading them that it was no other then a dreame of Liberty that was promised them: and how contrariwise they were clearly dispossessed and thrown out of their owne houses, of their Temples, and from their naturall places where they were borne, to the end onely that of many good and loving Lords which they were wont to have before, they should now be compelled to serve one onely head, and a strange Lord. Even as *Menestheus* was very hot about this practise, the Warre of the *Tyndarides* fell out at that instant, which greatly furthered his pretence. For these *Tyndarides* (to wit the Children of *Tyndarus*) *Castor* and *Pollux*, came down with a great Army against the City of ATHENS: and some suspect sore that *Menestheus* was cause of their coming thither. Howbeit at the first entry they did no hurt at all in the country, but only demanded restitution of their Sister. To whom the Citizens made answer, that they knew not where she was left: and then the Brethren began to make spoile, and offer warre indeed. Howbeit there was one called *Academos*, who having knowledge (I cannot tell by what meane) that she was secretly hidden in the City of APHIDNES, revealed it unto them. By reason whereof the *Tyndarides* did alwayes honour him very much, so long as he lived, and afterwards the LACEDÆMONIANS, having oft burnt and destroyed the whole country of ATTICA throughout, they would yet never touch the *Academie* of ATHENS for *Academos* sake. Yet *Dicæarchus* saith, that in the Army of the *Tyndarides* there were two ARCADIANS, *Echedemus* and *Marathus*, and how of the Name of one of them, it was then called the place of *Echedemus*, which sithence hath been called *Academia*: and after the Name of the other, there was a Village called MARATHON, because he willingly offered himselfe to be sacrificed before the battell as obeying the order and commandement of a Prophecie. So they went and pitched their Camp before the City of APHIDNES, and having won the battell and taken the City by assault, they razed the place. They say that *Alycus*, the Sonne of *Sciron* was slain in this field, who was in the Hoast of the *Tyndarides*, and that after his Name, a certaine quarter of the Territory of MEGARA, was called *Alycus*, in the which his body was buried. Howbeit *Hecæus* writeth, that *Thefeus* selfe did kill him before APHIDNES: In witnesse whereof he alledgeth certaine verses which speake of *Alycus*.

While as he sought with all his might and maine
In thy defence faire Hellen for to fight,
In Aphidnes upon the pleasant plaine,
Bold Thefeus to cruell death him dight.

Howbeit it is not likely to be true, that *Thefeus* being there, the City of APHIDNES, and his Mother also were taken. But when it was wonne, they of ATHENS began to quake for feare, and *Menestheus* counselled them to receive the *Tyndarides* into the City, and to make them good cheer, so they would make no warres but upon *Thefeus*, which was the first that had done the wrong and injury: and that to all other else they should shew favour and good will. And so it fell out. For

Thefeus fifty
yeares old when
he ravished He-
len.

The maner
of Hellen ra-
vishment.
Diana Oribia.

Thefeus left He-
len in the City
of Aphidnes.
Thefeus went
with *Perithous*
into Epirus to
steale *Proser-
pina* *Aidonius*
daughter.
Perithous torn
in pieces with
Cerberus.
Thefeus close
prisoner.

The war of
the *Tyndarides*
with the *Athe-
nians*.

Academia why
so called.
Marathon *A-
phianes* won
and razed by
the *Tyndarides*.
Alycus *Sciron*
sonne slaine
at the battell
of *Aphidnes*.

The *Tyndarides* honoured as gods, and called *Anaces*. *Cic. de Nat. Deor. lib. 3.* Kings called *Anactes*. *Anaces* why so called. *Eithra* taken prisoner and carried to *Lacedæmon*. Divers opinions of *Homers* verses.

when the *Tyndarides* had all in their power to doe as they list'd, they demanded nothing else but that they might be received into their Corporation, and not to be reckoned for strangers, no more then *Hercules* was : the which was granted the *Tyndarides*, and *Aphidnus* did adopt them for his Children, as *Pylus* had adopted *Hercules*. Moreover they did honour them as if they had been gods, calling them *Anaces*. Either because they ceased the warres, or for that they ordered themselves so well, that their whole Army being lodged within the City, there was not any hurt or displeasure done to any person : but as it became those that have the charge of any thing, they did carefully watch to preserve the good quiet thereof. All which this Greeke word *Anacos* doth signifie, whereof perchance it comes that they call the Kings *Anacles*. There are others also who hold opinion that they were called *Anaces*, because of their Starres which appeared in the aire. For the ATTICAN tongue saith, *Anacos*, and *Anecathen*, where the common people say *Ano*, and *Anethen*, that is to say, above. Neverthelessse *Atyra Thebes* Mother, was carried prisoner to LACEDEMON, and from thence to TROIA with *Hellen*, as some say : and as *Homer* himselfe doth witness in his verses, where he speaketh of the Women that followed *Hellen* :

*Æthra the Daughter deare of Pitheus aged Sire,
And with her faire Clymene she, whose eyes most men desire.*

Yet there are other who as well reject these two verses, and maintain they are not *Homers*: as also they reprove all that is reported of *Munychus*: to wit, that *Laicide* being privily conceived of him by *Demophon*, he was brought up secretly by *Athra* within *TROI A*. But *Heister* the Historian in his thirtieth of his Histories of *ATTICA*, maketh a recital far contrary to other, saying that some hold opinion, that *Paris Alexander* was slain in battell by *Achilles* and *Fatrocus* in the Countrey of *THESSALY*, neare to the River of *Sperchius*, and that his Brother *Hektor* tooke the City of *TROEZE*, from whence he brought away *Athra*: in which there is no manner of appearance or likelihood. But *Adonius* King of the *MOLOSSIANS*, seating *Hercules* one day as he passed through his Realme, defended by chance into talk of *Thesens* and *Periboms*, how they came to steale away his Daughter secretly: and after told how they were also punished. *Hercules* was marvellously sorry to understand that one of them was now dead, and the other in danger to die; and thought with himself that to make his mone to *Adonius*, it would not helpe the matter: he befought him only that he would deliver *Thesens* for his sake. And he granted him. Thus *Thesens* being delivered of his captivity, returned to *ATHENS*, where his friends were not altogether kept under by his enemies: at and his return he did dedicate to *Hercules* all the Temples, which the City had before caused to be built in his owne honour. And where first of all they were called *Thesa*, he did now surname them all *Hercules*, excepting foure, as *Philoborus* writeth. Now when he was arrived at *ATHENS*, he would immediatly have commanded and ordered things as he was wont to do: but he found himself troubled much with sedition, because those who had hated him of a long time, had added also to their old cankred hate, a disdain and contempt to fear him any more. And the common people now were become so stubborne, that where before they would have done all that they were commanded, and have spoken nothing to the contrary; now they looked to be borne with and flattered. Whereupon *Thesens* thought at the first to have used force, but he was forced by the faction and contention of his enemies to let all alone; and in the end, despairing he should ever bring his matters to passe to his desire, he secretly sent away his Children unto the Isle of *EUBOE A*, to *Elphenor* the Sonne of *Chalcedur*. And himself after he had made many wishes and curses against the *ATHENIANS*, in the village of *GARGETTUS*, in a place which for that cause to this day is called *Araterion*, (that is to say, the place of cursings) he did take the seas, and went into the Isle of *SCIRO*, where he had Lands and Possessions, and thought also to have found Friends. *Lycomedes* reigned at that time, and was King of the Isle, unto whom *Thesens* made request for some Land, as intending to dwell there: albeit some say that he required him to give him aid against the *ATHENIANS*. *Lycomedes*, were it that he doubted to entertaine so great a Personage, or that he did it to gratifie *Menestheus*; carried him up to the high Rocks, feigning as though he would from thence have shewed him all his Countrey round about: but when he had him there, he threw him down headlong from the top of the Rocks to the bottom, and put him thus unfortunately to death. Yet other write, that he fell downe of himselfe by an unfortunate chance, walking one day after supper as he was wont. There was no man at that time that did follow or pursue his death, but *Menestheus* quietly remained King of *ATHENS*: and the Children of *Thesens*, as private Souldiers followed *Elphenor* in the Wars of *TROI A*. But after the death of *Menestheus*, who died in the journey to *TROY*, *Thesens* Sonnes returned unto *ATHENS*, where they recovered their State. Sithence there were many occasions which moved the *ATHENIANS* to reverence and honour him as a demy-god. For in the Battell of *Marathon*, many thought they saw his shadow and image in arms, fighting against the barbarous people. And after the warres of the *Medes* (the year wherein *Phedon* was Governour of *ATHENS*) the Nun *Pichiana* answered the *ATHENIANS*, who had sent to the Oracle of *Apollo*: that they should bring back the bones of *Thesens*, and putting them in some honourable place, they should preserve and honour them devoutly. But it was a hard matter to find his grave; and if they had found it, yet had it been a hard thing to have brought his bones away, for the malice of those barbarous people which inhabited that Isle: which were so wilde and fierce, that none could trade or live with them. Notwithstanding *Cimon* having taken the Island (as we have writen in his Life) and seeking his grave: perceiving by good hap an Eagle pecking with her beak, and scraping with her claws in a place of some pretty height: straight it came into his minde (as by divine inspiration) to search and dig the place, where was found the Tombe of a great body, with the head of a Speare which was of braffe, and a Sword with it. All which things were brought to *ATHENS* by *Cimon*.

Sperchius fl.
Thescus deli-
vered out of
prison by *Herc-*
ules means.

The *Athenians*
disdain to
obey *Theseus*,

Theseus fled
from Athens,
into the Isle of
Leiros.

Theseus cruelly
slain by *Lycomedes*.
Menestheus
King of *A-*
thens.
Theseus Scènes.

Simon taketh
the *Iſle of Sci-*
ros, and bring-
eth *Theſeus*
bones to *A-*
thens.

Cimon in the Admirall-gally. The *ATHENIANS* received them with great joy, with proceffions and goodly Sacrifices, as if *Theseus* himselfe had been alive, and had returned into the City againe. At this day all these relics lye yet in the midst of the City, neare to the place where the young men do use all their exercises of body. There is free liberty of access for all slaves and poore men (that are afflicted and pursued by any mightier then themselves) to pray and sacrifice in remembrance of *Theseus*: who while he lived was protector of the oppressed, and did courteously receive their requests and Petitions that prayed to have aide of him. The greatest and most solemne Sacrifice they do unto him, is on the eight day of *October*, in which he returned from *Creta* with the other young Children of *ATHENS*. Howbeit they do not leave to honour him every eighth day of all other month, either because he arrived from *Troezen* at *ATHENS* the eight day of *June*, as *Diodorus* the Cosmographer writeth: or for that they thought that number to be meetest for him, because the bruit ranne he was begotten of *Neptune*. They do sacrifice also to *Neptune* the eighth day of every month. because the number of eight is the first cube made of even number, and the double of the first square: which doth represent a steadfastnesse immoveable, properly attributed to the might of *Neptune*, whom for this cause we surname *Asphelinus*, and *Gaiochus*, which by interpretation doth signifie the safe keeper and the stay of the earth.

The end of THESEUS Life.

THE LIFE OF
R O M U L U S.



Ann. Mand.
3198.

Ant. Christ.
750.



THE Historiographers do not agree in their writings, by whom, nor for what cause the great Name of the City of ROME (the glory whereof is blowne abroad through all the world) was first given unto it. For some thinke that the Pelasgians, after they had overcome the greatest part of the world, and had inhabited and subdued many Nations, in the end did stay themselves in that place where it was new builded: and for their great strength and power in armes, they gave the Name of ROME unto the City, as signifying power in the Greeke tongue. Other say, that after the taking and destruction of TROIA, there were certaine TROIANS, which saving themselves from the sword, rooke such vessels as they found at adventure in the Haven; and were by windes put to the THUSCANE shore, where they anchored near unto the River of Tyber. There their Wives being so fore sea-sick, that possibly they could not any more endure the boisterous furies of the seas, it happened one of them among the rest (the Noblest and wisest of the company) called *Roma*, to counsell the other Women of her companions, to set their Ships afire; which they did accordingly. Wherewith their Husbands at the first were marvellously offended. But afterwards, being compelled of necessity to plant themselves near unto the City of PALLANTIUM, they were appeased when they saw things prosper better then they hoped for, finding the soyle there fertile, and the people their neighbours civil and gentle in entertaining them. Wherefore among other honours they did to requite this Lady *Roma*, they called their City after her Name, as from whom came the original cause of the building and foundation thereof. They say, that from thence came this custome continuing yet to this day at ROME, that the Women saluting their Kinsfolks and Husbands, do kiss

Divers opinions about the Name of Rome

1 Tybris.

1. The beginning of Killing their Kinsfolke on the mouth, came from the Trojan women.

Fables of Romulus birth.

An Oracle of Thetis in this case.

See the fragments of Fabius Pictor, and of Cato. See also Halli-car-nassicus, and T. Livius. Romulus Kin-dren.

Romulus Mother.

Faustulus.

Germanum.

Ruminalis.

them on the mouth; for so did these TROIAN Ladies to please their Husbands, and to win them again, after they had lost their favours, and procured their displeasures with burning of their Ships. Other say, that *Roma* was the Daughter of *Italus*, and of *Lucaria*, or else of *Telephus* the Sonne of *Hercules*, and Wife of *Aeneas*: other say, of *Ascanius* the Sonne of *Aeneas*, who named the City after her Name. Other hold opinion, that it was *Romanus* (the Sonne of *Ulysses* and of *Circe*) that first founded *ROME*: other will say that it was *Romus* the Sonne of *Emathion*, whom *Diomedes* sent thither from *TROIA*. Other write that it was one *Romis* a Tyrant of the *LATINS*, who drove the *THUSCANS* out of those parts: which departing out of *THESSALY*, went first of all into *LYDIA*, and afterwards from *LYDIA* into *ITALY*. And furthermore, they who think that *Romulus* (as indeed it carrieth best likelihood) was he that gave the Name to the City, do not agree about his ancestors. For some of them write, that he was the Sonne of *Aeneas*, and of *Dexithra* the Daughter of *Phorbus*, and that he was brought into *ITALY* of a little Child with his Brother *Remus*: and that at that time the River of *Tyber* being overflowne, all other Ships were cast away, saving the Ship in which the two little Boyes were, which by great good hap came to flay upon a very plaine even ground on the banke: and because the Children beyond all hope were saved by this meane, therefore the place was afterwards called *ROMA*. Other say, that *Roma* the Daughter of the first Troian Lady was married unto *Lavinus* the Sonne of *Telemachus*, by whom she had *Romulus*. Other write, that it was *Emilia* the Daughter of *Aeneas*, and of *Lavinia*, which was hogotten with child by the god *Mars*. Other tell a tale of *Romulus* birth, nothing true nor likely. For it is said that there was sometime a King of *ALBA* named *Tarchetius*, a very wicked and cruell man, in whose house through the permission of the gods, appeared such a like vision: that there rose up in the hearth of his chimney the forme and fashion of a mans privy-member, which continued there many daies. And they say, that at that time there was in *THUSCANE* an Oracle of *Thetis*, from whom they brought unto this wicked King *Tarchetius* such an answer; that he should cause his Daughter yet unmarried to have carnall company with the strange thing, for the should bear a Sonne, that should be famous for his valiancy, for strength of body, and his happy successe, wherein he should exceed all men of his time. *Tarchetius* told this Oracle unto one of his Daughters, and willed her to entertaine this strange thing; but she disdaining to do it, sent one of her wayting women to undertake the entertainment. But *Tarchetius* was so mad at this, that he caused them both to be taken to put them to death: howbeit the goddesse *Vesta* appeared to him in his sleep in the night, and charged him he should not doe it. Whereupon he did command them to make him a peece of Cloth in the prison, with promise that they should be married when they had finished it. These poore Maids toiled at it all the live long day, but in the night there came other (by *Tarchetius* commandment) that did undoe all they had done the day before. In the meane time, this waiting woman that was got with child by this strange thing, was delivered of two goodly boyes or twins: whom *Tarchetius* gave unto one *Teratius*, with expresse commandment he should cast them away. This *Teratius* carried them to the banke of the River: tither came a shee-Wolfe and gave them sucke, and certaine Birds that brought little crums and put them in their mouths: untill a Swineheard perceiving them, and wondering at the sight, did boldly go the Children, and took them away with him. These Infants being thus preserved, after they were come to mans state, did set upon *Tarchetius* and slew him. One *Promathian* an Italian writer, delivereth this story thus. But the report that carrieth best credill of all, and is allowed of by many writers, cometh from *Diclos Paphrethian*, (whom *Fabius Pictor* followeth in many things) who was the first that put forth this story among the *GRECIANS*, and especially the chieft points of it. Though this matter be somewhat diversly taken, yet in effect the story is thus. The right line and bloud of the Kings of *ALBA* descended from *Aeneas*, by succession from the Father to the Sonne: and the Kingdome fell in the end between two Brethren, *Numitor* and *Amulius*. They agreed by Lot to make division between them, whereof the one to have the Kingdome, and the other all the Gold, Silver, ready Money, Goods and Jewels brought from *TROIA*. *Numitor* by his Lot chose the Realme for his portion: *Amulius* having all the Gold and Treasure in his hands, did finde himselfe thereby the stronger, and so did easily take his Realme from him. And fearing lest his Brothers Daughter might have Childen which one day might thrust him out againe, he made her a Nunne of the goddesse *Vesta*, there to passe her dayes in virginity, and never to be married: (some call her *Rhea*, other *Sylvia*, and other *Ilia*) nevertheless not long after she was found with child, against the rule and profession of the Vestall Nunnes. So nothing had saved her from present death, but the Petition of *Antho* the Daughter of King *Amulius*, who intreated her Father for her life: yet notwithstanding she was straightly locked up, that no body could see her, nor speake with her, lest she should be brought to bed without *Amulius* knowledge. In the end she was delivered of two faire Boyes and marvellous great twins: which made *Amulius* more afraid then before. So he commanded one of his men to take the two Children, and to throw them away, and destroy them. Some say that this servants Name was *Faustulus*: other thinke it was he that brought them up. But whosoever he was, he that had the charge to throw them away, put them in a Trough, and went towards the River with intention to throw them in. Howbeit he found it risen so high, and running so swiftly, that he durst not come neare the waters side, and so they being in the Trough, he laid them on the banke. In the meane time the River swelling still, and overflowing the banke, in such sort that it came under the Trough, did gently lift up the Trough, and carried it unto a great plaine, called at this present *Germanum*, and in the old time *Germanium* (as I take it) because the *ROMANS* called the Brothers of Father and Mother, *Germani*. Now there was near unto this place a wild Fig-tree which they called *Ruminalis*, of the Name of *Romulus*, as the most part thought:

or

or else because the beasts feeding there, were wont to come under the same in the extreame heate of the day, and there did ruminate, that is, chew their cudde in the shadow: or perhaps because that the two Children did sucke the teate of the Wolfe, which the ancient *LATINS* call *RUMIA*, and they at this day do yet call the goddesse on whom they cry out to give their Children sucke, *RUMILIA*. And in their Sacrifices to her they use no wine, but offer up Milke and Water mingled with Honey. To these two Children lying there in this sort, they write, there came a shee-Wolfe, and gave them sucke, and a Hitwaw also which did helpe to nourish and keepe them: These two beasts are thought to be consecrated to the god *Mars*, and the *LATINS* doe singularly honour and reverence the Hitwaw. This did much helpe to give credit to the words of the Mother, who affirmed she was conceived of those two Children, by the god *Mars*. Howbeit some thinke she was deceived in her opinion: for *Amulius* that had her maidenhead, went to her all armed, and perforce did ravish her. Other hold opinion that the Name of the Nurse which gave the two Children sucke with her breasts, gave occasion to common report to erre much in this tale, by reason of the double signification thereof. For the *LATINS* do call with one self name shee-Wolves *Lupas*, and Women that give their bodies to all comers; as this Nurse the Wife of *Faustulus* (that brought these Children home to her house) did use to do. By her right Name she was called *Acca Laurentia*, unto whom the *ROMANS* do sacrifice yet unto this day: and the Priest of *Mars* doth offer unto her in the month of *April*, the shedding of Wine and Milke accustomed at burials, and the Feast it self is called *Laurentia*. It is true that they honour also another *Laurentia* for like occasion. The Clarke or Sexten of *Hercules* Temple, not knowing one day how to drive away the time, as it should seem, of a certain liveliness and boldnesse, did desire the god *Hercules* to play at Dice with him, with condition that if he did winne, *Hercules* should be bound to send him some good fortune: and if it were his lucke to lose, then he promised *Hercules* he would provide him a very good supper, and would besides bring him a faire Gentlewoman to lye withall. The conditions of the play thus rehearsed, the Sexten first cast the Dice for *Hercules*, and afterwards for himselfe. It fell out that *Hercules* wan, and the Sexten meaning good faith, and thinking it very meet to performe the bargain that himselfe had made, prepared a good supper, and hired this *Laurentia* the Curtisan, which was very fair, but as yet of no great fame to come to it. Thus having feasted within the Temple, and prepared a bed ready there, after supper he locked her into the Temple, as if *Hercules* should have come indeed and lye with her. And it is said for troth, that *Hercules* came thither, and commanded her in the morning she should go into the market-place, and salute the first man she met, and keepe him ever for her friend. Which thing she performed, and the first man she met was called *Tarrutius*, a man of great years, and one that had gathered together marvellous wealth and riches. He had no children at all, neither was he ever married. He fell acquainted with this *Laurentia*, and loved her so dearly, that shortly chancing to die, he made her heire of all he had: whereof the disposed afterwards by her last Will and Testament, the best and greatest part unto the people of *ROME*. Moreover it is reported also, that she now being grown to be famous and of great honour (as thought to be the Lemman of a god) did vanish away suddenly in the self same place where the first *Laurentia* was buried. The place at this day is called *Velabrum*; because the River being overflown, they were oftentimes compelled to passe by boat to go to the market place, and they called this manner of ferrying over, *Velatura*. Other say, that those Tumblers and common Players, which shewed fundry games and pastimes to win the favour of the people, were wont to cover that passage over with canvas clothes and veiles, by which they go from the market-place to the Lifts or shew-place where they run their Horses, beginning their race even at that place; and they call a veile in their tongue *Velum*. This is the cause why the second *Laurentia* is honoured at *ROME*. *Faustulus* chief Neatheard to *Amulius*, took up the two Children, and no body knew it, as some say; or as others report (the likeliest to be true) with the privacy and knowledge of *Numitor* *Amulius* Brother, who secretly furnished them with money that brought up the two young Children. It is said also they were both conveyed unto the City of the *GABIANS*, where they were brought up at schoole, and taught all other honest things, which they use to teach the Sonnes and Childen of good and Noble men. Further they say, they were Named *Remus* and *Romulus*, because they were found sucking on the teates of a Wolfe. Now the beauty of their bodies did presently shew, beholding onely but their stature and manner of their countenances, of what nature and linage they were: and as they grew in yeares, their manly courage encreased marvellously, so as they became stout and hardy men, inso much as they were never troubled or attonied at any danger that was offered them. Howbeit it appeared plainly that *Romulus* had more wit and understanding then his Brother *Remus*. For in all things wherein they were to deal with their neighbours, either concerning hunting, or the bounds and limits of their Pastures, it was easily discerned in him, that he was borne to command, and not to obey. For this cause they were both exceedingly beloved of their companions, and of those which were their inferiours. As for the Kings heardmen, they passed not much for them, saying that they were even like themselves, and so seemed not to care a pinne for their anger or displeasure, but wholly gave themselves to all gentlemanly exercises and trades, thinking to live idly and at ease without travell, was neither comely nor convenient: but to exercise and harden their bodies with hunting, running, pursuing murderers and thieves, and to helpe those which were oppressed with wrong and violence, should be credit and commendation to them: By reason whereof, in very short time they grew to great fame and renowne. And it fell out by chance there arose same strife and variance between the Heardmen of *Amulius*, and the Heardmen of *Numitor*: inso much as those that were *Numitors* carried

The goddesse Rumilia.

Acca Laurentia Faustulus Wife, that nurled the Twins. The Greeke saith Laurentia.

Laurentia Feast Laurentia a Curtisan.

Tarrutius.

Velabrum, whereof Livius Decad. 3. lib. 7.

Romulus and Remus education.

Romulus a god-ly man.

Remus taken of Numitors hearldmen.

Gods Providence.

Remus Oration, declaring the birth of himself and his Brother Romulus.

Numitors wife.

Fausulus care to save Remus.

Amulius perplexed in his minde.

carried away by force some Cattell of the others. The other side would not beare that, but pursued fast after, and beating them well-favouredly, they made them take their legs, and brought back again the greatest part of the Cattell they had carried away with them. Whereat *Numitor* stormed marvellously, but yet his men seemed to make but little account of it, and purposing revenge, they gathered about them a good company of vagabonds (that had neither home nor resting place) and certain fugitive bondmen which they enticed ill-favouredly, encouraging them to steale away from their Masters. Thus one day whilest *Romulus* was busie about some Sacrifice (being a devout man and religious, and well given to serve the gods, and to learne to divine and tell beforehand what things should happen and come to passe) it happened the Hearldmen of *Numitor* to meete *Remus* very slenderly accompanied; so they fell upon him suddenly: blowes were dealt roundly on both sides, and men were hurt on either part. Howbeit *Numitors* men in the end proved the stronger part, and tooke *Remus* by force, and carried him straight before *Numitor*, alledging many complaints and matters against him. *Numitor* durst not punish him of his own authority, because he feared his Brother *Amulius*, who was somewhat terrible: but went unto him, and earnestly besought him to do him justice, and not to suffer him being his own Brother, to receive such injury of his men. There was not a man in the City of *ALBA*, but did greatly mislike the injury done to *Numitor*: and spake it openly, that he was no person to be offered such a wrong. Inasmuch as *Amulius* moved herewith, did deliver *Remus* into his hands, to punish him as he thought good. Whereupon *Numitor* carried him home with him. But when he had him in his house, he began to consider better of him, with admiration how goodly a young man he was, how in height and strength of body he passed all the rest of his people, and perceiving in his face an assured constancy, and bold stedfast courage that yielded not, nor was abashed for any danger he saw towards him: and hearing also the report of his acts and manhood to be answerable to that he saw: (being chiefly moved in mine opinion, by some secret inspiration of the gods, which ordain the depth of great matters) began partly by conjecture, and partly by chance to take a conceit of him. So he asked him what he was, and who was his Father and Mother: speaking to him in a more gentle wise, and with a friendlier countenance then before, to make him the bolder to answer, and be of better hope. *Remus* boldly answered him; Truly I will not hide the truth from thee, for thou seemest to be more worthy to be King then thy Brother *Amulius*. For thou enquirest, and hearest first before thou condemnest; and he condemnest before he examine or hear the parties. Untill now we thought we had been the Children of two of the Kings servants, to wit of *Fausulus* and of *Laurentia*: I say we, because my Brother and I are two twins. But seeing we are now falsely accused unto thee, and by malicious furnished tales are wrongfully brought in danger of our lives: we intend to discover our selves, and to declare strange things unto thee, whereof the present perill we now stand in, shall plainly prove the truth. Men say that we have been begotten miraculously, fostered and given sucke more strangely, and in our tender years were fed by Birds and wild Beasts, to whom we were cast out as a prey. For a Wolfe gave us suck with her teats, and an Hitwaw (they say) brought us little crummes, and put them in our mouths, as we lay upon the banke by the River, where we were put in a Trough that at this day remaineth whole, bound about with plates of Copper, upon the which are some Letters engraven halfe worne out, which peradventure will one day serve for some tokens of knowledge (unprofitable for our Parents) when it shall be too late, and after we are dead and gone. *Numitor* then comparing these words, with the age the young man seemed to be of, and considering well his face, did not reject the hope of his imagination that smiled on him, but handled the matter so, that he found meanes to speake secretly with his Daughter, notwithstanding at that time she was kept very straightly. *Fausulus* in the meane time hearing that *Remus* was prisoner, and that the King had delivered him already into the hands of his Brother *Numitor* to do justice, went to pray *Romulus* to helpe him, and told him then whose Children they were: for before he had never opened it to them but in dark speeches, and glauncing wise, and so much as sufficed to put them in some hope. So *Fausulus* taking the Trough with him at that time, went unto *Numitor* in all haste, as marvellously afraid for the present danger, he thought *Remus* in. The Kings souldiers which warded at the gates of the City, began to gather some suspicion of *Fausulus* manner of coming: and he made himself to be the more suspected, being questioned with about the cause of his repair thither, that he faultred in his words; besides they espied his Trough which he carried under his cloak. Now amongst the Warders, there was by chance one that was the man to whom the Children were committed to be cast away, and was present when they were left on the banke of the river to the mercy of Fortune. This man knew the Trough by and by, as well by the fashion, as by the Letters graven upon it: who mistrusted straight that which was true indeed. So he did not neglect the thing, but went forthwith to the King to tell him the matter, and led *Fausulus* with him to have him confesse the truth. *Fausulus* being in this perplexity, could not keep all close upon examination, but did utter out somewhat of the matter, and he told not all. For he plainly justified the Children were alive: yet he said they were farre from the City of *ALBA*, where they kept beasts in the fields. And as for the Trough, he was going to carry it to *Ilia*, because she had divers times prayed him to let her see and feele it: to the end she might be the more assured of her hope, who promised her that one day she should see her Children againe. So it chanced unto *Amulius* at that time, as it commonly doth unto those that are troubled, and do any thing in fear or anger, as a man amazed thereat, to send one presently (who in all other things was a very honest man, but a great friend of his Brother *Numitors*) to ask him if he had heard any thing that his Daughters Children were alive. This person being come to *Numitors* house, found him ready to embrace *Remus*, who fell to be witnesse thereof,

thereof, and of the good hap discovered unto *Numitor*: whereupon he perswaded him how to set upon his Brother, and to dispatch the matter with speed. So from that time forward, he took their part: On the other side also the matter gave them no leisure to deferre their enterprife, although they had been willing: for the whole case was somewhat blowne abroad. So *Romulus* then got straight a power, and drew very near the City, and many of the Citizens of *ALBA* went out to joyne with him, who either feared or hated *Amulius*. Now *Romulus* power which he brought (over and beside those Citizens) was a good number of fighting men, and they were divided by hundreds, and every hundred had his Capitaine who marched before his Band, carrying little bundles of grasse or of boughs tied to the end of their poles. The *LATINES* call these bundles *Manipulos*, whereof it cometh that yet at this day in an Army of the *ROMANES*, the Souldiers which are all under one Ensigne, are called *Manipulares*. So *Remus* stirring up those that were within the City, and *Romulus* bringing in men from without, the Tyrant *Amulius* fell in such feare and agony, that without providing any thing for his safety, they came upon him suddenly in his Pallace, and slew him. Thus you heare how neare *Fabius Pictor* and *Diocles Peparethian* do agree in reciting the story, who was the first (in mine opinion) that wrote the foundation of the City of *ROME*: howbeit there are that think they are all but fables and tales devised of pleasure. But me thinks for all that, they are not altogether to be rejected or discredited, if we will consider Fortunes strange effects upon times, and of the greatnesse also of the *Romane* Empire: which had never achieved to her present possessed power and authority, if the gods had not from the beginning been workers of the same, and if there had not also been some strange cause, and wonderfull foundation, *Amulius* being now slain as before, and after that all things were appeased and reduced to good order again, *Remus* and *Romulus* would not dwell in the City of *ALBA*, being no Lords thereof, nor also would be Lords of it, so long as their Grandfather by the Mothers side was alive. Wherefore after they had restored him to his estate, and had done the honour and duty they ought unto their Mother, they purposed to go and build a City in those places where they had been first brought up, for this was the honestest colour they could pretend for their departing from *ALBA*. Peradventure they were enforced so to do whether they would or not, for the great number of banished men, and fugitive slaves which were gathered together by them for their strength, who had been utterly lost and cast away, if they had been once discharged by them. Therefore it was of necessity that they should dwell by themselves, separated in some place, to keep this number together and in some order. For it is true, that the inhabitants of the City of *ALBA* would not suffer such banished persons and runagates to be mingled amongst them, nor would receive them into their City to be free among them. All which appeareth sufficiently: first, because they took away Women by force: and so not of infolency, but of necessity, when they found no man that would bestow any of them. It is manifest also they did greatly honour and make much of the Women they had taken away before. Furthermore, when their City began a little to be settled, they made a Temple of refuge for all fugitives and afflicted persons, which they called the Temple of the god *Aplaus*: where there was sanctuary and safety for all sorts of people that repaired thither, and could get into the Temple: for whom it was alledged, they could not deliver any bondman to his Master, nor Debtor to his Creditor, nor the murderer to the Justice, that was fled thither for succour, because the Oracle of *Apollo* the *Delphian*, had expressly enjoined them to grant sanctuary to all those that would come thither for it. So by this meanes in short space their City flourished, and was replenished: where at the first foundation of it, they say there was not above One thousand Houses, as more at large hereafter shall be declared. When they came now to the building of their City, *Romulus* and *Remus* the two brethren fell suddenly at a strife together about the place where the City should be builded. For *Romulus* built *ROME*, which is called four-square, and would needs it should remaine in the place which he had chosen. *Remus* his Brother chose another place very strong of situation, upon Mount *Aventine*, which was called after his name *Remonium*, and now is called *Rignarium*. Notwithstanding in the end they agreed between themselves, this controversie should be decided by the flying of Birds, which do give a happy divination of things to come. So being set in divers places by themselves to make observation, some say that there appeared unto *Remus* six; and to *Romulus* twelve Vultures. Others say that *Remus* truly saw six, and *Romulus* feigned from the beginning that he saw twice as many: but when *Remus* came to him, then there appeared twelve indeed unto *Romulus*; and this is the cause why the *ROMANES* at this day in their divinations and soothsayings of the flying of Birds, do marvellously observe the flying of the Vultures. It is true which the Historiographer *Herodotus Ponticus* writeth; that *Hercules* joyced much when there appeared a Vultur to him, being ready to begin any enterprife. For it is the fowle of the world that doth least hurt, and never marreth nor destroyeth any thing that man doth sowe, plant or set, considering that the feedeth on carrion only, and doth never hurt nor kill any living thing. Also the doth not prey upon dead fowle, for the likenesse that is between them: where the Eagles, the Dukes and the Sakers, do murder, kill, and eate those which are of their own kinde. And yet as *Eschylus* saith;

Needs must that Fowle accounted be most vile,
Most ravening, and full of filthy minde,
Which doth himselfe continually defile,
By preying still upon his proper kinde.

Moreover, other Birds are alwayes (as a man would say) before our eyes, and do daily shew themselves unto us: where the Vultur is a very rare Bird, and hardly to be seen, and men do not easily finde their ayries. Which hath given some occasion to hold a false opinion; that the Vultures are passengers

Manipulares whereof so called.

Amulius slain.

The building of *Rome*.

Aplaus Temple a Sanctuary for all banished persons and fugitives.

Strife betwixt *Romulus* and *Remus*. *Remonium*. *Rignarium*.

The *Romanes* observe the flying of Vultures.

passengers, and come into these parts out of strange Countries. The Prognosticators also think, that such things which are not ordinary, and but seldom seen, be not natural, but miraculously sent by the gods to prognosticate something. When *Remus* knew how his brother had mocked him, he was very angry with him. And when *Romulus* had cast a ditch, as it were for the wall about his City, *Remus* did not only scorn it, but hindered also his worke, and in the end for a mockery leapt over his Wall. To conclude, he did so much, that at the last he was slain there by *Romulus* owne hands, as some say : or as other hold opinion, by one of his men, which was called *Celer*. In this Fight they slew *Faustulus*, and *Plisinius* also his brother, who had holpen him to bring up *Romulus*. Howsoever the matter fell out, this *Celer* absented himself from *Rome*, and went into the Country of *Thuscane*. And they say, that men which are quick and ready upon a sudden, took their names ever after of him, and were called *Celeres*. As amongst others, *Quintus Metellus* under the death of his Father, having in very few daies made the people of *Rome* to see a combat of Fencers (called *Gladiatores*) fighting at the sharp, they furnished him *Celer*, for that the *ROMANS* marvelled how he could prepare his things in so short a time. Furthermore, *Romulus* having now buried his Brother, and his other two bringers up (called foster fathers) in the place they call *Remonia*, began then to build and lay the foundation of his City, sending for men out of *Thuscane*, who did name and teach him particularly all the Ceremonies he had to observe there, according to their Laws and Ordinances, as a great holy Myserie. And first of all they made a round Ditch in the place called at this day Comitium, into which they did cast their chiefest and best things, which men use lawfully for good, and naturally as most necessary. After that they did throw also into it, a little of the Earth, from whence every man came, and mingled these all together. This Ditch in their Ceremonies is called the World, in Latine *Mundus*, even the self-same name the Latines call the *Universall*. About this Ditch they did trace the compasse of the City they would build, even as one would draw a circle about a center. This done, the Founder of the City taketh a Plough, to which he fasteneth a Culter or Plough-share of brass, and so yoked in the Plough an Oxe and a Cow, he himself holding the Plough, did make round about the compasse of the City a deep Furrow. Those which followed him, had the charge to throw the Turves of Earth inward into the City, which the Plough-share raised up, and not to leave any of them turned outward. The Furrow thus cast up was the whole compasse of their Wall, which they call in Latine *Pomarium*, by shortning of the Syllables, for *post murum*, to wit, after Wall. But in the place where they determined to make a Gate, they did take off the Plough-share, and draw the Plough, with leaving a certain place unbroken up : whereupon the *ROMANS* think all the compasse of their Walls holy and sacred, except their Gates. For if their Gates had beene hallowed and sanctified, they would have had a confidence through them to have brought in, or carried out of the City, any things necessary for the life of man, that had not been pure and clean. Now they believe certainly, that this Ceremony of the Foundation of their City was made the one and twenty of April : because the *ROMANS* do yet keep that day holy day, and call it the Feast of the Nativity of their Country. On which day they did not in old time sacrifice any thing that had life, as esteeming that day (which was the Nativity of their City) to be most meet to be kept clean and pure from being polluted or defiled with any blood. Notwithstanding before *Rome* was builded they had another Feast, called the Shepherds or Heards-mens Holy-day, which they did celebrate upon the same day, and called it *Palilia*. Now at this day the beginnings of the moneths with the *ROMANS* is clean contrary to the *GREGIANS* : yet for all this, they hold opinion for certainty, that the day on which *Romulus* founded his City, was assuredly that which the *GREGIANS* call *Triacada*, that is to say, the thirtieth day. On which there was seen an Eclipse of the Moone, which they suppose was observed by the Poet *Antimachus* (born in the City of *TEOS*) in the thirteenth year of the sixth *Olympiad*. Likewise in the time of *Marcus Varro* (a learned man, and one that had read as much of ancient Stories as any *ROMANE*) there was a friend of his called *Tarutius* a great Philosopher and Mathematician, who being given to the calculation of Astronomy for the delight of speculation onely, wherein he was thought most excellent : it did fall out that *Varro* gave him this question, to search out what houre and day the Nativity of *Romulus* was ; who gathered it out by certain accidents, as they do in the resolutions of certain Geometrical questions. For they say, that by the self-same Science, one may tell before of things to come, and to happen to a man in his life, knowing certainly the houre of his Nativity : and how one may tell also the houre of his Nativity, when by accidents they know what hath happened to him all his life. *Tarutius* did the question that *Varro* gave him. And having thoughtfully considered the adventures, deeds, and gifts of *Romulus*, how long he lived, and how he died : all which being gathered and conferred together, he did boldly judge for a certainty, that he was conceived in his mothers wombe, in the first year of the second *Olympiad*, the three and twentieth day of the moneth which the *EGYPTIANS* call *Cheac*, and now is called *December*, about three of the clocke in the morning, in which houre there was a whole Eclipse of the Sun : and that he was borne into the world, the 21 of the Moneth of *Thoth*, which is the Moneth of *September*, about the rising of the Sun. And that *Rome* was begun by him on the ninth day of the Moneth which the *EGYPTIANS* call *Pharmuthi*, and answereth now to the Moneth of *April*, betweene two and three of the clock in the morning. For they will say, that a city hath his revolution and his time of continuance appointed, as well as the life of a man : and that they knew by the situation of the Stars, the day of her beginning and foundation. These things and such other like, peradventure will please the Readers better, for their strangeness and curiosity, then offend or mislike them for their falshood. Now after that

Remus slain by *Romulus* or *Celer*.

Celeres ; wherefore so called. *Metellus Celer*.

Romulus layeth the foundation of *Rome*.

The World.

Pomarium why so called.

The Walls holy.

The Feast day of *Rome*'s foundation the 21 of April.

The Feast *Palilia*.

An eclipse of the Moone at the laying of the foundation of *Rome*.

Varro a Philosopher, *Tarutius* a Mathematician.

The houre of a mans nativity may be calculated by his accidents. *Romulus*'s nativity is calculated by *Tarutius*.

An eclipse of the Sun when *Romulus* was conceived in his mothers wombe.

that he had founded his City, he first and foremost did divide in two companies all those that were of age to carry Armour. In every one of these Companies there were three thousand Footmen, and three hundred Horsemen : and they were called Legions, because they were sorted of the chosen men that were pickt out amongst all the rest for to fight. The remaine after these was called *Populus*, which signifieth the people. After this, he made a hundred Counsellors of the best and honestest men of the City, which he called *Patricians* : and the whole company of them together he called *Senatus*, as one would say, the Councill of the Ancients. So they were called *Patricians*, as some will say, the Councill of the Fathers lawfull children, which few of the first Inhabitants could shew. It may be, some will say this name was given them of *Patrocinium*, as growing of the protection they had by the Sanctuary of their City, which word they use at this day in the self-same signification : as one that followed *Evander* into *Italy*, was called *Patron*, because he was pitifull, and relieved the poore and little children, and so got himself a name for his pity and humanity. But methinks it were more like the troth to say, that *Romulus* did call them so, because he thought the chiefest men should have a fatherly care of the meaner sort : considering also it was to teach the meaner sort, that they should not feare the authority of the greater, nor envie at the honours they had, but rather in all their causes should use their favour and good will, by taking them as their Fathers. For even at this present, strangers call those of the Senate, Lords or Captains : but the naturall *ROMANS* call them, *Patres Conscripti*, which is a name of Father-head and Dignity without envie. It is true, that at the beginning they were onely called *Patres*, but sithence, because they were many joyned unto the first, they have been named *Patres Conscripti*, as a man should say, Fathers of record together : which is the honourablest Name he could have devised to make a difference betwixt the Senators and the People. Furthermore, he made a difference between the chiefest Citizens, and the baser People, by calling the better sort *Patroni*, as much to say, as Defenders : and the meaner sort *Clients*, as you would say, Followers, or men protected. This did breed marvellous great love and good will among them, making the one much beholding to the other, by many mutual courtesies and pleasures : for the *Patrons* did help the *Clients* to their Right, defended their Causes in judgement, gave unto them counsell, and did take all their matters in hand. The *Clients* againe enterchangelably humbled themselves to their *Patrons*, not onely in outward honour and reverence towards them, but otherwise did help them with money to marry and advance their daughters, or else to pay their Debts and Credit, if they were poore or decayed. There was no Law nor Magistrate that could compell the *Patron* to be a Witnesse against his *Client* : nor yet the *Client* to witnesse against his *Patron*. So they increased and continued all other Rights and Offices of amity and friendship together, saving afterwards they thought it a great shame and reproach for the better and richer, to take reward of the meaner and poorer. And thus of this matter we have spoken sufficiently. Moreover, foure moneths after the foundation of the City was laid, *Fabius* writeth, there was a great ravishment of women. There are some which lay it upon *Romulus*, who being then of nature warlike, and given to Prophecies and Answers of the gods, foretold that his City should become very great and mighty, so as he raised it by Wars, and increased it by Arms : and he sought out this colour to do mischief, and to make War upon the *SABYNS*. To prove this true, some say he caused certain of their Maids by force to be taken away, but not past 30. in number, as one that rather sought cause of Wars, then did it for need of Marriages : which methinks was not likely to be true ; but rather I judge the contrary. For seeing his City was incontinently replenished with people of all sorts, whereof there were very few that had Wives, and that they were men gathered out of all Countries, and the most part of them poore and needy, so as their neighbors disdained them much, and did not look they would long dwell together : *Romulus* hoping by this violent taking of their Maids and ravishing them, to have an entry into alliance with the *SABYNS*, and to entice them further to joyne with them in Marriage, if they did gently intreat these Wives they had gotten, enterprised this violent taking of their Maids, and ravishing of them in such sort. First, he made it to be commonly bruted abroad in every place, that he had found the Altar of a god hidden in the ground, and he called the name of the god, *Consus* : either because he was god of Counsell ; whereupon the *ROMANS* at this day in their Tongue call *Consilium*, which we call Counsell : and the chief Magistrates of their City *Consules*, as we say Counsellors. Other say, it was the Altar of the god *Nephtune*, surnamed the Patron of Horses. For this Altar is yet at this day within the great Lits of the City, and ever covered and hidden, but when they use the running Games of their Horse-race. Other say, because Counsell ever must be kept close and secret, they had good reason to keepe that Altar of this god *Consus* hidden in the ground. Now other write, when it was opened, *Romulus* made a Sacrifice of wonderfull joy, and afterwards proclaimed it openly in divers places, that at such a day there should be common Playes at *Rome*, and a solemne Feast kept of the god *Consus*, where all that were disposed to come should be welcome. Great numbers of People repaired thither from all parts. He himself was set in the chiefest Seate of the Shew-place, apparelled faire in Purple, and accompanied with the chief of the City about him. And there having purposed this Ravishment you have heard of, he had given the signe before : that the same should begin, when he should rise up and fold a plaite of his Gowne, and unfold the same againe. Hereupon his men stood attending with their Swords : who so soone as they perceived the signe was given, with their Swords drawn in hand, and with great shouts and cries, ran violently on the Maids and Daughters of the *SABYNS* to take them away and ravish them ; and suffered the men to run away, without doing them any hurt or violence. So some say, there were but thirty ravished, after whose names were called the thirty

The Roman Legion 3000 Footmen, 300 Horsemen, *Romulus* instituted a Commonwealth. What the *Patricians* and Senate were.

Patres Conscripti.

Patroni, Clients.

The shame of the Romans to take gifts of poore men.

The ravishment of the *Sabyn* women.

Romulus craft about the ravishment of the *Sabyn*es Daughters. *Consus* a god. *Nephtune* the god of horsemen.

The execution of the Ravishment.

Lineages

The number of the Sabyne women ravished. *Herfilia*. *Romulus Wife*.

Romulus first Daughter called Prima. His Sonne was called *Asellus* *Abilius*.

The cause why the *Romans* do sing the Name of *Talassia* in marriages.

Talassia.

Matrimoniall ceremony at *Rome*.

Sextilis August. *Flurarch* in his *Proble*. *Confalua*. The *Sabyne* what they were.

Acron King of the *Cenineses* makeh warre with *Romulus*.

Acron slain in the field.

Linages of the People of *ROME*. Howbeit *Valerius Antias* writeth, that there were five hundred and seven and twenty: and *Juba*, six hundred fourefcore and three. In the which is singularly to be noted for the commendation of *Romulus*, that he himselfe did take then but only one of the Maids, named *Herfilia*: that afterwards was the onely cause and mediation of peace betwixt the *SABYNS* and the *ROMANS*. Which argueth plainly, that it was not to do the *SABYNS* any hurt, nor to satisfie any difordinate lust, that they had so forcibly undertaken this ravishment: but to joyne two Peoples together, with the straightest bonds that could be between men. This *Herfilia* as some say, was married unto one *Hoftilius*, the noblest man at that time amongst the *ROMANS*: or as others write, unto *Romulus* himself, which had two Children by her. The first was a Daughter, and her name was *Prima*, because she was the first: the other was a Son, whom he named *Asellus*, because of the multitude of People he had assembled together in his City, and afterwards he was surnamed *Abilius*. Thus *Zenodotus* the *TROEZENIAN* writeth; wherein notwithstanding there be divers that do contrary him. Among those which ravished the Daughters of the *SABYNS*, it is said there were found certaine meane men carrying away a marvellous passing faire one. These met by chance on the way certain of the chiefe of the City, who would have taken her by force from them; which they had done, but that they began to cry, they carried her unto *Talassius*, who was a young man marvellously well beloved of every body. Which when the other understood, they were exceeding glad, and they commended them: inso much as there were some which suddenly turned back again, and did accompany them for *Talassius* sake, crying out aloud, and often on his name. From whence the custome came, which to this day the *ROMANS* sing at their Marriages, *Talassius*, like as the *GRECIANS* sing *Hymeneus*. For it is said he was counted very happy that he met with this Woman. But *Sextius Sylla*, a *CARTHAGINIAN* borne, a man very wise, and well learned, told me once it was the cry and signe which *Romulus* gave to his men to begin the Ravishment: whereupon those that carried them away went crying this word *Talassius*, and that from thence the Custome had continued, that they sing it yet at their Marriages. Nevertheless the most part of Authors, specially *Juba*, think it is a warning to remember the new-married-women of their worke, which is to spinne, which the *GRECIANS* call *Talassia*, the Italian word at that time being not mingled with the Greeke. And if it be true the *ROMANS* used this terme of *Talassia*, as we of *GREECE* do use, we might by conjecture yeeld another reason for it, which should carry a better likelihood and prooffe. For when the *SABYNS* after the Battell had made peace with the *ROMANS*, they put in an Article in favour of the Women in the Treaty, that they should not be bound to serve their Husbands in any other work but in spinning of Wooll. Ever since this Custome hath growne, that those which give their Daughters in Marriage, and those who leade the Bride, and such as are present at the Weddings, speak in sport to the new married Wife, laughing, *Talassius*: in token that they do not leade the Bride for any other work or service, but to spin Wooll. Thereof this hath been the use to this day, that the Bride doth not of her selfe come over the threshold of her Husbands doore, but she is hoisted prettily into the Houfe: because the *SABYNE* women at that time were so lift up, and carried away by force. They say also, that the manner of making the fied of the new wedded Wives haire, with the Iron head of a Javelin, came up then likewise: this Story being a manifest token that these first Marriages were made by force of Armes, and as it were at the Swords point: as we have written more at large in the Book, wherein we render and shew the causes of the *ROMANS* Fashions and Customes. This Ravishment was put in execution about the eighteenth day of the Moneth called *Sextilis*, and now named *August*: on which day they yet celebrate the Feast they call *Confalua*. Now the *SABYNS* were good men of War, and had great numbers of People, but they dwelt in Villages, and not within inclosed Walls: being a thing fit for their noble courages that did fear nothing, and as those who were defended from the *LACEDÆMONIANS*. Nevertheless they seeing themselves bound and tied to peace by Pledges and Hostages, that were very neare allied unto them, and fearing their daughters should be ill intreated, sent Ambassadors to *Romulus*, by whom they made reasonable offers and perswasions, that their Daughters might be delivered unto them again, without any force or violence, and then afterwards, that he would cause them to be asked in Marriage of their Parents, as both Reason and Law would require, to the end that with good will and consent of all parties, both Peoples might contract Amity and Alliance together. Whereunto *Romulus* made answer, he could not restore the Maids which his People had taken away and married: but most friendly he prayed the *SABYNS* to be contented with their Alliance. This Answer being returned, and not liked, whilst the Princes and Commonalty of the *SABYNS* were occupied in consultation, and about the arming of themselves: *Acron* King of the *CENINESSES* (a man exceeding courageous and skillfull in Wars, and one that from the beginning misfrustrated the over-bold and stout Enterprises that *Romulus* was likely to attempt, considering the late Ravishment of the *SABYNS* Daughters, and how he was already greatly dreaded of his Neighbours, and somewhat intolerable, if he were not chastised and brought lower, first began to invade him with a puissant Army, and to make hot and violent Wars upon him. *Romulus* on the other side prepared also, and went forth to meet him. When they were come so neare together, that they might see one another, they sent defiance to each other, and prayed that they two might fight man to man amidst their Armies, and neither of theirs to stir a foot. Both of them accepted of it, and *Romulus* making his Prayer unto *Jupiter*, did promise and make a Vow: That if he did give him the victory to overcome, he would offer up to him the Armour of his Enemy, which he did. For first he slew *Acron* in the Field, and afterwards gave Battell to his men, and overthrew them

them also. Lastly he tooke his City, where he did no hurt nor yet displeasure to any, saving that he commanded them to pull down their Houses, and destroy them, and to go dwell with him at *ROME*: where they should have the self-same Rights and Privileges which the first Inhabitants did enjoy. There was nothing more enlarged the City of *ROME* then this manner of policy, to joyne alwaies unto it those she had overcome and vanquished. *Romulus* now to discharge his Vow, and in such sort that his Offering might be acceptable to *Jupiter*, and pleasant to his Citizens to behold, did cut down a goodly straight grown young Oke, which he lighted on by good fortune, in the place where his Campe did lye: the same he trimmed and set forth after the manner of victory, hanging and tying all about it in faire order, the Armour and Weapons of King *Acron*. Then he girding his Gowne to him, and putting upon his long bush of haire a Garland of Lawrell, laid the young Oke upon his right shoulder, and he first marched before towards his City, and sung a royall Song of Victory, all his Army following him in Arms unto the City in order of battell: where his Citizens received him in all passing wise and triumph. This noble and stately entry ever since hath given them minds in such sort, and in statelier wise to make their triumph. The offering of this Triumph was dedicated to *Jupiter* surnamed *Feretriar*: because the Latine word *Ferire* signifieth to hurt and kill: and the Prayer *Romulus* had made, was, he might hurt and kill his Enemy. Such Spoiles are called in Latine, *Spolia opima*: therefore saith *Varro*, that *opes* signifie riches. Howbeit methinks it were more likely to say, that they were so named of this word *opus*, which betokeneth a deed, because he must needs be the chiefe of the Army, that hath slain with his own hands the Generall of his Enemies, and that must offer the Spoils called *Spolia opima*, as you would say, his principall Spoiles and Deeds. This never happened yet but to three Roman Captains onely: of the which *Romulus* was the first, who slew *Acron* King of the *CENINESSES*. *Cornelius Cossus* was the second, who killed *Tullus Hostilius*, the Generall of the *TRUSCANS*. *Clodius Marcellus* was the third, who slew *Britomarchus*, King of the *GAULES*, with his own hands. And for the two last, *Cossus* and *Marcellus*, they made their entry into the City, carrying their Triumphs upon Chariots triumphant: but *Romulus* did not so. Therefore in this point *Dionysius* the Historiographer hath erred, writing that *Romulus* did enter into *ROME* upon a Chariot triumphant. For it was *Tarquinius Priscus* the son of *Be-maratus*, who first did set out Triumphs in so stately and magnificent show. Other hold opinion it was *Valerius Publicola*, who was the first that ever entered upon triumphant Chariot. Concerning *Romulus*, his Statues are yet to be seene in *ROME*, carrying his Triumph afoot. After this overthrow and taking of the *CENINESSES*, the Inhabitants of the Cities of *FIDENA*, *CRUSTUMERIUM*, and *ANTEMNA*, rose all together against the *ROMANS*, whilst the other *SABYNS* also were a preparing themselves. So they fought a Battell, in which they took the overthrow: and left their Cities to the spoile of *Romulus*, their Lands to be given where he thought good, and themselves to be carried to *ROME*. *Romulus* then did give their Lands among his Citizens, except those Lands which did belong to the Fathers of the Maidens that they had taken away and ravished. For he was contented that the Fathers of them should keepe still their Lands. By and by the other *SABYNS* stomacking thereat, did chuse them a Generall called *Tatius*, and so went with a puissant Army toward the City of *ROME*, whereunto to approach at that time it was very hard, the Castle or Keepe of their City being seated where at this day the Capitoll standeth, within which there was a great Garrison, whereof *Tarpeius* was Captain, and not his Daughter *Tarpeia*, as some will say, who set out *Romulus* as a foole. But *Tarpeia* the Captains Daughter, for the desire he had to have all the gold Bracelets which they did wear about their arms, sold the Fort to the *SABYNS*, and asked for reward of her Treason, all they did wear on their left armes. *Tatius* promised them unto her: and she opened them a Gate in the night, by the which she did let all the *SABYNS* into the Castle. *Antigonus* then was not alone, who said, He loved those which did betray, and hated them that had betrayed: nor yet *Cæsar Augustus*, who told *Rymistales* the *THRACIAN*, That he loved Treason, but he hated Traytors. And it is a common affection which we beare to wicked persons, whilst we stand in need of them: not unlike for all the world to those that have need of the gall and poyson of venomous Beasts. For when they finde it, they are glad, and take it to serve their turne: but after their turne is served, and they have that they fought, they hate the cruelty of such Beasts. So played *Tatius* at that time. For when he was gotten into the Castle, he commanded the *SABYNS* (for performance of his promise he had made to *Tarpeia*) they should not stick to give her all they were on their left armes, and to do as he did: who taking from his owne arme first, the Bracelets which he wore, did cast it to her, and his Target after: and so did all the rest in like sort, inso much as being borne downe to the ground by the weight of Bracelets and Targets, she died as pressed to death under her burden. Nevertheless *Tarpeius* self was attainted, and condemned also of Treason, by *Romulus* order, as *Juba* saith; it is set forth by *Sulpicius Galba*. They that write now otherwise of *Tarpeia*, saying she was the Daughter of *Tatius*, Generall of the *SABYNS*, and was forced by *Romulus* to lye with him, and how she was punished in this sort by her own Father after her said Treason committed: those I say, amongst whom *Antigonus* is one, are not to be credited. And the Poet *Simylus* also doth dote most; who saith *Tarpeia* sold the Capitoll not to the *SABYNS*, but to the King of *GAULES*; with whom she was in love, as in these Verses doth appeare:

*Tarpeia, that Mayde of foolish minde,
Which neere unto the Capitoll did dwell;*

Romulus triumph.

The beginning of triumph, *Jupiter Feretrius*. *Spolia opima*.

Three *Romans* onely obtained *Spolia opima*.

Tarquinius Priscus the first that triumphed in Chariot. *Valerius Publicola*.

The Cities of *Fidena*, *Crustumerium*, and of *Antenna*, rose all against *Romulus*.

The *Sabyne* led by *Tatius*, went to besiege the City of *Rome*. *Tarpeia* betrayeth the Castle, and lettech in the *Sabyne*. *Antigonus* and *Augustus* Call words of Traytors. A fit similitude.

Note the reward of Treason. *Tarpeia* pressed to death.

(In fervent flames of beastly love beblind.
Wherewith the King of Gaules did make her swell)
Caus'd stately Rome surpris'd for to be
By Enemies, as every man may see.
And so through hope of his fidelity
Betray'd her Syre, with all his Family.

And a little after, in speaking of the manner of her death, he saith also :

Yet so : the Gaules, those worthy men of might,
Threw her not down into the waves of Fo,
But from their Armes, wherewith they want to fight,
They cast their Shields upon her body so,
That she suppress'd with such an heave weight,
(Ah wofull Maid) to death was smother'd straight.

This Maiden therefore being buried in the same place ; the whole Hill was called afterwards *Tarpēius* after her name, which continued until *Tarquinius* the King did dedicate all the place to *Jupiter*: for then they carried her bones into some other place, and so it loit her name. Unless it be that rock of the Capitoll, which at this present time they call *Rupes Tarpēia*, from the topple whereof they were wont in old time to throw down headlong all wicked Offenders. When the *SABYNS* now had gotten this hold, *Romulus* being exceeding wroth, sent them a defiance, and bade them Battell if they durst. *Tatius* straight refused not, considering if by mischance they were distressed, they had a sure refuge to retire unto. The place between the two Armies where the Fight should be, was all round about environed with little hills. So as it was plaine, the Fight could not be but sharpe and dangerous, for the discommodiousness of the place, where was neither ground for any to flye, nor yet any space for any long chafe, it was of so small a compasse. Now it fortun'd by chance, the River of Tyber had overflowne the bankes a few dayes before, and there remained in it a deeper mud then men would have judged, because the ground was so plain, and was even where the great Market-men place of *ROME* standeth at this day. They could discern nothing thereof by the eye, because the upper part of it was crufted, whereby it was the more ready for them to venter upon, and the worse to get out, for that it did sinke underneath. So the *SABYNS* had gone upon it, had not *Curtius* the danger beene, which by good fortune itayd them. He was one of the noblest and valiantest men of the *SABYNS*, who being mounted upon a Courser, went on a good way before the Army. This Courser entring upon the crufted mud, and sinking withall, began to plunge and struggle in the mire : whereat *Curtius* proved a while with the spur to stirre him, and get him out, but in the end seeing it would not be, he left his back, and saved himselfe. The same very place to this day is called after his name, *Lacus Curtius*. The *SABYNS* then scaping thus this danger, began the Battell. The Fight did grow very cruel, and endured so great a while, the Victory leaning no more to the one side then to the other. There died in a small space a great number of men, amongst whom *Hofilius* was one, who as they say, was the Husband of *Herfilia*, and Grandfather to *Hofilius* that was King of *ROMANS* after *Numa Pompilius*. Afterward there were (as we may think) many other Encounters and Battels betweene them : howbeit they make mention of the last above all the rest, where *Romulus* had so fore a blow on his head with a stone, that he was almost felled to the ground, inso-much as he was driven to retire a little out of the Battell. Upon which occasion the *ROMANS* gave back also, and drew towards Mount Palatine, being driven out of the Plaine by force. *Romulus* began now to recover of the blow he had received, and so returned to give a new onfer, and cried out all he might to his Souldiers to tarry, and shew their face again to their Enemy. But for all his loud crying, they left not flying still for life, and there was not one that durst return again. Whereupon *Romulus* lifting up his hands straight to Heaven, did most fervently pray unto *Jupiter*, that it would please him to itay the flying of his People, and not suffer the *ROMANS* Glory thus to fall to their utter destruction, but to repaire it by his favour againe. He had no sooner ended his Prayer, but divers of his men that fled, began to be ashamed to flie before their King, and a sudden boldness came upon them, and their feare therewithall vanished away. The place they first stayed in, was where as now is the Temple of *Jupiter Stator*, which is as much to say, as *Jupiter* the Stayer. Afterwards gathering themselves together again, they repulsd the *SABYNS* even to the place they call now *Regia*, and unto the Temple of the Goddesse *Vesta* : where both the Battels being prepared to give a new Charge, there did fall out before them a strange and incredible thing to see, which itayd them they fought not. For of the *SABYNE* Women whom the *ROMANS* had ravished, some ran of the one side, other of the other side of the Battels, with Lamentations, Cryes, and Shouts, stepping betweene their Weapons, and among the flaine Bodies on the ground, in such sort that they seemed out of their wits, and carried as it were with some Spirits. In this manner they went to finde out their Fathers and their Husbands, some carrying their suckling Babes in their armes, other having their haire loose about their eyes, and all of them calling, now upon the *SABYNS*, now upon the *ROMANS*, with the gentlest names that could be devised : which did melt the hearts of both Parties in such sort, that they gave back a little, and made them place betweene both the Battels. Then were the Cryes and Lamentations of every one plainly heard. There was not a man there but it pitied him, as well to see them in that pitifull case, as to heare the lamentable words they spake : adding to their most humble Petitions and Requests that could be any way imagined, passing wise Perswasions and Reasons to induce them to a Peace. For what offence (say they) or what

The place of the fight betwixt *Romulus* and *Tatius*.

Curtius the *SABYNE*.

Curtius Lake. The *Sabynes* give battell to *Romulus*.

Hofilius slain. *Romulus* hit on the head with a stone.

Jupiter Stator.

A wonderful boldness of women.

what displeasure have we done to you, that we should deserve such an heape of evils, as we have already suffered, and yet you make us beare ? we were as you know violently (and against all Law) ravished by those, whose now we remaine. But our fathers, our brethren, our mothers and friends, have left us with them so long, that proceffe of time, and the straightest bonds of the World, have tied us now so fast to them, whom mortally before we hated, that we are constrained now to be flighted thus, to see them fight, yea and to lament and dye with them, who before unjustly tooke us from you. For then you came not to our rescue when we were Virgins untouched, nor to recover us from them when they wickedly assaulted us, poore soules : but now ye came to take the Wives from their Husbands, and the Mothers from their little Children. So as the helpe ye thinke to give us now doth grieve us more, then the forsaking of us was sorrowfull to us then. Such is the love they have borne unto us, and such is the kindeffe we beare againe to them. Now, if ye did fight for any other cause then for us, yet were it reason ye should let fall your Armes for our sakes (by whom you are made Grandfathers and Fathers-in-law, Cousins and Brothers-in-law) even from those against whom you now bend your force. But if all this Warre began for us, we heartily beseech you then that you will receive us with your Sonnes-in-law, and your Sons by them, and that you will restore unto us our Fathers, our Brethren, our Kinsfolks and Friends, without ipoyling us of our Husbands, of our Children, and of our joyes, and thereby make us wofull Captives and Prisoners in our mindes. These requests and perswasions by *Herfilia*, and other the *SABYNE* Women being heard, both the Armies stayed, and held every body his hand, and straight the two Generals imparted together. During which parle they brought their Husbands and their Children, to their Fathers and their Brethren. They brought meate and drinke for them that would eat. They dressed up the wounds of them that were hurt. They carried them home with them to their Houses. They shewed them how they were Mistresses there with their Husbands. They made them see how greatly they were accounted of and esteemed ; yea how with a Wedlock-love and reputation they were honoured. So in the end peace was concluded betweene them, wherein it was Articled, That the *SABYNE* women which would remaine with their husbands should tarry still, and be exempted from all worke or service (as above recited) save only spinning of Wooll. And that the *SABYNS* and *ROMANS* should dwell together in the City, which should be called *ROME*, after *Romulus* name : and the Inhabitants should be called *Quirites*, after the name of the City of *Tatius* King of the *SABYNS*, and that they should reigne and governe together by a common consent. The place where this peace was concluded, is called yet to this day *Comitium* : because that *Coire*, in the Latine Tongue signifieth to assemble. So the City being augmented by the one halfe, they did chuse of the *SABYNS* another hundred new *PATRICIANS*, unto the first hundred of the *ROMANS* that were chosen before. Then were the Legions made of 6000. Footmen, and 600. Horfemen. After they divided their Inhabitants into three Tribes, whereof those that came of *Romulus*, were called *Ramenfes* after his name : those that came of *Tatius* were called *Tatienfes* after his name : and those that were of the third stock, were called *Lucreses*, as from the Latine word *Lucus*, called with us a Grove in English, because thither great number of people of all sorts did gather, which afterwards were made Citizens of *ROME*. The very word of *Tribus* (which signifieth bands, wards, or hundreds) doth witness this beginning of *ROME* from Wards or Hundreds. For hereupon the *ROMANS* call those at this day, their *Tribunes*, which are the chiefe heads of the people. But every one of these principall Wards had afterwards tenne other particular Wards under them, which some thinke were called after the names of the thirty *SABYNE* women that were ravished : but that seemeth false, because many of them carry the names of the places they came from. Howbeit at that time many things were stablished and ordained in honour of the women : as to give them place, the upper hand in meeting them : the upper hand in streets : to speake no foule or dishonest word before them, no man to unwray himselfe, or shew naked before them : that they should not be called before criminall Judges sitting upon Homicides and murderers : that their children should weare about their necks a kinde of Jewell, called *Bulla*, fashioned in manner like these water bubbles that rise upon the water when it beginneth to raine : and that their Gownes should be garded with Purple. Now the two Kings did not straight confer together so soone as any occasion of businesse was offered them, but either of them did first counsell alone with his hundred Senators, and afterwards they did all assemble together : *Tatius* dwelt in the place where now is the Temple of *Juno Moneta* : *Romulus* in the place called at this present, The staires of the faire banke, then, The descent of Mount Palatine, as they go to the Show-place or great Lifts, where they say was sometime the holy Cornell-tree, whereof they make so great account. *Romulus* one day desirous to prove his strength, threw (as it is said) a dart from Mount Aventine toward Mount Palatine ; the staffe whereof was of a Cornell-tree : and the Iron of it entred so deepe into the ground, being a lustie fat soyle, that no man could pull it out, although many proved it, and did the best they could. The ground being very good and fit to bring forth Trees, did so nourish the end of this staffe, that it tooke roote, and began to spreade branches : so that in time it became a faire great Cornell-tree, which the Successors of *Romulus* did inclose with a wall, and did keepe and worship it as a very holy thing. If by chance any went to see it, and found it looked not fresh and Greene, but like a Tree withered and dried away for lack of moisture : he went away straight as one afraid, crying to all he met (and they with him went crying still) in every place, Water, water, as it had beene to have quenched a fire. Then ranne they thither out of all Quarters with Vessels of water, to water and moist the Tree. In the time of *Caius Cesar*, who caused the staires about it to be repaired, they say the Labourers raising the place,

The words of *Herfilia* and other *Sabyn* woman unto both Armies.

Romulus and *Tatius* impart together.

Peace between the *Romans* and the *Sabyns*. *Quirites*, why so called.

Comitium.

The *Roman* Legion 6000. Footmen and 600. Horfemen. The *Romans* Tribes.

Honour given to women.

Tatius and *Romulus* palaces.

The holy Cornell-tree.

The *Sabyns* used the *Romans* months.

Festivals, *Matronalia*, *Carmenalia*, *Carmenalia*.

Lupercalia.

The *Lupercians* do sacrifice a dog. Why the *Lupercians* do run through the City naked.

The Vestal Nuns and holy fire instituted by *Romulus*.

and digging about this Cornell-tree, did by negligence hurt the rootes of the same in such sort, as afterwards it dried up altogether. Now the *Sabyns* received the Moneths after the manner of the *Romans*, whereof we have written sufficiently in the life of *Numa*. *Romulus* againe used the *Sabyns* shields: and both he and his people changed the fashion of their Armour and Weapons they used. For the *Romans* before did carry little Shields, after the fashion of the *Argives*. As for either of their Holy-dayes and Sacrifices, they kept them both altogether, and did not take away any of them, which either the one or the other people observed before, but they added thereunto some other new. As that which they call *Matronalia*, which was instituted in honour of the Women, because by their meanes peace was concluded. And that also of *Carmenalia*, in the honour of *Carmen*, whom some suppose to be the goddesse of Fate or Destiny, because she hath rule and power over the Nativities of men; by reason whereof the mothers call upon her often, and reverence her very much. Other say, she was the wife of *Evander* the *ARCADIAN*, who being a Prophetesse inspired by the god *Phabus*, gave the Oracles in Verse; whereupon she was surnamed *Carmen*, because that *Carmen* in Latine signifie Verses: for it is of certainty that her proper name was *Nicostrata*. Howbeit there are some which give another manner of derivation and interpretation of this word *Carmen*, which is the likelier to be true: as if they would say, *Carmen* is: which signifieth wanting wit, for the very fury that taketh them when they are inspired with the propheticall spirit. For in Latine *Cavere* betokeneth to lack: and *Mens* signifieth wit. As for the Feast of *Palilia*, we have told of it before: but the Feast of *Lupercalia*, considering the time of celebrating thereof, it seemeth it is ordained for a purification. For it is celebrated on the unfortunate dayes of the Moneth of February, which are called the purging dayes. The dayes in the old time on which they did celebrate the same, were called *Februa*. But the proper name of the Feast, is as much to say, as the Feast of Woolves. Wherefore it seemeth to be a Feast of great antiquity, and instituted by the *ARCADIANS* which came in with *Evander*: albeit the name of Woolves is as common to the females, as the males, and so it might perhaps be called, by reason of the Woolfe that brought up *Romulus*. For we see those which run up and downe the City that day, and they call *Luperci*, do begin their course in the very place where they say *Romulus* was cast out. Howbeit, many things are done, whereof the originall cause were hard now to be conjectured. For Goats about a certaine time of the yeare, are killed; then they bring two young boyes, Noble-mens sons, whose foreheades they touch with the knife beblouded with the blood of the Goats that are sacrificed. By and by they dry their foreheades with wooll dipped in milk. Then the young boyes must laugh immediately after they have dried their foreheades. That done, they cut the Goats skins, and make thongs of them, which they take in their hands, and run with them all about the City starke naked (saving they have a cloth before their secrets) and so they strike with these thongs all they meet in their way. The young wives never thun them at all, but are well contented to be striken with them, believing it helpeth them to be with childe, and also to be easily delivered. There is another thing yet in this Feast, that these *LUPERCANS* which run about the City, do also sacrifice a dogge. Concerning this Feast, the Poet named *Busius* doth write somewhat in his Elegies, where shewing the occasion of the fond Customes and Ceremonies of the *ROMANS*, he doth say, that *Romulus* after that he had slaine *Amulius*, did runne straight with great joy to the very place where the Woolfe gave him and his brother suck, in memory of which running, he saith this Feast of *Lupercalia* was celebrated: and that the Noblemens younger sonnes do runne through the City, striking and laying on them that they meete in their way with their Goat-thongs, in token that *Remus* and *Romulus* ranne from *ALBA* unto that place, with their drawne swords in their hands. And that the touching of their forehead with a bloody knife, is in remembrance of the danger they stood in at that time to have beene slaine. Last of all, the drying of their foreheades with Wooll, dipped in milk, is in memory of the milke they sucked of the Woolves. But *Caius Acilius* writeth that *Remus* and *Romulus* before *ROME* was built, did happen to lose their beasts on a day, and after they had made certaine Prayers unto *Faunus* for the finding of them, they ranne here and there starke naked as they went a seeking of them, for feare they should have beene troubled with overmuch heate and sweating. And this is the cause he saith, why the *LUPERCANS* do at this day runne about naked. And if it be true, they make this Sacrifice for a purging, a man might say they might offer up a dog for that purpose, as the *GRECIANS* in their Sacrifices of purgation, do use to carry out all their dogs. And in many places they do observe this Ceremony, to drive out the dogs, which they call *Perilegiasmes*. Otherwise, if it be of a thankfulness to the Woolfe that gave *Romulus* suck, and saved him from perishing, that the *ROMANS* do solemnize this Feast: it is not impertinent they should sacrifice a dog, because he is an enemy to the Woolves. Unlesse a man would say, it was to punish this beast which troubleth and letteth the *LUPERCANS* when they run. Some say also it was *Romulus*, who first instituted it a Religion to keepe holy fire, and that first ordained holy Virgins, which are called *Vestales*: other do ascribe it to *Numa Pompilius*. Notwithstanding it is most certaine otherwise, that *Romulus* was a very devout man, and greatly skilfull in telling of things to come by the flying of birds, for which cause he did ordinarily carry the Augurs crooked staffe, called in Latine *Litus*. It is a rod crooked at the end, where-with the Augurs or Soothsayers when they sit down to behold the flying of birds, do point out & mark the quarters of the Heaven. They carefully kept it within the Palace: howbeit it was lost in the time of wars with the *GAULES*, when the City of *ROME* was taken. Afterwards when these barbarous people were chafed & driven out, it was found againe (as it is said) all whole, within a great hill or heap of ashes, having no manner of hurt, where all things else about it had been consumed and marred with the fire. He

He is said to have made certaine Lawes, among which there is one that seemeth somewhat hard, which is: that the man is suffered to put away his wife, and in some case to give her nothing: and like liberty is not given to the wife to put away her husband. As if she may be proved to have consented to the poysoning of her children, or to have counterfeited her husbands keyes, or to have committed adultery. But if he put her away for any other cause, then the one halfe of the Goods is adjudged to the wife, and the other moiety to the Goddesse *Ceres*: and he that putteth away his wife after this sort, is commanded further to sacrifice to the Goddesse of the Earth. This also was notable in *Romulus*, who having ordained no paine nor punishment for Parricides (that is, for those that kill their Parents) called yet all murder Parricide, to shew how detestable that murder was; and as for Parricide, he thought it impossible. And it seemed a great while, he had reason to think so, that such wickednesse would never happen in the World. For in 600. yeares together it was not knowne that any man in *ROME* committed such an offence, and the first Parricide with them was *Lucius Ofsius*, after the Warres of *Hannibal*. But enough touching this matter. Furthermore in the first yeare of the reigne of *Tatius*, some of his kinsmen and friends met by chance on the way certaine Ambassadors, coming from the City of *LAURENTUM* unto *ROME*, whom they set upon, and meant to have robbed them. The Ambassadors resisting them, and not willing to deliver their money, they made no more ado, but slew them. This heinous deed being thus committed, *Romulus* was of opinion they should be executed openly in the high-way for example. But *Tatius* deferred it till from day to day, and did always excuse the matter unto him, which was the onely cause they fell out one with the other. For in all things else, they carried themselves as honestly as might be the one to the other, ruling and governing together, with a common consent and good accord. But the Parents and Kinsfolks of those who were murdered, when they saw they could have no justice because of *Tatius*, watched him one day as he sacrificed with *Romulus*, in the City of *LAVINIUM*, and stabbed him in, without offering *Romulus* any violence, but rather praised him for a good and righteous Prince. *Romulus* caused the body of *Tatius* to be straight taken up, and buried him very honourably in Mount *AVENTINE*, about the place now called *ARMILUSTRIUM*. Further he never shewed any countenance to revenge his death. There are some Historiographers that write, that those of the City of *LAURENTUM* being affraid at this murder, did deliver forthwith to *Romulus* the murderers of the Ambassadors. He notwithstanding did let them go againe, saying: One murder was requited by another. This gave some occasion of speech to thinke, he was glad he was rid of his companion: yet the *SABYNs* neither stirred nor rebelled for all this, but some of them were afraid of him for the great love they bare him, other for his power he was of, and other for the honor they gave him as a god, continuing still in duty and obedience towards him. Divers strangers also had *Romulus* valiantly in great honor: as amongst other, those who then were called the ancient *LATINES*, which sent Ambassadors to him to make league and amity with him. He devised to take the City of *FIDENA* which was neare to *ROME*. Some say he tooke it upon a sudden, having sent before certaine Horse-men to breake downe the hookes and hinges with force, which the Gates hang by: and himselfe came after with the rest of his Army, and stole upon them, before the City mistrusted any thing. Other write that the *FIDENATES* first invaded his Country, and foraged unto the very Suburbs of *ROME*, where they did great harme: and how *Romulus* laid an ambush in their way as they returned home, and slew a great number of them: When he tooke their City, he did not raze it, but made a Colony of it (as a place to send the over-increase of *ROME* unto) whither he sent afterwards two thousand five hundred *ROMANS* to inhabite there: and it was on the thirteenth day of April, which the *ROMANS* call the Ides of the same Moneth. Not long after there rose such a great Plague in *ROME*, that men died suddenly, and were not sick: the Earth brought forth no fruit: brute Beasts delivered no increase of their kinde: there rained also drops of blood in *ROME*, as they say. In-somuch as besides the evils men felt in this extremity, they fell in a marvellous feare of the wrath of the gods. Afterwards perceiving the like hapned to the Inhabitants of *LAURENTUM*, then every man judged it was the very vengeance and heave hand of the gods: who plagued and punished these two Cities for the murder committed upon *Tatius*, and the Ambassadors that were killed. Whereupon the murderers of both sides were apprehended and executed: and these plagues by and by ceased both in the one and the other City. *Romulus* besides, did purifie the Cities with certaine Sacrifices that he devised, which they keep till at this day, at the gate called *Ferentia*. But before the plague ceased, the *CAMERIANS* came to assault the *ROMANS*, and had overcome all the Country, supposing they should not be able to withstand them, because they had been so sore troubled with the plague. Yet notwithstanding, *Romulus* set upon them with his Army, and wain the field of them, in which conflict there were slaine about 6000. men. After the battell done, he tooke their City, and conveyed to *ROME* the one half of the Inhabitants that remained. After this, he sent twice as many *ROMANS* as there were naturall *CAMERIANS* left at *CAMERINE*, to dwell there among them. This was done the first day of August: so great was the multitude of the Inhabitants of *ROME* that had increased in 16. yeares from the first foundation of the City. Among other spoiles he got there, he carried away a Chariot of brasse with foure horses, which he caused to be set up in the Temple of *Vulcan*, and his owne Statue upon it, and Victory crowning him with a Garland triumphant. His power being grown thus great, his weake Neighbors did submit themselves unto him, being contented to live in peace by him. His stronger Neighbors were afraid of him, and envied much his greatnesse, and did take it no good policy to suffer him thus to rise in the face of the World, and thought it meet speedily to daunt his glory, and clippe his wings. The first of the *THUSCANS* that bent their power against him,

Romulus laws.

Parricides. No Parricide known in *Rome* 600 yeares together.

Lucius Ofsius the first man that slew his own father at *Rome*. Ambassadors slaine coming to *Rome*. The death of *Tatius* in *Lavinium*.

armilustrum.

The *Sabyns* obedience to *Romulus*.

Romulus tooke the City of *Fidena*.

Plague at *Rome*. It rained blood at *Rome*.

Camerium taken by *Romulus*.

were the VEIANS, who had a great Countrey, and dwelled in a strong and mighty City. To pick a quarrell to him, they sent to have delivered to them the City of FIDENA, which they said belonged unto them. This was thought not onely unreasonable, but a thing worthy laughing at, considering that all the while the FIDENATES were in War and danger, the THUSCANES never came to their aide, but had suffered them to be slaine, and then came to demand their Lands and Tenements, when other had possession of them. Therefore *Romulus* having given them an Answer full of mockery and derision, they divided their power into two Armies, and sent the one against them of FIDENA, and with the other they marched towards ROME That which went against the City of FIDENA prevailed, and killed there two thousand ROMANS: the other was overthrowne and discomfited by *Romulus*, in which there died eight thousand VEIANS. Afterwards they met againe somewhat neare the City of the FIDENATES, where they fought a battell, and did confesse the chiefeft exploit was done by *Romulus* owne hands that day, who shewed all the skill and valiantnesse that was to be looked for in a worthy Capitaine. It seemed that day, he farre exceeded the common fort of men, in strength of body and feats of Armes. Nevertheless that which some say, is hardly to be credited: and to be plaine, is out of all compasse of beliefe and possibility. For they write, there were fourteene thousand men slaine at that Battell, and that more then halfe of them were slaine by *Romulus* owne hands: and the rather, for that every man judgeth it a vaine bragge and ostentation which the MESSENIANS report of *Aristomenes*, who offered in Sacrifice to the gods three hundred Beasts of Victory, as for so many LACEDÆMONIANS himselfe had slaine in the Battell. Their Army being thus broken, *Romulus* suffered them to flye who by swiftnesse could save themselves, and marched with all his power in good array towards their City. The Citizens then considering their late great losse and overthrow, would not hazard the danger of withstanding him, but went out all together, and made their humble petition and suite for peace. All was granted them for a hundred yeares, save they should forgo their Territory called *Septemagium*, that was the seventh part of their Countrey: and yeeld to the ROMANS all their salt-houses by the Rivers side, and deliver fifty of their chiefeft Citizens for their pledges. *Romulus* made his entry and Triumph into ROME for them, the day of the Ides of October, which is the fifteenth day of the same moneth, leading in his Triumph many prisoners taken in those Wars: and among other, the Generall of the VEIANS, a very ancient man, who fondly behaved himselfe in his charge, and shewed by his doings, that his experience was farre short for his yeares in the Wars. And from thence it cometh, when they offer to the gods to give thanks for his Victory, that even at this day, they bring to the Capitoll through the Market-place, an old man apparelled in a Purple Robe, and with a Jewell called *Bulla* about his neck, which the Gentlemens young Children wear about their necks: and a Herald goeth hard by him, crying, Who buyeth, who, the SARDIANIANS? because they hold opinion the THUSCANES are come of the SARDIANIANS, and the very City of VEIES standeth in the Countrey of THUSCANE. This was the last Warre that *Romulus* had offered him: after which he could not beware of that which is wont to happen almost to all those, who by sudden prosperity and fortunes speciall favour, are raised to high and great estate. For trusting to prosperity and good successe of his acts, he began to be more strange and stately, and to carry a frower countenance then he was wont to do before: leaving to be after his old manner, a courteous and gracious Prince: and gave himselfe in fashions to be somewhat like a Tyrant, both for his Apparell, and stately port and Majesty that he carried. For he ware ever a Coate of Purple in graine, and upon that, a long Robe of Purple colour: and gave audience, sitting in a wide Chaire of Estate, having ever about him young men called *Celeres*, as we would say, souldiers, for their swiftnesse and speed in executing of his Commandements. Other there were that went before him, who carried as it were Tipstaves in their hands, to make the People give roome, and had Leather Thongs about their middle to binde fast streight, all the Prince should command. Now in old time the LATINES said, *Ligare* was to binde: but at this present they say *Alligare*, from whence it cometh that the Ushers and Serjeants are called *Littores*. Howbeit methinks it were more likely to say, they had put to a c, and that before they were called *Littores*, without a c. For they be the very same which the GRECIANS call *Liturgos*, and be in English, Ministers or Officers: and at this day, *Leitos*, or *Leos* in the GREEKE Tongue signifieth the People. *Romulus* now after his Grandfather *Numitor* was dead at the City of ALBA, and that the Realme by inheritance fell to him: to win the favour of the People there, turned the Kingdome to a Common-weale, and every yeare did chuse a new Magistrate, to minister justice to the SABIANS. This president taught the Noblemen of ROME to seeke and desire to have a free Estate, where no Subject should be at the commandement of a King alone, and where every man should command and obey as should be his course. Those which were called *Patricians* in ROME, did meddle with nothing, but had onely an honourable Name and Robe, and were called to Councell rather for a fashion, then to have their advice or counsell. For when they were assembled together, they did onely heare the Kings pleasure and commandement, but they might not speake one word, and so departed: having no other preheminance over the Common-wealth, saving they were the first that did know what was done. All other things thereby did grieve them lesse. But when of his owne meere Authority, and as it were of himselfe, he would as pleased him, bestow the conquered Lands of his Enemies to his Souldiers, and restore againe to the VEIANS their Hostages as he did: therein plainly appeared, how great injury he did to the Senate. Whereupon the Senators were suspected afterward that they killed him, when within few dayes after it was said, he vanished away so strangely, that no man ever knew what became of him. This

The incredible valiantnesse of *Romulus*.

Romulus maketh peace with the VEIANS.

Prosperity increaseth pride and stomach.

Celeres *Romulus* guard.

Littores, wherefore so called.

Romulus converteth the Kingdome of *Alba* to a Common-wealth.

This was on the seventh day of the Moneth now called July, which then was named *Quintilis*, leaving no manner of certainty else of his death that is knowne, save onely of the day and the time when he vanished, as we have said before. For on that day the ROMANS do at this present many things, in remembrance of the misfortune which happened to them then. It is no marvel, the certainty of his death was not knowne: seeing *Scipio Africanus* was found after supper dead in his house, and no man could tell, nor yet did know how he died. For some say, that he fainted and died suddenly, being of weak complexion. Other say, he poisoned himselfe: other think his Enemies did get secretly in the night into his house, and smothered him in his bed. Yet they found his body layed on the ground, that every body might at leisure consider, if they could finde or conjecture the manner of his death. Howbeit *Romulus* vanished away suddenly, there was neither scene piece of his Garments, nor yet was there found any part of his body. Therefore some have thought that the whole Senators fell upon him together in the Temple of *Vulcan*, and how after they had cut him in pieces, every one carried away a piece of him, folded close in the skirt of his Robe. Other think also, this vanishing away was not in the Temple of *Vulcan*, nor in the presence of the Senators only: but they say that *Romulus* was at that time without the City, neare the place called the Goats Marsh, where he made an Oration to the People, and that suddenly the weather changed, and overcast so terribly, as it is not to be told nor credited. For first, the Sun was darkened as if it had beene very night: this darknesse was not in a calme or still, but there fell horrible thunders, boysterous winds, and flashing lightnings on every side, which made the people run away, and scatter here and there, but the Senators kept still close together. Afterwards when the lightning was past and gone, the day cleared up, and the Element waxed faire as before: then the people gathered together againe, and sought for the King, asking what was become of him. But the Noblemen would not suffer them to enquire any further after him, but counselled them to honour and reverence him as one taken up into Heaven: and that thenceforth in stead of a good King, he would be unto them a mercifull and gracious god. The meaner sort of people (for the most part of them) tooke it well, and were very glad to heare thereof, and went their way worshipping *Romulus* in their hearts, with good hope they should prosper by him. Howbeit some seeking out the troth more eagerly, did cumber sore and troubled the PATRICIANS, accusing them, that they abused the common People with vaine and fond persuasions, whilst themselves in the meane time had murdered the King with their owne hands. While things were thus in hurly burly, some say there was one *Julius Proculus*, the noblest of all the PATRICIANS, esteemed for a marvellous honest man, and knowne to have beene very familiar with *Romulus*, and came with him from the City of ALBA: that stepped forth before all the People, and affirmed (by the greatest and holiest Oathes a man might sweare) that he had met *Romulus* on the way, far greater and fairer, then he had seene him ever before, and armed all in white Armour, shining bright like fire: whereat being affraid in that sort to see him, he asked him yet: O King, why hast thou thus left and forsaken us, that are so fallily accused and charged to our utter discredit and shame, by thy vanishing? To whom *Romulus* gave this answer: *Proculus*, it hath pleased the gods from whom I came, that I should remaine among men so long as I did: and now having built a City, which in glory and greatnesse of Empire shall be the chiefeft of the World, that I should returne againe to dwell with them, as before, in Heaven. Therefore be of good comfort, and tell the ROMANS, that they exercising prowesse and temperance, shall be the mightiest and greatest People of the World. As for me, tell them I will henceforth be their god, protector, and patron, and they shall call me *Quirinus*. These words seemed credible to the ROMANS, as well for the honesty of the man that spake unto them, as for the solemne oathes he made before them all. Yet I wot not how, some Celestiall Motion, or Divine Inspiration helped it much: for no man said a word against it. And so all suspicion and accusation laid aside, every man began to call upon *Quirinus*, to pray unto him, and to worship him. Truly this tale is much like the tales that the GRECIANS tell of *Aristeus* the Proconnesian, and of *Cleomedes* the Astypalærian. For they say, that *Aristeus* died in a Fullers workhouse, and his friends coming to carry away his body, it fell out they could not tell what became of it: and at that instant there were some which came out of the fields, and affirmed they met and spake with him, and how he kept his way towards the City of CROTONA. It is said also that *Cleomedes* was more then a man naturally strong and great, and therewithall mad, and furious hasty. For after many desperate parts he had plaid; he came at the last on a day into a Schoole-house full of little children, the rooffe whereof was borne with one pillar, which he did hit with so terrible a blow of his fist, that he brake it in the middt, so as the whole rooffe fell and dashed the poore children in pieces. The people ran straight after him to take him: but he threw himselfe forthwith into a Chest, and pulled the lid upon him. He held it so fast down, that many striving together all they could to open it, they were not able once to stir it. Whereupon they brake the Chest all in pieces, but they found the man neither quick nor dead. Whereat they were marvellously amazed, and sent to *Apollo Pythius*, where the Prophetesse answered them in this Verse:

Cleomedes the last of demy-gods.

The report goeth also that *Alcmenes* corse did vanish away, as they carried it to buriall, and how instead thereof they found a stone laid in the beere. To conclude, men tell many other such wonders, that are farre from any appearance of truth: onely because they would make men to be as gods, and equal with them in power. It is true, that as to reprove and deny Divine Power, it were a lewd and wicked part: even so to compare Earth and Heaven together, it were a meere folly. Therefore we must let such Fables go, being most certain that, as *Pindarus* saith, it is true:

D 3

Each

Romulus vanished away no man knew how.

The 17th day of July an unfortunate day to the ROMANS. The death of *Scipio Africanus*. Divers opinions of *Romulus* death.

Julius Proculus met with *Romulus* after his vanishing. *Romulus* Oracle to *Proculus*.

Romulus called *Quirinus*, and honoured as a god.

Aristeus a Proconnesian taken out of mens sight after he was dead.

Cleomedes Astypalænsis vanished strangely out of mens sight, being fast locked in a chest.

Alcmenes body vanished out of the beere.

Yet me thinks the one is an error of too much pity and baseness, and the other of too much pride and cruelty. But if we may not charge Fortune with all mischances happening unto men, but that we ought to consider in them the diversities of manners and passions, seeing anger is unreasonable, and wrath rash and passionate: then can we not cleere the one, nor excuse the other of extreme rage and passion, in the fact committed by one against his Brother, and by the other against his naturall Sonne. Howbeit the occasion and beginning of anger doth much excuse *Theſeus*, who moved with the greatest cause that might be, was put into such choler and passion. But if *Romulus* variance with his Brother had proceeded of any matter of counsell, or cause of the Commonweale; there is none so simple to thinke, that his wisdom would so suddenly have set upon him. Whereas *Theſeus* in contrary manner killed his Sonne, provoked by those passions that few men can avoide; to wit, love, jealousy, and false report of his Wife. Moreover *Romulus* anger went to the effect; whereof the issue fell out very lamentable: *Theſeus* anger stretched no further then to rough words and old folks curses in their heate: For it seemeth, curled Fortune, and nought else was the cause of his Sonnes only mishap, as fore-spoken and wished for somewhat by his Father. These be the speciall things may be alledged for *Theſeus*. But for *Romulus* this was a notable thing in him: First, His beginning being very low and meane, and his Brother and he taken for bondmen, and the Children of Hogheards, before they were themselves all free, they set at liberty in manner all the LATINS, winning at one instant many Titles of glory and honour: as, Destroyers of their Enemies, Defenders of their Parents, Kings of Nations, Founders of new Cities, and no overthrowers of the old: whereas *Theſeus* of many habitations and houses made onely one, and did overthrow and pluck downe divers States, bearing the Names of ancient Kings, Princes, and half-gods of ATTICA. All these also did *Romulus* afterward, and compelled his Enemies whom he had overcome, to destroy their owne houses, and to come and dwell with their Conquerours: And in the beginning, he never changed nor increased any City that was built before, but built himselfe a new City out of the ground, getting all together, Land, Countrey, Kingdome, Kindred and Marriages, without losing or killing any man: and to the contrary, rather he did good to many poore vagabonds, who had neither Countrey, Land nor houses, and desired nothing else but to make a People amongst them, and to become Citizens of some City. Also *Romulus* bent not himselfe to follow Theeves and Robbers, but subdued by force of armes many mighty and puissant people: he took Cities, and triumphed over Kings and Princes which he had vanquished in battell. And touching the murder of *Remus*, it is not certainly known of whose hands he died: the most part of Authours doe charge other with the death of him. But it is certaine that *Romulus* delivered his Mother from apparent death, and restored his Grandfather to the royall Throne of *Enceas*, who before was deposed and brought from a King to servile obedience, without any regard of honour or dignity; to whom he did many more great pleasures and services: Besides he never offended him willingly, no not so much as ignorantly. Contrary I thinke *Theſeus*, who failing by negligence to put out his white saile at his returne, cannot be cleared of parricide, how eloquent an Oration soever could be made for his excuse; yea though it were before the most favourable judges that could be. Wherefore an ATHENIAN very well perceiving that it was an hard thing to excuse and defend so foule a fault, doth feigne that the good old man *Egeus* having news brought him that his Sonnes Ship was at hand, did run in so great haste to his Castle, to see his Sonne arrive as farre off, that as he ran, his foot hit against something and overthrew him: as though he had none of his people about him, or that never a man seeing him run so hastily to the sea side, did make haste to attend and waite upon him. Furthermore, *Theſeus* faults touching Women and Ravishments, of the twain, had the lesse shadow and colour of honesty: Because *Theſeus* did attempt it very often: for he stole away *Ariadne*, *Antiope*, and *Anaxo* the TROEZIAN. Againe, being stepped in yeares, and at later age, and past marriage, he stole away *Hellen* in her minority, being nothing neer to consent to marry. Then his taking of the Daughters of the TROEZIANS, of the LACEDÆMONIANS, and the AMAZONS (neither contracted to him, nor comparable to the birth and lineage of his own Countrey which were at ATHENS, and descended of the Noble race and progeny of *Erichonius*, and of *Cecrops*) did give men occasion to suspect that his womanishnesse was rather to satisfie lust, then of any great love. *Romulus* now in a contrary manner, when his people had taken eight hundred or thereabouts, of the SAEYNE Women to ravish them, kept but one only one for himselfe that was called *Herfilia*, as they say, and delivered the rest to his best and most honest Citizens. Afterwards by the honour, love and entertainment that he caused them to have and receive of their Husbands, he changed this violent force of ravishment, into a most perfect bond and league of amity: which did so knit and joyne in one these two Nations, that it was the beginning of the great mutuall love which grew afterwards betwixt those two Peoples, and consequently of the joyning of their powers together. Furthermore, time hath given a good testimony of the love, reverence, constancy, kindnesse, and all matrimoniall offices that he established by that meane betwixt Man and Wife: For in two hundred and thirty yeares afterwards, there was never Man that durst forsake or put away his Wife, nor the Wife her Husband. And as among the GRECIANS, the best Learned men, and most curious observers of Antiquities, do know his Name that was the first murderer of his Father and Mother: even so all the ROMANS knew what he was, which first durst put away his Wife: It was one *Spiritus Carvilius*, because his Wife was barren and had no Children. The effects also doe agree with the testimony of the time: For the Realme was common unto the Kings of both Nations; and through the alliance of these Marriages that began first of Ravishments, both Nations lived peaceably, and in equality, under one civill policy, and well governed Commonweale.

The

Wherein *Romulus* was to be preferred before *Theſeus*.

Romulus love to his kinne.

Theſeus detected for oblivion

Theſeus detected for his ravishments of men.

Romulus ravishment of women excused.

No divorce made in Rome for 230 yeares space. *Valer. Max.* lib. 5. 20. The first Wife put away in Rome.

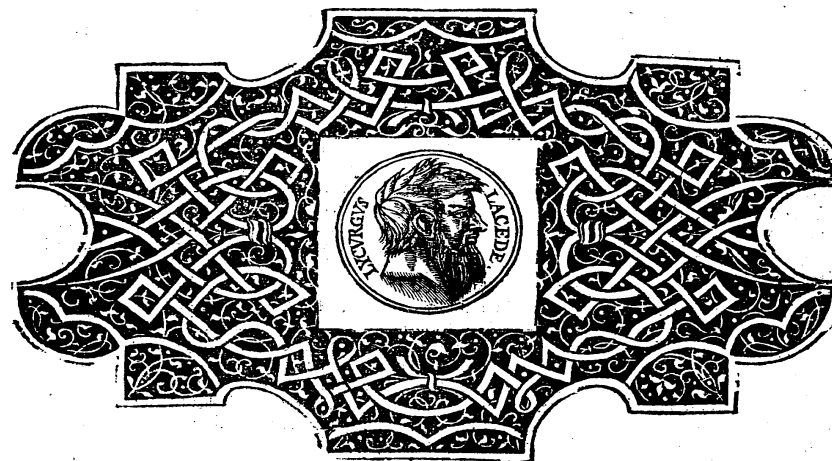
The ATHENIANS contrariwise, by *Theſeus* Marriages, did get neither love nor Kindred of any one person, but rather they procured warres, enmities, and the slaughter of their Citizens, with the losse in the end of the City of APHIDNES: and yet very hardly, and by the mercy of their enemies (whom they honoured as gods) they escaped for him, the danger which the TROIANS suffered afterwards, for the selfe act done by *Alexander Paris*. So it fell out at the last, that his Mother was not onely in danger, but even feelingly suffered like misery and captivity, which *Hecuba* did afterwards, when she was forsaken of her Sonne: unlesse peradventure those things that they write of the imprisonment and captivity of *Aisbra*, be found false and but fables, as for the fame and memory of *Theſeus* were behoveful, that both it and many other things also, were of no more troth nor likelihood. That which they write of *Romulus* divinements, maketh great difference between him and *Theſeus*. For *Romulus* in his birth was preserved by the marvellous favour of the gods: *Theſeus* to the contrary was begotten against the gods will, as appeared plainly by the answer of the Oracle to *Egeus*, that he should not meddle with any Woman in a strange and forraigne Countrey.

Theſeus marriages cause of wars and troubles.

Romulus more acceptable to the gods then *Theſeus*.

The end of ROMULUS Life.

THE LIFE OF LYCURGUS.



Ann. Mund.
3046.

Ant. Christ.
902.



Man cannot speake any thing at all of *Lycurgus*, who made the Lawes of the LACEDÆMONIANS, but he shall finde great contrariety of him amongst the Historiographers. For of his Parentage and travell out of his Countrey, of his Death and making of Lawes, of his forme of Government and order of executing the same, they have written diversly. And yet above all things, concerning him, they agree worst about the time he lived in: For some of them (and *Aristotle* is of that number) will needs have him to have been in the time of *Iphycus*, and that he did helpe him to stablish the Ordinance, that all Warres should cease during the Feast of the games Olympical: for a testimony whereof, they alledge the Copper coyt which was used to be throwne in those games, and had found graven upon it, the Name of *Lycurgus*. Other counting the dayes and time of the succession of the Kings of LACEDÆMON (as *Erastostenes* and *Apollodorus*) say, he was many yeares before the first Olympiad: *Timaeus* also thinketh there were two of this Name; and in divers times; howbeit the one having more estimation then the other, men gave this *Lycurgus* the glory of both their doings. Some say the eldest of the twaine was not long after *Homer*; and some write they saw him. *Xenophon* sheweth us plainly he was of great antiquity: saying he was in the time of the *Heraclides*, who were nearest of blood by descent to *Hercules*. For it is likely *Xenophon* meant not those *Heraclides*, which descended

Xenophon lib. de Lacedamon rep.

Of the Heracles.
Pausanias.
Diodorus,
and Clemens
Strom. lib. 1.

Lycurgus
kindred.

A subtle prom-
ise.

Prodicus, Reg-
ents, or Pro-
tectors of
young Kings
in minority.

Charilau, King
of the Lacedæ-
monians Herod.
lib. 1. Dionys.
Halic. lib. 1.

descended from *Hercules* selfe: for the last Kings of SPARTA were of *Hercules* progeny, as well as the first. Therefore he meaneth those *Heracles*, which doubtlesse were the first and nearest before *Hercules* time. Nevertheless though the Historiographers have written diversly of him, yet we will not leave to collect that which we finde written of him in ancient Histories, and is least to be denied, and by best testimonies most to be proved. And first of all, the Poet *Simonides* saith, his Father was called *Prytanis* and not *Ennomus*: and the most part do write the Pedigree otherwise, as well of *Lycurgus* selfe, as of *Ennomus*. For they say, that *Paracles* the Sonne of *Aristodemus* begat *Sons*, and *Sons* begat *Eurytion*, and *Eurytion* begat *Prytanis*, and *Prytanis* begat *Ennomus*, and *Ennomus* begat *Polydeutes* of his first Wife, and *Lycurgus* of the second Wife, called *Dianassa*: yet *Euthycidas* another Writer, maketh *Lycurgus* the first of descent in the right line from *Polydeutes*, and the eleventh after *Hercules*. But of all his ancestors, the Noblest was *Sons*, in whose time the City of SPARTA subdued the *IOOTES*, made them slaves, and did enlarge and increase their Dominion, with the Lands and Possessions they had got by Conquest of the *ARCADIANS*. And it is said that *Sons* himself being on a time straightly beleiged by the *CLITORIANS*, in a hard dry ground, where no water could be found, offered them thereupon to restore all their Lands againe that he had gotten from them, if he and all his company did drinke of a fountaine that was there not farre off. The *CLITORIANS* did grant unto it, and Peace also was sworne between them. Then he called all his Souldiers before him, and told them, if there were any one amongst them that would refrain from drinking, he would resigne his Kingdome to him: howbeit there was not one in all his company that could (or would) forbear to drinke, they were so fore athirst. So they all dranke heartily except himselfe, who being the last that came downe, did no more but a little moyst his mouth without, and and so refreshed himself, the enemies selves standing by, and dranke not a drop. By reason whereof, he refused afterwards to restore their Lands he had promised, alledging they had not all drunke. But that notwithstanding, he was greatly esteemed for his acts, and yet his house was not named after his own Name; but after his Sonnes Name *Eurytion*, they of his house were called *Eurytionides*. The reason was, because his Sonne *Eurytion*, to please the people, did first let fall and give over the sole and absolute power of a King. Whereupon there followed afterwards marvellous disorder and dissolution, which continued a great time in the City of SPARTA. For the people finding themselves at liberty, became very bold and disobedient: and some of the Kings that succeeded, were hated even to death, because they would perforce use their ancient authority over the people. Other, either to win the love and good-wills of the people, or because they saw they were not strong enough to rule them, did give themselves to dissemble. And this did so much increase the peoples loose and rebellious mindes, that *Lycurgus* own Father being King, was slaine among them. For one day, as he was parting a fray between two that were fighting, he had such a wound with a kitchen-knife, that he died: and left his Realme to his eldest Sonne *Polydeutes*, who died also soon after, and without Heir of his body, as was supposed. Inasmuch as every man thought *Lycurgus* should be King: and so he tooke it upon him, until it was understood that his Brothers Wife was young with *Childe*. Which thing so soone as he perceived, he published openly, that the Realme belonged to the *Childe* that should be borne, if it were a Sonne. After this he governed the Realme, but as the Kings Lieutenant and Regent. The *LACEDÆMONIANS* call the Regents of their Kings that are left within age, *Prodicos*. *Lycurgus* Brothers Widow did send, and let him secretly understand, that if he would promise to marry her when he should be King, that she would come before her time, and either miscarry or destroy that she went with. *Lycurgus* detestably abhorring this brutish and savage unnaturalnesse of the woman, did not reject her offer made him, but seemed rather to be very glad, then to dislike of it. Nevertheless he sent her word againe, she should not need to try malteries, with drinckes and medicines to make her come before her time; for in so doing, she might bring her selfe in danger, and be cast away for ever. Howbeit he advised her to goe her full time, and to be brought abed in good order, and then he would finde meanes enough to make away the *Childe* that should be borne. And so with such persuasions he drew on this woman to her full time of delivery. But so soone as he perceived she was neere her time, he sent certaine to keepe her, and to be present at her labour: commanding them, that if she were brought abed of a Daughter, they should leave her with the woman; and if it were a Sonne, they should forthwith bring it to him, in what place soever he was, and what businesse soever he had in hand. It chanced that the came even about supper-time, and was delivered of a Sonne. As he was sitting at the table with other Magistrates of the City, his servants entred the Hall, and presented to him the little Babe, which he tenderly took in his armes, and said openly to them that were present: Behold my Lords of SPARTA, here is a King borne unto us. And speaking these words, he laid him down in the Kings place, and named him *Charilaus*, as much to say as the joy of the people. Thus he saw all the lookers on rejoycing much, and might heare them praise and extoll his sincerity, justice and vertue. By this meanes he reigned onely as King but eight moneths: from whenceforth he was taken and esteemed for just and sincere a man among the Citizens, that there were more that willingly obeyed him for his vertue, then for that he was the Kings Regent, or that he had the government of the whole Realme in his hands. Notwithstanding there were some that bare him displeasure and malice, who sought to hinder and disgrace his credit, and chiefly the friends and kindred of the Kings Mother, whose Power and Honour were thought much impaired by *Lycurgus* authority: inasmuch as a Brother of hers called *Leonidas*, entring boldly into great words with him on a day, did not sticke to say to his face, I know for a certainty one of these dayes thou wilt be King; meaning thereby to bring him in suspicion with the Citizens. Which thing

thing though *Lycurgus* never meant, yet of a subtil and crafty wit, *Leonidas* thought by giving out such words, that if the young King happened to die in his minority naturally, it would be mistrusted that *Lycurgus* had secretly made him away. The Kings Mother also gave out such like speeches, which in the end did so trouble him, with the fear he had, what event might fall out thereof, that he determined to depart his Country, and by his absence to avoid the suspicion that therein might grow upon him any way. So he travelled abroad in the world as a stranger, until his Nephew had begotten a Sonne who was to succeed him in his Kingdom. He having with this determination taken his journey, went first of all into Creta, where he diligently observed and considered the manner of their living, the order of the government of their Commonweale, and ever kept company with the best, and ever was conferring with the most Learned. There he found very good Lawes in his judgement, which he noted of purpose to carry home to his Country, to serve when time should come. He found there other Lawes also; but of them he made no reckoning. Now there was one man that above the rest was reputed wise and skillfull in matters of State and Government, who was called *Thales*; with whom *Lycurgus* did so much by intreaty, and for familiar friendship, that he persuaded him to go with him unto SPARTA. This *Thales* was called the Poet Harper, whereupon he had that Title and Name; but in effect he sang all that the best and sufficientest Governours of the world could devise: for all his Songs were goodly Ditties, wherein he did exhort and persuade the people to live under obedience of the Law, in peace and concord one with the other. His words were set out with such tunes, countenance and accents, that were so full of sweetnesse, harmony and piercing, that inwardly it melted mens hearts, and drew the hearers of a love to like the most honest things, and to leave all hatred, enmity, sedition and division, which at that time reigned among them. So as it may be said, he it was that prepared the way for *Lycurgus*, whereby he afterwards reformed and brought the *LACEDÆMONIANS* unto reason. At his departing out of Creta, he went into Asia, with intent (as it is said) to compare the manner of life and policy of those of Creta (being then very straight and severe) with the superfluities and vanities of Ionia: and thereupon to consider the difference betweene their two manners and governments, as the Physician doth, who to know the whole and healthfull the better, doth use to compare them with the sick and diseased. It is very likely it was there, where he first saw *Homers* Works, in the hands of the heirs and successours of *Cliophylus*: and finding in the same, as well many rules of policy, as the great pleasure of Poets faining; he diligently copied it out, and made a volume thereof to carry into Greece. It is true, there was much fame abroad of *Homers* poesies among the *Grecians*, howbeit there were few of them brought together; but were scattered here and there in diverse mens hands, in pamphlets and pieces unsewed and without any order: but the first that brought them most to light among men, was *Lycurgus*. The *EGYPTIANS* say, that he was in their countrey also, and that having found there one notable Ordinance among other, that their souldiers and men of war were separated from the rest of the people, he brought the practise of it into SPARTA: where setting the Merchants, Artificers and Labourers every one apart by themselves, he did establish a noble Commonweale. So the *EGYPTIAN* Historiographers, and some others also of Greece do write. He was also in AFRICK, and in SPAIN, and as farre as INDIA, to conferre with the wise men there, that were called the Philosophers of INDIA. I know no man that hath written it, saying *Aristocrates*, that was *Hipparchus* sonne. The *LACEDÆMONIANS* wished for him often when he was gone, and sent diverse and many a time to call him home: who thought their Kings had but the honour and title of Kings, and not the vertue or majesty of a Prince, whereby they did excell the common people. But as for *Lycurgus*, they thought of him thus: that he was a man borne to rule, to command, and to give order, as having in him a certaine naturall grace and power, to draw men willingly to obey him. Moreover the Kings themselves were not unwilling to have him to returne home, because they hoped that his presence would somewhat bridle and restrain the people from their insolency and disobedience towards them. Whereupon *Lycurgus* returning home in this opinion and affection of men, it fell out that he was no sooner arrived, but he began to devise how to alter the whole government of the Commonweale, and throughout to change the whole course and order of the State: thinking that to make only certaine particular Lawes were to no purpose, but much like, as one should give some easie medicine, to purge an overthrowne body with all humours and diseases. Therefore he thought first that all grosse and superfluous humours were meet to be dissolved and purged, and then afterwards to give them a new form and order of government. When he had thus determined with himself, before he would take in hand to do any thing, he went to the City of DELPHES: where after he had sacrificed to *Apollo*, he consulted with him about his matters. From whom he returned with his glorious title by the Oracle of *Pythia*: O beloved of the gods, and rather god then man. Where when he craved grace of *Apollo* to establish good Lawes in his Country, it was answered him: that *Apollo* granted his petition, and that he should ordaine the best and perfectest manner of a Commonweale, that ever had or should be in the world. This answer did comfort him very much, and so he began to break his purpose to certain of the chiefe of the City, and secretly to pray and exhort them to helpe him, going first to those he knew to be his friends, and after by little and little he won others to him, who joined with him in his enterprise. So when he saw the time fit for the matter; he caused thirty of the chiefe men of the City in a morning to come into the market-place well appointed and furnished, to suppress those that would attempt to hinder their purpose. *Hermippus* the Historiographer rehearseth twenty of the chiefe: but he that above all others did most assist him in his doings, and was the greatest aid unto the stablishing of his Lawes,

Lycurgus travelled Countreys.

Thales a Poet harper.

Lycurgus his journey into Asia.

The praise of *Homers* works, *Homers* Poems known to the *Grecians*, brought to light by *Lycurgus*.

Lycurgus returneth and changeth all the Commonweale.

Lycurgus counselleth with the Oracle of *Apollo* at Delphes.

Chalceus
Juno's brazen
Temple.

Lycurgus in-
stitutes a
Senate of the
Lacedaemonians
Plat. de leg. 3.

28 was the
number of the
Senators.

Retra of Ly-
curgus.

Gnacion II.

The open
fields appoint-
ed for place of
council.

Laws, was called *Arithmiadas*. The King *Charilaus* hearing of this assembly, did fear there had been some conspiracy or infurrection against his person, and for his safety he fled into the Temple of *Juno*, and *Chalceus*, as much to say, as *Juno's* brazen Temple. Howbeit afterwards when he knew the troth, he waxed bold and came out of the Temple again, and he himself favoured the interprise, being a Prince of a noble minde, howbeit very soft by nature, as witnesseth *Archelaus* (that was then the other King of *LACEDÆMON*) by telling how *Charilaus* answered one that praised him to his face, in saying he was a good man. And how should I not (quoth he) be good, when I cannot be evil to the evil? In this change of the state, many things were altered by *Lycurgus*, but his chiefest alteration was, his Law of the erection of a Senate, which he made to have a regal power and equall authority with the Kings in matters of weight and importance, and was (as *Plato* saith) to be the healthful counterpoise of the whole body of the Commonweale. The other State before was ever wavering, sometime inclining to tyranny, when the Kings were too mighty: and sometime to confusion, when the people would usurpe authority. *Lycurgus* therefore placed between the Kings and the people, a Counsell of Senators, which was as a strong beane, that held both these extremes in an even balance, and gave sure footing and ground to either part to make strong the state of the Commonweale. For the 28. Senators (which made the whole body of the Senate) tooke sometime the Kings part, when it was needfull to pull down the fury of the people: and contrarily, they held sometimes with the people against the Kings, to bridle their tyrannical government. *Aristotle* saith, he ordained the number of Senators to be but eight and twenty, because two of thirty that joyned with him as afore, did for feare forsake him at his enterprise. Howbeit *Sphermus* writeth, that from the beginning, he never purposed to have more then eight and twenty to be the Senate. And perhaps he had great regard to make it a perfect number, considering it is compounded of the number of seven, multiplied by foure: and is the first perfect number next to six being equall to all parts gathered together. But as for me, my opinion is, he chose this number rather then any other, because he meant the whole body of the Counsell should be but thirty persons, adding to that number, the two Kings. *Lycurgus* tooke so great care to establish well this Counsell, that he brought an Oracle for it, from *Apollo's* Temple in *DELPHES*. This Oracle is called unto this day *Retra*, as who would say, the Statute-Oracle: wherof the answer was: When thou hast built a Temple unto *Jupiter* the *Syllanian*, and to *Minerva*, the *Syllanian*, and divided the people into lineages, thou shalt establish a Senate of thirty Counsellors, with the two Kings: and shalt assemble the people at times convenient, in the place betweene the bridge and the River *CNACION*. There the Senators shall propound all matters and breake up after their assemblies: and it shall not be lawfull for the people to speake one word. In those dayes the people were ever assembled betweene two Rivers, for there was no Hall to assemble a Counsell at large, nor any other place prepared for them. For *Lycurgus* thought no builded place meet for men to give good counsell in, or to determine causes, but rather a hinderance: (because in such places men be drawne to muse on vaine things, and their mindes be carried away with beholding the Images, Tables, and Pictures, commonly set up for ornament in such open places. And if it be in a Theater, then beholding the place where the playes and sports be made, they think more of them, then of any counsell. Again, if it be in a great hall, then of the faire embowed or vawted roofs, or of the fretted feelings curiously wrought, and sumptuously set forth, and tend not fill their businesse they come for. When the people were assembled in counsell, it was not lawfull for any of them to put forth matters to the counsell to be determined, neither might any of them deliver his opinion what he thought of any thing: but the people had only authority to give their assent (if they thought good) to the things propounded by the Senators, or the two Kings. Howbeit afterwards, the two Kings *Polydorus* and *Theopompus*, because the people did many times crosse and alter the determination of the Senate, by taking away or adding something to it, they did adde these words to the Oracle afore said: That if the people would not assent to any Ordinance of the Senate, then should it be lawfull for the Kings and Senate to breake up the counsell, and to frustrate all things done in the same: the wise advice of the Senate being encountered thus, and their meaning to the best, so perverted to the worse. These two Kings perfwaded the people, that at the very first, this addition came with the Oracle of *Apollo* as the Poet *Tyrtamus* maketh mention in the place, where he saith:

*From Delphos Ile, this oracle is brought
Of Pythia, into their countrey soile.*

*The Kings (even they to whom of right there ought
A loving care in princely breasts to boile,*

The Spartane wealth, to gard from every spoile:)

Shall be the chief, grave causes to decide

With Senators: whose sound advice is tride

And next to them the people shall fulfill

As much as seemes to please their princes will.

Lycurgus now having thus tempered the form of his common-weale, it seemed not withstanding to those that came after him, that this small number of thirty persons that made the Senate, was yet too mighty, and of too great authority. Wherefore to bridle them in a litle, they gave them (as *Plato* saith) a bit in their mouths, and that was the *Ephores*, which signifie as much as controullers: and were erected about a hundred and thirty years after the death of *Lycurgus*. The first which was chosen of these, was *Elatus*, and it was in the time of King *Theopompus*, whose wife on a day in her anger said: How through his negligence he would leave lesse to his successors; then he had received

The Institution
of the
Ephores.

received of his predeceffors. To whom he answered againe, Not lesse, but more, for that it shall continue longer, and with a more surety. For, in losing thus their too absolute power that wrought them great envy and hatred among their Citizens, they did escape the danger and mischief that their neighbours the *ARGIVES* and *MESSENIANS* did feele: who would not give over the soveraigne authority which they had gotten once. This example maketh *Lycurgus* great wisdom and foresight manifestly knowne: who so will deeply consider the seditions and ill governments of the *ARGIVES*, and *MESSENIANS* (their neere neighbours and kinfmen) as well from the people, as from the Kings; who from the beginning had all things alike to the *SPARTANS*: and in dividing of their Lands a far better order then theirs. This notwithstanding they did not prosper long, but through the pride of their Kings, and the disobedience of their people, they entred into civil wars one against another, shewing by their disorders and misfortunes the special grace the gods did beare to *SPARTA*, to give them such a reformer, as did so wisely temper the state of their Commonweale, as we will shew hereafter. The second Law that *Lycurgus* made, and the boldest and hardest he ever took in hand, was the making of a new division of their Lands. For he saw so great a disorder and inequality among the inhabitants, as well of the Country, as of the City *LACEDÆMON*, by reason some (and the greatest number of them) were so poor, that they had not a handfull of ground, and other some being least in number were very rich, that had all: he thought with himself to banish out of the City all infolency, envy, covetousnes, and delicioufnes, and also all riches and poverty, which he took for the greatest, and most continual plagues of a City, or Commonweale. For this purpose, he imagined there was none so ready and necessary a meane, as to perswade his Citizens to suffer all the Lands, Possessions, and Inheritance of their Countrey, to runne in common together: and that they should make a new division equally in partition amongst themselves, to live from thenceforth as it were like brothers together, so that no one were richer then another, and none should seeke to goe before each other, any other way then in vertue onely: thinking there should be no difference or inequality among inhabitants of one City, but the reproaches of dishonesty, and the praises of vertue. Thus *Lycurgus* following his determination, did out of hand make a Law of the division of their Lands. For first he did divide all the Countrey of *LACONIA*, into thirty thousand equal parts, the which he did set out for those that inhabited about *SPARTA*: and of those Lands that joyned next to the City of *SPARTA*, that was the first metropolis of *LACONIA*, he made other nine thousand parts, which he divided to the naturall Citizens of *SPARTA*, who be those that are properly called *SPARTANS*. Howbeit some will say, he made but six thousand parts, and that King *Polydorus* afterwards did adde two other three thousand parts. Others say also, that *Lycurgus* of these nine thousand parts made but the halfe onely, and *Polydorus* the rest. Every one of these parts was such, as might yeeld unto the owner yearly, threecore and ten bushels of Barley for a Man, and twelve bushels for the Woman, and of Wine and other liquid fruits, much like in proportion, which quantity *Lycurgus* judged to be sufficient, to keep the body of a man in health, and to make him strong and lusty, without any further allowance. They say after this, as he returned home one day out of the fields, and came over the Lands where Wheate had been reaped not long before, and saw the number of sheaves lying in every focke together, and no one focke bigger then another: he fell a laughing, and told them that were with him, Me thinks all *LACONIA* is as it were an Inheritance of many Brethren, who had newly made partition together. He gave an attempt to have divided also moveables, and to have made a common partition betweene them, to the end he would have utterly taken away all inequality. But finding the Citizens tooke it very impatiently, that openly that which they had should be taken away, he went about to do it more secretly, and in a cunninger wise to take away that covetousnesse. For first of all he did forbid all Coine of Gold and Silver to be currant: and then he did set out certaine Coines of Iron, which he commanded only to be currant, whereof a great weight and quantity was but little worth. So as to lay up thereof the value of ten Minas: it would have occupied a whole cellar in a house, besides it would have needed a yoke of Oxen to carry it any where. Now Gold and Silver being thus banished out of the Countrey, many lewd parts and faults must needs cease thereby. For who would rob, steale, pick, take away, hide, procure, or hoord up any thing, that had no great occasion to desire, nor any profit to possesse, nor would be any pleasure to use or employ? For, the Iron they occupied for their Coine, they cast Vinegar upon it while it was red-hot out of the fire, to kill the strength and working of it to any other use: for thereby it was so eager and brittle, that it would bide no hammer, nor could be made, beaten, or forged to any other fashion. By this meane he banished also, all superfluous and unprofitable Sciences, which he knew he should not need to doe by any Proclamation: because they would fall away (or the most part of them) even of themselves, when the basenesse of the Money they should take for their work, should undoe them. For their Iron monies were not currant elsewhere in the Cities of *GREECE*, but every body made a jest of it there. By this occasion, the *LACEDÆMONIANS* could buy no forreigne wares nor merchandises, neither came there any Ship into their haven to trafficke with them, neither any fine curious Rhetorician did repaire into their Countrey to teach them eloquence, and the cunning craft of lying: nor yet came there to them any Wisard to tell them their Fortune, nor any Pander to keep any Brothell house; nor yet Goldsmith or Jeweller, to make or sell any toyes or trifles of gold or silver to set forth Women: considering all these things are used to be made to get Money, and to hoord up that they had not. After this sort, delicatenesse that wanted many things that entertained it, began by little and

Lycurgus wise-
dom.

Lycurgus ma-
keth equal di-
vision of lands
unto the Ci-
tizens.

All the lands
through the
Countrey of
Laconia, di-
vided into 30000
parts.
All the lands
about *Sparta*
into 9000.
parts.
What barley
every part did
yeeld.

Lycurgus chan-
ged all gold
and silver into
iron coin.

Lycurgus made
all sciences and
crafts of no
value.

Cothon a
strange kinde
of cup of the
Lacedæmonian
Souldiers.

Lycurgus ap-
pointeth order
for diet unto
the Lacedæ-
monians.

Alcander struck
out *Lycurgus*
eye.

Lycurgus paci-
ence and gen-
tleness.

Minerva *Opi-*
lidae.

Andria and
Phiditia, meals
why so called.

little to vanish away, and lastly, to fall off from themselves: when the most rich men have no more occasion then the poorest, and having no meane to shew her selfe openly in the world, was faine to remaine shut at home idly, as not able to doe her Master any service. Thereupon moveables and household stuff (which a man cannot be without, and must be daily occupied) as bedsteads, tables, chaires, and such like necessaries for a house, were excellently well made: and men did greatly praise the fashion of the LACONIAN Cup which they called *Cothon*, and especially for a Souldier in the wars, as *Critias* was wont to say. For it was made after such a fashion, that the color of it did let the eye to discern the foule and unwholsome water, which men are driven oft times to drinke in a Campe, and goeth many times against ones stomach to see it: and if by chance there was any filth or mud in the bottom, it would cleave and stick fast upon the ribs of the belly, and nothing came through the neck but cleane water to his mouth that dranke it. The reformer of their State was the cause of all this: because their Artificers tending now to superfluous works, were occupied about the making of their most necessary things. Further, now to drive away all superfluity and delicioufnesse, and to root out utterly desire to get and gather: he made another third Law for eating and drinking, and against feasts and banquets. First he willed and commanded the Citizens, that they should eate together all of one meate, and chiefly of those he had permitted by his Ordinance. Then he did expressly forbid them to eate alone, or apart, or secretly by themselves, upon rich tables and sumptuous beds, abusing the labour of excellent workmen, and the devices of lickerish Cooks, to cramme themselves in corners, as they do to fat up Beasts and Poultry, which doth not onely breed ill conditions in the minde, but doth marre the complexions of men, and the good state of their bodies, when they give themselves over to such sensuality and gluttony. Whereof it followeth in the end, that men must needs sleepe much, to helpe to digest the excessse of meates they have taken, and then must they goe to the hot-houles to bathe themselves, and spend long time about the ordinary attendance of their sickly bodies. This was a marvellous thing for him for to bring to passe, but much more, to make riches not to be stolten, and least of all to be covered, as *Theophrastus* said of him: which by this meane of making them eate together with all sobriety at their ordinary diet, was brought to passe. For there was no more meane to the rich, then to the poore, to use to play, or shew riches, fith both of them were forced to be together in one place, and to eate all of one meate: so as that which is commonly spoken, that *Pluto* the god of riches is blinde, was truly verified onely in the City of SPARTA, above all other places of the world. For there riches were laid on the ground like a corse without a foule, that moveth no whit at all: considering it was not lawfull for any man to eate at home secretly in his house before he came to their open Halls, nor might not come thither for a countenance onely to his meales, being already full and well fraught. For every mans eye was upon those especially which did not eate and drinke with a good stomach amongst them: and it was the use to reproach them as gluttons, and dainty mouthed men, which refused to eate as it were in common together. So as this was the Ordinance they say, that grieved most the rich above all that *Lycurgus* made, and whereat they were most mad and angry with him: in so much, as on a day, they all setting upon him to alter it, he was compelled to run out of the market-place, and getting ground of them, he recovered the liberties of a Church, before any could overtake him, saving one young man called *Alcander*, who otherwise had no ill nature in him, but that he was somewhat quick of his hand, and cholerick withall. Who following *Lycurgus* neerer then any other, did give him a blow overthwart the face with a staffe, and strake out one of his eyes, as *Lycurgus* turned toward him. Yet for all this, *Lycurgus* never bashed or made word at the matter, but did lift up his head to those that followed him, and shewed them his face all a gore-bloud, and his eye put out cleane: whereof they were so fore ashamed, that there was not a man that durst once open his mouth against him, but to the contrary, they seemed to pity him, and did deliver *Alcander* into his hands that had done the deed, to punish him as himselfe pleased. And so they all brought him to his house, and shewed they were right heartily sorry for his hurt. *Lycurgus* thanking them, returned them all backe againe, save that he made *Alcander* to goe with him into his house, where he never hurt him, nor gave him fowle word: but commanded him onely to waite upon him, and made his other ordinary servants to withdraw their waiting. This young man who now began to spie his own fault, did most willingly attend upon him, and never spake word to the contrary. When he had served him a certaine time, being very neere continually about him, he began to feeble and taste of his naturall liberality, and law of what affection and intention *Lycurgus* was moved to doe all he did: he perceived what was the severity of his ordinary life, and what his constancy was to endure labour without wearinesse. *Alcander* then began to love and honour *Lycurgus* from his heart, and told his Parents and Friends, how he was no such severe man as he seemed, but was of so kinde and gentle a nature to all men as might be. See I pray you how *Alcander* was transformed by *Lycurgus*, and his punishment also, which he should have received: for of a fierce, rash, and lewd conditioned youth he was before, he became now a very grave and wise man. But for memory of this his misfortune, *Lycurgus* built a Temple to *Minerva*, which he surnamed *Opiiletide*, because the DORIANS which dwell in those parts of PELOPONNESUS, do call the eye, *Opiiletide*. There are other Writers (as *Dio Corides* for one) which say *Lycurgus* had a blow with a staffe, but he had not his eye stricken out with it: and how contrariwise, he founded this Temple to *Minerva*, to give thanks for healing of his eye. Hereof it came, that ever since the SPARTANS have bene restrained to carry staves in any assembly of Counsell. But to returne to their common repasts, which the CRETANS call *Andria*, and the LACEDÆMONIANS *Phiditia*, either because they were

were places wherein they learned to live soberly and straightly, (for in the GREEKE Tongue *Phido* is to save and spare) or else because their amity and friendship grew there towards one another, as if they would have called them *Philitia*, Feasts of Love, by changing D. into L. It may be also they added the first Letter as superfluous, and meant to call the places *Editia*, because they did eate and drinke there: They sate in their Halls by fiftene in a company, little more or lesse; and at the beginning of every moneth, every one brought a bushell of Meale, eight gallons of Wine, five pound of Cheele, and two pound and a halfe of Figgs for a Man, besides some little portion of their Money to buy certain fresh Cates. And over and above all this, every man when he did sacrifice in his house was bound to send the best and chiefeft things of his Sacrifice to the Halls to be eaten. Likewise if any man went on hunting, and killed any Venison, it was an order, he should send a piece of the flesh thither. Having these two lawfull causes, they might eate and drinke by themselves at home, either when they sacrificed any beast to the gods, or when they came late home from hunting: otherwise they were bound of necessity to meet in their Halls at meales, if they would eat any thing. This order they kept very straightly a great time: in so much as King *Agis* on a day, returning from the wars, where he had overthrowne the ATHENIANS, and being desirous to sup at home privately with the Queen his Wife, he sent to the Halls for his portion. But the *Polemarchi*, that be certain Officers assisting the King in the wars, did deny him. The next day *Agis* left off for spite, to do the accustomed Sacrifice they were wont to celebrate in the end of every war: whereupon they set a fine on his head, and condemned him to pay it. The young Children also went to these repasts, even as they should goe to Schooles to learne Gravity and Temperance, where they heard wise and grave discourses touching the government of a Commonweale, but not of Masters that were as hirelings. There they learned prettily to play upon Words, and pleasantly to sport one with another, without any broad speeches or uncomely jests; and at others hands to beare the same againe, without choler or anger. For this property have the LACEDÆMONIANS above all other, to take and give a mock without any offence: nevertheless if any mans nature could not beare it, he needed but pray the party to forbear his jesting, and so he left it straight. And it was ever an ordinary thing among them, that the eldest of the company told the rest that were come into the Hall to meale, with shewing them of the doore: Sirs, remember, there goeth not a word here out of this doore. Even so he that would be received to meale there in their company, must first of necessity be allowed and received in this sort, by all the rest. Every one of them took a little ball of bran or dow to wash their hands with, and without ever a word speaking, they threw it into a basin, which the servant that waited on them at the table did carry upon his head: he that was contented the other should be received in company, did cast in his ball as he did receive it; but if he misliked him, then he pressed it flat betwene his fingers, and threw it in. This ball of bran thus pressed flat, was as much as a Beane bored through, and was to them a signe of condemnation. If any one ball were found of this sort, the suiter was rejected: for they would not have any enter into their company that was not liked of all the rest. He that thus was rejected, they say he was discarded: for the basin wherein the little balls were carried, was called *Caddos*. The best dish they served at these meales, was that they call their black-broth: so that when they had that, the old men did eate no flesh, but left it all to the young men, and they by themselves did eate the broth. There was a King of PONTUS, that being desirous to taste of this black-broth, did buy of purpose a LACEDÆMONIAN Cook: but after he had once tasted thereof, he was very angry straight. The Cook then said unto him: And if please your grace, ere one shall finde this broth good, he must be washed first in the River EUROTAS. After they had eate and drunke thus soberly together, every one repaired home without any light: for it was not lawfull for them to go thither, nor any where else with light, because they should accustom themselves boldly to goe up and down the darke, and all about in the night. This was the order and manner of their meales. But here is specially to be noted, that *Lycurgus* would in no wise have any of his Lawes put in writing. For it is expressly set down in his Lawes they call *Retra*, that none of his Lawes should be written. For he thought that which should chiefly make a City happy and vertuous, ought thoroughly by education to be printed in mens hearts and manners, as to have continuance for ever: which he tooke to be love and good-will, as a farre stronger knot to tie them with, then any other compulsory Law. Which when men by use and custom, through good education, doe take in their childhood, it maketh every man to be a Law to himselfe. Furthermore, concerning buying and bargaining one with another, which are but trifles, and sometime are changed into one sort, and sometime in another, as occasion serveth: he thought it best not to constrain them to do it by writing, nor to establish customes that might not be altered, but rather to leave them to the liberty and discretion of men which had bene brought up in the same, both to take away, and to adde therein, as the case and time should require. But to conclude, he thought the chiefeft point of a good Law-maker or reformer of the Commonweale was, to cause men to be well brought up and instructed. One of his Ordinances therefore was expressly, that not one of his Lawes should be written. Another of his devices was, against superfluous charges and expences: which to avoid, he made a Law that all roofs of houses should be made onely with the axe, and all gates and doores with the sawe, and that without any other toole of occupation. Wherein he had the like imagination as afterwards *Epaminondas* had, when he said, speaking of his table: Such a boord never receiveth any treason. Even so thought *Lycurgus*, that such a built house would never receive curiositie or daintinesse. For no man is so madly disposed or simple witted, as to bring into so poore and meane houses, bedsteads with Silver feet, imbrodered coverlets, or counterpoints of purple filke, neither yet plate of gold nor of silver,

Children were
brought to
these meals.

The property
of a Lacedæ-
monian.

The order of
receiving any
man into their
company at
meales.

The blacke-
broth.
Cicero calleth
this King,
Dionysius the
Tyrant. Tulse.

Lycurgus would
not have his
Lawes written
otherwise then
in mens minds

Retra for ex-
cessive or riot.

Epaminondas
saying.

King Leontychidas
saying,
Retra for
Warre.

Amacidas
saying.

The discipline
of Women
amongst
the Lacedæ-
monians.
Arist. Polit.
lib. 7. cap.
17.
The exer-
cises and
discipline
of Maydes.

The saying
of a Laco-
nian Woman.

Men that
would not
marry, Ly-
curgus re-
puted infa-
mous by Law

Matrimo-
niall cere-
monies in
Lacedæmon.

nor such other like costly furniture and fineness, as those things require to waite upon them: because the beds must be answerable to the meanness of the house, the furnitures of the beds must be fitlike to the same, and all other household-stuffe, diet, meat and drinke agreeable to the rest. Hereof proceeded that, which *Leontychidas* the first King of that Name, said once: who supping on a time in the City of CORINTH, and seeing the roof of the Hall where he sat, sumptuously embowed and carved, he asked straight if the Trees did grow carved so in that Country. The third Law was, he did forbid them to make warre often with one enemy, lest the enemy forced to take often armes in hand, might in the end grow experter and valiantier then they. For this cause King *Agislaus* was greatly blamed who was a long time after: For by making often warres with the Country of BOEOTIA, he made the THEBANS in the end as expert and valiant Souldiers as the LACEDÆMONIANS. Whereupon *Antalcidas* seeing him hurt one day, said unto him: The THEBANS have nobly rewarded thee for their learning, sith thou hast made them expert Souldiers unwilling to learne the discipline of warre. These be the Lawes *Lycurgus* selfe called *Retra*, and signifies as much as Oracles, that the god *Apollo* had discovered to him. Now the education of Children, he esteemed the chiefest and greatest matter that a reformer of Lawes should establish. Therefore beginning afarre off, he first considered the state of Marriage and the generation of Children. For *Aristotle* saith, that *Lycurgus* did attempt to reforme Women, and did soone give it over againe: because he could do no good therein, by reason of the great liberty they had taken by the absence of their Husbands in the warres, compelled often so to be abroad, and that they did leave them Mistresses of their houses, and at their returne did honour them so much, and make of them so beyond measure, with calling of them Ladies and Mistresses: Howbeit this is true, that he had an eye to the rule and order of their life, as well as he had of Mens; and so reason did require. First of all, he willed that the Maidens should harden their bodies with exercise of running, wrestling, throwing the Barre, and casting the Dart, to the end that the fruit wherewith they might be afterwards conceived, taking nourishment of a strong and lusty body, should shoot out and spread the better: and that they by gathering strength thus by exercises, should more easily away with the pains of Child-bearing. And to take away from them their womannish daintinesse and fineness, he brought up a custome, for young Maides and Boyes to goe as it were a profection; and to dance naked at solemne Feasts and Sacrifices, and to sing certaine Songs of their owne making, in the presence and sight of young men. To whom by the way they gave many times pretty mocks of purpose, as pleasantly hitting them home, for things wherein before they had forgotten their duties: and sometimes also in their Song, for their virtues, witts or manners, they praised them which had deserved it. By this means they did set young mens hearts on fire, to strive to winne most praise and honour. For who so was praised of them for a valiant man, or whose worthy acts were sung by them, he thereby was encouraged to do the better another time: and the pretty girds and quippes they gave to others, were of no lesse force, then the sharpest words and admonitions that otherwise could be given them. This tooke place the rather, because it was done in the presence of the Kings, the Senators, and all the rest of the Citizens which came thither to see those sports. And though the Maids did shew themselves thus naked openly, yet was there no dishonesty seene nor offered, but all this sport was full of playes and toys, without any youthfull part or wantonnesse: and rather carried a shew of demurenesse, and a desire to have their best-made bodies seene and spied. Moreover, it somewhat lifted up their hearts, and made them noblier minded, by giving them to understand, that it was no lesse comelier for them, in their kinde and exercises to carry the Bell, then it was for men in their games and exercises to carry the prize. Hereof it came, that the Women of LACEDÆMON were so bold to say, and think of themselves that, which *Gorgon* the Wife of King *Leonidas* one day answered, being in talke with a strange woman that said to her; There be no Women in the world that command their Husbands, but you Wives of LACEDÆMON. Whereto the Queene straight replied: So be there no Women but we, which bring forth Men. Furthermore, these playes, sports and dances, the Maids did naked before young men, were provocations to draw and allure the young Men to marry: not as perswaded by Geometrical reasons, as saith *Plato*, but brought to it by liking and of very love. Those which would not marry he made infamous by Law. For it was not lawfull for such to be present, where those open games and pastimes were shewed naked. Furthermore the Officers of the City compelled such as would not marry, even in the hardest time of the winter, to environ the place of these sports, and to go up and downe stark naked, and to sing a certaine Song made for the purpose against them, which was; that justly were they punished, because that Law they disobeyed. Moreover, when such were old, they had not the honour and reverence done them; which old married men usually received. Therefore there was no man that misliked or reproved that, which was spoken to *Democritus*: albeit otherwise he was a noble Captaine. For, coming into a preference, there was a young man which would not vouchsafe to rise and do him reverence, nor to give him place for to sit down: And worthily, quoth he, because thou hast not gotten a Sonne, who may doe so much for me in time to come. Those which were desirous to marry any, were driven to take them away by force whom they would marry, not little young wenches I meane, which were not of age to be married; but lusty and strong Maides, of age to beare Children. And when one of them was stolen away in this sort, she that was privie thereto, and meant to make the marriage, came and shaved the hairs of her head that was married: then she put her into mans apparell, and gave her all things sute-like th the same, and laid her upon a mattresse all alone, without light or Candle. After this was done, the Bridegroom being neither drunk nor finelier apparelled then he was wont to be, but having supped soberly at his Ordinary,

came

came home secretly to the house where the Bride was: and there untied his Wives girdle, tooke her in his arms, layed her upon a bed, and talked together a while, and afterwards faire and softly stole away to the place where he was wont to sleepe with other young men. And so from thenceforth, he continued alwaies to do the like, being all the day time with his Companions, and sleeping most of the night, unless he sometime stole to see his Wife; being afraid, and ashamed ever to be seene by any of the house where she was. And hereunto his young Wife did helpe for her part, to spie meanes and occasions how they might meete together, and not be seene. This manner endured a great while and untill some of them had Children, before they boldly met together, and saw each other on the day time. This secret meeting in this sort did serve to good purposes, not onely because it was some meane of continencie, and chastenesse, but also it kept their bodies in strength and better State to bring forth Children. It continued also in both parties, as still burning Love and a new desire of the one to the other, not as it were luke-warme, nor weary, as their commonly be which have their Bellies full of Love, and as much as they lust; but they ever parted with an Appetite one from another, keeping still a longing desire to devise how to meet againe. Now when he had stablished such a continencie, and so kinde a framed Honesty in Marriage, he tooke no lesse care to drive away all foolish jealousie therein, thinking it very good reason to beware there should be no violence, nor confusion in Marriage: and yet as reason would, they should suffer those which were worthy to get Children as it were in common, laughing, at the mad folly of them which revenge such things with Warre and Bloudshed, as though in that case men in no wise should have no fellowship together. Therefore a man was not to be blamed, being stepped in yeares, and having a young Wife, if seeing a faire young Man that liked him, and knowne with all to be of a gentle Nature, he brought him home to get his Wife with Child, and afterwards would avow it for his, as if himselfe had gotten it. It was Lawfull also for an Honest man that Loved another mans Wife, for that he saw her wife, shamefast, and bringing forth goodly Children, to intreat her Husband to suffer him to lye with her, and that he might also plow in that lusty ground, and cast abroad the seede of well favoured Children: which by this meane came to be Common in Bloud and Parentage, with the most Honourable and Honestest persons. For first of all, *Lycurgus* did not like that Children should be private to any man, but that they should be Common to the Commonweale: by which reason he would also, that such as should become Citizens, should not be begotten of every man, but of the most Honestest man onely. So *Lycurgus* thought also there were many foolish vaine toys and fancies, in the Laws and Orders of other Nations, touching Marriage: seeing they caused their Bitches and Mares to be limed and covered with the fairest Dogs and goodliest Italons that might be gotten, praying or paying the Masters and owners of the same: and kept their Wives notwithstanding shut up safe under locke and key, for feare lest other then themselves might get them with Childe, although they were tickely, feeble brained, and extreme old. As if it were not first of all, and chiefly a discommodity to the Fathers and Mothers, and likewise to those that bring them up, to have unperfect and feeble Children borne, as it were begotten of dry and withered men: and then to the contrary, what pleasure and benefit is it to those that have faire and good Children borne, as gotten of like seede and man? These things were done then by Natural and civill reason, nevertheless they say Women were so farre off from intreatie, as ever they were before: so as in old time, in SPARTA, men knew not what adultery meant. For proove whereof, the answer made by *Geradas* (one of the first ancient SPARTANS) unto a stranger, may be alledged, that asked him, what punishment they had for Adulterers. My friend, quoth he there be none here. But if there were; replied the stranger againe. Marry said he, then he must pay as great a Bull; as standing upon the top of the Mountaine Taygetus, may drinke in the River Eurotas. Ye marry: but how is it possible (quoth the stranger) to finde such a Bull? *Geradas* laughing, answered him againe: And how were it possible also to finde an Adulterer in SPARTA? And this is that which is found of *Lycurgus* Lawes touching Marriages. Furthermore, after the Birth of every Boy, the Father was no more Master of him, to cocker and bring him up after his will: but he himselfe carried him to a certaine place called *Lefché*, where the eldest men of his kindred being set, did view the Child: and if they found him faire, and well proportioned of all his Limmes and strong, they gave order he should be brought up, and appointed him one of the nine thousand parts of Inheritance for his education. Contrariwise, if they found him deformed, mishapen, or Leane, or Pale, they sent him to be thrown in a deep pit of water, which they Commonly called *Apothetes*, and as a man would say, the Common house of office: holding Opinion it was neither good for the Child, nor yet for the Commonweale, that it should live, considering from his Birth he was not well made, nor given to be strong, healthfull, nor lusty of Body all his Life long. For this cause therefore, the Nurse after their Birth did not wash them with water simply (as they do every where at that time) but with water mingled with wine: and thereby did they prove, whether the Complexion or temperature of their Bodies were good or ill. For they suppose, that Children which are given to have the falling-Sicknesse, or otherwise to be full of reumes and sicknesse, cannot abide washing with wine, but rather dry and pine away: as contrarily the other which are healthfull, become thereby the stronger and the lustier. The Nurses also of SPARTA use a certain manner to bring up their Children, without swadling, or binding them up in clothes with swadling-bands, or having on their heads Crof-clothes: so as they made them nimble of their limmes, better shaped and goodlier of Body. Besides that, they acquainted their Children to all kinde of meates, and brought them up without much tendance, so as they were neither fine nor licentious, nor fearfull to be left alone in the dark: neither were they cryers, wrallers, or unhappy Children, which be all

Wholesome
Rules for Mar-
ried couples.

Lycurgus re-
gard to avoid
jealousie in the
Common-
wealth.

No Adultery
known in
Sparta.

The Educa-
tion of Chil-
dren with the
Lacedæmonians.
Lefché.

Apothetes.

Young babes
washed with
wine.

The Spartan
Nurses.

tokens

**Plato of the
First Alcibiades.**

How the Lacedæmonians
children were
brought up.

It is a kinde
of thistle in
the *Meſſenian*
Tongue: reade
Heſychias.

Irene Melire-
Nov.

The thecvery
of the *Laccæ-*
monia is,

Straight diet
causes growth
and height.

tokens of base and cowardly natures. So that there were strangers, that of purpose bought Nurfes out of LACONIA, to bring up their Children: as they say *Amici* was one of them which nurfed out of LACONIA. But *Pericles* his Tutor, gave him afterwards a bondman called *Zopyrus*, to be his Master and Governour: who had no better property in him, than other common slaves. This did not *Eurygus*. For he did not put the education and government of the Children of SPARTA into the hands of hired masters or slaves bought with money: neither was it lawfull for the Father himselfe to bring up his owne Childe after his owne manner and liking. For so soone as they came to seven yeares of age, he tooke and divided them by companies, to make them to be brought up together, and to accustom them to play, to learne, and to study one with another. Then he chose out of every company one, whom he thought to have the best wit, and had most courage in him to fight, to whom he gave the charge and oversight of his owne company. The rest had their eyes waiting alwayes on him, they did obey his commandements willingly, they did abide patiently all corrections he gave them, they did such tasks and works as he appointed them: so that all their study was most to learne to obey. Furthermore, the old gray-headed men were present many times to see them play, and for the most part they gave them occasions to fall out, and to fight one with another, that they might thereby the better know and discern the naturall disposition of every one of them, and whether they gave any signes or tokens in time to come to become cowards or valiant men. Touching Learning, they had as much as served their turne: for the rest of their time they spent in learning how to obey, to away with paine, to endure labour, to overcome still in fight. According to their growth and yeares, they did change the exercises of their bodies: they did shave their heads, they went bare-legged, they were constrained to play naked together the most part of their time. After they were past twelve yeares of age, they wore no longer coats: and they gave them yearly but one filly gowne. This was the cause they were alwayes so salty and fluttrish, and they never used to bathe or noint themselves, saving onely at certaine dayes in the yeare, when they were suffered to taste of this refreshing. They lay and slept together upon beds of straw, which they themselves did make of the tops of reeds or canes that grew in the River of Euryotas: which they were forced to go gather and breake themselves with their hands, without any tooles or iron at all. In the winter, they did mingle thistle-downe with these, which is called *Lycophomus*, because that fluffe seemeth somewhat warme of it selfe. About this time, the favourers and likers of this pretty youth, which were commonly the lustiest and best disposed youths of the City, began to be offer in their company: and then the old men tooke the better regard unto them, and frequented more commonly the places of their daily exercises, and where their use was to fight together, helping them when they played, how one should mock another. This did their old men, not by way of paltine onely, but with such care and hearty love towards them, as if they had beene altogether their Fathers, Masters, and Governours, while they were boyes: inasmuch as there was never time nor place, where they had not alwayes some to admonish, reprove, or correct them, if they did a fault. Notwithstanding all this, there was ever one of the honestest men of the City, who had expressly the charge and governance of these boyes. He did divide them in Companies, and afterwards gave the oversight of them to such a one of the boyes as was discreetest, the manliest, the most hardy, and of the best courage amongst them. They called the children that were past infancy two yeares, *Irene*: and the greatest boyes *Melirenes*: as who would say, ready to go out of boyerie. This boy who was made Overseer of them, was commonly twenty yeares of age. He was their Captaine when they fought, and did command them as his servants when they were in the house: and willed them which were strongest and the most growne, to carry wood when they should prepare dinner or supper: and those which were least and weakest, to go gather herbes, which they must steale or lack them. So they went out to steale, some in Gardens, some at the Markets, other in the Halls where the Feasts were kept, and men did cate together, into the which they conveyed themselves as closely and cunningly as they could devise: for if they were taken with the manner, they were scourged terribly, because they were so grosse and negligent, and not fine and cunning in their faculty. They stole also all other kinde of meate, whatsoever they could get or lay hands on. They tried and sought all occasions how to take and steale meate handsomely, both when men were asleepe, or else that they were carelesse, or did not give good heed unto them. But he that was taken with the manner, had his payment roundly, and was punished with fasting besides: for they had but a slender pittance, because necessity should drive them to venter boldly, and wit should finde out all devices to steale finely. This was the chiefest cause, why they gave them so small a diet. The second cause was, that their bodies might grow up higher in height. For the vitall spirits not being occupied to concoct and digest much meate, nor yet kept downe, or spreade abroad by the quantity or over-burden thereof, do enlarge themselves into length, and shoote up for their lightnesse: and for this reason they thought the body did grow in height and length, having nothing to lett or hinder the rising of the same. It seemeth that the selfe-same cause made them fairer also. For the bodies that are leane and slender, do better and more easily yeeld to Nature, which bringeth a better proportion and forme to every member: and contrariwise, it seemeth these grosse, corpulent, and over-fed bodies do encounter Nature, and be not so nimble and pliant to her, by reason of their heavey substance. As we see it by experience, the children which women bring a little before their time, and be somewhat cast before they should have beene borne, be smaller and fairer also, and more pure commonly then other that go their time: because the matter whereof the body is formed, being more supple and pliant, is the easilier weilded by Nature, which giveth them their shape and forme. Touching the naturall Cause of this Effect,

let us give place to other to dispute it that will, without our further deciding of the same. But to returne to the matter of the LACEDÆMONIANS children: They did robbe with so great care, and feare to be discovered, that they tell of one, which having stolen a little Fox, did hide him under his cloke, and suffered him with his teeth and claws to teare out all his belly, and never cried, for feare he should have beene betrayed, untill he fell downe dead in the place where he stood. This is not uncredible, by that we do see young boyes abide at this day: for we have seene divers, which have bidden whipping even to death, upon the Altar of *Diana*, furnamed *Orbia*: Now this under-Master, who had the charge of every Company of these boyes, used after supper (sitting yet at the Table) to bid one of them sing a Song: to another he put forth a question, who was to be well advised of his answer, as for example: Who is the honestest man in the City? or how thinkest thou by that such a one did? By this exercise they were enured from boyes state, to judge of things well or ill done, and to understand the life and Government of their Citizens. For which of them did not answer quickly and directly to these questions, Who is a good man: who is an honest Citizen: and who not: they thought it was a signe of a dull wit, and carelesse nature, not given to any vertue, for desire of honour and estimation. Furthermore this under-master was ever to waite for his answer, and to see it should be briefe and well knit up in words: otherwise his punishment that answered crossely, or to little purpose, was, that his Master bit him by the thumbe. This he did many times in the presence of the old men and Magistrates of the City, that they might see whether he punished them with reason or not, and according to their deserving. And though he did hurt him, they did not by and by reprove him, but when the children were gone away, then was he himselfe rebuked and punished, if he had corrected them too sore, or contrarily had favoured them too much. Moreover they did ascribe the good or ill opinion conceived of the children, unto every of their favourers and lovers, which did affect and entertaine them: in as much as they say, a young boy upon a time fighting with another, and a cry scaping out of his mouth, which his faint cowardly heart did yeeld, his favourer and lover was straight condemned by the Officers of the Cities to a fine. Albeit this love was a thing even incorporated into them, that the most honest and vertuouslest women loved the young Maides thus also: yet was there no jealousie nor suspition that grew hereof, but rather to the contrary, there grew a marvellous mutuall love and kindeesse betweene them, which lived in one selfe place. For either of them by all the means they could, did devise how to make the childre they loyed in common, the wisest, the gentlest, and the best conditioned above all other. They taught these children to speake in such fort, that their speech had ever in it a pleasant grace, and in few words comprehended much matter. For *Lycurgus* ordained, a great masse and weight of iron money, should be but little worth, and of a small value, as we have told you before; and contrarily: that speech in few words, without any affectation, should hold much deepe and grave matter, wherewith the children being acquainted, after long silence, should be briefe and pithy in their answers. For as the feede of incontinent men, which are too busie with every rage and colman hedge, can take no roote to bring forth fruite: even so immoderate speech, full of words and busie tattle, bringeth forth as little sence. Hereof it cometh, that the answers of the LACONIANS were so short and witty. As they say, King *Agis* answered on a day an *ATHENIAN*, who jesting at the Swords the LACEDÆMONIANS did weare, said they were so short, that these Tumblers and Juglers did swallow them downe in the sight of all the World: And yet, said *Agis*, we hurt our Enemies with them for all that. For mine owne opinion, I like well of the LACONIANS manner of speaking: which is not to speake much, but when they speake, to touch the matter effectually, and to make the hearers understand them. I thinke also that *Lycurgus* selfe, was short and quick in his talke. For so a man may conjecture by his answers which are written: as that which he made to one who earnestly prayed him to stablish a popular state in LACEDÆMON, that the best might have as great Authority as the highest. Begin (quoth he) to do it first in thine owne house. And as that also which he answered another who asked him, why he had appointed so small things, and so little of value to be offered to the gods? Because (quoth he) we should never cease to honour them. And as that which he spake another time, touching fights and frayes, which was: that he did never forbid his Citizens any of them, but those wherewith they use to give their hand, as you would say, to yeeld. Men finde also such like answers, in some of his Letters written to his Citizens, as when they asked him: How can we defend our selves against our Enemies? He answered: If ye be poore, and one do covet no more than another. And in another Letter that was sent, where he discourseth, whether it were requisite to inclose the City with Walls: he saith, Can that City be without Walls, which is environed with men, though it be uncompassed with stone? Neverthelesse it is hard to resolve, whether those Letters, and other such like that are shewed, be to be believed, or discredited to be his. But that long speech was much disliked, and reprovved among the LACEDÆMONIANS, it is manifestly to be seene by the words, which some amongst them have heretofore answered. As King *Leonidas* said one day, to one that discourseth with him many good things, but out of season: Friend, thou speakest many good words, but to little purpose. And *Charilampus*, Nephew to *Lycurgus*, being asked why his Uncle made so few Lawes: Because, said he, to men of few words, few Lawes will serve. And *Archidamidas* said thus to some which reproved *Hecatemus* the Orator, for that being bidden to supper at one of their Feasts, he spake not a word all supper time: He who can speak well, knoweth also when to speake. And where I have told before, that in their feate and quick answers commonly there was some pretty grace, it may be well seene and knowne by these that follow. *Demaratus* answered a busie fellow who troubled him too much with vaine importunate questions, asking him

Childrens exercise after their supper.

The *Lacedæmonians* manner of loving

h Short speech
taught among
the *Lacedaemo-
nians*.

Lycurgus will
answers.
Lycurgus love
to God.
To give a
hand is to con-
fesse himselfe
overcome.

Short sentences of certain
Lacónians.
Leonidas.
Cbarilaus.
Archidamides.
Sharpe sentences of the La-
conians.
Demaratus.

still : who was the honestest man of LACEDÆMON? Even he that is least like thy selfe. And *Agis* said to some which highly praised the ELIANS for their upright judgement, and just dealing in the games Olympickall. What wonder make ye of it (quoth he) if in five yeares space the ELIANS one day do good justice? And *Theopompus* likewise to a stranger, who as desirous to fiew his affection on he bare the LACEDÆMONIANS, told him how every body called him *Philolacon* (as to say) a lover of LACEDÆMON. It were more honesty for thee (said he) to be named *Philopolites*, a lover of her Citizens. And *Plistonax* the sonne of *Pausanias*, when an Oratour of ATHENS said the LACEDÆMONIANS were unlearned and ignorant : Thou sayest true, quoth he, for we onely of all the GRECIANS have learned none of your ill conditions. And *Archidamidas*, to one that demanded of him, what number of fighting men there might be of the SPARTANS : Enough said he, to drive away the wicked. We may conjecture also their manner of speaking, by their words in mirth, which they spake sometimes playing wif: for they did never use to speake vaine words at random, but it had alwayes some secret meaning in it, which required anothers good observation that would finde it. As he which was desired to go heare the Nightingale counterfeited naturally : I have (said he) heard the Nightingale it selfe. And another which having read this Inscription upon a Tombe :

*When as they had well quenched tyrannie
Throughout their land, by worthy Warlike-power ;
Their hap was yet in wretched wife to die,
By scaling Selynnates strongest tower.*

They well deserved death, said he, that did but quench tyrannie : they should have quite consumed it with fire. And one younger boy to another, promising to give him such lardy Cocks of the game, as should die in the place where they fought. O give me not those (said he) which will dye, but those which with fighting will kill others. Another seeing men sitting in Couches and Litters as they went : God forbid (said he) that I should ever sit in a chaire, where I could not rise to my elders. Such were their answers and encounters. So that some had reason which said heretofore, to speake LACONIAN-like, was to be Philosopher-like : as you would say, more to exercise the minde, then the body. Besides all this, they did study to sing well, and to make goodly Dities and Songs. Then they spake most properly and featly. There was in their Songs also a certaine motion, I wote not what, which stirred up the hearers hearts, and did kindle desire in them to do notable feates. Their Tongue was plaine, without affectation : their matter grave and morall, containing for the most part the praise of those which were flaine in battell for the defence of their Country, as being happy men : and a shame to those that live, which for faint hearts refused to die, to leade a miserable and unfortunate life. Or else they sang how they were the pattersnes for time to come, or the right glory of the World, and the true representation of vertuous men ; as the Song would best become their ages which did sing. It shall not be impertinent for the better understanding hereof, to bring you here an example. For in their open Feasts, there were alwayes three dances, according to the difference of the three ages. The dance of the old men, thus began first for to sing :

*We have beene young and strong, yet valiant heretofore,
Till crooked age did hold us back, and bade us do no more.*

The young men followed after, singing :

*We yet are young, bold, strong, and ready to maintaine,
That quarrell still, against all men that do on Earth remaine.*

The third was of children, that came after and said :

*And we do hope as well, to passe you all at last,
And that the World shall witnesse be, ere many yeares be past.*

To conclude, who nearly will consider the works and makings of the LACON Poets (whereof some are yet extant) and will marke also the Notes and Tunes of the Pipe, after the sound and measure whereof they marched in arrays going to charge the Enemy : he shall finde that *Terpander* and *Pindarus*, had reason to joyne hardinesse with Musick. For *Terpander* speaking of the LACEDÆMONIANS, saith in a place :

*This is that Land where deeds of chivalry,
Did flourish most, in many a Martiall feate :
Where Musick made her choyce of harmony,
And Justice kept her stately royall seate.*

And *Pindarus* speaking of them, also saith :

*There : grave advice, is found in aged braines :
There : gallant youths are lusty lads indeed,
Which can both sing, and daunce, in courtly traines :
Yet daunt their foes with many a doughty deed.*

By which testimonies it appeareth, the one and the other made, and described them to have loved Musick, and the Warres together. For as another LACON Poet saith :

*It fitteth well, and is a seemly thing,
For such as spend their time in feates of warre :
To have the skill, sweet Sonnets for to sing,
And touch the Harpe without enjangling jarre.*

For this cause therefore in all their Warres, when they should give battell, the King did first sacrifice to

to the Muses, to put the Souldiers in minde (as it should seeme) of the Discipline and wisdom of the Muses that they had beene brought up in, to the end that when his Souldiers were in the most extreme danger, the Muses should present themselves before the Souldiers eyes, to prick them forwards to do some noble acts of worthy memory. In their time of Warre, they did tolerate their young men a little of their hard and old accustomed life, and suffered them then to trim their haire, to have brave Armour, to weare gay Apparell, and tooke as great delight therein, to see them gallant and lustie, as to behold young neighing and inorting horses ; desirous for to fight. And although from the beginning of their youth, they did use to weare long haire : yet were they never so carefull to combe and brush their heads, as when they should to the battell. For then they did noint themselves with sweete Oyles, and did shed their haire, remembring *Lycurgus* saying, who was wont to tell them ; that haire to them which were faire, did make them more faire, and to them that were foule, they made them more ugly and dreadful. The exercises also of their bodies, were more easie and gentle, and not so hard and freight in their Warres, as they were in peace : and generally, their whole manner of life was not then so straightly viewed, nor yet controlled. So as they onely were the men of the World, to whom Wars were made a rest from labour, which men ordinarily do endure, to make them the fitter for the Wars. Afterwards when their Army was set in battell ray, even in the face of the Enemies, the King did straight sacrifice a Goate unto the gods, and forthwith commanded all his Souldiers to put their Garlands of Flowers on their heads, and willed that the Pipes should sound the Song of *Castor*, at the noise and tune whereof, he himselfe began first to march forward. So that it was a marvellous pleasure, and likewise a dreadfull sight, to see the whole Battell march together in order, at the sound of the Pipes, and never to breake their pace, nor confound their rankes, nor to be dismayed nor amazed themselves, but to go on quietly and joyfully at the sound of their Pipes, to hazard themselves even to death. For it is likely, that such courages are not troubled with much feare, nor yet overcome with much fury : but rather they have an assured constancy and valiantnesse in good hope, as those which are backed with the assisting favour of the gods. The King marching in this order, had alwayes some about him, which had before time wonne the prizes in games and justes. And they say there was one of these on a time, that was offered a great summe of money at the games Olympickall, not to present himselfe at them : but he refused it, liking better with great paine to winne the prize, then for much money to lose his honour. Whereupon the one said unto him, LACONIAN : and what hast thou gotten now, to carry away the prize with so much sweat ? The LACONIAN answered him laughing : I shall fight in the battell, saith he, before the King. When they had once broken into their Enemies, they did still fiercely and fiercelier set upon them, and did never cease, untill their Enemies gave way and fled : and then they chased and followed them still, untill such time as their overthrow and flight had assured them of the victory. Then they quickly and quietly returned to their Campe, judging it to be no manhood, neither part of a noble minde, or of so worthy a Nation as the GRECIANS were, to kill and hew in pieces, men so scattered and out of order, having forsaken all the hope of victory. This fell out not onely honourable, but also very profitable for them. For they which were in battell against them, knowing they killed none but such as resisted stoutly, and how they did let other go which fled before them : they found it was more their benefit to flye, then to tarry and abide the strokes. *Hippias* the Sophister saith, that *Lycurgus* himselfe was a very good Captaine, and a great Souldier, as he that had beene in many foughten Fields : and *Philostephanus* ascribeth to him the device to put Horse-men in Troopes and Companies, which they called *Oulames*, whereof fifty men at Armes was a Troope, whose manner was to put themselves in squadrons. But *Demetrius* the *Phalerian* writeth otherwise, that *Lycurgus* was ever at the Warres, and that he made all his Lawes and Government in a full peace. But in my opinion, the intermission of Warres during the playes Olympickall, which they say he devised, doth shew in appearance that he was a gentle-natured man, and one that loved quietnesse and peace. Some notwithstanding (amongst whom *Hermippus* was one) say, he was not with *Iphitus* at the first beginning, when he ordained the Playes Olympickall, but that by chance he happened to come thither, passing by in his journey onely, and that he stayed there to see the Games : where he thought he heard the voyce of a man behinde him, saying, He marvelled much why he did not perfwade his Citizens also to be partners of this new device : and turning back to see who it was that spake to him, he saw no body. Whereupon he tooke a conceite that it was a speech from the gods : and went therefore presently to seeke out *Iphitus*, with whom he made all the Statutes and Orders of the Feast, which afterwards were farre more famous, better ordered, and more stately then before. But to returne againe to the LACEDÆMONIANS : their discipline and order of life continued still, after they were full grown men. For it was not lawfull for any man to live as he listed, but they were within their City, as if they had beene a Campe, where every man knoweth what allowance he hath to live withall, and what businesse he hath else to do in his Calling. To be short, they were all of this minde, that they were not borne to serve themselves, but to serve their Country. Therefore if they were commanded nothing else, they went continually to see what the children did, and to teach them somewhat which might profit the Common-weale, or else they went to learne of those which were their elders. For one of the best and happiest things which *Lycurgus* ever brought into his City, was the great rest and leisure which he made his Citizens to have, onely forbidding them that they should not professe any vile or base occupation : and they needed not also to be carefull to get great riches, in a place where Goods were nothing profitable nor esteemed. For the *LOTES*, which were made bond-men by the Wars, did till their Grounds, and yielded them a certaine Revenue every yeare. And as touching this matter,

The long bushes and haire of the Laconians.

How the Lacedæmonians began battell. The Laconians long when they marched. *Enst. lib. 15.*

How farre the Lacedæmonians did pursue their Enemies.

Lycurgus a very good Captaine.

Oulames. The Laconians opinion to serve their Country. The rest and leisure of the Lacedæmonians.

Idle livers
punished at
Athens.

Suits in Law
went away
with gold and
silver that was
banished.
How they
spent the time
in Sparta.

The Lacedæ-
monians lived
not privately
to themselves
in the Com-
monweale.

Padaretus
saying.

The manner
of choosing
the Senate in
Sparta.

What was
done the Se-
nator being
chosen.]

matter, they tell of a LACEDÆMONIAN, who being on a day at ATHENS where the Law was pleaded, did understand that a Citizen there was condemned for idleness, and how he went home to his house very sorrowfull, accompanied with his friends which were fory for him, and greatly lamented his ill hap: the LACEDÆMONIAN then prayed those which were about him, to shew him the man condemned for living nobly, and like a gentleman. I have alledged this, to shew how he thought it a vile and fervile thing to exercise any handy-craft, or to worke any thing by hand to get Money. For Suites in Law, a man may be well assured they were banished with the gold and silver from LACEDÆMON, considering now there was no more avarice nor covetousnesse there, nor yet poverty nor lack, but equality with abundance, and quiet life with sobriety. All other times but when they had Warres, they followed dancing, Feasts, Playes, banquets, hunting, or other exercises of body, and meetings to passe the time away. For the young men untill they came to thirty yeares of age, never went into the Market to buy any Provision or things for the house, but did their Fathers or their friends businesse: nay it was a shame for the oldest men, to haunt the Market too often. As to the contrary, it was honourable for them to be present at the Shew-place the most part of the day, where they diversely exercised their bodies, and likewise to be at the places of Assembly, there to spend time with walking together, and discourfing honestly one with another, without talking of any matter of gaine, traffick, or money. For all their talke (for the most part) was about the praising of some honest thing, or sporting-wise to reprove some dishonesty, which alwayes carried with it some gentle lesson or motion by the way. For *Lycurgus* was not such a foure man, as they never saw him laugh: but as *Sofbins* writeth, it was he that first sacrificed to the little god of laughter, which is at LACEDÆMON, because he would mingle their Feasts and Assemblies with mirth, as a pleasant sawe to ease the trouble of their strict and hard life. To be briefe, he did accustom his Citizens so, that they neither would nor could live alone, but were in manner as men incorporated one with another, and were alwayes in company together, as the Bees be about their Master-bee: still in a continuall love to serve their Countrey, to winne honour, and to advance the Common-weale. Which affection of theirs is plaine and easily seene to be imprinted in them by certaine of their Answers, as in that which *Padaretus* said on a time, being left out of the election of the number of the three hundred; Who departing home to his house merry and jocond as might be, said: It did him good to see there were three hundred found better in the City than himselfe. *Pisistratides* also being sent Ambassador with certaine other to the Lieutenants of the King of PERSIA, the PERSIAN Lords asked him, if they came of their owne desire, or whether they were sent from the whole State: If we obtaine, said he, it is from the State: if we be denied, then we come of our selves. And *Argilemida* the mother of *Brasidas*, asked some that went to visit her after they were returned home to LACEDÆMON from their journey to AMPHIPOLIS, if her sonne died like a man, and a worthy SPARTAN: and they straight commended him highly, saying: There was not left in all LACEDÆMON such a valiant man. She replied unto them, Say not so, my friends, I pray you: for *Brasidas* was indeede a valiant man, but the Countrey of LACONIA hath many more yet valiantier than he was. Now touching their Senate, *Lycurgus* was the first that erected it among them. The first that were thereof, were *Lycurgus* chiefe aiders and asslifers of that erection, as we have declared before: but afterwards he ordained, that when any of those first should happen to dye, they should chuse in his place the most honest reported man in the City, so he were threescore yeares old and above. This was the noblest glory that could be among men, when a man bare the bell and praise, not that he was swiftest among the swift, nor strongest amongst the strong, but that he among the honest was honestest. He had the reward of his vertue, as for liberty to speak, soveraigne authority to governe, and Princely power over the Common-weale, the honour, the life, and the goods of the whole Citizens: howbeit the election was made after this sort. The people first assembled in the Market-place, where there were some appointed and shut up thereabout in a house, from whence they could neither see, nor be seene of those that were assembled, but only they might heare the noise which they made there. For the people by their cry and shout, did declare whom they did chuse, and whom they did refuse of the Competitors, as they used to shew their liking by the like cry in other things. The Competitors were not brought in, and presented all together, but one after another in order, as by lot did fall out. He on whom the lot fell, passed through the midst of the Assembly of the people, and said never a word. The people straight that liked made a cry or shout aloud. The men appointed which were locked up, had Bookes or Tables in which they wrote and noted the greatnesse of the cry and shout the People made, as every Competitor passed by, not knowing nor seeing who he was. These hidden men did only set downe in their bookes, the first, the second, the third, and so many more, as by shoutes and cries they perceived did passe thus through the Assembly. They noted also in their said bookes, which of those had the greatest cry and shout of people at their passing through: and him they came and declared to be Senator chosen. Then he wearing a Garland of Flowers on his head, went to all the Temples of the gods in the City to give thanks, having a great traine of young men following, and praising of his vertues. There went also with him a marvellous company of women singing Songs of his praise, and how blessed he was that he had lived so vertuously. Then every one of his kinne prepared a Banquet for him at home at their houses, and as he entred the house, they said unto him, *The City honoureth thee with this Banquet*. That done, he repaired afterwards to the ordinary place of their eating, where he did in all things as he was accustomed, saving he was served now at his Table with a double allowance, whereof he reserved the one. After supper, all his kinswomen stood in the entry of

of the Hall where they had eaten: so he called her whom he loved best, and gave her his allowance he had saved, and said to her, This was given me in token I was this day rewarded for my vertue: and even so I give it thee for a like token of reward for thy vertue. Then was she brought home by all the Women there to her house, even in like sort as he was by the Men. Touching Burials, *Lycurgus* made a wife Order: For first of all, to cut off all superstition of burying places, he commanded they should bury the dead within the City, and that their graves should be round about their Temples, that young persons might have them alwayes in their eyes, and not be afraid to see a dead body, as it to touch a coarfe, or to passe by their graves, it should defile a man. Then did he forbid them to bury any thing with the coarfe, and willed they should only lap it up in a red cloth, with Olive leaves. It was not lawfull to grave the Name of any dead body upon his grave, but only of such a man as died in the warres, or of some holy woman professed into their Temples. Furthermore, the time appointed to mourne in, was very short: for it lasted not but eleven dayes; and on the twelfth day, they doe sacrifice to *Proserpina*, and so leave off their mourning. To conclude, he left nothing idle, or unworking in his Citizens: for to all necessary things which men cannot lack, *Lycurgus* joyned ever a certaine emulation of men; as to desire vertue, and to contemne vice: and furnished his City with many good precepts and examples, among which his Citizens being still borne and bred up, and having the same in every place before their eyes where they went, they came to passe in time to be framed after the very pattern and mould of vertue it selfe. For this cause did he not suffer any to trauell out of their Countrey, or to go abroad as he would: without speciall licence, for fear lest those which travelled abroad for their pleasure, should bring home strange fashions and manners, and a corrupt disordered life, which by little and little might get way, and bring an alteration and change of the whole state. Furthermore, he kept out of SPARTA all strangers, except those which had necessary businesse there, or were come thither for some profit to the countrey: not that he was afraid they should learne something whereby to love vertue, or that they should desire to follow his fashion and manner of government, as *Thucydides* was; but rather fearing they should teach his Citizens some naughty manners, or some ill favoured vice. For it must needs be, that strangers bring ever strange and new devices with them; which new devices bring with them also new opinions; and new opinions beget new affections and mindes, that many times are repugnant to the Law, and to the forme of the Commonweale established before, as discords doe many times in an harmony of musick, that before agreed very well together. Therefore he judged it a thing most necessary, to keepe his City free and safe from counterfeiting of any strangers manners or fashions, that were commonly as persons infected with some contagious sicknesse. Now in all we have spoken before, even to this place, there is no manner of token or shew of injustice, or lack of equity, wherewith some seeme to burden *Lycurgus* in his Lawes: by saying they were well made, to make men warlike and valiant, but not to be just and righteous. But concerning the Law they call *Cryptia*, as much to say, as their secret: if it were of *Lycurgus* institution, as *Aristotle* saith, it might have carried *Plato* into the like opinion that *Lycurgus* had of his Commonweale. This was the Law: The Governours which had the charge and oversight of the young men, at certaine appointed times, did chuse out those they thought to have the best discretion, and sent them abroad into the Countrey, some one way, some another way, who carried with them daggers, and some provision to feed them. These young Men being thus dispersed abroad in the Countrey, did hide themselves all the day close in secret places, and there they lay and tooke their rest: afterwards when night was come, they went to seek out the high wayes, and killed the first of the ILOTS that they met. Sometimes even in the broad day, they went into the Countrey to kill the strongest and stoutest of them: as *Thucydides* telleth in his history of the warres of PELOPONNESUS, where he saith: That a certaine convenient number of the ILOTS were crowned by a publike Proclamation of the SPARTANS: and being enfranchised for their good services they had done the Commonweale, they were carried to all the Temples of the gods for an honour. Within a while after, no man knew what was become of them, being about two thousand in number: so that never man heard tell neither then nor since, how they came to their Deaths. Howbeit *Aristotle* above all others saith, that the *Ephores*, so soone as they were placed in their Offices, made warre with the ILOTS, because they might lawfully kill them. And it is true, that in other things they did handle them very hardly. For they forced them sometimes to drinke wine without water out of measure till they had made them stark drunk. Then they brought them all into their Common-Halls where they did eat, to make their Children to behold them, and to see what beaustinesse it was for a man to be drunk. Likewise they made them sing songs, and dance dances, unfit for honest Men, and such as were full of derision and mockery; and did forbid them expressely to sing any honest songs. So it is reported, that in the journey the THEBANS made to LACONIA, many of the ILOTS were taken prisoners thereat, and when they were commanded to sing the Verses of *Terpandor*, or of *Alcmon*, or of *Spondon* the Laconian, they would not doe it: saying, they durst not sing them for their Masters. Wherefore he that first said in the Countrey of LACEDÆMONIA, He that is free is more free, and he that is bond, is more bond then in other places; knew very well the diversity between the liberty and bondage there, and the liberty and bondage of other Countries. But in my opinion, the LACEDÆMONIANS began to use these great outrages and cruelties, long time after the death of *Lycurgus*, and specially since the great earthquake that happened at SPARTA, at which time the ILOTS rose against them with the MESSENIANS, and did great mischief throw the Countrey, and put the City to the greatest distresse and danger that ever it had. For I cannot

The manner of
buriall with
the Lacedæ-
monians.

The time of
mourning.

None allowed
to travell into
other Coun-
treys without
licence. No
strangers suffer-
ed to dwell in
Sparta.

Cryptia with
the Lacedæ-
monians

The cruelty of
the Lacedæ-
monians
against the
Ilores.

Diodorus lib 2.

cannot be perswaded, that ever *Lycurgus* invented or instituted, so wicked and mischievous an act, as that kinde of Ordinance was: because I imagine his nature was gentle and mercifull, by the clemency and justice we see he used in all his other doings, and was witness besides by open Oracle from the gods, for a just and wife man. Furthermore, they say of him, that when he saw the chiefeft points of his Government had taken deepe roote, and that the forme of his Commonweale went on, and was strong enough to maintaine and keepe it selfe on foote, like as *Plato* saith, that God rejoyced greatly after he had made the world, and saw the same turne and move, his first moving: even so *Lycurgus* taking singular pleasure and delight in his minde, to see his notable Lawes put in ure, and so well established and liked of by experience, fought yet to make them immortall, as neere as he could possible, by any forecast of man, that no alter-time whatsoever, might change or put them downe. To bring this to passe, he caused all the people to assemble, and told them he thought his civil policie and state of Commonweale was already sufficiently established, for vertuous and happy life: yet there was one matter behinde of greater importance then all the rest, which he could not yet declare unto them, untill he had first asked counsell of the Oracle of *Apollo*. And therefore in the meane time they should keepe and observe his Lawes and Ordinances inviolably, without changing, removing or staying any matter therein, untill he were returned from the City of *DELPHES*, and then they should doe that other thing behinde, if the god then so counselled him. They all promised him to doe it, and prayed him to make haste to goe on his journey. But before he departed, he made the Kings and Senators swear first, and consequently all the people after, that they would keepe his Lawes and Ordinances without changing or altering any thing, untill he did returne againe. This done, he went to the City of *DELPHES*, where so soone as he arrived, he sacrificed in the Temple of *Apollo*, and asked him; If the Lawes he had made were good to make a man live an happy life. *Apollo* made him answer, his Lawes were very good, and that his City keeping them, should be the most renowned of the world. *Lycurgus* caused this Oracle to be written, which he sent to *SPARTA*. After he sacrificed to *Apollo* againe: and then taking leave of his friends, and of his Sonne, he determined to die, because his Citizens should never be releafed of the Oath they had made betweene his hands. When he had this determination, he was come to the age, wherein a man hath strength enough to live longer; and yet was old enough also to die if he would. Wherefore finding himselfe happy to have obtained his desire, he willingly pined himselfe to death, by abstinence and lacke of meate. For he thought it meete, that the very death of great personages should bring benefit ever to the Commonweale, and that the end of their life should be no more idle or unprofitable, then the rest of their life before: nay rather, that it was one of their most meritorious acts, to have their death extolled for worthinesse. So he imagined, that his death would be the perfection and Crown of his felicity, after he had made and ordained so many good and notable Lawes, for the honour and benefit of his Countrey; and should be as a seale of confirmation of his Lawe, and the continuall preservative of his City, considering all his Citizens had sworne to keepe them all inviolably, untill he were returned. He was not deceived of his hope, for his City was the chiefeft of the world, in glory and honour of government by the space of five hundred yeares. For so long his City kept his Lawes without any change or alteration by any of the Kings successors, untill King *Agis* the Sonne of *Archidamus* began to raigne. For the creation of the *Ephores*, did not breake nor discontinue any of the Lawes of *Lycurgus*, but reduced them rather to a more straight and strict order: although it seemed at the first that the *Ephores* were ordained for the maintenance and defence of the liberty of the people, whereas indeed they did also strengthen the authority of the Kings and Senate. Now in the raigne of King *Agis*, Gold and Silver began first to creepe in againe to the City of *SPARTA*, by meanes of *Lyfander*. With Money there came in straight covetousnesse, and greedinesse to get and gather. And although *Lyfander* was not desirous to get it, nor would be corrupted for any money: yet he brought riches and covetousnesse into the Countrey, and filled the same with all finenesse, by bringing in great store of Gold and Silver from the warres, directly against the Lawes and Ordinances of *Lycurgus*. The which so long as they were in force and use, it appeared that the government of *SPARTA* seemed not to be a policie or Commonweale, but rather a certaine holy place and order of Religion. And even as the Poets feigne, that *Heracles* went through the world with his Club and Lyons skinne, punishing cruell robbers and unnaturall Tyrants; so in like case, with a little scrole of Parchment and a poore Cape, did the *SPARTANS* command and give Lawes to all the rest of *GREECE*, even with their good liking and consent. And they chased the Tyrants away, which usurped tyrannicall power over any of their Cities, and did decide all controversies, and oftentimes pacified their seditions, without sending out one Souldier, but only a simple poore Amittadour. At whose commandement, the people presently assembled like the Bees, which gather together about their King, so soone as they spie him: they did then so greatly reverence the good government and justice of the *SPARTANS*. Therefore I can but wonder much at those which say, the City of *LACEDÆMON* could obey well, but not command: and for prooffe they alledge words of King *Theopompus*, who answered one which said, that *SPARTA* was maintained, because the Kings could command well. Nay the rather (said he) because the Citizens can obey well. For men commonly disdain to obey those which are not wife in command: So that the faithfull obedience of the subjects, dependeth much upon the sufficient commandement of the wise Prince: For he that directeth well, must needs be well obeyed. For like as the art of a good rider, is to make his Horse gentle, and ready at commandement: even so the chiefeft point belonging to a Prince, is to teach his subjects to obey. Wherefore the *LACEDÆMONIANS* procured,

Plato in *Timæo*Lycurgus won-
aetual counsell
in establishing
his laws.

Lycurgus death

Sparta flour-
ished five
hundred yeares.
Lycurgus laws
were broken in
King Agis
time by Lyfan-
ders means.
Money cor-
rupteth Lycur-
gus Laws.
See more in
Lyfanders life.
Lyfander
brought in
riches again
into sparta.Theopompus
words of obey-
ing and com-
manding.
Good govern-
ment breedeth
due obedience.

procured, that not onely other people did willingly obey them, but also desired to be ruled and commanded by them. For they asked them, neither Ships nor Money, nor yet did send them any number of men of Warre to compell them, but only they sent one Citizen of *SPARTA* to governe them, to whom all the other people submitted themselves, and were holpen by him in their necessity, as fearing and reverencing him. In this wise the *SICILIANS* were holpen by *Gylippus*, the *CHALCIDONIANS* by *Brasidas*, and all the *GRECIANS* inhabiting *ASIA*, by *Lyfander*, *Callicratidus*, and by *Agessians*, who were called the reformers and directors of Princes, Peoples and Kings, unto whom they were sent here and there: but ever they had their eye upon the City of *SPARTA*, as upon the most perfect patterne to order mans life by, and to governe a Commonweale after. To this effect tended the merry word spoken in jest by *Stratonicus*: who said he did order the *ATHENIANS* to tend their Sacrifices, and the *ELIANS* to tend their Games: and if they made any fault therein, the *LACEDÆMONIANS* should be well whipped. That was merrily spoken, and in a jesting manner. But *Antisthenes* (the Philosopher and one of *Socrates* Scholars) seeing the *THEBANS* growne very haughty and glorious, after that they had conquered the *LACEDÆMONIANS* in the journey of *LEUCTRES*: Me thinketh, said he, these *THEBANS* here do like the Schoole-boys, which brag and rejoyce, when they have a little beaten their Master. But this was not *Lycurgus* meaning, to have his City to command many. But he thought the felicity of a City, as of a private man, consisted chiefly in the exercise of vertue, and in the unity of the Inhabitants thereof. He framed his Common-wealth to this end, that his Citizens should be nobly minded, content with their owne, and temperate in their doings, that thereby they might maintaine and keepe themselves long in safety. The self-same intention had *Plato*, *Diogenes*, and *Zenon*, in setting forth their Bookes, which they wrote of the Government of Common-wealths: and so had likewise many other great and learned men which have written of the same matter. Howbeit they onely left behinde them words, and written Bookes: but *Lycurgus* contrariwise, left no written Bookes nor Pamphlets, but established and left behinde him a royall forme of Government, which no man ever before had invented, nor never after could be followed. He hath made them plainly see a whole City live together, and governe it self philosophically, according to the true rules and precepts of perfect wisdom: which imagined that true wisdom was a thing hanging in the aire, and could not visibly be seene in the World. Whereby he hath worthily excelled in glory all those, which ever tooke upon them to write or establish the Government of a Common-wealth. And therefore saith *Aristotle*, that after his death they did him lesse honour in *LACEDÆMONIA*, then he had deserved: albeit they did him all the honour they possibly could devise. And yet they built a Temple for him, and made solemne Sacrifice to him every yeare, as unto a god. More, they say, that when the ashes of his body were brought to *SPARTA*, there fell straight lightning upon his Tombe where they were put, which they had not often seene to happen to other men of name after their decease, saving onely to the Poet *Enripides*, who dying in *MACEDONIA*, was buried neare the City of *ARETHUSA*. The which is some manifest argument, for such as love the Poet, to lay against them that somewhat deprave him, seeing this signe came to him after his death, which had happened before to a most well-beloved man of the gods. Some say, *Lycurgus* died in the City of *CIRREHA*. But *Apollonhemis* saith, he died in *ELIDA*. *Timæus* and *Aristoxenus* write, he ended his dayes in *CRETA*. And *Aristoxenus* saith further, that those of the Isle of *CRETA* do shew his grave in the place which they call *PERGAMIA*, by the broad high-ways side. He left one onely begotten sonne named *Antiorus*, who died without issue, so that his House and name failed with him. But his neare kinsmen and familiar friends, did set up a Company or Brotherhood in memory of him, which continued a long time: and the dayes wherein they assembled, were called the *Lycurgides*. There is another *Aristocrates* (the sonne of *Hipparchus*) who saith, that he being dead in *CRETA*, his friends burned his body, and afterwards threw his ashes into the Sea, according as he had prayed and requested them. For he feared, that if any part of him should at any time have beene brought to *SPARTA*, the Inhabitants would have said he was returned againe, and thereby would have thought themselves discharged of their oath, and might have lawfully altered the Lawes which he had appointed. And this is the discourse and end of *Lycurgus* life.

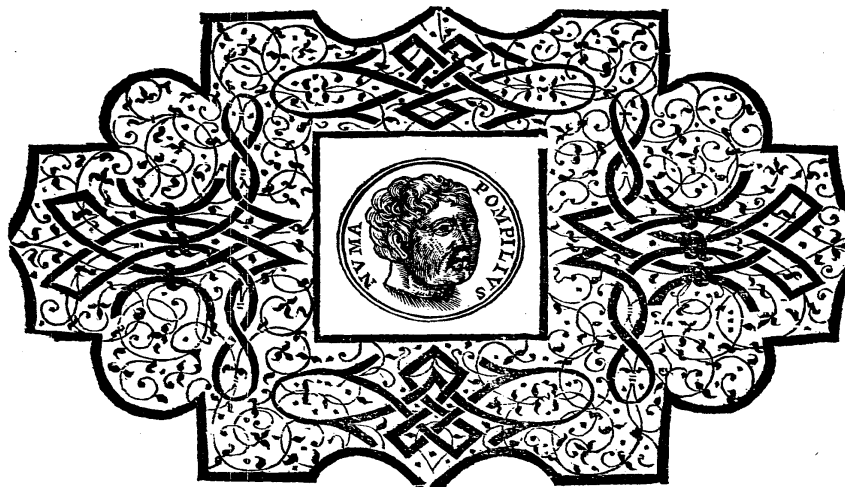
Antisthenes, So-
crates Scholars
words.The foundati-
on of a Com-
mon-wealth.Divine honors
to Lycurgus af-
ter his death.Antiorus Lycur-
gus sonne.

The end of LYCURGUS Life.

F

THE

THE LIFE OF NUMA POMPILIUS.



Ann. Mund.
3236.

Ant. Christ.
712.

In what time
Numa was.
6c. de Or. 2.
C. Tusc. 4. Liv.
Halic. lib. 4.



THE Historiographers differ marvellously of the time in which *Numa Pompilius* reigned King, albeit some will derive from him many noble houses descended in *ROME*. For one *Clodius* who wrote the Book intitled, *The Table of Time*, affirmeth, that the ancient Registers of the City of *ROME* were lost when it was taken and sacked by the *GAULES*: and that those which are extant at this day be not true, but were only made by men desirous to gratifie some, which have thrust in ancient Houses and families of the first *ROMANES*, that concern nothing them whom they meant to represent. On the other side, although the common Opinion be, that *Numa* was a familiar Friend and Scholar of *Pythagoras* the Philosopher, yet some say he was never learned, nor had any knowledge at all in the Greek Tongue. And yet maintaining that it is possible enough, that he was so well born, and had such perfection in all kinde of vertue, that he never needed any Master; and though he had needed, they had rather attribute the honour of the instructing of this King unto some other foreign person that was more excellent then *Pythagoras*. Others say, that *Pythagoras* the Philosopher was long time after the reign of *Numa*, and well nigh five ages after him. Howbeit others say, there was another *Pythagoras* born in *SPARTA* (who having won the prize in running at the games Olympickall, in the sixteenth Olympiad, and the third year of *Numa's* Reign) did come into *ITALY*, where he kept much about *Numa*, and did assist and help him in the governing and ordering of his Realm. By means whereof, there be many customes yet of the *LACONIANS* mingled with the *ROMANS*, which this second *Pythagoras* was said to have taught him. Nevertheless it is not confessed that *Numa* was born of the *SABYNES*, which they say are descended from the *LACEDÆMONIANS*. So it falleth out hard to agree certainly of the time when *Numa* was, and chiefly for such as will follow the roll or table of those which from Olympiades to Olympiades have won the prizes of games Olympickall: considering the roll or table that they have at this present, was very lately published by one *Hippias* an *Eliau*, who delivereth no reason or argument of necessity why it should be taken for an undoubted troth, which he in that sort hath gathered. Yet we will not leave to put in writing those things worthy of memory which we could gather by any means of King *Numa*, beginning at that place which we thought to be meetest. It was now since *ROME* was built seven and thirty years (for so long time reigned *Romulus*) when *Romulus* the fifth of the moneth of *July* (which they call the Nones of the goates) made a solemne sacrifice without the City, neare to a certain place commonly called the goate marsh. As all the whole Senate, with the most part of the people were present at this sacrifice, suddenly there arose in the ayr a very great tempest, and a marvellous dark thick cloud, which fell on the earth with such boisterous windes, storms, lightnings and thunder, that the poore common people being afraid of so fore a tempest, disperfed themselves suddenly, running

Whether *Pythagoras* had any conversation with *Numa*. *Pythagoras* the second a Spartan born, taught *Numa* at *Rome*.

The death of *Romulus*.

ning here and there for succour, and therewithall King *Romulus* vanished away in such sort, that he was never after seen alive nor dead. This brought the Senators and Noblemen whom they called *Patricians*, into great suspicion. And there ran a foul tale among the common people, how they had long time born very impatiently to be subjects to a King, because themselves would have had and taken upon them some Sovereign authority, and that for this cause they had killed King *Romulus*. Adding somewhat more unto it, how a little before he had used them more roughly, and commanded them more straightly then he was wont or accustomed. Nevertheless they found the means to quench all those brutes and wurrings: by doing divine honour and sacrifice unto him, as one not dead, but passed to a better life. To confirm this, one of the noblest men among them called *Proculus* came in, and by Oath affirmed before all the people that he saw *Romulus* ascending up into Heaven, armed at all peeces, and that he heard a voice say, From thenceforth call him *Quirinus*. This being thus appeased there sprang up another trouble, to know whom they should choose in his place. For the strangers which were come then from other places to dwell in *ROME*, were not yet thoroughly joyned to the naturall born *ROMANES*; Inasmuch as the common people did not onely waver and stagger up and down in opinion, but the Senators also (that were many, and of diverse Nations) did enter into a suspicion one of another. These things notwithstanding they all agreed in this, that of necessity they must choose a King; Howbeit in the rest they differed much, not onely whom they should choose, but also of what Nation he should be. For those which were the first Founders and Builders of the City of *ROME* with *Romulus*, could in no wise abide nor suffer that the *SABYNES* (to whom they had divided part of their Lands, and a moiety of their City) should attempt and presume to command them whom they did receive and associate into their company and fellowship. The *SABYNES* alledged on the other side for them, a good reason, and such as carried great probability. Which was that never since the death of their King *Tatius*, they neither had in any thing disobeyed nor disquieted King *Romulus*, but had suffered him to reigne peaceably; and therefore *Romulus* being now deceased, reason would that the New King should be chosen of their Nation. And that albeit the *ROMANES* had received them into their City, they could not say therefore that in time of this association, they were lesse to be reckoned of in any thing then themselves. Further they added, that in joyning with them the *ROMANES* had doubly encreased their might and power, and had made a body of a people which deserved the honour and Title of a City. These were the causes of their contention. But to prevent that of this contention there might grow no confusion in the City if it should remain without any head to command: The Senators which were a hundred and fifty in number, gave counsel that every one of them by turnes, one after another, should carry the royall state of the King, and all the shewes and ornaments of his Majesty, and should doe the ordinary sacrifices of the King, and dispatch all causes six howres in the day, and six howres in the night, as the King before had used. Thus they thought it best to divide the rule, that one might have as much power as the other, as well in respect of themselves as also for regard of the people. For they imagined that the changing and removing thus of this regall dignity, and passing it from man to man, would cleane take away envy among them, and make every of them to rule temperately, and uprightly see, that in one and the self same day and night every of them should be a King and private person also. The *ROMANES* call this manner of Regiment in vacation *Interregnum*, as you would say, rule for the time. Now albeit their government was very modest and civill, yet they could not for all that keep themselves from falling into the suspicion and slander of the People; who gave it out straight, that this was a fine device of theirs, to change by this means the rule of the Realm into a few Noblemens hands, to the end that the whole authority and government of all publike causes should remain still in themselves, because it grieved them to be subject to a King. And in the end the two parts of the City came to this agreement, that the one part should choose one of the body of the other to be the King. This course they liked very well, as well for the pacification of present strife and dissention amongst themselves, as for procuring equality of affection, and stirring up a likenesse of good-will in the King that thus indifferently should be chosen, whereby he should love the one part for that they had chosen him, and likewise the other part for that he was of their Nation. The *SABYNES* were the first which referred the Election to the *ROMANES* choice, and the *ROMANES* thought it better to choose one of the Nation of the *SABYNES*, then to have a *ROMANE* chosen by the *SABYNES*. After they had consulted they determined amongst themselves, and did choose *Numa Pompilius* one of the body of the *SABYNES* to be King, who was none of the number of them which came to dwell at *ROME*, howbeit he was a man so famous for his vertue, that the *SABYNES* so soon as they named him did receive him more willingly then they who had chosen him. After they had thus published their Election the first and chiefeest persons of the one and the other side were chosen out to goe unto him. Now *Numa Pompilius* was borne in one of the chiefeest and best Cities which the *SABYNES* had; called *Cures*, whereupon the *ROMANES* and their followers the *SABYNES* were called afterward *Quirites*, and he was the Son of *Pomponius* a Nobleman, the youngest of four Brethren: being by the secret working of the gods born on the very day on the which *ROME* was founded by *Romulus*; which was the one and twentieth day of *April*. This man being naturally given and inclined unto all vertue, did yet encrease the same by study, and all kinde of good discipline, and by the exercise thereof, and of true patience and right Philosophy, he did marvellously adorn himself and his manners. For he did not onely cleare his soule and minde of all passions and vices commonly used in the world; but he conquered in himselfe all heats, violence and covetousnesse. And would nei-

In the life of *Romulus* he is named *Proculus*. Dissention at *Rome* about choosing of their King.

Livy saith but a hundred. *Dionysius* 200. *Plut.* in the life of *Romulus* agreeth with *Dionysius*.

Interregnum.

Numa chosen King

Numa born in the City of *Ceres*. *Quirites* why so called. The life and manners of *Numa* before his reign.

Tatia the wife
of Numa.

Numa conver-
sant with the
goddesse
Egeria.

Gods familiar
with men.

Who are be-
lieved of the
gods.

Proclus and
Vesulus Em-
bassadors to
offer Numa the
Kingdom.

ther seek nor usurpe that which was another mans; a thing at that time honoured among the most barbarous people; but thought that to be the true and right victory in man, first to conquer and command himself by judgement and reason, and then to subdue all covetousnesse and greedinesse. Having therefore this Opinion he would in no wife have in his house any superfluity of finenesse. He became to every man that would employ him (as well stranger as his own Countryman) a wife Counsellor and an upright Judge. He bestowed his leisure not to follow his own delight, or to gather goods together, but to serve the gods, and to behold their celestiall nature and power, as much as mans reason and understanding could comprehend. Thereby he got so great a name and reputation, that *Tatius* (which was King of ROME with *Romulus*) having but one onely daughter called *Tatia*, made him his Sonne in Law. Howbeit this Marriage put him in no such jollity, that he would dwell at ROME with his Father in Law, but rather kept at home at his own house in the Countrey of the *SABYNES*, there to serve and cherish his old Father with his wife *Tatia*; who for her part also liked better to live quietly with her husband being a private man, then to go to ROME where the might have lived in much honour and glory, by means of the King her Father. She died as it is reported 13. years after she was married: After her death *Numa* leaving to dwell in the City, was better contented to live in the Countrey alone, and solitary, and gave himself to walk much in the fields and woods consecrated to the gods, as one desirous of alone life, far from the company of men. Whereupon was raised (in my opinion) that which is spoken of him, and of the goddesse *Egeria*: That it was not for any strangenesse or melancholinesse of nature, that *Numa* withdrew himself from the conversation and company of men, but because he had found another more honourable and holy society of the *Nymphs*, and goddesse *Egeria*, who had done him (as they say) that honour, as to make him her husband: with whom as his beloved darling it is said he enjoyed happy daies, and by daily frequenting of her company, he was inspired with the love and knowledge of all celestiall things. Surely these devices are much like unto certain old Fables of the *Phrygians*, which they having learned from the Father to the Son, do love to tell of one *Agis*, of the *Bythynians*, of one *Herodotus*; of the *ARCADIANS*, of one *Endymion*, and of many other such like men, who in their lives were taken for Saints and beloved of the gods. Notwithstanding it is likely that the gods love neither birds, nor horse, but men, and have sometimes a liking to be familiar with perfect good men, and do not disdain sometime the conversation of such as be holy, religious, and devout. But to beleve the gods have carnall knowledge, and do delight in the outward beauty of creatures, that seemeth to carry a very hard beleef. Yet the wife *EGYPTIANS* think it probable enough and likely that the Spirit of the gods hath given original of generation to women, and do beget fruit of their bodies; howbeit they hold that a man can have no corporall company with any divine nature. Wherein they do not consider, that every thing that joyneth together doth deliver againe a like substance to that wherewith it was joyned. This notwithstanding, it is meet we should beleve the gods bear good will to men, and that of it doth spring their love, whereby men say, the gods love those whose manners they purifie and inspire with vertue. And they do not offend which feign that *Phorbis*, *Hycynthus* and *Admetus* were sometimes the lovers of *Apollo*, and also *Hypolitus* the *SICYONIAN*: of whom they report, that ever when he passed over the arme of the Sea which lieth between the Cities of *SICYONA* and of *CIRRA*, the god which knew he came, rejoiced, and caused *Pythia* the Prophetesse to pronounce these Heroical Verbes:

*I know full well my dear Hypolitus
Returns by Sea, my minde divineth thus.*

It is said also that *Pan* was in love with *Pindarus* and his Verses, and that the gods honoured the Poets *Hesiodus* and *Archilocus*, after their death, by the Muses. They say moreover that *Aesculapius* lay with *Sophocles* in his life time, and at this day they do yet shew many tokens thereof; and after his death another god (as it is reported) made him to be honourably buried. Now if they grant that such things may be true, how can we refuse to beleve, that some gods have been familiar with *Zaleucus*, *Miros*, *Zoroastes*, *Lycurgus*, *Numa*, and such other like personages, which have governed Kingdomes and established Common-weales? And it is not unlike that the gods indeed did company with them, to inspire and teach them many notable things, and that they did draw near unto those Poets and plaiers of the harp that made and applied many dolefull and joyfull Ditties, at the least for their sport and pleasure onely, if ever they came near them. Nevertheless if any man be of other opinion, the way is open and large, as *Bacchylides* said, to think and say as he list. For my self, I doe finde that which is written of *Lycurgus*, *Numa*, and other such persons, not to be without likelihood and probability; who, having to govern rude, churlish, and stiffe-necked people, and purposing to bring in strange novelties into the governments of their Countreys, did feign wisely to have conference with the gods, considering this feigning fell to be profitable and beneficiall to those themselves, whom they made to beleve the same. But to return to our History: *Numa* was forty years old when the Ambassadors of ROME were sent to present the Kingdom unto him, and to entreat him to accept thereof. *Proclus* and *Vesulus* were the Ambassadors that were sent. One of the which the people looked should have been chosen for King, because those of *Romulus* side did favour much *Proclus*, and those of *Tatius* part favoured *Vesulus*. Now they used no long speech unto him, because they thought he would have been glad of such a great good fortune. But contrarily it was indeed a very hard thing, and required great perswasions, and much entreaty, to move a man which had alwaies lived quietly and at ease, to accept the regiment of a City, which as a man would say had been raised up and grown by wars and martiall deeds. Wherefore he answered them in the presence of his Father, and another of his

his kinsmen called *Martius* in this sort: Change and alteration of mans life is ever dangerous; but for him that lacketh nothing necessary, nor hath cause to complaine of his present state, it is a great folly to leave his old acquainted Trade of life, and to enter into another new and unknown, if there were no other but this onely respect, that he leaveth a certainty to venture upon uncertainty. However there is further matter in this, that the dangers and perils of this Kingdome which they offer me, are not altogether uncertaine, if we will looke back what happened unto *Romulus*, who was not unsuspected to have laid wait to have had *Tatius* his Fellow and Companion murdered. And now after *Romulus* Death, the Senators selves are mistrusted to have killed him on the other side by Treason; And yet they say it, and sing it every where, that *Romulus* was the Son of a god; that at his Birth he was miraculously preserved, and afterwards he was as incredibly brought up: Whereas for my own part, I doe confesse, I was begotten by a mortal man, and was fostered, brought up, and taught by men, as you know: And these few qualities which they praise and commend in me, are conditions farre unmeet for a man that is to reign. I ever loved a solitary life, quiet and study, and did exempt my selfe from worldly causes. All my life time I have fought and loved peace above all things, and never had to doe with any warres. My conversation hath been to company with men which meet onely to serve and honour the gods, or to laugh and be merry, one with another, or else to spend their time in their private affairs, or otherwise sometime to attend their pastures and feeding of their cattell. Whereas *Romulus* (my ROMANE Lords) hath left you many warres begun, which peradventure you could be contented to spare; yet now to maintaine the same, your City had need of a martiall King, active, and strong of body. Your people moreover, through long custome, and the great encrease they are grown unto by feates of Armes, desire nought else perhaps but warres; and it is plainly scene they seek still to grow, and command their Neighbours: So that if there were no other consideration in it, yet were it a meere mockerie for me to go to teach a City at this present to serve the gods, to love Justice, to hate warres, and to fly violence; when it rather hath need of a conquering Captain, then of a peaceable King. These and such other like Reasons and Perswasions *Numa* alledged, to discharge himself of the Kingdome which they offered him. Howbeit the Ambassadors of the ROMANS most humbly besought and prayed him with all instance possible, that he would not be the cause of another new stir and commotion among them, seeing both parts in the City have given their consent and liking to him alone, and none other to be their King. Moreover, when the Ambassadors had left him upon this Suit, his Father and *Martius* his kinsman, began also privately to perswade him, that he should not refuse to go good and godly an offer: And albeit he was contented with his present state, and desired to be no richer then he was, nor coveted no Princely honour nor glory, because he sought onely most famous vertue; yet he must needs think that to rule well, was to doe the gods good service, whose will it was to employ the justice they knew in him, and not to suffer it to be idle. Refuse not therefore (quoth they) this royal dignity, which to a grave and wife man is a goodly field, to bring forth many commendable workes and fruits. There you may do noble service to the gods, to humble the hearts of these martiall people, and to bring them to be holy and religious; for they readily turn, and easily conforme themselves unto the nature of their Prince. They dearly loved *Tatius* although he was a stranger: they have consecrated a memory to *Romulus* with divine honours, which they make unto him at this day. And it may be that the people seeing themselves conquerors will be full enough of wars, and the ROMANS being now full of spoils and triumphs, will be glad to have a gentle Prince, and one that loveth justice, that they may thenceforth live in peace under good and holy Laws. And yet if it be otherwise that their hearts be still full of heat and fury to fight; Is it not better to turn this their desire to make wars some other way, when a man hath the bridle in his own hands to do it, and to be a mean in the mean time to joyn the Countrey, and all the Nations of the SABYNES in perpetual love and amity, with so mighty and flourishing a City? Besides all these perswasions and reasons there were many signs also (as they say) which promised him good luck, together with the earnest affection and liking of his own Countrey Citizens: Who so soon as they understood the coming and commission of the Ambassadors of ROME, they importunately desired him to goe thither, and to accept the offer of the Kingdom; that he might more straightly unite and incorporate them together with the ROMANS. Whereupon *Numa* accepted the Kingdom. Then after he had done sacrifice to the gods, he set forwards on his journey towards ROME, where the people and Senate went out to meet him with wonderfull desire to see him. The women at his entry went blessing of him and singing of his praises. They did sacrifice for him in all the Temples of the gods. There was neither man nor woman but seemed to be as joyfull and glad as if a new Realme and not a new King, had been come to the City of ROME. Thus was he brought with this open joy and rejoicing unto the Market-place, where one of the Senators, which at that time was regent, called *Spurius Vettius*, made them pronounce his open Election, and so by one consent he was chosen King, with all the voices of the people. Then were brought unto him the tokens of honour and dignity of the King. But he himself commanded they should be staid a while, saying, He must be confirmed King by the gods: Then he tooke the Wife men and Priests with whom he went up into the Capitoll, which at that time was yet called Mount *Tarpeian*. And there the chieft of the Southsayers called *Augures* turned him rowards the South, having his face covered with a veile, and stood behinde him, laying his right hand upon his head, and praying to the gods that it would please them to declare their wils by flying of birds, or some other token concerning this Election; and so the Southsayer cast his eyes

The Oration
of *Numa*
to the Ambassa-
dors, refusing
to be King.

Numa begin-
neth his King-
dom with the
service of the
gods.

Numa was
consecrated by
the *Augures*.
all

The guard of
Celeres dis-
charged by
Numa.
Flamen Quiri-
nalis instituted
of Numa.

Numa indu-
ceth civil and
quiet life.
Plato de Rep.
lib. 2.

Numa and Py-
thagoras Initi-
ations much
alike.

all about, as farre as he could possibly discern. During all this time there was a marvellous silence in the market-place, although then an infinite number of people were assembled there together, attending with great devotion what the issue of this divination would be, until there appeared unto them on the right hand, good and lucky birds, which did confirm the election. Then *Numa* putting on his royall robes, came down from Mount *Tarpeian* into the market-place, where all the people received him with wonderful shouts of joy, as a man the most holy and best beloved of the gods, that they could have chosen. So having taken the Royal Seate of the Kingdome, his first Act was this, That he discharged the guard of the three hundred Souldiers which *Romulus* had alwaies about his person, called *Celeres*, saying, He would not mistrust them which trusted him, neither would he be King over people which should mistrust him. His second Act was, that he did adde to the two Priests of *Jupiter* and *Mars*, a third in the honour of *Romulus* who was called *Flamen Quirinalis*. For the ancient *ROMANES* also called their Priests instituted in the old time, *Flamines*, by reason of certain little narrow hats which they weare on their heads, as if they had called them *Pilamines*: for *Pilos* in Greek signifieth a hat. And at that time (as they say) there were many more Greek words mingled with the Latine, then there are at this day. For they called the mantles the Kings did wear *Lanas*. And *Juba* saith, that it is the very same which the *GRECIANS* call *Chlana*, and that the young boy which was a servant in the Temple of *Jupiter*, was called *Camillus*, as some of the *GRECIANS* doe yet call the god *Mercury*, because he is servant of the gods. Now *Numa* having done these things at his first entry into his Kingdom, still to win further favour and good will of the people, began immediatly to frame his Citizens to a certain civility, being as iron wrought to softnesse, and brought them from their violent and warlike desires to temperate and civil manners: For out of doubt *ROME* was properly that which *Plato* ascribeth to a City full of trouble and pride. For first it was founded by the most courageous and warlike men of the world, which from all parts were gathered there together in a most desperate boldnesse, and afterwards it encreased and grew strong by armes and continual wars, like as piles driven into the ground, which the more they are rammed in, the further they enter, and stick the faster. Wherefore *Numa* judging it no small nor light enterprise, to pluck down the haughty stomacks of so fierce and violent a people, and to frame them unto a sober and quiet life, did seem to work it by means of the gods, with drawing them on thereto by little and little, and pacifying of their hot and fierce courages to fight, with Sacrifices, Feasts, Dancings, and common Processions, wherein he celebrated ever himself. In the which, together with their devotion, there was mingled now and then pastime and pleasure, and sometimes he laid the terrour and fear of the gods before their eyes, making them beleve that he had seen strange Visions, or that he had heard Voices, by which the gods did threaten them with some great troubles and plagues, alwaies to pull down and humble their hearts unto the feare of the gods. This was the cause why they thought afterwards that he had learned his wisdom of *Pythagoras* the Philosopher; because the greatest part of the Philosophy of the one, and of the government of the other, consisted in such Ceremonies and divine Studies. They report also that *Numa* did put on the outward shew and semblance of *Pythagoras* holinesse, as following his intention and example. For *Pythagoras* (as they say) made an Eagle so tame and gentle, that she would stoop and come down to him by certain voices, as she flew in the ayre over his head; And that passing through the Assembly of the games Olympickall, he shewed her thigh of gold, and many other pretty feats and deeds they tell of, which seemed to be wonderfull, and for which *Timon Phliasi* hath written these Verses of him:

Pythagoras Which loved to dwell in dignity,
And hath an heart to glory bent, and past in policy.
Much like a man which sought, by charming to enchant,
Did use this art, to win mens mindes, which unto him did haunt:
His grave and pleasant tongue, in sugred speech did flow,
Whereby he drew most mindes of men, to bent of his owne bow.

Even so the feigned fable of *Numa*, which he so cunningly disguised, was about the love of a goddess, or some Nymph of the Mountaine: with whom he seemed to have certaine secret meetings and talke, whereof we have spoken before. And it is said, he much frequented the Muses in the woods. For he would say, he had the most part of his revelations of the Muses, and he taught the *ROMANES* to reverence one of them above all the rest, who was called *Tacita*, as ye would say, Lady Silence. It seemeth he invented this, after the example of *Pythagoras*, who did so specially command and recommend silence unto his Schollers. Again, if we consider what *Numa* ordained concerning Images, and the representation of the gods, it is altogether agreeable unto the doctrine of *Pythagoras*: who thought that God was neither sensible nor mortall, but invisible, incorruptible, and onely intelligible. And *Numa* did forbid the *ROMANES* also to beleve, that God hath ever forme or likeness of beast or man. So that in those former times, there was in *ROME* no Image of God, either painted or graven: and it was from the beginning a hundred threecore and ten yeares, that they had built Temples and Chappels unto the gods in *ROME*, and yet there was neither Picture nor Image of God within them. For they tooke it at the first for a sacrilege, to present heavenly things by earthly formes, seeing we cannot possibly any way attaine to the knowledge of God, but in minde and understanding. The very Sacrifices which *Numa* ordained, were altogether agreeable and like unto the manner of serving of the Gods, which the *Pythagorians* used. For in their Sacrifices they spilt not the blood, but they did theirs commonly with a little Meale, a little shedding of Wine and Milke,

Numa wor-
shipped *Tacita*
one of the
Muses.
Pythagoras
taught his
Schollers to
keep silence.
Pythagoras
opinion of
God.
Numa forbid
Images of God

and with such other light things. Such as affirme that those two men did much company and were familiar together, doe lay further proofes and arguments for the same. The first is this: that the *ROMANES* did make *Pythagoras* a free-man of the City of *ROME*; as *Epicharmus* the Comickall Poet an ancient Writer (and sometimes one of *Pythagoras* Schollers) saith in a Book he wrote and dedicated unto *Antenor*. The other proofe is: that *Numa* having had foure Children, called one of them *Mamercus*, after *Pythagoras* Sonnes Name; from whom, they say, is descended the house of the *Emilians*, which is the Noblett of the *Patricians*: for the King gave him the Name of *Emilius*, because of his sweet tongue and pleasant voice. Furthermore, I my selfe have heard say many times in *ROME*, that the *ROMANES* having received an Oracle, which commanded them to set up Images in their City. to the wisest and valiantest man that ever was among the *GRECIANS*, caused two Statues of Brasse to be set up in their market-place, the one of *Pythagoras*, the other of *Alcibiades*. Howbeit to strive about this matter any further, seeing there are so many doubts, methinketh it were but vaine. Moreover they attribute to *Numa*, the first erection of the Colledge Pontificall: and say, he himselfe was the first *Pontifex* that ever was. But touching the Name of *Pontifex*, some will say they were so called, because they chiefly were Ordained and appointed for the service of the Almighty: for this word *Potens* in the *ROMAINE* tongue, betokeneth mighty. Other thinke this Name was given to them by their founders, as to exempt persons out of the world: who enjoyed them to do all the service and sacrifices to the gods they could possibly, and yet notwithstanding, if they had any other lawfull let or impediment thereof, they were not straight condemned for omitting the same. Howbeit the most part doe bring out another derivation of this Name, wherein me thinks there is little reason. As that they should be called *Pontifices*, because they had the charge and maintenance of the Bridge. For that which the *GRECIANS* call *Gephyran*, the *LATINES* call *Pontem*: that is, a Bridge. And to say truly, the charges of repairing the Bridge, belongeth to the Bishops: as well as the keeping of the most holy and unchangeable Ceremonies. For the *ROMANES* thought it not only a thing unlawfull, but tooke it for a most damnable and wicked act, to destroy or breake the Bridge of wood, which was onely joynted together (as they say) with pinnes of wood, and without any Iron at all, by the Commandment of an old Oracle. But the stone Bridge was built long time after the Raigne of *Numa*, and in the time of the Raigne of his Nephew *Martius*. Now the first and chiefe of these Bishops, which they call the great *Pontifex*, hath the place, Authority, and Dignity of the high-Priest and Master of their pontificall Law: who should be careful, not onely about all publicke sacrifices and Ceremonies, but also about such as were private, and to see that no man privately should breake the ancient Ceremonies, nor bring in any new thing into Religion, but rather every man should be taught by him, how, and after what sort he should serve and honour the gods. He also hath the keeping of the holy Virgins which they call *Vestales*. For they doe give *Numa* the first foundation and consecrating of them, and the institution also of keeping the immortal fire with honour and reverence, which these Virgins have the charge of: Either for that he thought it meet to commit the substance of fire (being pure and cleane) unto the custody of cleane and uncorrupt Maids: or else because he thought the nature of fire (which is barren, and bringeth forth nothing) was fittest and most proper unto Virgins. For in *GREECE*, where they kept continual fire likewise (as in the Temple of *Apollo* in *DELPHES*, and at *ATHENS*) the Maidens do not keepe the same, but old Women which are past Marriage. And if this fire chance to faile, as they say in *ATHENS* the holy Lamp was put out in the time of the Tyranny of *Aristion*: and in the City of *DELPHES* it was put out, when the Temple of *Apollo* was burnt by the *MEDES*: and at *ROME* also, in the time of the wars that the *ROMANES* had against the King *Mithridates*: and in the time of the civill warres, when Alter, fire, and all were burnt and consumed together: they say that it must not be lighted againe with other common fire, but must be made anew, with drawing cleane and pure flame from the beames of the Sunne, and that they do in this manner. They have a hollow vessell made of a piece of a triangle, having a corner right, and two sides alike: so that from all parts of his compasse and circumference, it falleth into one point. Then they set this vessell right against the beames of the Sunne, so that the bright Sunne beames come to assemble and gather together in the center of this vessell, where they do pierce the ayre so strongly, that they set it on fire: and when the put to it any drie matter or substance, the fire taketh it straight, because the beame of the Sunne, by meanes of the Reverberation, putteth that dry matter into fire, and forceth it to flame. Some thinke that these *Vestall* Virgins keepe no other thing but this fire, which never goeth out. Other say, there are other Holy things also, which no body may lawfully see but they: whereof we have written more largely in the life of *Camillus*, at the least so much as may be learned and told. The first Maidens which were vowed and put into this order of Religion by *Numa*, were (as they say) *Gegania* and *Verenia*: and after them, *Canuleia* and *Tarpeia*. Afterwards King *Servius* increased the number with two other, and that number of foure continueth unto this day. Their rule and order set down by King *Numa* was this: that they should vow chastity for the space of thirty yeares. In the first ten yeares they learne what they have to do: the next ten yeares following, they do that which they have learned: and the last ten yeares, they teach young novices. After they have passed their thirty yeares, they may lawfully marry if they be disposed, and take them to another manner of life, and leave their Religion. But as it is reported, there have been very few of them which have taken this liberty, and and fewer also which have joyed after they were professed, but rather have repented themselves, and lived ever after a very grievous and sorrowfull Life. This did so fray the other *Vestalls*, that they were

Proofs for the
conversion of
Numa and
Pythagoras.

Numa institu-
eth Bishops.
Pontifices why
so called.

The wooden
Bridge at Rome

The high Bi-
shop.

The Institu-
tion of the
Vestall Nuns.
The holy and
immortal fire.

How the holy
fire is drawn
from the pure
flame of the
Sunne.

See the life of
Camillus
touching the
Vestall Nuns.
The order ap-
pointed the
Vestalls by
Numa.

The Vestals
prerogatives.

The punish-
ment of the
Vestal Nuns.

The Temple
of *Vesta* repre-
sents the fi-
gure of the
world.
Where the fire
abideth.

The manner
of buriall-
Libitina hon-
oured at Fu-
nerals.

The time of
mourning.

Salii, *Feciales*.
Plutar. Probl.
6.1. Gell. lib. 16.
cap. 4.
Feciales called
Irenophylaces.

Irenen : a quar-
rel pacified
with reason
without the
Sword.

were better contented with their vowed chastitie : and so remained Virgins, untill they were old or else died. He gave them also great privileges and prerogatives : as, to make their Will and Testa-ment in their Fathers life time : to do all things without any Gardian or Overseer, as Women which have three Children at a Birth. When they go abroad, they carry *Maces* before them to honour them. And if by chance they meete any offender in their way going to execution, they save his life: howbeit the professed *Vestall* must affirme by Oath, that she met him unawares, and not of set pur-pose. If any man presume under their chaire, whereupon they are carried thorough the City, he shall die for it. Also when they themselves do any fault, they are corrected by the great Bishop, who sometimes doth whip them naked (according to the nature and quality of their offence) in a dark place and under a curten. But she that hath deflowered her Virginity, is buried quick by one of the gates of the City, which they call *Collina* gate : where within the City there is a Mount of earth of a good length, and with the *LATINES* is said to be raised. Under this forced Mount, they make a little hollow vault, and leave a hole open, whereby one may goe downe : and within it there is set a little bed, a burning Lampe, and some victuals to sustaine life withall. As a little Bread, a little Water, a little Milke, and a little Oyle, and that for Honours sake : to the end they would not be thought to famish a body to Death, which had been consecrated by the most Holy and devout Cere-monies of the world. This done, they take the offender, and put her into a Litter, which they cover strongly, and close it up with thicke leather, in such sort, that no body can so much as heare her voice, and so they carry her thus shut up through the market place : Every one draweth backe, when they see this Litter as farre off, and doe give it place to passe by : and then follow it mournfully with heavy looks, and speake never a word. They doe nothing in the City more fearfull to be-hold, then this : neither is there any day wherein the people are more forrowfull, then on such a day. Then after she is come to the place of this vawt, the Sergeants straight unloose the fast bound Coverings : and the chief Bishop after he hath made certaine secret prayers unto the gods, and lift his hands up to Heaven, taketh out of the Litter, the condemned *Vestall* mustied up close, and so putteth her upon the Ladder, which conveyeth her downe into the vawt. That done, he with-draweth, and all the Priests with him : and when the silly offendour is gone downe, they straight plucke up the Ladder, and cast abundance of earth in at the open hole, so that they fill it up to the very top of the Arch. And this is the punishment of the *Vestals* which defile their Virginity. They thinke also it was *Numa* that built the round Temple of the goddesse *Vesta*, in which is kept the everlasting fire : meaning to represent not the forme of the earth, which they say is *Vesta*, but the figure of the whole world, in the midst whereof (according to the *Pythagoreans* opinion) remain-eth the proper seate and abiding place of fire, which they call *Vesta*, and name it the Unity. For they are of Opinion, neither that the Earth is unmoveable, nor yet that it is set in the midst of the world, neither that the Heaven goeth about it : but say to the contrary, that the Earth hangeth in the ayre about the fire, as about the center thereof. Neither will they grant, that the Earth is one of the first and chiefest parts of the world : as *Plato* held Opinion in that age, the Earth was in another place then the very midst, and that the center of the world, as the most honourablest place, did appertaine to some other of more worthy substance then the Earth. Furthermore, the Bishops office was to shew those that needed to be taught, all the rites, manners, and customes of buriall : whom *Numa* taught not to beleve that there was any corruption or dishonesty in burials, but rather it was to worship and honour the gods of the Earth, with usuall and Honourable Ceremonies, as those which after their Death receive the chiefest service of us they can. But above all other in burials, they did specially honour the goddesse called *Libitina*, that is said, the chief Governour and preserver of the rites of the Dead : or be it *Proserpina*, or *Venus*, as the most Learned men among the *ROMANES* do judge, who not without cause do attribute the Order of the begin-nings and end of mans Life, to one selfe God, and power Divine. *Numa* Ordained also, how long time every body should Mourn in black. And for a Child from three yeares to ten yeares of age, that died : he Ordained they should mourne no more moneths then it had lived yeares, and not to adde a day more. For he commanded, that the longest time of Mourning should be but ten moneths onely, and so long time at the least he willed the Women should remaine widdowes, after the decease of their Husbands : or else she that would Marry within that time, was bound by his Order to sacrifice a whole Bullock. *Numa* also erected many other Orders of Priests : of two sorts whereof I will onely make mention. The one shall be the Order of the *SALII*, and the other of the *FECIALES* : for me thinkes, both the one and the other doth manifestly shew the great holinesse, and singular devotion which he had in him. The *FECIALES* are properly those, which the *GRECIANS* call *IRENOPHYLACES*, as who would say, peace-keepers. And in my judgement, they had their right Name according to their Office, because they did pacifie quarrels with reason by way of Order, and did not suffer (as much as in them lay) that any matter should be tried by violence, until they were past all hope of any peace. For the *GRECIANS* call it properly *Irenen*, when both parties agree, and decide their controversie with reason, and not with sword. Even so those which the *ROMANES* called the *Feciales*, went many times in perfon to those that did the *ROMANES* injury, and sought to perswade them with good reason, to keep promise with the *ROMANES*, and to offer them no wrong. But if they would not yeeld to reason whom they sought to perswade, then they called the gods to the witnesse thereof, and prayed them, that if they did not most earnestly incense the *ROMANES*, to pursue that most justly appertained unto their right, that all evils and mischiefs of the warres might fall upon themselves and on their Countrey.

This

This done, they did threaten open warres against such enemies. And if the *FECIALES* would not consent to open warres, and did happen to speake against them, it was not lawfull in that case, nei-ther for private person, nor for the King himselfe to make any warres : But like a just Prince, he must have leave by their sufferance to make the warres. Then did he confider and consult, by what meanes he might best procure and prosecute the same. Concerning this matter, they judge that the ill hap which came to the *ROMANES*, when the City of *ROME* was taken and sacked by the *GAULES*, chanced justly for breaking of this holy institution. For at that time the barbarous peo-ple besieged the City of the *CLUSINIANS* : and *Gabinus Ambustus* was sent Ambassadour unto them, to see if he could make peace betweene them. The barbarous people gave him an ill answer : whereupon *Fabius* thinking his embassie had been ended, and being somewhat hot and rash in de-fence of the *CLUSINIANS*, gave defiance to the valiantest *GAULE* there, to fight with him man to man. Fortune favoured him in this challenge ; for he slew the *GAULE*, and stripped him in the field. The *GAULES* seeing their mad slaine, sent immediately an Herald to *ROME* to accuse *Fabius*, how against all right and reason he began warres with them, without any open Proclamation made before. The *FECIALES* being then consulted with thereabout, did declare, he ought to be delivered into the hands of the *GAULES*, as one that had broken the Law of Armes, and had de-served it : but he made friends to the people which favoured him very much, and by their meanes escaped his delivery and punishment. Neverthelesse, the *GAULES* within short time after, came before *ROME* with all their power ; which they tooke, sacked and burnt every whit, saving the Ca-pitol, as we have written more amply in the life of *Camillus*. Now concerning the Priests that were called *Salij*, they say he did institute them upon this occasion : In the eight yeare of his raig-ne, there came a pestilent disease through all Italy, and at the length it crept also into *ROME* : Whereat every man being greatly afraid and discouraged, they say there fell from Heaven a Target of Cop-per, which lighted betweene the hands of *Numa*. They tell hereof a wonderfull tale, which the King himselfe affirmed he heard of the *Nymph Egeria*, and the *Muses* ; to wit, that this Target was sent from Heaven, for the health and preservation of the City : and therefore he should keepe it carefully, and cause eleven other to be cast and made, all like unto the same in fashion and greatnesse, to the end that if any would enterprife to steale it, he should not know which of them to take for the right Target. Moreover he said, he was commanded to consecrate the place to the *Muses* (in the which he did oftentimes company with them) and also the fields which were neare thereabouts : and like-wise to give the Fountaine that sprang in that place, unto the *Vestals* professed, that every day they might draw water at that Well, to wash the Sanctuary of their Temple. The successe hereof proved his words true, for the sicknesse ceased incontinently. So he assembled all the chiefe Craft-men then in *ROME*, to prove which of them would take upon him to make one like unto that. Every man despaird to performe it. Howbeit one called *Veturius Mamurium* (the excellentest Workman that was in those dayes) did make them all so suit-like, that *Numa* himselfe did not know the first Target, when they were all laid together : So he ordained the Priests *Salij*, to have the custody of these Targets, to see them safe kept. They were called *Salij*, not after the name of *Salian* boyne in *SAMOTHRACIA*, or in *MANTINEA*, as some have untruly alledged, who first invented the manner of dancing all armed : but they were so called, of their fashion and manner of dancing and leaping. For in the Moneth of *March*, they goe skipping and leaping up and down the City with those Targets on their armes, apparelled in red Cassocks without sleeves, and girded about with broad leather sword girdles, studded with Copper, having Helms of Copper on their heads, and striking upon their Targets with short Daggers, which they carry in their hands. Moreover, all their dancing consisteth in moving of their feet : for they handle them finely, making turnes above ground and beneath, with a sodaine measure, and a marvellous force of agility. They call these Targets *Aneylia*, because of their fashion, which is not altogether compasse : for they are not all round as other common Targets be, but they are cut with circles wreathed about, both the ends bowing in many foldes, and one so neere another, that altogether they come to a certaine wreathed forme, which the *GRECIANS* call *Aneylon*. Or else they are so called, because *Ancon* signifieth an elbow, upon which they carry them. All these derivations are written in the History of *Juba*, who in any case will have this word *Aneylia* to be drawne out of the Greek tongue. And it may be also they were so called, because the first came from above, which the *GRECIANS* call *Anacathen* : or else for healing the sick, which is called *Acefsis* ; or else for ceasing of the drynesse, which in Greek is called *Anch-môn Lyssis* : or for the ending of all diseases and evils, for which cause the *ATHENIANS* call *Castor* and *Pollex*. *Anacus* : if they lust to give this word his derivation from the Greek tongue. Now the reward which *Mamurium* the Goldsmith had for making of these Targets was, that the *Salij* unto this day doe make mention of him in their Song, which they sing going through the City, and dancing of their dance all armed. Howbeit some thinke they say not *Veturius Mamurium*, but *veterem memo-riam*, ancient memory. But *Numa* after he had ordained and instituted these orders of Priests, built his Palace neare unto the Temple of *Vesta*, which holdeth his Name *Regia* at this day, that is to say, the Kings Palace : In which he remained most part of his life, studying either to sacrifice to the gods, or to teach the Priests what they should doe, or how with them he should best contemplate all hea-venly things. It is true that he had another house on the hill, which they call at this day, *Quirinal*, the place whereof is yet to be seene. But in all these Sacrifices, Ceremonies and Processions of the Priests, there were alwayes Hushers that went before, crying to the people, Keepe silence, and tend upon Divine Service. For they say the *Pythagoreans* thought it good, that men should not worship the

Rome taken by
the Gauls.
See *Camillus*
Life.
The Institu-
tion of the
Salij.
A target from
heaven.

Whereof they
were called
Salij.

Aneylia where-
of so called.

Regia the
Kings palace.

The manner
of the *Romans*
worshiping
the gods.

The *Pythagoreans* opinion touching praier.

Hoc age, a watchword to tend divine service.
The famili-
trade of *Numa*
and *Pythagoras*
precepts.

By what means
Numa made
the *Romans*
quiet and
gentle.
The wonders
of *Numa*.
Numa's speak-
ing with *Jupiter*.

Picus.
Fannus.

The purifying
of thunder.

the gods, nor make prayers to them in passing by, or doing any other thing: but they thought it meet, that men should of purpose goe out of their houses, to serve and pray unto them. Even so King *Numa* thought it not meet, that his subjects should come to see and heare Divine Service negligently, as it were for a fashion, and onely to be rid of it, as heeding another thing: but he would have them set aside all other businesse, and employ their thoughts and hearts only upon the principall service of Religion and devotion towards the gods. So that during Service time, he would not have heard any noyse, any knocking, bouncing, or any clapping, as they commonly heare in all Artificers shops of occupation, whereof at this day they see some signes and tokens remaining in their Sacrifices at Rome. For all the time the *Augur* beholdeth the flying of the Birds, or that he is doing any Sacrifice, the *Vergers* cry aloud; *Hoc age*, which meaneth, Tend this. And it is a warning to those that are present, to call their wits home, and to thinke on that which is in hand. Also there are many of his Orders like the Precepts of the *Pythagoreans*: For as they did warne men, not to sit upon a little bushell, nor to cut fire with a Sword, nor to looke behind them when they goe abroad: to sacrifice to the Celestial gods in odd number, and to the gods of the Earth in an even number, of which Precepts they would not have the common people to have any knowledge or understanding. Even so there are many Institutions of *Numa*, the reasons of whereof are hidden and kept secret: as not to offer Wine to the gods of the Vine never cut, and not to sacrifice unto them without Meale: and to turne a turne about when they doe reverence to the gods, and to sit downe after they have worshipped them. And as touching the two first Ordinances, it seemeth that by them he did recommend clemency and humanity, as being a part of the devotion towards the gods. But as for the turning which he willett them to make that worship the gods, they say it presenteth the turning which the Element maketh by his moving. But me thinketh it should rather come of this: for that the Temples being set to the East, he that worshippeth entering into the Temple, sheweth his back to the West, and for this cause turneth towards that part, and afterwards returneth againe towards God; doing the whole turne, and ending the consummation of his Prayer, by this double adoration which he maketh before and behinde. Unlesse peradventure that he meant secretly to signifie, and give them to understand by this turning and changing of their looke, that which the *EGYPTIANS* figured by their wheelles: in shewing thereby, that these worldly things were never constant and in one state: and therefore, that we should take it thankfully, and patiently beare it, in what sort soever it pleased God to change or alter our life: And where he commanded that they should sit after they had worshipped God: they said it was a token of a good hope unto them that prayed that their prayers should be exalted, and that their goods should remaine safe, and stick by them. Other say, that this ease and sitting, is a separating them from doing: and therefore he would they should sit in the Temples of the gods, to shew they had done that which they had in hand before, to the end to take of the gods the beginning of another. And it may well be also that it was referred to the thing we spake of a little before: That *Numa* would accustom his people, not to serve the gods, nor to speake to them at all, as they passed by, or did any other thing, or were in haste: but would have them pray unto the gods when they had time and leisure, and all other businesse at that time set apart. By this good instruction and training them unto Religion, the City of Rome by little and little came to be so tractable, and had the great power of King *Numa* in such admiration, that they tooke all to be as true as the Gospel that he spake, though it had no more likelihood of troth, then tales devised of pleasure. Furthermore, they thought nothing incredible, or unpossible to him, if he would have it. And for prooffe hereof, there goeth a tale of him, that he having bidden a great company of the Citizens of Rome to come and sup with him, caused them to be served with plaine grosse meat, and in very poore and homely vessels: And when they were set, and began to fall to their meate, he cast out words sodainly unto them, how the goddesse with whom he accompanied, was come to see him even at that instant, and that sodainly the Hall was richly furnished, and the Tables covered with all sorts of excellent fine and delicate meates. Howbeit this farre passed all the vanity of lying, which is found written of him about his speaking with *Jupiter*. The hill *Aventine* was not at that time inhabited, nor inclosed within the walls of Rome, but was full of Springs and shadowed groves, whither commonly repaired to solace themselves, the two gods, *Picus* and *Fannus*, which otherwise might be thought two Satyres, or of the race of the *Titanians*: saving it is said, that they went through all Italy, doing the like wonders and miracles in physicke, charmes and art magick, which they report of those the *Grecians* call *Idæes Daityles*. There they say that *Numa* tooke them both, having put into the Spring both Wine and Honey, where they used to drinke. When they saw that they were taken, they transformed themselves into divers formes, disguising and disfiguring their naturall shape, into many terrible and fearefull sights to behold. Nevertheless in the end, perceiving they were so fast, as to escape there was no reckoning: they revealed unto him many things to come, and taught him the purifying against lightning and thunder, which they make yet at this day with Onions, Haire and Pilchers. Other say, he was not taught that by them, but that they fetched *Jupiter* out of Heaven with their conjuring and magick: whereat *Jupiter* being offended, answered in choler, that he should make it with heads: But *Numa* added straight, of Onions: *Jupiter* replied, of Men. Then *Numa* asked him againe, to take a little away the cruelty of the commandement; What Haires? *Jupiter* answered, quicke Haires: And *Numa* put too Pilchers also. And it is reported that this was the goddesse *Egeria*, that taught *Numa* this subtilty. This done, *Jupiter* returned appeased: by reason whereof the place

place was called *Illicium*. For *Ileos* in the Greeke tongue signifieth appeased and favourable: and this purifying was afterwards made in that sort. These tales not onely vaine, but full of mockery also, doe shew us yet plainly the zeale and devotion men had in those times towards the gods, unto which *Numa* through custome had won them. And as for *Numa* himselfe, they say that he so firmly put all his hope and confidence in the helpe of the gods, that one day when he was told his enemies were in Armes against him, he did but laugh at it, and answered, And I doe sacrifice. It is he (as some say) that first built the Temple to *Faith* and *Terme*, and which made the *ROMANS* understand that the most holy and greatest Oath they could make, was to swear by their faith, which they keepe yet at this day. But *Terme* which signifieth bounds, is the god of confines or borders, unto whom they do sacrifice both publicly and privately, upon the limits of inheritance, and now they sacrifice unto him live Beasts. Howbeit in old time they did sacrifice unto him without any bloud, through the wife Institution of *Numa*, who declared and preached unto them, that this god of bounds was sincere and upright, without bloud or murther, as he that is a witnesse of justice and keeper of peace. It was he which in my opinion did first limit out the bounds of the Territory of Rome, which *Romulus* would never do, for feare left in bounding out his own he should confesse that which he occupied of other mens. For bounding and measuring, to him that will keepe it justly, is a bond that bridleth power and desire, but to him that forceth not to keepe it, it is a prooffe to shew his injustice. To say truly, the Territory of Rome had no great bounds at the first beginning, and *Romulus* had got by conquest the greatest part of it, and *Numa* did wholly divide it unto the needy Inhabitants to releve them, and to bring them out of poverty (which carrieth men headlong into mischief, and discourageth them to labour) to the end that plowing up the said Land, they should also plow up the weeds of their own barrenesse, to become civil and gentle. For that is no exercise nor occupation in the world which so suddenly bringeth a man to love and desire quietnesse, as doth husbandry and tillage, and yet to defend a mans own, there is in it courage and hardinesse to fight. But greedy desire, violently to take from others, and unjustly to occupy there is none of theirs, is never in right husbandmen. And therefore *Numa* having brought in husbandry amongst his Subjects, as a medicine and meane to make them love quietnesse, was desirous to inure them to this trade of life, the rather to make them humble and gentle of condition, then to encrease them in riches. He divided all the Territory of Rome into certain parts which he called *Pagors*, as much to say, as villages: And in every one of them he ordained comptrollers and visitors, which should survey all about, and he himselfe sometimes went abroad in person, conjecturing by their labour the manners and nature of every man. Such as he found diligent he advanced them unto honour, and gave them countenance and authority; Others which he saw slothfull and negligent, by rebuking and reproving of them, he made them amend. But amongst all his Ordinances which he made, one above all the rest carried the praise, and that was, that he divided his people into sundry occupations. For the City of Rome seemed yet to be made of two Nations, as we have said before; and to speak more properly, it was made of two Tribes. So that it could not, or would not for any thing be made one, being altogether impossible to take away all factions, and to make there should be no quarrels nor contentions between both parts. Wherefore he considered that when one will mingle two bodies or simples together, which for their hardnesse and contrary natures cannot well suffer mixture; then he breaks and beats them together as small as may be. For so being brought into a smaller and lesser powder, they would incorporate and agree the better. Even so he thought it was best to divide the people also into many small parts; by means whereof they should be put into many parties, which would more easily take away the first and the greatest part, when it should be divided and separated thus into sundry sorts. And this division he made by arts and occupations; as Minstrels, Goldsmiths, Carpenters, Diers, Shoemakers, Tawers, Tanners, Bell-founders, and pot-makers, and so forth through other craftes and occupations. So that he brought every one of these into one body, and company by it selfe, and ordained unto every particular mystery or craft, their Feasts, Assemblies, and Services, which they should make unto the gods, according to the dignity and worthinesse of every occupation: And by this meane he first tooke away all faction, that neither side said, nor thought any more, those are *SABINES*, these are *ROMANS*, these are of *Tatius*, these are of *Romulus*. Incomuch as this division was an incorporating, and an uniting of the whole together. Among other his Ordinances, they did much commend his reforming his reforming of the Law, that gave liberty unto Fathers to sell their children. For he did except children already married, so they were married with their Fathers consent and good-will, judging it to be too cruell and over hard a thing, that a woman who thought she had married a Free-man, should finde her selfe to be the wife of a bondman. He began also to mend a little the Calendar, not so exactly as he should have done, nor yet altogether ignorantly. For during the Reign of *Romulus* they used the moneths confusedly, without any order or reason, making some of them twenty daies and lesse, and others 35 daies and more, without knowing the difference between the course of the Sunne and the Moon: and onely they observed this rule that there was 360 daies in the year. But *Numa* considering the inequality stood upon eleven daies, for that the twelve Revolutions of the Moon are run in 354 daies, and the Revolution of the Sun in 365 daies, he doubled the 11 daies, whereof he made a moneth, which he placed from two years to two years after the moneth of February, and the *ROMANS* called this Moneth put between *Meridinum*, which had 22 daies. And this is the correction that *Numa* made, which since hath had a farre better amendment. He did also change the order of the Moneths. For March which before was the first,

Numa builded Temples to Faith and Terme.

Numa made the bounds of the Territory of Rome.

Numa advanced tillage.

Numa divided his people into sundry occupations.

Numa took away the factions of *Romulus* and *Tatius*.

The ordinance of the moneths of *Numa's* Institution.
Mar. 1. Sat. 23

The year di-
versly counted.

* Peradventure
ye must recide
in the Greek
(*Quintilis* being)
which is to
say, of the
name of *June*.

* Some of the
Grecian Co-
pies say in this
place *Quintilis*
as much as to
say, for the
dead.

Why *Janus* is
painted with
two faces.
At what time
the temple of
Janus is shut
in Rome.
Liv. lib. i.
The Romans
had no wars in
all *Numa's*
time.

he made it now the third, and January the first, which under *Romulus* was the eleventh, and February the twelfth and last. Yet many are of opinion, that *Numa* added these two January and February. For the ROMANS at the beginning had but ten months in the year, as some of the barbarous people make but three months for their year. And the ARCADIANs amongst the GRECIANS have but four months for their year. The ACARNANIANs have six to the year; And the EGYPTIANs had first but one month to their year, and afterwards they made four months for their year. And this is the cause why they seem (albeit they inhabit a new country) to be nevertheless the ancientest people of the world; For that in their Chronicles they reckon up such infinite number of years as those which count the Months for the years. And to prove this true, that the ROMANS at the beginning had but ten months in the year, and not twelve, it is easie to be judged by the name of the last, which they call at this day December. And that the month of March was also the first, may be conjectured by this, for the fifth month after that is may be called *Quintilis*, the sixth *Sextilis*, and so the other in order following the numbers. For if January and February had then been the first, of necessity the month of July which they call *Quintilis*, must have been named September; considering also that it is very likely that the month which *Romulus* had dedicated unto *Mars*, was also by him ordained to be the first. The second was April, so called of the name *Aphrodite*, that is to say, *Venus*, unto whom they make open sacrifice in this Month. And on the first day of the fame, women doe wash themselves, having a garland of myrtle upon their heads. Howbeit some other say, that it was not called after the name of *Aphrodite*, but it was onely called *Aprilis*, because then is the chiefeft force and strength of the Spring, at which season the earth doth open, and the seeds of plants and hearbes begin to bud and shew forth, which the word it selfe doth signifie. The month following next after this, is called May, after the name of *Mia* the mother of *Mercury*, unto whom the * Month is consecrated. The month of *June* is so called also, because of the quality of that season, which is as the youth of the year. Although some will say that the Month of May was named of this word *Maiores*, which signifieth as much as the elders; and the Month of *June* of *Juniores*, which signifies the younger men. All the other following were named in old time by the numbers according to their order, *Quintilis*, *Sextilis*, *September*, *October*, *November*, and *December*. But *Quintilis* was after called *Julius*, of the name of *Julius Caesar*, who slew *Pompeius*; and *Sextilis* was named *Augustus* of *Octavius Caesar* his Successor in the Empire, who was also furnamed *Augustus*. It is true also that *Domitian* would they should call the two months following (which are *September* and *October*) the one *Germanicus*, and the other *Domitianus*; But that held not long: For so soon as *Domitian* was killed, the months recovered their ancient names again. The two last months onely have ever continued their names, without changing or altering. But of the two which *Numa* added, or at the least translated, the month of February doth signifie as much as purging, or at least the derivation of the word foundeth near it. In this month they do sacrifice of plants, * and do celebrate the Feast of the LUPERCALS, in which there are many things agreeable and like to the sacrifices made for purification. And the first which is January was called after the name of *Janus*. Wherefore methinks that *Numa* tooke away the month of March from the first place, and gave it unto January; because he would have peace preferred before warre, and civil things before martiall. For this *Janus* (were he King or demigod) in the former age was counted very civil and politick: For he changed the life of men which before his time was rude, cruell, and wilde, and brought it to be honest, gentle, and civil. For this cause they doe paint his Image at this day with two faces, the one before and the other behinde, for thus changing the lives of men. And there is in ROME a Temple dedicated unto him, which hath two doors, that be called the doors of war; for the custome is to open them, when the ROMANS have any warres in any place, and to shut them when they be at peace. To have them shut it was a rare thing to see, and happened very seldome, by reason of the greatnesse of their Empire, which on all sides was environed with barbarous Nations, whom they were compelled to keepe under with force of armes. Notwithstanding it was once shut up in the time of *Augustus*, after he had slain *Anony*; and once before also in the year when *Marcus Attilius* and *Titus Manlius* were Consuls. But that continued not long, for it was opened againe incontinently, by reason of warres that came upon them soone after. Howbeit during the Reign of *Numa*, it was never one day opened, but remained shut continually by the space of three and forty years together. For all occasions of warres were then utterly dead and forgotten, because at ROME the people were not onely through the example of justice, clemency, and the goodness of the King, brought to be quiet, and to love peace, but in the Cities thereabouts there began a marvellous change of manners, and alteration of life, as if some gentle aire had breathed on them, by some gracious and healthfull winde blowne from ROME to refresh them. And thereby bred in mens mindes such a hearty desire to live in peace, to till the ground, to bring up their children, and to serve the gods truly, that almost through all ITALY there was nothing but Feasts, Plays, Sacrifices and Banquets. The people did traffique and frequent together without fear or danger, and visited one another, making great cheer; as if out of the springing Fountain of *Numa's* wisdom many pretty brookes and streams of good and honest life had run over all ITALY, and had watered it; and that the mildnesse of his wisdom had from hand to hand been disperfed through the whole world; Inomuch as the over-excessive speeches the Poets accustomed doe use were not sufficient enough to expresse the peaceable reign of that time.

There :

There, Spiders weave, there cobwebs day and night
In harnesses, which wont to serve for warre:
There canker'd drust doth fret the steel full bright
Of trenchant blades, well whet in many a jarre.
There, mighty Spears for lack of use are eaten,
With rotter wormes; And in that country there,
The braying trompe doth never seem to threaten
Their quiet ears with blasts of bloody fear.
There, in that land, no drowsie sleep is broken
With hot alarms, which terrors do betoken.

For during all King *Numa's* Reign it was never heard that ever there were any warres, civil dissention, or innovation of government attempted against him, nor yet any secret enmity or malice borne him, neither any conspiracy once thought on to reign in his place. And whether it was for feare of displeasing the gods (which visibly seemed to take him into their protection) or for the reverent regard they had unto his vertue, or for his prosperous and good successe all the time he reigned, I cannot tell: howbeit he fought to keepe men still pure and honest, from all wickednesse, and laid most open before the eyes of the whole world, a clear example of that which *Plato* long time after did affirm; and say, concerning true government; which was, That the only meane of true quietnesse and remedy from all evil (which ever troubleth men) was, when by some divine ordinance from above there meeteth in one person the right Majesty of a King, and the minde of a wise Philosopher, to make vertue governeesse and ruler over vice. For indeed happy is a wise man, and more happy are they, which may hear the grave counsell and good lessons of such a mouth: and there (me thinks) needeth no force, no compulsion, no threats, nor extremity to bridle the people. For men seeing the true image of vertue in their visible Prince, and in the example of his life, do willingly grow to be wise, and of themselves do fall into love, liking, and friendship together, and do use all temperance, just dealing, and good order one towards another, leading their life without offence, and with the commendation of other, which is the chief point of felicity, and the most happy good that can light unto men. And he by nature is best worthy to be a King, who through his wisdom and vertue can graffe in mens manners such a good disposition, and this *Numa* above all other seemed best to know and understand. Furthermore touching his wives and children, there are great contraries among the Historiographers. For some of them say, he never married other wife then *Tatia*, and that he never had any children but one onely daughter, and she was called *Pompilia*. Other write to the contrary, that he had four Sons, *Pompo*, *Pinus*, *Calpus*, and *Mamercus*, of every one of the which (by succession from the Father to the Son) have descended the noblest races and most ancient houses of the ROMANS. As the house of the *Pomponians*, of *Pompo*: the house of the *Pinarians* of *Pinus*: the house of the *Calphurnians* of *Calpus*: and the house of the *Mamercians* of *Mamercus*. All which Families by reason of their progenitor have kept the surname of *Reges* Kings. There are three other Writers which do reprove the two first: saying, that they did write to gratifie the families, making them falsely to defend of the noble race of King *Numa*. Moreover it is said, he had his daughter *Pompilia*, not by *Tatia*, but by his other wife called *Lucretia*, whom he married after he was made King. Howbeit they all agree, that his daughter *Pompilia* was married unto one *Martius*, the Son of the same *Martius*, which perswaded him to accept the Kingdom of ROME. For he went with him to ROME to remaine there, where they did him the honour to receive him into the number of the Senators. After the death of *Numa*, *Martius* the Father stood against *Tullus Hostilius* for the succession of the Realme, and being overcome, he killed himself for sorrow. But his Son *Martius*, who married *Pompilia*, continued still at ROME, where he begot *Ancus Martius*, who was King of ROME, after *Tullus Hostilius*, and was but five years old when *Numa* died. Whose death was not sudden: For he died consuming by little and little, as well through age as also through a lingring disease that waited on him to his end, as *Piso* hath written; and *Numa* at his death was little more then fourscore years old. But the pompe and honour done unto him at his Funerals, made his life yet more happy and glorious. For all the people, his neighbours, friends, kinsmen, and allies of the ROMANS came thither, bringing crownes with them, and other publike contributions to honour his Obsequies. The noble men selves of the City (which were called *Patricians*) carried on their shoulders the very bed on which the corpse lay, to be conveyed to his grave. The Priests attended also on his body, and so did all the rest of the people, women and children in like case, which followed him to his Tomb, all bewailing and lamenting his death, with tears, sighs, and mournings; not as a King dead for very age, but as they had mourned for the death of their dearest kinsman, and nearest friend that had died before he was old. They burnt not his body, because (as some say) he commanded the contrary by his Will and Testament: but they made two coffins of stone, which they buried at the foot of the Hill called *Janiculum*. In the one they laid his body, and in the other the holy Books which he had written himselfe, much like unto those which they that made the Lawes among the GRECIANS did write in Tables. But because in his life time he had taught the Priests the substance of the whole contained in the fame, he willed the holy Tables which he had written, should be buried with his body. For he thought it not reasonable that so holy matters should be kept by dead letters and writings, but by mens manners and exercises. And he followed herein they say, the *Pythagoreans*, who would not put their works in writing, but did printe the knowledge of them in their memories, whom they knew

*Plato*es saying,
concerning the
felicity of a
Common-
weal.

Numa's wives
and posterity.
Pompilia *Numa's*
daughter.

Pompilia married to *Caius*
Martius *Coriolanus*.
Martius the
Sabine made
Senator at
Rome.
Ancus Martius
the Son of
Caius *Martius*
Coriolanus.
The death of
Numa.

Numa's Books
Why the *Pythagoreans* left
nothing in
writing.

Twelve Books
of Priesthood.
Twelve Books
of Philosophy.

Good men
praised after
their death.
The misfor-
tunes of Nu-
ma's Successors.

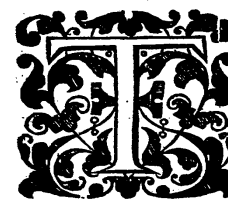
Hofilius.

to be worthy men, and that without any writing at all. And if they had taught any manner of person the hidden rules and secrets of Geometry, which had not been worthy of them, then they said the gods by manifest tokens would threaten to revenge such sacrilege and impiety, with some great destruction and misery. Therefore seeing so many things agreeable, and altogether like between *Numa* and *Pythagoras*, I easily pardon those which maintain their opinion, that *Numa* and *Pythagoras* were familiarly acquainted and conversant together. *Valerius Antias* the Historian writeth, there were twelve Books written concerning the office of Priests, and twelve other containing the Philosophy of the *GRECIANS*. And that four hundred years after (in the same year when *Publius Cornelius* and *Marcus Bibulus* were consuls) there fell a great rage of waters and rain, which opened the earth, and discovered these coffins: and the lids and covers thereof being carried away, they found the one altogether void, having no manner of likelihood, or token of a body that had lain in it: and in the other they found these Books, which were delivered unto one named *Petilius* (at that time *Prætor*) who had the charge to reade them over, and to make the report of them. But he having perused them over, declared to the Senate that he thought it not convenient the matters contained in them should be published unto the simple people, and for that cause they were carried into the market-place, and there were openly burnt. Surely it is a common thing that happeneth unto all good and just men, that they are farre more praised and esteemed after their death then before, because that envy doth not long continue after their death, and oftentimes it dieth before them. But notwithstanding the misfortunes which chanced afterwards unto the five Kings which reigned at *ROME* after *Numa*, have made his honour shine with much more noble glory then before. For the last of them was driven out of his Kingdom, and died in exile after he was very old; and of the other four, none of them died their naturall death, but three of them were killed by treason. And *Tullius Hosilius* which reigned after *Numa*, deriding and contemning the most part of his good and holy Institutions, and chiefly his devotion towards the gods, as a thing which made men lowly and faint-hearted; did as soon as ever he came to be King, turne all his Subjects hearts to the wars. But this mad humour of his, continued not long. For he was plagued with a strange and most grievous disease that followed him, which brought him to change his minde, and did farre otherwise turne his his contempt of Religion into an over-fearfull superstition, which did nothing yet resemble the true Religion and devotion of *Numa*, and besides he infected others with his contagious error, through the inconvenience which happened unto him at his death. For he was stricken and burnt with lightning.

The End of the Life of Numa Pompilius.

THE

THE COMPARISON OF LYCURGUS with NUMA.



Hus having written the Lives of *Lycurgus* and *Numa*, the matter requireth, though it be somewhat hard to doe, that we comparing the one with the other, should set out the difference betweene them. For in those things wherein they were like of condition, their deeds doe shew it sufficiently. As in their temperance, their devotion to the gods, their wisdom in governing, and their discrete handling of their people, by making them beleieve that the gods had revealed the Lawes unto them, which they established. And now to come unto their qualities, which are diversly and severally commended in either of them: Their first quality is, that *Numa* accepted the Kingdom, and *Lycurgus* gave it up. The one received it, not seeking for it: and the other having it in his hands did restore it again. The one being a stranger and a private man; was by strangers elected and chosen their Lord and King. The other being in possession a King, made himselfe againe a private person. Sure it is a goodly thing to obtain a Realme by justice: but it is a goodlier thing to esteeme justice above a Realme. Vertue brought the one to be in such reputation, that he was judged worthy to be chosen a King: and vertue bred so noble a minde in the other, that he esteemed not to be a King. Their second quality is, that like as in an Instrument of musick, the one of them did tune and wrest up the slack strings which were in *SPARTA*: so the other slackened, and set them lower, which were too high mounted in *ROME*. Wherein *Lycurgus* difficulty was the greater: For he did not perswade his Citizens, to pluck off their armour and curates, nor to lay by their swords; but only to leave their gold and silver, to forsake their soft beds, their fine wrought tables, and other curious rich furniture, and not to leave off the travell of warres, to give themselves onely unto feasts, sacrifices and playes: but to the contrary, to give up banquetting and feasting, and continually to take pains in the warres, yielding their bodies to all kinde of pains. By which means, the one for the love and reverence they did beare him, easily perswaded all that he would: and the other by putting himself in danger, and being hurt also, obtained not without great travell and adventure, the end of his intended purpose and desire. *Numa* his muse was so gentle, loving and courteous, that the manners of his Citizens, which before were furious and violent, were now so tractable and civill, that he taught them to love peace and justice. And to the contrary, if they will compell me to number amongst the Lawes and Ordinances of *Lycurgus*, that which we have written touching the *ELLOTES*, which was a barbarous cruell thing: I must of force confesse that *Numa* was much wiser, more gentle and civill in his Lawes, considering that even unto those which indeed were borne slaves, he gave some little taste of honour and sweetness of liberty, having ordained, that in the feasts of *Saturnus*, they should sit downe at meate at their Masters own table. Some hold opinion, that this custome was brought in by King *Numa*: who willed that those, which through their labour in tillage brought in much fruit, should have some pleasure thereof to make good cheere with the fruits of the same. Other imagin, that it is yet a token and remembrance of the equality which was amongst men in the world in *Saturnus* time, when there was neither master nor servant, but all men were alike equall, as brethren or kinsmen. To conclude, it seemeth either of them tooke a direct course, thought best to themselves, to frame their people unto temperance, and to be contented with their owne. But for their other vertues, it appeareth that the one loved warre best, and the other justice: unlesse it were that men would say, that for the diversity of the nature or custome of their people (which were almost contrary in manners) they were both compelled to use also contrary and divers meanes from other. For it was not of a faint heart, that *Numa* took from his people the use of armes, and desire to be in warres: but it was to the end they should not doe any wrong to others. Neither did *Lycurgus* also study to make

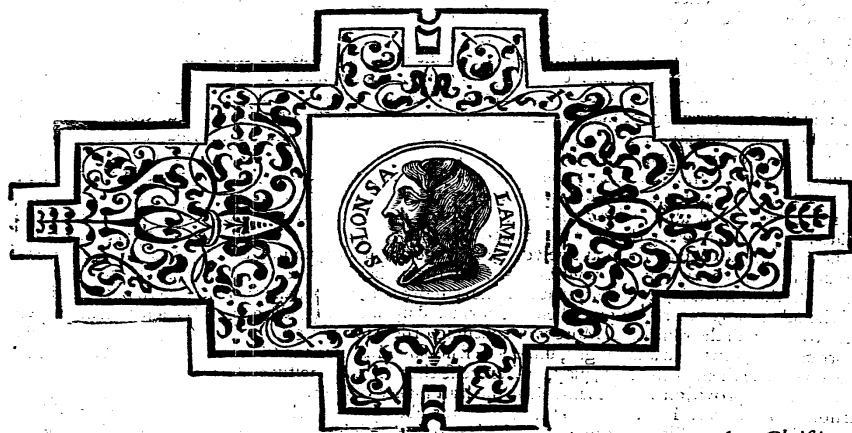
The vertues
of *Numa* and
Lycurgus were
alike, but their
deeds diverse.

What things
were hard to
Lycurgus.

Slaves sat
with their
Masters at
Saturnus feasts.
Macrobius Satyr.
lib. 1.

Diverse causes
of the diversity
of Institutions
of *Numa*
and *Lycurgus*.

THE LIFE OF SOLOX.



Anno Mundi,
3355.

Anno Christi,
593.

Solons lineage.



DIDYMU\$ the Grammarians, in a little Booke that he wrote, and dedicated unto *Asclepiades*, touching the Tables of the Lawes of *Solon*, alledgeth the words of one *Philocles*, in which he speaketh against the common opinion of those that have written, that *Solons* Father was called *Euphorion*. For all other Writers agree, that he was the sonne of *Execestides*, a man but reasonably to live, although otherwise he was of the Noblest and most ancient House of the City of *ATHENS*. For of his Fathers side, he was descended of King *Codrus*; and for his Mother *Hermistides Ponticus* writeth, she was cousin germaine unto *Pyssistratus* mother. For this cause even from the beginning there was great friendship betweene them, partly for their kinned, and partly also for the courtesie and beauty of *Pyssistratus*, with whom it is reported *Solon* on a time was in love. Afterwards they fortun'd to fall at jarre one with the other, about matter of State and Governement: yet this square bred no violent inconvenience betweene them, but they reserved in their hearts still their ancient amity, which continued the memory of their love, as a great fire doth a burning flame. That *Solon* was no stayed man to withstand beauty, nor any great doer to prevaile in love, it is manifest to all, as well by other Poeticall Writings that he hath made, as by a Law of his owne: wherein he did forbid Bondmen to perfume themselves, or to be lovers of children. Who placed this Law among honest matters, and commendable: as allowing it to the better sort, and forbidding it to the basest. They say also that *Pyssistratus* selfe was in love with *Charmus*, and that he did set up the little Image of Love, which is in *ACADEMIA*, where they were wont to light the holy Candle. But *Solons* Father (as *Hermippus* writeth) having spent his Goods in liberality and deeds of courtesie, though he might easly have bene relieved at divers mens hands with Money, he was yet ashamed to take any, because he came of a House which was wont rather to give and relieve others, then to take themselves: so being yet a young man, he devised to trade Merchandize. Howbeit other say, that *Solon* travelled Countreys, rather to see the World, and to learne, then to traffique, or gaine. For sure he was very desirous of knowledge, as appeareth manifestly: for that being now old, he commonly used to say this Verse:

*I grow old, learning still.
Also he was not covetously bent, nor loved Riches too much: for he said in one place:
Whoso hath Goods and Gold enough at call,
Great herds of Beasts, and flocks in many a fold,
Both Horse and Mule, yea store of Corne, and all
That may content each man above the mould:
No richer is, for all those heaps and hoards,
Then he which hath sufficiently to feede,
And clothe his corps, with such as God affords.
But if his joy, and chiefe delight do breede,*

For

Great friendship
betwixt
Solon and *Pyssistratus*.

A Statute for
Bondmen.

Solon gave him-
selfe in youth
to trade Mer-
chandize.

Solons judge-
ment of riches

*For to behold the faire and heavenly face
Of some sweete Wife, which is adorn'd with grace,
Or else some childe, of beauty faire and bright,
Then hath he cause (indeede) of deepe delight.*

And in another place also he saith:

*Indeed I do desire, some Wealth to have at will:
But not unlesse the same be got, by faithfull dealing still.
For sure who so desires by wickednesse to thrive:
Shall finde that justice from such goods, will justly him deprive.*

Howbeit, as an honest man is not to busie himselfe overmuch in scraping together of superfluous and unnecessary goods; so nothing letteth but that he may have a care to store himselfe with such things as he shall have neede of.

In those dayes no state was discommended, as saith *Hesiodus*, nor any Art or Science made any difference betweene men: but Merchandize they thought an honourable state, as that which delivered meanes to traffique into strange and farre Countreys, to get acquaintance with States, to procure the love of Princes, and chiefly to gather the experience of the World. So that there have bene Merchants, which heretofore have bene Founders of great Cities: as he which built *MARSILIA*, after he had obtained the friendship of the *GAULS*, dwelling by the River of *Rhossine*. And they say also, that *Thales Milesius* the wife did traffique Merchandize, and that *Hippocrates* the Mathematick did even so: and likewise that *Plato* travelling into *EGYPT*, did beare the whole charges of his journey, with the gaine he made of the sale of oyle he carried thither. They remember also that *Solon* learned to be lavish in expence, to fare delicately, and to speake wantonly of pleasures in his Poems, somewhat more licentiously then became the gravity of a Philosopher: onely because he was brought up in the trade of Merchandize, wherein for that men are marvellous subject to great losses and dangers, they seeke other whiles good cheere to drive these cares away, and liberty to make much of themselves. Yet it appeareth by these Verses, that *Solon* accounted himselfe rather in the number of the poore, then of the rich.

*Rich men (oft times) in lowdest lives do range,
And often seene, that vertuous men be poore:
Yet would the good their goodnesse never change
With low estate, although their wealth be more.
For vertue stands alwayes both firme and stable;
When riches poore, and seldome are durable.*

The Commodities of Merchandize.
A Merchant builded *Marsilia*.
Thales, *Hippocrates*, *Plato*, all Merchants.

Poverty with
vertue better
then riches.

This Poetry at the beginning he used, but for pleasure, and when he had leisure, writing no matter of importance in his Verses. Afterwards he did set out many grave matters of Philosophy, and the most part of such things as he had devised before, in the Governement of a Common-weale, which he did not for History or memories sake, but onely of a pleasure to discourse: for he sheweth the reasons of that he did, and in some places he exhorteth, chideth, and reproveth the *ATHENIANS*. And some affirme also he went about to write his Lawes and Ordinances in Verse, and do recite his Preface, which was this:

*Vouchsafe O mighty Jove, of Heaven and Earth high King:
To grant good fortune to my Lawes and bests in every thing.
And that their glory grow, in such triumphant Wife,
As may remaine in fame for aye, which lives and never dyes.*

He chiefly delighted in Morall Philosophy, which treated of Governement and Common-weales: *Solon* delighted in Morall, but not in naturall Philosophy.

*The clattering hails, and softly falling snow
Do breed in aire, and fall from clouds on hie.
The dreadful claps, which thunderbolts do throw,
Do come from Heaven, and lightnings bright in skie.
The sea it selfe by boisterous blasts doth rore,
Which (were it not provoked so full sore)
Would be both calme and quiet for to pass,
As any Element that ever was.*

So in effect there was none but *Thales* alone of all the seven wise men of *GREECE*, who searched further the contemplation of things in common use among men, than he. For setting him apart, all the others got the name of wisdom, onely for their understanding in matters of State and Governement. It is reported that they met on a day all seven together in the City of *DELPHES*, and another time in the City of *CORINTH*, where *Periander* got them together at a Feast that he made to the other fixe. But that which most increased their glory, and made their fame most spoken of, was the sending back againe of the three-footed stooles when they all had refused it, and turned it over one to another with great humanity. For the tale is, how certaine Fisher-men of the Isle of *CO*, cast their Nets into the Sea, and certaine strangers passing by, that came from the City of *MILETUM*, did buy their draught of Fish at adventure, before the Net was drawne. And when they drew it up, there came up in the Net a three-footed stooles of masse Gold, which men say, *Hellen* (as she did returne from *TROY*) had throwne in that place, in memory of an ancient Oracle she called then unto

G 4

The rare modesty of the wise men.

Anacharsis and Solon's meeting

Anacharsis saying of Solon's written Laws

Solon's talk with Thales at Miletum about marriage for having of children.

We should not let to get things necessary, fearing to lose them.

Cybius Thales adopted son. The instinct of natural love.

unto her minde. Thereupon the strangers and Fisher-men first fell at strife about this three-footed stooles, who should have it: but afterwards the two Cities tooke part of both sides, on their Citizens behalfe. Insomuch as Warres had like to have followed betweene them, had not the Prophetesse *Pythia* given a like Oracle unto them both: That they should give this three-footed stooles unto the wisest man. Whereupon the men of Co, sent it first to *Thales* in the City of *MILETUM*, as being willing to grant that unto a private person, for which they had made Warres with all the *MILESIANS* before. *Thales* said, he thought *Bias* a wiser man then himselfe: and so it was sent unto him. He likewise sent it againe unto another, as a wiser man. And that other, sent it also unto another. So that being thus posted from man to man, and through divers hands, in the end it was brought backe againe unto the City of *MILETUM*, and delivered into the hands of *Thales* the second time: and last of all was carried unto *THEBES*, and offered up unto the Temple of *Apollo Ismenian*. Howbeit *Theophrastus* writeth, that first it was sent to the City of *PRIENA*, unto *Bias*: and then unto *Thales*, in the City of *MILETUM*, by *Bias* consent. And after that it had passed through all their hands, it was brought againe unto *Bias*: and lastly it was sent to the City of *DELPHES*. And thus much have the best and most ancient Writers written: saying that some say in stead of a three-footed stooles, it was a cup that King *Croesus* sent unto the City of *DELPHES*. Other say, it was a piece of Plate which *Buthycles* left there. They made mention also of another private meeting betwixt *Anacharsis* and *Solon*, and of another betweene him and *Thales*, where they recite, that they had this talke. *Anacharsis* being arrived at *ATHENS*, went to knock at *Solon's* gate, saying that he was a stranger which came of purpose to see him, and to desire his acquaintance and friendship. *Solon* answered him, that it was better to seeke friendship in his owne Countrey. *Anacharsis* replied againe: Thou then that art at home, and in thine owne Countrey, begin to shew me friendship. Then *Solon* wondering at his bold ready wit, entertained him very courteously, and kept him a certaine time in his house, and made him very good cheere, at the sellesame time wherein he was most busie in governing the Common-weale, and making Lawes for the state thereof. Which when *Anacharsis* understood, he laughed at it: to see that *Solon* imagined with written Lawes, to bridle mens covetousnesse and injustice. For such Lawes, said he, do rightly resemble the Spiders Cobwebs: because they take hold of little Flies and Gnats which fall into them, but the rich and mighty will breake and runne thorow them at their will. *Solon* answered him, that men do justly keepe all covenants and bargaines which one make with another, because it is to the hinderance of either party to breake them: and even so, he did so temper his Lawes, that he made his Citizens know, it was more for their profit to obey law and justice, then to breake it. Nevertheless afterwards, matters proved rather according to *Anacharsis* comparison, then agreeable to the hope that *Solon* had conceived. *Anacharsis* being by hap one day in a common Assembly of the People at *ATHENS*, said that he marvelled much, why in the consultations and meetings of the *GRECIANS*, wife men propounded matters, and fooles did decide them. It is said moreover, that *Solon* was sometime in the City of *MILETUM* at *Thales* house, where he said that he could not but marvel at *Thales*, that he would never marry to have children. *Thales* gave him never a word at that present: but within few dayes after he suborned a stranger, which said that he came but newly home from *ATHENS*, departing from thence but ten dayes before. *Solon* asked him immediately, What newes there? This stranger whom *Thales* had schooled before, answered: None other there, saving that they carried a young man to buriall, whom all the City followed: for that he was one of the greatest mens sonnes of the City, and the honestest man withall, who at that present was out of the Countrey, and had bene a long time (as they said) abroad. O poore unfortunate Father, then said *Solon*: and what was his name? I have heard him named, said the stranger, but I have forgotten him now; saving that they all said, he was a worthy wife man. So *Solon* still trembling more and more for feare, at every answer of this stranger: in the end he could hold no longer, being full of trouble, but told his name himselfe unto the stranger, and asked him againe, if he were not the Son of *Solon* which was buried. The very same, said the stranger. *Solon* with that like a madde man straight began to beate his head, and to say, and do, like men impatient in affliction, and overcome with sorrow. But *Thales* laughing to see this pageant, staid him, and said: Lo, *Solon*, this is it that keepeth me from marrying, and getting of children; which is of such a violence, that thou feelest it hath now overcome thee, although otherwise thou art strong, and able to wrestle with any. Howbeit for any thing he hath said unto thee, be of good cheere man, for it is but a tale, and nothing so. *Hermippus* writeth, that *Patacus* (he which said he had *Alops* soule) recited this story thus. Nevertheless it lacketh judgement, and the courage of a man also, to be affraid to get things necessary, fearing the losse of them: for by this reckoning he should neither esteeme honour, goods, nor knowledge when he hath them, for feare to lose them. For we see that vertue it selfe, which is the greatest and sweetest riches a man can have, decayeth oft times through sicknesse, or else by physick and potions. Furthermore *Thales* selfe, although he was not married, was not therefore free from this feare, unlesse he would confesse that he neither loved friends, kinsmen, nor Countrey: howbeit *Thales* had an adopted sonne, called *Cybius*, which was his Sisters Sonne. For our soule having in it a naturall inclination to love, and being borne as well to love, as to feede, to reason, or understand, and to remember: having nothing of her owne whereupon the might bestow that naturall love, borroweth of other. As where there is a house of inheritance without lawfull heires, many times strangers, and base borne children, do creepe into the kinde affection of the owner, and when they have once wonne and possessed his love, they make him ever after to be kinde and tender over them. So that

that ye shall see many times men of such a hard and rough nature, that they like not of them that move them to marry, and get lawfull children: and yet afterwards are ready to die for feare and sorrow, when they see their bastards (that they have gotten of their slaves or Concubines) fall sicke or dye, and do utter words farre unmeet for men of noble courage. And some such there be, that for the death of a Dog, or their Horse, are so out of heart and take such thought, that they are ready to go into the ground, they looke so pitifully. Other some are cleane contrary, who though they have lost their children, forgone their friends, or some Gentleman deare unto them, yet no sorrowfull word hath come from them, neither have they done any unseemly thing: but have passed the rest of their life like wife, constant and vertuous men. For it is not love but weaknesse, which breedeth these extreme sorrowes, and exceeding feare, in men that are not exercised, nor acquainted to fight against fortune with reason. And this is the cause that plucketh from them the pleasure of that they love and desire, by reason of the continuall trouble, feare and griefe they feele, by thinking how in time they may be deprived of it. Now we must not arme our selves with poverty, against the griefe of losse of Goods: neither with lacke of affection, against the losse of our friends: neither with want of Marriage, against the death of Children: but we must be armed with reason against misfortunes. Thus have we sufficiently enlarged this matter. The *ATHENIANS* having now sustained a long and troublesome Warre against the *MEGARIANS*, for the possession of the Isle of *SALAMINA*, were in the end weary of it, and made proclamation, straightly commanding upon paine of death, that no man should presume to preferre any more to the Councell of the City, the title or question of the possession of the Isle of *SALAMINA*. *Solon* could not beare this open shame, and seeing the most part of the lustiest youths desirous still of Warre, though their tongues were tied for feare of the Proclamation, he fained himselfe to be out of his wits, and caused it to be given out that *Solon* was become a foole: and secretly he had made certaine lamentable Verses, which he had cunne without booke, to sing abroad the City. So one day he ranne suddenly out of his house with a Garland on his head, and got him to the Market-place, where the People straight swarmed like Bees about him: and getting him upon the stone where all Proclamations are usually made, out he singeth these Elegies he had made, which began after this sort:

*Here present my selfe (an Herald) in this case,
Which come from Salamina Land, that noble worthy place.
My minde in pelling prose, shall never be exprest,
But sung in Verse Heroicall, for so I thinke it best.*

This Elegie is intituled *SALAMINA*, and containeth an hundred Verses, which are excellently well written. And these being openly sung by *Solon* at that time, his friends incontinently praised them beyond measure, and specially *Pythistratus*: and they went about perswading the People that were present, to credit that he spoke. Hereupon the matter was so handled amongst them, that by and by the Proclamation was revoked, and they began to follow the Warres with greater fury then before, appointing *Solon* to be Generall in the same. But the common tale and report is, that he went by Sea with *Pythistratus* unto the Temple of *Venus*, surnamed *Coliade*: where he found all the women at a solemne Feast and Sacrifice, which they made of custome to the goddess. He taking occasion thereby, sent from thence a trusty man of his owne unto the *MEGARIANS*, which then had *SALAMINA*: whom he instructed to feigne himselfe a revolted Traytor, and that he came of purpose to tell them, that if they would but go with him, they might take all the chiefe Ladies and Gentlewomen of *ATHENS* on a sudden. The *MEGAREANS* easily believed him, and shipped forthwith certaine Souldiers to go with him. But when *Solon* perceived the Ship under saile coming from *SALAMINA*, he commanded the women to depart, and in stead of them he put lusty bearded Springalls in their Apparell, and gave them little short Daggers to convey under their Cloakes, commanding them to play and dance together upon the Sea side, untill their Enemies were landed, and their Ship at anchor; and so it came to passe. For the *MEGARIANS* being deceived by that they saw as farre off, as soone as ever they came to the shore side, did land in heapes, one in anothers neck, even for greedinesse, to take these women: but not a man of them escaped, for they were slaine every mothers sonne. This stratagem being finely handled, and to good effect, the *ATHENIANS* tooke Sea straight, and coasted over to the Isle of *SALAMINA*: which they tooke upon the sudden, and won it without much resistance. Other say that it was not taken after this sort: but that *Apollo Delphicus* gave *Solon* first such an Oracle:

*Thou shalt first winne by Vowes and Sacrifice,
The helpe of Lords and demy-gods full bright:
Of whose dead bones, the dust engraven lyes,
In western soyle, Asopia that high.*

By order of this Oracle, he one night passed over to *SALAMINA*, and did Sacrifice to *Periphrasus*, and to *Cicbris*, demy-gods of the Countrey. Which done, the *ATHENIANS* delivered him five hundred men, who willingly offered themselves: and the City made an accord with them, that if they tooke the Isle of *SALAMINA*, they should beare greatest Authority in the Common-weale. *Solon* imbarke his Souldiers into divers Fisher-boats, and appointed a Galliot of thirty Ores to come after him, and he anchored hard by the City of *SALAMINA*, under the point which looketh towards the Isle of *NEGREPONT*. The *MEGARIANS* which were within *SALAMINA*, having by chance heard some inkling of it, but yet knew nothing of certainty, ranne presently in hurly burly to arme them, and manned out a Ship to descry what it was. But they fondly coming within danger, were taken by *Solon*, who clapped the *MEGARIANS* under hatches fast bound, and in their roomes

Proclamation upon paine of death no man to move the Council for the Title of *Salamina*. *Solon* feigned madnesse to recover *Salamina*.

Solon's Elegies of the Salaminians.

Of the Temple of *Venus Coliade*. *Strab. lib. 4. Or Pausan. of the: Athenians.*

Solon's stratagems,

Solon won Salamina.

Great strife
betwixt the
Megarians and
Athenians for
Salamina, Iliad.
lib. 2.

put aboard in their Ship the choicest Souldiers he had of the ATHENIANS, commanding them to let their course direct upon the City, and to keepe themselves as close out of sight as could be. And he himselfe with all the rest of his Souldiers landed presently, and marched to encounter with the MEGARIANS, which were come out into the Field. Now whilst they were fighting together, Solons men whom he had sent in the MEGARIANS Ship, entred the Haven and wanne the Towne. This is certainly true, and testified by that which is shewed yet at this day. For to keepe a memoriall hereof, a Ship of ATHENS arriveth quietly at the first, and by and by those that are in the Shippe make a great shout, and a man armed leaping out of the Shippe, runneth shouting towards the Rocks called Sciradion, which is as they come from the firme Land: and hard by the same is the Temple of Mars, which Solon built there after he had overcome the MEGARIANS in battell, from whence he sent backe againe those Prisoners that he had taken (which were saved from the slaughter of the Battell) without any ranfome paying. Neverthelesse, the MEGARIANS were sharply bent still to recover SALAMINA againe. Much hurt being done and suffered on both sides: both parts in the end made the LACEDÆMONIANS judges of the quarrell. But upon judgement given, common report is, that Homers Authority did Solon good service, because he did adde these Verses to the number of Ships, which are in the Iliads of Homer, which he rehearsed before the Judges, as if they had beene indeede written by Homer:

*Ajax that Champion stout, did leade With him in charge,
Twelve Ships from Salamina soyle, which he had left at large,
And even these self-same Ships, in battell did he cast,
And place in order for to fight, With Enemies force at last,
In that same very place, Whereas it seemed then,
The Captains which from Athens came, imbattell'd had their men.*

The manner
of buriall with
the Megarians
and the Athe-
nians.

Solon defend-
ed the cause
of the Temple
of Delphes.

Howbeit the ATHENIANS selves thinke, it was but a tale of pleasure: and say that Solon made it appeare to the Judges, that *Phileus*, and *Euryfides* (both *Ajax* Sons) were made free Denizens of ATHENS. Whereupon they gave the Isle of SALAMINA unto the ATHENIANS, and one of them came to dwell in a place called Brauron, in the Countrey of ATTICA: and the other in a Towne called MILETUM. And for due prooffe thereof, they say there is yet a certaine Canton or Quarter of the Countrey of ATTICA, which is called the Canton of the *Phileides*, after the name of this *Phileus*, where *Pythistratus* was borne. And it is said moreover, that Solon (because he would thoroughly convince the MEGARIANS) did alledge that the SALAMINIANS buried not the dead after the MEGARIANS manner, but after the ATHENIANS manner. For in MEGARA they bury the dead with their faces to the East: and in ATHENS their faces are towards the West. Yet *Hereas* the Megarian denyeth it, saying, that the MEGARIANS did bury them also with their faces towards the West: alledging moreover, that at ATHENS every Corse had his owne Beere or Coffin by it selfe, and that at MEGARA they did put three or foure Corses together. They say also there were certaine Oracles of *Apollo Pythias*, which did greatly helpe Solon, by which the god called SALAMINA, JONIA. Their strife was judged by five Arbitrators, all SPARTANS borne: that is to say, *Critolaidas*, *Amompharetus*, *Hypsechidas*, *Anaxilus*, and *Cleomeneus*. Solon undoubtedly wonne great glory and honour by this Exploit, yet was he much more honoured and esteemed, for the Oracion he made in defence of the Temple of *Apollo*, in the City of DELPHES: declaring that it was not meete to be suffered, that the CYRRHÆIANS, should at their pleasure abuse the Sanctuary of the Oracle, and that they should ayde the DELPHIANS in honour and reverence of *Apollo*. Whereupon the Councell of the *Amphictyons*, being moved with his words and perswasions, proclaimed Warres against the CYRRHÆIANS, as divers others do witness, and especially *Aristotle*, in the Story he wrote of those that wanne the *Pythian Games*, where he ascribeth unto Solon the honour of that determination. Neverthelesse *Hermippus* saith, Solon was not made Generall of their Army, as *Euanthes* Samian hath written. For *Æschines* the Orator wrote no such thing of him: and in the Chronicles of the DELPHIANS they finde, that one *Alcmeon*, and not Solon, was the Generall of the ATHENIANS. Now the City of ATHENS had a long time bene vexed and troubled through *Cylon* his heinous offence, ever since the yeare that *Megacles* (Governour of the City of ATHENS) did with faire words handle so the Confederates of the Rebellion of *Cylon*, which had taken Sanctuary within the liberties of the Temple of *Minerva*: that he perswaded them to be wife, and to present themselves before the Judges, holding by a threed, which they should tye about the Base of the Image of the goddesse where she stood, because they should not lose their liberty. But when they were come to the place of the honourable goddesse so called, (which be the Images of the Furies) coming downe to present themselves before the Judges, the threed brake of it selfe. Then *Megacles*, and other Officers his Companions, laid hold on them presently, saying, that it was a manifest signe that the goddesse *Minerva* refused to save them. So those they tooke, and all they could lay hands on were immediately stoned to death without the City: the rest which tooke the Altars of refuge, were slaine there also. And none were saved, but such as had made meanes to the Governours Wives of the City, to intreate for them: which from that time forth were ever hated of the people, and commonly called the abjects and excommunicates. Who being the Issues of the Rebels that rose with *Cylon*, chanced to rise againe in credit, and growing to great Authority, they never left quarrelling and fighting continually with the off-spring of *Megacles*. These factions were greatest and highest in Solons time: who being of Authority, and seeing the People thus divided in two parts, he stepped in betweene them, with the chieft men of ATHENS, and did so perswade and intreate those whom they called the abjects and excommunicates, that

that they were contented to be judged. So three hundred of the chieftest Citizens were chosen Judges to heare this matter. The accuser was *Myron Phlyeion*. This matter was heard and pleaded, and by sentence of the Judges, the excommunicates were condemned. Those that were alive, to perpetuall exile: and the bones of them that were dead, to be digged up, and throwne out of the Confinnes of the Territory of ATHENS. But whilst the City of ATHENS was occupied with these uprores, the MEGARIANS wisely caught hold of the occasion delivered, and set upon the ATHENIANS, tooke from them the Haven of NISÆA, and recovered againe out of their hands the Isle of SALAMINA. Furthermore, all the City was possessed with a certaine superstitious feare: for some said, that Spirits were come againe, and strange sights were seene. The Prognosticators also said, they perceived by their Sacrifices the City was defiled with some abominable and wicked things, which were of necessity to be purged and throwne out. Hereupon they sent into CRETA for *Epimenides Phæstian*, whom they reckoned the seventh of the wise men, at the least such as will not allow *Periander* for one of the number. He was a holy and devoute man, and very wise in celestiall things, by inspiration from above: by reason whereof, men of his time called him the new *Curetes*, that is to say, Prophet: and he was thought the Sonne of a Nymph called *Balte*. When he was come to ATHENS, and growne in friendship with Solon, he did helpe him much, and made his way for establishing of his Lawes. For he acquainted the ATHENIANS to make their Sacrifices much lighter, and of lesse cost: and brought the Citizens to be more moderate in their mourning, with cutting off certaine severe and barbarous Ceremonies, which the most part of Women observed in their mourning: and he ordained certaine Sacrifices which he would have done immediately after the Obsequies of the dead. But that which exceeded all the rest, was, that by using the Citizens unto holinesse and devotion, daily Sacrifices, Prayers unto the gods, purging of themselves, and humble Offerings: he wanne mens hearts by little and little, to yeeld them more conformable to Justice, and to be more inclined to concord and unity. It is reported also that *Epimenides* when he saw the Haven of Munychia, and had long considered of it: told those about him, that men were very blinde in foreseeing things to come. For if the ATHENIANS (said he) knew what hurt this Haven would bring them, they would eate it (as they say) with their teeth. It is said also that *Thales* did prognosticate such a like thing, who after his death commanded they should bury his body in some vile place, of no reckoning, within the Territory of the MILESIANS, saying, that one day there should be the place of a City. *Epimenides* therefore being marvellously esteemed of every man for these causes, was greatly honoured of the ATHENIANS, and they offered him great Presents of Money and other things, but he would take nothing, and onely prayed them to give him a bough of the holy Olive: which they granted him, and so he returned shortly home into CRETA. Now that this sedition of *Cylon* was utterly appeased in ATHENS, for that the Excommunicates were banished the Countrey, the City fell againe into their old troubles and dissensions about the Government of the Common-weale: and they were divided into so divers parts and factions, as there were people of sundry places and Territories within the Countrey of ATTICA. For there were the people of the Mountaines, and the people of the Valleys, and the people of the Sea Coast. Those of the Mountaines tooke the common peoples part for their lives. Those of the Valley, would a few of the best Citizens should carry the sway. The Coast-men would that neither of them should prevaile, because they would have had a meane Government, and mingled of them both. Furthermore, the Faction betwene the poore and rich, proceeding of their inequality, was at that time very great. By reason whereof the City was in great danger, and it seemed there was no way to pacifie or take up these controversies, unlesse some Tyrant happened to rise, that would take upon him to rule the whole. For all the common people were so fore indebted to the rich, that either they ploughed their Lands, and yeilded them the sixth part of their Crop: (for which cause they were called *Hectemorii* and Servants) or else they borrowed Money of them at usury, upon gage of their bodies to serve it out. And if they were not able to pay them, then were they by the Law delivered to their Creditors, who kept them as Bond-men and Slaves in their houses, or else they sent them into strange Countreys to be sold: and many even for very poverty were forced to sell their owne Children (for there was no Law to forbid the contrary) or else to forsake their City and Countrey, for the extreme cruelty and hard dealing of these abominable Usurers their Creditors. Insomuch that many of the lustiest and stoutest of them, banded together in companies, and encouraged one another, not to suffer and beare any longer such extremity, but to choose them a stout and trusty Capitaine, that might set them at liberty, and redeeme those out of captivity, which were judged to be Bond-men and Servants, for lack of paying of their debts at their dayes appointed: and so to make againe a new division of all Lands and Tenements, and wholly to change and turne up the whole State and Government. Then the wisest men of the City, who saw Solon onely neither partner with the rich in their oppression, neither partaker with the poore in their necessity, made suite to him, that it would please him to take the matter in hand, and to appease and pacifie all these broyles and sedition. Yet *Phanias* Lesbian writeth, that he used a subtilty, whereby he deceived both the one and the other side, concerning the Common-weale. For he secretly promised the poore to divide the Lands againe: and the rich also, to confirme their Covenants and Bargaines. Howsoever it fell out, it is very certaine that Solon from the beginning made it a great matter, and was very scrupulous to deale betweene them: fearing the covetousnesse of the one, and arrogancy of the other. Howbeit in the end he was chosen Governour after *Philombrotus*, and was made reformer of the rigour of the Lawes, and the temperer of the State and Common-weale, by consent and agreement of both parties. The rich accepted him, because he was no begger: the poore did also like him, because he was an honest man. They say

Epimenides
Phæstus taken
for one of the
seven Sages,
excluding *Pe-
riander*.

Solon pacified
the sedition
at Athens.

The misery of
debt and usury.

Solons equity
and upright-
nesse:
Solon by sub-
tily set order
betwixt the
poore and rich

Solon chosen
reformer of
the Law, and
chiefe Govern-
our.

say moreover, that one word and sentence which he spake, (which at that present was rife in every mans mouth) that equality did breede no strife, did as well please the rich and wealthy, as the poore and needy. For the one fort conceived of this word Equality, that he would measure all things according to the quality of the man: and the other tooke it for their purpose, that he would measure all things by the number, and by the polle onely. Thus the Captaines of both Factions perswaded and prayed him, boldly to take upon him that Sovereigne Authority, fithens he had the whole City now at his commandment. The Neuters also of every part, when they saw it very hard to pacifie these things with Law and Reason, were well content that the wisest, and honestest man, should alone have the Royall Power in his hands. Some say also that there was such an Oracle of Apollo:

*Sit thou at helme, as Governour to steere,
To guide our course, and rule the rowling Ship:
For thou shalt see, full many Athenians there,
Will take thy part, and after thee will trip.*

Solon refused to be a tyrant.

Timondas and Pittacus tyrants. Solons answer for tyranny.

But his familiar friends above all rebuked him, saying he was to be accounted no better then a beast, if for feare of the name of Tyrant, he would refuse to take upon him a Kingdome: which is the most iust and honourable state, if one take it upon him that is an honest man. As in old time, *Timondas* made himselfe King of those of *NEGREPONT*, with their consent: and as *Pittacus* was then presently of those of *METELIN*. Notwithstanding, all these goodly reasons could not make him once alter his opinion. And they say that he answered his friends, that Principality and Tyranny, was indeed a goodly place: howbeit there was no way for a man to get out, when he was once entred into it. And in certaine Verses that he wrote to *Phocus*, thus he said:

*I neither blush, nor yet repent my selfe,
That have preserv'd my native soyle alwaies,
And that therein (to boord up trash and pelfe)
No Tyrants thought could once eclipse my praise.
No might could move my minde to any wrong,
Which might be blot the glory of my name:
For so I thought, to live in honour long,
And farre excell all other men of fame.*

Hereby appeareth plainly, that even before he was chosen reformer of the State, to stablish new Lawes, he was then of great countenance and Authority. But he himselfe writeth, that many said of him thus, after he had refused the occasion of usurping of this tyranny:

*Sure Solon was a foole, and of a basifull minde,
That would refuse the great good hap, which gods to him assign'd.
The prey was in his hands, yet durst he never draw
The net therefore: but stood abasht, and like a dastard daw.
For had not that so beene, he would (for one dayes raigne,
To be a King in Athens Towne) himselfe (all quicke) have staine.
And eke subverted quite his Family withall,
So sweete it is to rule the royl, yclad in Princely pall.*

Thus brought the common rumour to taber on his head. Now, notwithstanding he had refused the Kingdome, yet he waxed nothing the more remisse nor soft therefore in governing, neither would he bow for feare of the great, nor yet would frame his Lawes to their liking that had chosen him their reformer. For where the mischief was tolerable, he did not straight plucke it up by the rootes: neither did he so change the State, as he might have done, left if he should have attempted to turne upside downe the whole Governement, he might afterwards have beene never able to settle and stablish the same againe. Therefore he onely altered that, which he thought by reason he would perswade his Citizens unto, or else by force he ought to compell them to accept, mingling as he said, foure with fixete, and force with justice. And herewith agreeth his Answer that he made afterwards unto one that asked him, if he had made the best Lawes he could for the *ATHENIANS*? Yea sure, saith he, such as they were to conceive. And this that followeth also, they have ever since observed in the Athenian Tongue: to make certaine things pleasant, that be hatefull, finely conveying them under colour of pleasing names. As calling Whores, Lemans: Taxes, Contributions: Garrisons, Guards: Prisons, Houses. And all this came up first by *Solons* invention, who called clearing of debts, *Seisachtheian*: in English, discharge. For the first change and reformation he made in Government was this: he ordained that all manner of debts past should be cleare, and nobody should aske his debtor any thing for the time past. That no man should thenceforth lend Money out to usury, upon Covenants for the body to be bound, if it were not repayed. Howbeit some write (as *Androtion* among other) that the poore were contented that the interest onely for usury should be moderated, without taking away the whole debt: and that *Solon* called this easie and gentle discharge, *Seisachtheian*, with crying up the value of money. For he raised the pound of silver, being before but threecore and threene Drachmes, full upon an hundred: so they which were to pay great summes of Money, payed by tale as much as they ought, but with lesse number of pieces then the Debt could have beene payed when it was borrowed. And so the Debtors gained much, and the Creditors lost nothing. Neverthelesse the greater part of them which have written the same, say, that this crying up of the Money, was a generall discharge of all Debts, Conditions and Covenants upon the same: whereto the very Poems themselves, which *Solon* wrote, do seeme to agree. For he glor-

Excellent temperature.

Things hatefull made pleasant with sweet words. Clearing of debts Solons first Law. usury forbidden upon gage of the body. The value of money cried up by solon.

rieth, and breaketh forth in his Verses, that he had taken away all bawkes and marks that separated mens Lands through the Countrey of *ATTICA*: and that now he had set at liberty, that which before was in bondage. And that of the Citizens of *ATHENS*, which for lack of payment of their debts had beene condemned for Slaves to their Creditors, he had brought many home againe out of strange Countries, where they had beene so long, that they had forgotten to speake their naturall Tongue: and other which remained at home in captivity, he had now set them all at good liberty. But while he was in doing this, men say a thing thwarted him, that troubled him marvellously. For having framed an Edict for clearing all debts, and lacking onely a little to grace it with words, and to give it some pretty Preface, that otherwise was ready to be proclaimed: he opened himself somewhat to certaine of his familiars whom he trusted (as *Conon*, *Clinias*, and *Hipponicus*) and told them how he would not meddle with Lands and Possessions, but would onely cleare and cut off all manner of debts. These men before the Proclamation came out, went presently to the Money-men, and borrowed great fums of Money of them, and laid it out straight upon Land. So when the Proclamation came out, they kept the Lands they had purchased, but restored not the Money they had borrowed. This foule part of theirs made *Solon* very ill spoken of, and wrongfully blamed: as if he had not onely suffered it, but had beene partaker of this wrong and injustice. Notwithstanding he cleared himself of this slanderous report, losing five Talents by his owne Law. For it was well known that so much was due unto him, and he was the first that following his owne Proclamation, did clearly release his debtors of the same. Other say he was owing fifteene Talents, and among the same, *Polyzelus* the *Rhodian* is one that affirmeth it. Notwithstanding they ever after called *Solons* friends, *Graecopides*, cutters of debts. This Law neither liked the one nor the other sort. For it greatly offended the rich for cancelling their bonds: and it much more misliked the poore, because all Lands and Possessions they gaped for, were not made againe common, and every body alike rich and wealthy, as *Lycurgus* had made the *LACEDAMONIANS*. But *Lycurgus* was the eleventh descended of the right Line from *Hercules*, and had many yeares beene King of *LACEDAMON*, where he had gotten great authority, and made himself many friends: all which things together, did greatly help him to execute that, which he wisely had imagined for the order of the Common-weale. Yet also, he used more perswasion then force, a good witnesse thereof the losse of his eye: preferring a Law before his private injury, which hath power to preserve a City long in union and concord, and to make Citizens to be neither poore nor rich. *Solon* could not attaine to this, for he was borne in a popular state, and a man but of meane wealth: Howbeit he did what he could poffible, with the power he had, as one seeking to win no credit with his Citizens, but onely by his counsell. Now, that he got the ill will of the greater part of the City, by his Proclamation which he made, he himselfe doth witnesse it, saying:

*Even those which earst, did beare me friendly face,
And spake full faire, wherever I them met:
Can now begin, to looke full grim of grace,
And were (like foes) in force against me set.
As if I had done them some spight or scorne,
Or open wrong, which were not to be borne.*

Neverthelesse he saith immediately after, that with the same Authority and Power he had, a man possibly

*Could not controll the Peoples mindes:
Nor still their braines, which wrought like windes.*

But shortly after, having a feeling of the benefit of this Ordinance, and every one forgetting his private quarrell: they all together made a common Sacrifice, which they called the Sacrifice of *Seisachtheia*, or discharge, and chose *Solon* generall reformer of the Law, and of the whole state of the Common-weale, without limiting his power, but referred all matters indifferently to his will: as the Office of State, common Assemblies, voices in Election, Judgements in Justice, and the Body of the Senate. And they gave him also full power and authority, to lesse and taxe any of them, to appoint the number, what time the Sesse should continue, and to keepe, confirme, and disannull at his pleasure, any of the ancient Lawes and Customes then in being. To begin withall, he first tooke away all *Dracoms* bloody Lawes, saving for murder, and man-slaughter, which were too severe and cruell. For almost he did ordaine but one kinde of punishment for all kinde of faults and offences, which was death. So that they which were condemned for idleness, were judged to dye. And petty larceny, as robbing mens Hortyards and Gardens of Fruit, or Herbes, was as severely punished, as those who had committed Sacrilege or murder. *Demades* therefore encountered it pleasantly, when he said: that *Dracoms* Laws were not written with inke, but with bloud. And *Draco* himself being asked one day, why his punishments were so unequal, as death for all kinds of faults, he answered: Because he thought the least offence worthy so much punishment: and for the greatest, he found none more grievous. Then *Solon* being desirous to have the chief Offices of the City to remaine in rich mens hands, as already they did, and yet to mingle the authority of Government in such sort, as the meaner people might beare a little sway, which they never could before: he made an estimate of the Goods of every private Citizen. And those which he found yearly worth 500 bushells of Corn, and other liquid fruits and upwards, he called *Pentacostomedimes*: as to say, five hundred bushell men of revenue. And those that had 300 bushells a yeare, and were able to keepe a horse of service, he put in the second degree, and called them Knights. They that might dispend but two hundred bushells a yeare, were put in the third place; and

Laws would be kept secret till they be published.

Ill consciences by craft prevent Law.

A good Law-maker beginneth to do justice in himselfe.

Solons absolute authority in the Common-weale.

Solon tooke away all *Dracoms* Laws.

Solon rateth every Citizen at a certaine summe. *Pentacostomedimes*.

Zengites.
Thetes.

and called *Zengites*. All other under those, were called *Thetes*, as ye would say, Hirelings, or Craftsmen living of their labour : who he did not admit to beare any Office in the City, neither were they taken as free Citizens; saving they had voices in elections, and Assemblies of the City, and in Judgements, where the People wholly judged. This at the first seemed nothing, but afterwards they felt it was to great purpose, for hereby the most part of private quarrels and strife that grew among them, were in the end laid open before the People. For he suffered those to appeale unto the People, which thought they had wrong judgement in their causes. Furthermore, because his Lawes were written somewhat obscurely, and might be diversly taken and interpreted, this did give a great deale more authority and power to the Judges. For, considering all their controversies could not be ended and judged by expresse Law, they were driven of necessity always to run to the Judges, and debated their matters before them. Infomuch as the Judges by this meane came to be somewhat above the Law : for they did even expound it as they would themselves. *Solons* selfe doth note this equall division of the publick Authority, in a place of his Poemes, where he saith :

*Such power have I given, to common Peoples hand,
As might become their meane estate, With equity to stand :
And as I have not pluckt, from them their dignity,
So have I not too much increas'd their small authority.
Unto the rich likewise, I have allowed no more,
Then Well might seeme (in just conceit) sufficient for their store.
And so I have for both provided in such wise,
That neither shall each other Wrong, nor seeme for to despise.*

Yet considering it was meete to provide for the poverty of the common sort of people, he suffered any man that would, to take upon him the defence of any poore mans case that had the wrong. For if a man were hurt, beaten, forced, or otherwise wronged, any other man that would might lawfully sue the offender, and prosecute Law against him. And this was a wife Law ordained of him, to custome his Citizens to be sorry for anothers hurt, and so to feele it, as if any part of his owne body had been injured. And they say he made an answer on a time agreeable to this Law. For, being asked what City he thought best governed, he answered : That City where such as receive no wrong, do as earnestly defend wrong offered to other, as the very wrong and injury had beene done unto themselves. He erected also the Councell of the *Areopagites*, of those Magistrates of the City, out of which they did yearly chuse their Governour : and he himselfe had beene of that number, for that he had beene Governour for a year. Wherefore perceiving now the People were growne to a stomack and haughtinesse of minde because they were cleare discharged of their debts, he set up for matters of State, another Councell of an hundred, chosen out of every Tribe, whereof foure hundred of them were to consult and debate of all matters, before they were propounded to the People : that when the great Councell of the People at large should be assembled, no matter should be put forth, unlesse it had beene before well considered of, and digested, by the Councell of the foure hundred. Moreover, he ordained the higher Court should have the chiefe authority and power over all things, and chiefly to see the Law executed and maintained : supposing that the Common-weale being seled, and stayed with these two Courts (as with two strong Anker-holds) it should be the lesse turmoiled and troubled, and the People also better pacified and quiered. The most part of Writers hold this opinion, that it was *Solon* which erected the Councell of the *Areopagites*, as we have said, and it is very likely to be true, for that *Dracon* in all his Lawes and Ordinances made no manner of mention of the *Areopagites*, but alwaies speaketh to the *Ephetes* (which were Judges of life and death) when he spake of murder, or of any mans death. Notwithstanding, the eighth Law of the thirteenth Table of *Solon* saith thus, in these very words : All such as have beene banished or detected of naughty life, before *Solon* made his Lawes, shall be restored againe to their Goods and good name, except those which were condemned by order of the Councell of the *Areopagites*, or by the *Ephetes*, or by the Kings in open Court, for murder, and death of any man, or for aspiring to usurpe tyranny. These words to the contrary seeme to prove and testifie, that the Councell of the *Areopagites* was, before *Solon* was chosen reformer of the Lawes. For how could offenders and wicked men be condemned, by order of the Councell of the *Areopagites* before *Solon*, if *Solon* was the first that gave it authority to judge? unlesse a man will say peradventure, that he would a little helpe the matter of his Lawes which were obscure and darke, and would supply that they lacked, with expounding of the same by them. Those which shall be found attainted and convicted of any matter, that hath beene heard before the Councell of the *Areopagites*, the *Ephetes*, or the Governours of the City, when this Law shall come forth, shall stand condemned still; and all other shall be pardoned, restored and set at liberty. Howsoever it is, sure that was his intent and meaning. Furthermore among the rest of his Lawes, one of them indeed was of his owne device : for the like was never stablished elsewhere. And it is that Law, that pronounceth him defamed, and unhoneft, who in a civill uprore among the Citizens, sitteth still a looker on, and a neuter, and taketh part with neither side. Whereby his minde was, as it should appeare, that private men should not be onely carefull to put themselves and their causes in safety, nor yet should be carelesse for other mens matters, or thinke it a vertue not to meddle with the miseries and misfortunes of their Countrey, but from the beginning of every sedition that they should joine with those that take the justest cause in hand, and rather to hazard themselves with such, then to tarry looking (without putting themselves in danger) which of the two should have the victory. There is another Law also, which at the first sight methinketh is very unhoneft and fond : That if

The Councell
of the *Areopagites*.

Three Councels
erected in
Athens.

Other Laws of
Solon.

A Law against
neuters.

any man according to the Law hath matched with a rich Heire and Inheritor, and of himselfe is impotent, and unable to do the Office of a Husband, she may lawfully lye with any whom she liketh, of her Husbands nearest Kinfmen. Howbeit some affirme, that it is a wife made Law for those, which knowing themselves unmeete to entertaine Wedlock, will for covetousnesse of Lands, marry with rich Heires and Possessioners, and minde to abuse poore Gentlewomen under the colour of Law : and will thinke to force and restraine Nature. For, seeing the Law suffereth an Inheritor or Possessioner thus ill bestowed, at her pleasure to be bold with any of her Husbands Kin, men will either leave to purchase such Marriages, or if they be so carelesse that they will needs marry, it shall be to their extreme shame and ignominy, and so shall they deservedly pay for their greedy covetousnesse. And the Law is made well also, because the Wife hath not scope to all her Husbands Kinfmen, but unto one choise man whom she liketh best of his Houfe : to the end that the Children that shall be borne, shall be at the least of her Husbands bloud and kinned. This also confirmeth the same, that such a new married Wife should be shut up with her Husband, and eate a Quince with him : and that he also which marieth such an Inheritor, should of duty see her thrice a Moneth at the least. For although he get no Children of her, yet it is an honour the Husband doth to his Wife, arguing that he taketh her for an honest Woman, that he loveth her, and that he esteemeth of her. Besides, it taketh away many milkinges and displeasures which oftentimes happen in such cases, and keepeth love and good will waking, that it die not utterly betweene them. Furthermore, he tooke away all Joynters and Dowries in other Marriages, and willed that the Wives should bring their Husbands but three Gowns onely, with some other little Moveables of small value, and without any other thing as it were : utterly forbidding that they should buy their Husbands, or that they should make Merchandize of Marriages, as of other Trades to gaine, but would that Man and Woman should marry together for Issue, for pleasure, and for love, but in no case for money. And for prooffe hereof, *Dionysius* the Tyrant of *SICILIE*, one day answered his Mother (which would needes be married to a young man of *SYRACUSA*) in this sort : I have power (saith he) to breake the Lawes of *SYRACUSA*, by having the Kingdome : but to force the Law of Nature, or to make Marriage without the reasonable compasse of age, that passeth my reach and Power. So it is not tolerable, and much lesse allowable also, that such disorder should be in well ordered Cities, that such uncomely and unfit Marriages should be made, betweene couples of unequall yeares : considering there is no meete nor necessary end of such Matches. A wife Governour of a City, or a Judge and reformer of Lawes and manners, might well say to an old Man that should marry with a young Maide, as the Poet saith of *Philotes* :

*Oh silly Wretch, how trim a man art thou;
At these young yeares, for to be married now?*

And finding a young man in an old rich womans house, getting his living by riding of her errands, and waxing fat, as they say the Partridge doth, by treading of the Hens : he may take him from thence, to bestow him on some young Maide that shall have need of a husband. And thus much for this matter. But they greatly commend another Law of *Solons*, which forbiddeth to speake ill of the dead. For it is a good and godly thing to thinke; that they ought not to touch the dead, no more than to touch holy things : and men should take great heed to offend those that are departed out of this World : besides, it is a token of wisdom and civility, to beware of immortall enemies. He commanded also in the self-same Law, that no man should speake ill of the living, specially in Churches, during Divine Service, or in Councell-chamber of the City, nor in the Theaters whilst Games were a playing : upon paine of three silver Drachmes to be payed to him that was injured, and two to the common Treasury. For he thought it too much shamelesse boldnesse, in no place to keepe in ones choler; and moreover, that such lacked civility and good manners : and yet altogether to suppress and smother it, he knew it was not onely a hard matter, but to some natures impossible. And he that maketh Lawes, must have regard to the common possibility of men, if he will punish little, with profitable example, and not much without some profit. So was he marvellously well thought of, for the Law that he made touching Wills and Testaments. For before, men might not lawfully make their Heires whom they would, but the Goods came to the Children or Kinned of the Testator. But he leaving it at liberty, to dispose their Goods where they thought good, so they had no Children of their owne : did therein prefer friendship before kinned, and good will and favour before necessity and constraint, and so made every one Lord and Master of his owne Goods. Yet he did not simply and alike allow of all sorts of gifts, howsoever they were made, but those onely which were made by men of sound memory, or by those whose wits failed them not by extreme sicknesse, or through Drunkenes, medicines, Poysonings, charms, or other such violence and extraordinary meanes, neither yet through the inticements and perswasions of women. As thinking very wisely, there was no difference at all betweene those that were evidently forced by constraint, and those that were compassed and wrought by subornation at length to do a thing against their will, taking fraud in this case equall with violence; and pleasure with sorrow, as passions with madnesse, which commonly have as much force the one as the other, to draw and drive men from reason. He made another Law also, in which he appointed women their times to go abroad into the fields, their mourning, their Feasts and Sacrifices, plucking from them all disorder and wilfull liberty, which they used before. For he did forbid that they should carry out of the City with them above three Gownes, and to take Victuals with them above the value of an halfe penny, neither Basket nor Pannier above a cubite high : and specially he did forbid them to go in the night, other then in their Coach, and that a Torch should be carried before them.

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marching with
Inheritors.

Solan forbid-
derh Joysters
and Dowries.

Dionysius say-
ing of Marria-
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A Law forbid-
ding to speake
evil of the
dead.

Drachma.

A Law for
Wills and Te-
staments.

A Law for
womens going
abroad.

Crafts and Occupations advanced.

The Authority of the Court and Councill of the *Areopagites*.

Drachmæ.

The Tribes of the *Athenians* how they were called.

An Act for Wills.

He did forbid them also at the Buriall of the dead, to teare and spoile themselves with blows, to make lamentations in Verfes, to weepe at the Funerals of a stranger not being their kinsman, to sacrifice an Oxe on the grave of the dead, to bury above three Gownes with the Corfe, to go to other mens Graves, but at the very time of burying the Corfe: all which, or the most part of them, are forbidden by our Lawes this day. Moreover, those Lawes appoint a penalty upon such women as offend in the fame, to be distrained for, by certaine Officers expressly named, to comptroll and reform the abuses of women, as womanish persons and faint-hearted, which suffer themselves to be overcome with such passions and fondnesse in their mourning. And perceiving that the City of *ATHENS* began to replenish daily more and more, by mens repairing thither from all parts, and by reason of the great assured safety and liberty that they found there: and also considering how the greatest part of the Realme became in manner Heathy, and was very barren, and that men traffiquing the Seas, are not wont to bring any Merchandize to those which can give them nothing againe in exchange: he began to practise that his Citizens should give themselves unto Crafts and Occupations, and made a Law, that the Sonne should not be bound to relieve his Father being old, unlesse he had set him in his youth to some Occupation. It was a wise part of *Lycurgus* (who dwelt in a City where was no resort of strangers, and had so great a Territory, as could have furnished twice as many people, as *Euripides* saith, and moreover on all sides was environed with a great number of Slaves of the *Ionians*, whom it was needfull to keepe still in labour and worke continually) to have his Citizens always occupied in exercises of feates of Armes, without making them to learne any other Science, but discharged them of all other miserable Occupations and handy-Crafts. But *Solon* framing his Lawes unto things, and not things unto Lawes, when he saw the Countrey of *ATTICA* so leane and barren, that it could hardly bring forth to sustaine those that tilled the ground onely, and therefore much more impossible to keepe so great a multitude of idle people as were in *ATHENS*: thought it very requisite to set up Occupations, and to give them countenance and estimation. Therefore he ordained, that the Councill of the *Areopagites*, should have full Power and Authority to enquire how every man lived in the City, and also to punish such as they found idle People, and did not labour. But this was thought too severe and straight a Law which he ordained, (as *Heraclides Ponticus* writeth) that the Children borne of common Harlots and Strumpets should not be bound to relieve their Fathers. For he that maketh no account of Marrimony, plainly sheweth that he tooke not a Wife to have Children, but onely to satisfie his lust and pleasure: and so such a one hath his just reward, and is disappointed of the reverence that a Father ought to have of his Children, since through his owne fault the birth of his Childe falleth out to his reproach. Yet to say truly, in *Solons* Lawes touching Women, there are many absurdities, as they fall out ill favouredly. For he maketh it lawful for any man to kill an Adulterer taking him with the Fact. But he that ravisheth or forcibly taketh away a free Woman, is onely condemned to pay a hundred Silver Drachmes. And he that was the Pandor to procure her, should onely pay twenty Drachmes; unlesse he had bene a common Strumpet or Curtizan: for such do justifie open access to all that will hire them. Furthermore, he doth forbid any person to sell his Daughters or Sisters, unlesse the Father or Brother had taken them abusing themselves before Marriage. Methinketh it is farre from purpose and reason, with severity to punish a thing in one place, and over-lightly to passe it over in another: or to set some light Fine on ones head for a great fault, and after to discharge him, as it were, but a matter of sport. Unlesse they will excuse it thus, that money being very hard and scant at that time in *ATHENS*, those Fines were then very great and grievous to pay. For in setting out the charges of Offerings which should be made in Sacrifices, he appointed a Weather to be a convenient Offering, and he setteth a bushell of Corne at a Silver Drachme. More he ordained, that they which wonne any of the Games at *ATHENS*, should pay to the common Treasury an hundred Drachmes. And those that wonne any of the Games *Olympicall*, five hundred Drachmes. Also he appointed that he which brought a he-Woolfe, should have five Drachmes, and him one Drachme for a reward of a she-Woolfe. Whereof as *Demetrius Valerian* writeth, the one was the price of an Oxe, and the other of a Mutton. For, touching the rates he ordained in the sixteenth Table of his Lawes meete for burnt Sacrifices, it is likely he did rate them at a much higher price, then ordinarily they were worth: and yet notwithstanding, the price which he setteth, is very little in comparisn of that which they are worth at this day. Now it was a custome ever amongst the *ATHENIANS* to kill their Woolves, because all their Countrey lay for Pasture, and not for Tillage. Some there be that say, the Tribes of the People of *ATHENS* have not bene called after the names of the children of *Ion*, as the common opinion hath bene: but that they were called after their divers Trades and manners of living, which they tooke themselves unto from the beginning. For, such as gave themselves unto the Warres, were called *Opilites*: as who would say, men of Armes. Those that wrought in their Occupations, were called *Ergades*: as much to say, as men of Occupation. The other two which were Husbandmen, and followed the Plough, were called *Telecontes*: as you would say, labouring men. And those that kept Beasts and Cattell, were called *Egicoves*: as much to say, as Heardmen. Now, forasmuch as the whole Province of *ATTICA* was very dry, and had great lack of water, being not full of Rivers, running Streames, nor Lakes, nor yet stored with any great number of Springs, inasmuch as they are driven there to use (through the most part of the Countrey) Water drawne out of Wells made with mens hands: he made such an order, that where there was any Well within the space of an Hippicon, that every body within that Circuit, might come and draw Water onely at that Well, for his use and necessity. Hippicon is the distance of foure furlongs, which is half a mile: and

and those that dwell further off, should go seeke their water in other places where they would. But if they had digged ten yards deepe in the ground, and could finde no water in the bottome, in this case, they might lawfully go to their next neighbours Well, and take a pot full of Water containing six gallons, twice a day: judging it great reason that necessity should be holpen, but not that idleness should be cherished. He appointed also the spaces that should be kept and observed by those that would fet or plant Trees in their Ground, as being a man very skillfull in these matters. For he ordained, that whosoever would plant any kinde of Trees in his Ground, he should fet them five foote asunder one from another: but for the Fig-tree and Olive-tree specially, that they should in any case be nine foote asunder, because these two Trees do spread out their branches farre off, and they cannot stand neare other Trees but they must needs hurt them very much. For besides that they draw away the sap that doth nourish the other Trees, they cast also a certaine moisture and steame upon them, that is very hurtfull and incommodious. More he ordained, that whosoever would dig a pit or hole in his ground, should dig it as far off from his neighbours pit, as the pit he digged was in depth to the bottome. And he that would fet up a Hive of Bees in his Ground, he should fet them at the least three hundred foote from other Hives set about him before. And of the Fruits of the Earth, he was contented they should tranport and sell onely Oyle out of the Realme to strangers, but no other Fruite or Graine. He ordained that the Governour of the City should yearly proclaim open curses against those that should do to the contrary, or else he himselfe making default therein, should be fined at an hundred Drachmes. This Ordinance is in the first Table of *Solons* Lawes, and therefore we may not altogether discredit those which say, they did forbid in the old time, that men should carry Figs out of the Countrey of *ATTICA*, and that from thence it came that these pick-thanks, which bewray and accuse them that transported Figs, were called *Sycophantes*. He made another Law also against the hurt that Beasts might do unto men. Wherein he ordained, That if a Dog did bite any man, he that ought him should deliver to him that was bitten, his Dog tied to a log of Timber of foure cubits long: and this was a very good device, to make men safe from Dogs. But he was very straight in one Law he made, that no stranger might be made Denizon and Free-man of the City of *ATHENS*, unlesse he were a banished man for ever out of his Countrey, or else that he should come and dwell there with all his Family, to exercise some Craft or Science. Notwithstanding, they say he made not this Law so much to put strangers from their freedom there, as to draw them thither, assuring them by this Ordinance, they might come and be free of the City: and he thought moreover, that both the one and the other would be more faithfull to the Common-weale of *ATHENS*. The one of them, for that against their wills they were driven to forsake their Countrey: and the other sort, for that adviledly and willingly they were contented to forsake it. This also was another of *Solons* Lawes, which he ordained for those that should feast certaine daies at the Town-house of the City, at other mens cost. For he would not allow that one man should come often to Feasts there. And if any man were invited thither to the Feasts, and did refuse to come, he did set a Fine on his head, as reproving the miserable niggardinesse of the one, and the presumptuous arrogancy of the other, to contemne and despise common order. After he had made his Lawes, he did stablish them to continue for the space of an hundred yeares, and they were written in Tables of Wood called *Axones*, which were made more long then broad, in the which they were graven: whereof there remaine some Monuments yet in our time, which are to be seene in the Towne Hall of the City of *ATHENS*. *Aristotle* saith, that these Tables were called *Cyrbes*. And *Crasinus* also the Comical Poet saith in one place, of *Solon* and *Dracon*: that *Cyrbes* was a Vessell or Pan wherein they did fry miller or hirse. Howbeit others say, that *Cyrbes* properly were the Tables, which contained the Ordinances of the Sacrifices: and *Axones* were the other Tables, that concerned the Common-weale. So, all the Councels and Magistrates together did sweare, that they would keepe *Solons* Lawes themselves, and also cause them to be observed of others thoroughly and particularly. Then every one of the *Thebomothetes* (which were certaine Officers attendant on the Councill, and had speciall charge to see the Lawes observed) did solemnly sweare in the open Market place, near the stone where the Proclamations are proclaimed: and every of them both promised, and vowed openly to keep the same Lawes, and that if any of them did in any one point break the said Ordinances, then they were content that such offender should pay to the Temple of *Apollo*, at the City of *DELPHES*, an Image of fine gold, that should weigh as much as himself. Moreover, *Solon* seeing the disorder of the Moneths, and the moving of the Moone, which followed not the course of the Sun, and used not to rise and fall when the Sun doth, but oft times in one day it doth both touch and passe the Sun: he was the first that called the change of the Moone, *Ene cai néas*, as much to say, as old and new Moone. Allowing that which appeared before the conjunction, to be of the Moneth past: and that which shewed it selfe after the conjunction, to be of the Moneth following. And he was the first also (in my opinion) that understood *Homer* rightly, when he said: Then beginneth the Month when it endeth. The day following the change, he called *Neomenia*, as much to say, as the new Moneth, or the new Moone. After the twentieth day of the Moneth which they called *Scada*, he reckoned not the rest of the Moneth, as increasing, but as in the wane: and gathered it by seeing the light of the Moone decreasing, untill the thirtieth day. Now after his Lawes were come abroad, and proclaimed, there came some daily unto him, which either praised them, or misliked them, and prayed him either to take away, or to adde something unto them. Many againe came and asked him, how he understood some sentences of his Lawes: and requested him to declare his meaning, and that it should be taken. Wherefore considering that it were to no purpose to refuse to do it, and againe that it

H 3

would

An Act for planting and setting of trees.

Drachma.

Feasts for Townsmen in the Towne Hall of Athens.

Axones.

Cyrbes.

Thebomothetes.

would get him much envie and ill will to yeeld thereunto: he determined (happen what would) to winde himselfe out of these briers, and to flye the groanings, complaints, and quarrels of his Citizens. For he faith himselfe:

*Full hard it is, all mindes content to have,
And specially in matters hard and grave.*

So, to convey himselfe a while out of the way, he tooke upon him to be Master of a Ship in a certaine voyage, and asked license for ten yeares of the ATHENIANS to go beyond Sea, hoping by that time the ATHENIANS would be very well acquainted with his Lawes. So went he to the Seas, and the first place of his arrivall was in EGYPT, where he remained a while, as he himselfe faith.

Solons travell.

*Even there where Nilus, with his crooked cranks,
By Canope, falls into the Sea banks.*

He went to his booke there, and did confer a certaine time with *Psenophis Heliopolitan*, and *Sonchis Saitan*, two of the wisest Priests at that time that were in EGYPT: whom when he heard rehearse the Story of the Illes ATLANTIDES as *Plato* writeth, he proved to put the same into Verfe, and did send it abroad through GREECE. At his departure out of EGYPT, he went into CYPRUS, where he had great courtlesie and friendship of one of the Princes of that Country, called *Philocyprus*, who was Lord of a pretty little City which *Demophon* (*Thefeus sonne*) caused to be built upon the River of *Clarie*, and was of a goodly strong situation, but in a very leane and barren Countrey. Whereupon *Solon* told him, it would do better a great deale to remove it out of that place, into a very faire and pleasant Valley that lay underneath it, and there to make it larger and statelier then it was: which was done according to his perswasion. And *Solons* selfe being present at it, was made Overseer of the Buildings, which he did helpe to devise and order in good fors, as well in respect of pleasure, as for force and defence: inso much as many people came from other places to dwell there. And herein many other Lords of the Countrey did follow the example of this *Philocyprus*, who to honour *Solon*, called this City SOLES, which before was called *ÆPIA*. *Solon* in his Elegies maketh mention of this foundation, directing his words unto *Philocyprus*, as followeth:

Clarins.

Æpis called Soler.

*So grant the gods, that thou, and thine off-spring,
May clime to great and passing Princely state:
Long time to live, in Soles flourishing.
And that they grant, my ship and me good gate,
When I from hence by Seas shall take my way:
That with her harpe, dame Venus do vouchsafe
To waite me still, untill she may convey
My selfe againe, into my Countrey safe.
Since I have bene, the onely meane and man,
Which here to build, this City first began.*

And as for the meeting and talke betwixt him and King *Cresus*, I know there are that by distance of time will prove it but a fable, and devised of pleasure: but for my part I will not reject, nor condemne so famous an History, received and approved by so many grave testimonies. Moreover it is very agreeable to *Solons* manners and nature, and also not unlike to his wisdom and magnanimity: although in all points it agreeth not with certaine tales (which they call Chronicles) where they have busily noted the order and course of times, which even to this day, many have curiously sought to correct, and could yet never discusse it, nor accord all contrarieties and manifest repugnances in the same. *Solon* at the desire and request of *Cresus*, went to see him in the City of SARDIS. When *Solon* was come thither, he seemed to be in the self-same taking that a man was once reported to be: who being borne and bred upon the maine Land, and had never seene the Sea neither farre nor neare, did imagine every River that he saw had bene the Sea. So *Solon* passing alongit *Cresus* Palace, and meeting by the way many of the Lords of his Court richly apparelled, and carrying great traines of Serving-men, and Souldiers about them: thought ever that one of them had bene the King, untill he was brought unto *Cresus* selfe. Who was passing richly arrayed, what for precious Stones and Jewels, and for rich coloured Silkes, layed on with curious Goldsmiths worke, and all to shew himselfe to *Solon* in most stately, sumptuous, and magnificent manner. Who perceiving by *Solons* repaire to his presence, that he shewed no manner of signe, nor countenance of wondering, to see so great a state before him, neither had given out any word neare or likely to that which *Cresus* looked for in his owne imagination, but rather had delivered speeches for men of judgement and understanding to know, how inwardly he much did mislike *Cresus* foolish vanity and basemind: then *Cresus* commanded all his Treasuries to be opened, where his Gold and Silver lay: next, that they should shew him his rich and sumptuous Wardrobes, although they needed not: for to see *Cresus* selfe, it was enough to discerne his nature and condition. After he had seene all over and over, being brought againe unto the presence of the King: *Cresus* asked him, if ever he had seene any man more happy then himselfe was? *Solon* answered him, I have: and that was one *Tellus* a Citizen of ATHENS, who was a marvellous honest man, and had left his children behinde him in good estimation, and well to live: and lastly, was most happy at his death, by dying honourably in the field, in defence of his Countrey. *Cresus* hearing this answer, began to judge him a man of little wit, or of grosse understandings, because he did not thinke, that to have store of Gold and Silver, was the onely joy and felicity of the World, and that he would preferre the life and death of a meane and private man as more happy, then all the riches and power of so mighty a King. Notwithstanding

Cresus questi-
on to *Solon*
ouching hap-
pinesse.
Solon esteemed
Tellus a happy
man.

all this, *Cresus* yet asked him againe: What other man beside *Tellus* he had seene happier then himselfe? *Solon* answered him, that he had seene *Cleobis* and *Bison*, which were both brethren, and loved one another singularly well, and their mother in such fort: that upon a solemne Festivall day, when she should go to the Temple of *Juno* in her Coach drawne with Oxen: because they tarried too long ere they could be brought, they both willingly yoked themselves by the necks, and drew their Mothers Coach instead of the Oxen, which marvellously joyced her, and she was thought most happy of all other, to have borne two such Sonnes. Afterwards when they had done Sacrifice to the goddesse, and made good cheare at the Feast of this Sacrifice, they went to bed: but they rose not againe the next morning, for they were found dead without suffering hurt or sorrow, after they had received so much glory and honour. *Cresus* then could no longer bide in his patience, but breaking out in choler, said unto him: Why, dost thou reckon me then in no degree of happy men? *Solon* would neither flatter him, nor further increase his heate, but answered him thus: O King of LYDIANS, the gods have given us GRECIANS all things in a meane, and amongst other things chiefly, a bafe and popular wisdom, not Princely nor noble: which considering how mans life is subject to infinite changes, doth forbid us to trust or glory in these worldly Riches. For time bringeth daily misfortunes unto man, which he never thought of, nor looked for. But when the gods have continued a mans good fortune to his end, then we thinke that man happy and blessed, and never before. Otherwise, if we should judge a man happy that liveth, considering he is ever in danger of change during life: we should be much like to him, who judgeth him the victory before hand, that is still a fighting, and may be overcome, having no surety yet to carry it away. After *Solon* had spoken these words, he departed from the Kings presence, and returned back againe, leaving King *Cresus* offended, but nothing the wiser, nor amended. Now *Æsop* that wrote the Fables, being at that time in the City of SARDIS, and sent for thither by the King, who entertained him very honourably: was very sorry to see that the King had given *Solon* no better entertainment: so by way of advice he said unto him: O *Solon*, either we must not come to Princes at all, or else we must seeke to please and content them. But *Solon* turning it to the contrary, answered him: Either we must not come to Princes, or else we must needs tell them truly, and counsell them for the best. So *Cresus* made light account of *Solon* at that time. But after he had lost the Battell against *Cyrus*, and that his City was taken, himselfe become Prisoner, and was bound fast to a Gibbet, over a great stacke of Woode, to be burnt in the sight of all the PERSIANS, and of *Cyrus* his Enemy: he then cried out as lowde as he could, thrice together: O *Solon*! *Cyrus* being abashed, sent to aske him, whether this *Solon* he onely cried upon in his extreme misery, was a god or man. *Cresus* kept it not secret from him, but said: he was one of the wise men of GREECE, whom I sent for to come unto me on a certaine time, not to learne any thing of him which I stood in need of, but onely that he might witness my felicity, which then I did enjoy: the losse whereof is now more hurtfull, then the enjoying of the fame was good or profitable. But now (alas) too late I know it, that the Riches I possessed then, were but words and opinion, all which are turned now to my bitter sorrow, and to present and remediable calamity. Which the wife GRECIAN considering then, and foreseeing afarre off by my doings at that time, the instant misery I suffer now: gave me warning I should marke the end of my life, and that I should not too farre presume of my selfe, as puffed up then with vaine glory of opinion of happinesse, the ground thereof being so slippery, and of so little surety. These words being reported unto *Cyrus*, who was wiser then *Cresus*, and seeing *Solons* saying confirmed by so notable an example: he did not onely deliver *Cresus* from present perill of death, but ever after honoured him so long as he lived. Thus had *Solon* glory, for saving the honour of one of these Kings, and the life of the other, by his grave and wise counsell. But during the time of his absence, great seditions rose at ATHENS amongst the Inhabitants, who had gotten then severall heads amongst them: as those of the Valley had made *Lycurgus* their head. The Coast-men, *Megacles*, the Sonne of *Alcmeon*. And those of the Mountaines, *Pyssistratus*: with whom all Artificers and Craft-men living of their handy-labour were joyned, which were the stoutest against the rich. So that notwithstanding the City kept *Solons* Lawes and Ordinances, yet was there not that man but gaped for a change, and desired to see things in another state: either parties hoping their condition would mende by change, and that every of them should be better then their Adversaries. The whole Common-weale broyling thus with troubles, *Solon* arrived at ATHENS, where every man did honour and reverence him: howbeit he was no more able to speake aloud in open Assembly to the People, nor to deale in matters as he had done before, because his age would not suffer him: and therefore he spake with every one of the heads of the severall Factions apart, trying if he could agree and reconcile them together again. Whereunto *Pyssistratus* seemed to be more willing then any of the rest, for he was courteous, and marvellously faire spoken, and shewed himselfe besides, very good and pitifull to the poore, and temperate also to his Enemies: further, if any good quality were lacking in him, he did so finely counterfeit it, that men imagined it was more in him, then in those that naturally had it in them indeed. As to be a quiet man, no medler, contented with his owne, aspiring no higher, and hating those which would attempt to change the present state of the Common-weale, and would practise any innovation. By this Art and fine manner of his, he deceived the poore common people. Howbeit *Solon* found him straight, and saw the marke he shot at: but yet hated him not at that time, and sought still to win him, and bring him to reason, saying oft times, both to himselfe and to others: That whoso could pluck out of his head the Worme of Ambition, by which he aspired to be the chieftest, and could heale him of

Cleobis and *Bison* happy men.

Solon commendeth the meane.

No man happy before his end.

Æsop saying to *Solon*, *Solon* answer to *Æsop*.

King *Cresus* words of *Solon* hanging upon a gibbet to be burnt. Riches are but words and opinion.

Sedition at Athens in *Solons* absence.

Solon returneth to Athens.

Pyssistratus wicked craft and subtilty.

Thespis a maker
of Tragedies.

Solon reproved
Thespis for ly-
ing.

his greedy desire to rule : there could not be a man of more vertue, or a better Citizen then he would prove. About this time began *Thespis* to set out his Tragedies, which was a thing that much delighted the People for the rareness thereof, being not many Poets yet in number, to strive one against another for victory, as afterwards there were. *Solon* being naturally desirous to heare and learne; and by reason of his age seeking to passe his time away in Sports, in Musick, and making good Cheare more then ever he did : went one day to see *Thespis*, who plaid a part himself, as the old fashion of the Poets was, and after the Play was ended, he called him to him, and asked him : if he were not ashamed to lye so openly in the face of the World. *Thespis* answered him, that it was not materiall to do or say any such things, considering all was but in sport. Then *Solon* beating the ground with his staffe he had in his hand : but if we commend lying in sport (quoth he) we shall finde it afterwards in good earnest, in all our bargaines and dealings. Shortly after *Pyffistratus* having wounded himself, and bloudied all his body over, caused his men to carry him in his Coach into the Market-place, where he put the People in an uprore, and told them that they were his Enemies that thus trayterously had handled and arrayed him, for that he stood with them about the governing of the Common-weale : insomuch as many of them were marvellously offended, and mutined by and by, crying out, it was shamefully done. Then *Solon* drawing neare, said unto him : O thou Sonne of *Hippocrates*, thou dost illfavouredly counterfeit the person of *Homers Ulysses* : for thou hast whipped thy selfe to deceive thy Citizens, as he did teare and scratch himselfe, to deceive his Enemies. Notwithstanding this, the common People were still in uprore, being ready to take Armes for *Pyffistratus* : and there was a generall Counsell assembled, in the which one *Ariston* spake, that they should grant fifty men, to carry Halbards and Mases before *Pyffistratus* for guard of his person. But *Solon* going up into the Pulpit for Orations, stoutly inveiged against it : and perswaded the People with many reasons, like unto these he wrote afterwards in Verse :

*Each one of you (O men) in private acts
Can play the foxe, for slye and subtil craft :
But when you come, yf ore (in all your faults)
Then are you blinde, dull witted and bedast :
For pleasant speech and painted flattery,
Beguile you still, the which you never spy.*

But in the end, seeing the poore people did tumult still, taking *Pyffistratus* part, and that the rich fled here and there, he went his way also, saying : he had shewed himself wiser then some, and harder then other. Meaning, wiser then those which saw not *Pyffistratus* reach and fetch : and harder then they which knew very well he did aspire to be King, and nevertheless durst not resist him. The People went on with the motion of *Ariston*, and authorized the same, touching the grant of Halbards : limiting no number, but suffered him to have about him, and to assemble as many as he would, untill such time as he had gotten possession of the Cattle. Then the City was marvellously affraid and amazed : and presently *Alegacles*, and all those which were of the House of the *Alcmeonides* did flie. *Solon*, who for yeares was now at his last cast, and had no man to stick unto him : went notwithstanding into the Market-place, and spake to the Citizens whom he found there, and rebuked their beastlinesse, and faint cowardly hearts, and encouraged them, not to lose their liberty. He spake at that time notably, and worthy memory, which ever after was remembered. Before, said he, you might more easily have staid this present tyranny : but now that it is already fashioned, you shall winne more glory, utterly to suppress it. But for all his goodly reasons, he found no man that would hearken unto him, they were all amazed. Wherefore he hid him home againe, and tooke his weapons out of his house, and laid them before his gate in the midst of the streete, saying : For my part, I have done what I can possible, to helpe and defend the Lawes and Liberties of my Countrey. So from that time he betooke himselfe unto his ease, and never after dealt any more in matters of State, or Common-weale. His friends did counsell him to flye : but all they could not perswade him to it. For he kept his house, and gave himselfe to make Verses : in which he fore reproved the

Solons liberty
and constancy.

*If presently your burden heaue be :
yet murmur not against the gods therefore.
The fault is yours, as you your selfe may see,
Which granted have of mighty Mars the lore
to such as now, by your direction
do hold your necks in this subjection.*

His friends hereupon did warne him, to beware of such speeches, and to take heed what he said : lest if it came unto the Tyrants eares, he might put him to death for it. And further, they asked him wherein he trusted, that he spake so boldly. He answered them ; in my age. Howbeit *Pyffistratus* after he had obtained his purpose, sending for him upon his word and faith, did honour and entertaine him so well, that *Solon* in the end became one of his Councell, and approved many things which he did. For *Pyffistratus* himselfe did straightly keepe, and caused his friends to keepe *Solons* Lawes. Insomuch as when he was called by processe into the Court of the *Areopagites* for a murder, even at that time when he was a Tyrant ; he presented himselfe very modestly to answer his accusation, and to purge himselfe thereof. But his accuser let fall the matter, and followed it no further. *Pyffistratus* himselfe also did make new laws : as this. That he that had been maimed, and made lame of any member in the Wars, should be maintained all his life long at the common charges of the City. The

A good Law
for reward of
service.

The selfe same was before decreed by *Thersippus* (as *Heraclides* writeth) by *Solons* perswasion : who did prefer it to the Counsell. *Pyffistratus* afterwards took hold of the motion, and from thenceforth made it a generall Law. *Theophrastus* saith also, it was *Pyffistratus*, and not *Solon*, that made the Law for idleness : which was the onely cause that the Countrey of *Attica* became more fruitful, being better mantured : and the City of *Athen*s waxed more quiet. But *Solon* having begun to write the Story of the Isles *Atlantides* in Verse (which he had learned of the wise men of the City of *Sais* in *Egypt*, and was very necessary for the *Athenians*) grew weary, and gave it over in mid way : not for any matters or businesse that troubled him, as *Plato* said, but onely for his age, and because he feared the tediousnesse of the worke. For otherwise he had leisure enough, as appeared by these Verses, where he saith :

I grow old, and yet I learne still.

And in another place where he saith :

*New Venus yeelds me sweet delights,
and Bacchus lends me comfort still :
the Muses eke refresh my sprights,
and much relieve my weary will.
These be the points of perfect ease,*

which all mens mindes oft times do please.

Plato afterwards for beautifying of the Story and Fables of the Isles *Atlantides*, was desirous to dilate them out at length, as if he would by way of speech have broken up a Field or lay-land of his owne, or that this gift had descended to him of right from *Solon*. He began to raise up a stately front unto the same, and enclosed it with high walls, and large squared Courts at the entry thereof : such was it, as never any other Worke, Fable, or Poeticall invention had ever so notable, or the like. But because he began a little too late, he ended his Life before his Worke, leaving the Ceaders more sorrowfull for that was left unwritten, then they tooke pleasure in that they found written. For even as in the City of *Athen*s, the Temple of *Jupiter Olympian* onely remained unperfect : so the wisdom of *Plato* (amongst many goodly matters of his that have come abroad) left none of them unperfect, but the onely Tale of the Isles *Atlantides*. *Solon* lived long time after *Pyffistratus* had usurped the tyranny, as *Heraclides Ponticus* writeth. Howbeit *Phanias Ephesi*an writeth, that he lived not above two yeares after. For *Pyffistratus* usurped tyrannicall power in the yeare that *Comias* was chiefe Governour in *Athen*s. And *Phanias* writeth, that *Solon* dyed in the yeare that *Hegesistratus* was Governour, which was the next yeare after that.

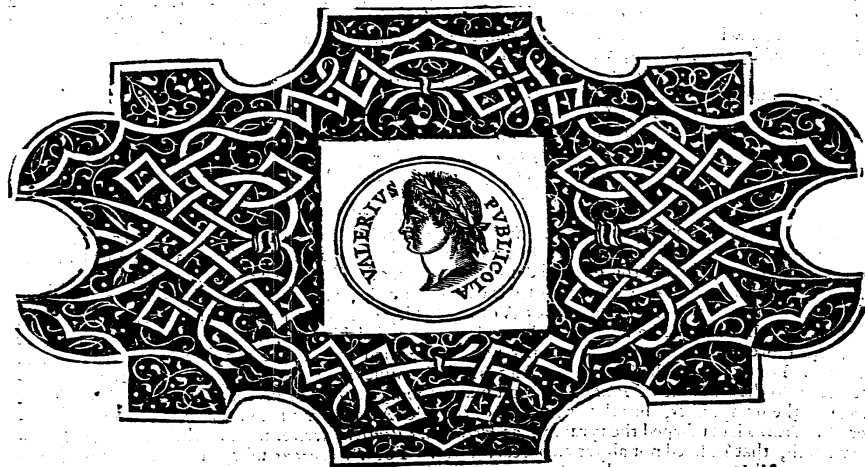
And where some say, the ashes of his body were after his death strawed abroad through the Ile of *Salamina* : that seemeth to be but a Fable, and altogether untrue. Nevertheless it hath been written by notable Authors, and amongst others, by *Aristotle* the Philosopher.

The end of SOLONS Life.



THE

THE LIFE OF PUBLIUS VALERIUS PUBLICOLA.



Ann. Mund.
3442.

Ant. Christ.
506.

The House of
Publicola.



Tarquinius Superbus.

Valerius, Brutus
company in expelling
the Kings.

Lucius Brutus,
Tarquinius Collatinus
Consuls.

Now we have declared what *Salon* was, we have thought good to compare him with *Publicola*, to whom the *ROMANE* People for an honour gave that Surname; for he was called before *Publicus Valerius*, descended from that ancient *Valerius*, who was one of the chiefest workers and means to bring the *ROMANS* and the *SABYNS* that were mortall enemies, to joyn together as one People. For it was he that most moved the two Kings to agree, and joyn together. *Publicola* being descended of him, whilst the Kings did rule yet at *ROME*, was in very great estimation, as well for his eloquence, as for his riches: using the one rightly and freely for the maintenance of Justice, and the other liberally and courteously, for the reliefe of the poore. So that it was manifest, if the Realme came to be converted into a publick State, he would be one of the chiefest men of the same. It chanced that King *Tarquine* furnack State, he would be one of the chiefest men of the same. It chanced that King *Tarquine* furnished the proud, being come to the Crowne by no good lawfull meanes, but contrarily, by indirect and wicked waies; and behaving himselfe like a King, but like a cruell Tyrant, the People much hated and detested him, by reason of the death of *Lucretia* (which killed her self for that she was forcibly ravished by him) and so the whole City rebelled against him. *Lucius Brutus* taking upon him to be the Head and Captain of this insurrection and rebellion, did joyn first with this *Valerius*: who did greatly favour and assist his enterprise, and did help him to drive out King *Tarquine* with all his house and family. Now whilst they were thinking that the People would choose some one alone to be chief Ruler over them, instead of a King: *Valerius* kept himself quiet, as yielding willingly unto *Brutus* the first place, who was meetest for it, having bene the chiefe Authour and Worker of their recovered liberty. But when they saw the name of *Monarchy* (as much to say, as Sovereignty alone) was displeasing to the People, and that they would like better to have the rule divided unto two, and how for this cause they would rather choose two Consuls: *Valerius* then began to hope he should be the second person with *Brutus*. Howbeit this hope failed him. For against *Brutus* will, *Tarquinius Collatinus* (the husband of *Lucretia*) was chosen Consul with him: not because he was a man of greater vertue, or of better estimation then *Valerius*. But the Noblemen of the City fearing the practises of those of the Kings blood, which fought by all the faire and flattering meanes they could to returne againe into the City: did determine to make such a one Consul, whom occasion forced to be their hard and heave Enemy, perswading themselves that *Tarquinius Collatinus* would for no respect yeeld unto them. *Valerius* tooke this matter grievously, that they had a mistrust in him, as if he would not doe any thing he could, for the benefit of his Countrey: for that he had never any private injury offered him by the Tyrants. Wherefore he repaired no more unto the Senate to pleade for private men, and wholly gave up to meddle in matters of State: inso much

inso much as he gave many occasion to think of his absence, and it troubled some men much, who feared lest upon this his milking and withdrawing, he would fall to the Kings side, and so bring all the City in an uprore, considering it stood then but in very tickle termes. But when *Brutus*, who stood in jealousie of some, would by Oath be assured of the Senate, and had appointed them a day solemnly to take their Oaths upon the Sacrifices: *Valerius* then with a good cheerfull countenance came into the Market-place, and was the first that tooke his oath he would leave nothing undone that might prejudice the *Tarquines*, but with all his able power he would fight against them, and defend the liberty of the City. This Oath of his marvellously rejoyced the Senate, and gave great assurance also to the Consuls, but specially, because his deeds did shortly after performe his words. For there came Ambassadors to *ROME*, which brought Letters from King *Tarquine*, full of sweete and lowly speeches, to win the favour of the People, with commission to use all the mildest meanes they could, to dulce and soften the hardened hearts of the multitude: who declared how the King had left all pride and cruelty, and meant to aske nought but reasonable things. The Consuls thought best to give them open audience, and to suffer them to speake to the People. But *Valerius* was against it, declaring it might perill the State much, and deliver occasion of new stir unto a multitude of poore People, which were more afraid of Wars, then of Tyranny. After that, there came other Ambassadors also, which said that *Tarquine* would from thenceforth for ever give over and renounce his Title to the Kingdome, and to make any more Wars; but besought them only, that they would at the least deliver him and his friends their Money and Goods, that they might have wherewithall to keep them in their banishment. Many came on apace, and were very ready to yeeld to this request, and specially *Collatinus*, one of the Consuls who did favour their motion. But *Brutus*, that was a fast and resolute man, and very fierce in his heate, ran immediately into the Market-place, crying out that his fellow Consul was a Traytor, and contented to grant the Tyrants matter and meanes to make War upon the City, where indeed they deserved not so much as to be relieved in their exile. Hereupon the People assembled together, and the first that spake in this assembly, was a private man called *Gaius Minutius*, who speaking unto *Brutus*, and to the whole Assembly, said unto them: O Noble Consul and Senate, handle so the matter, that the Tyrants Goods be rather in your custody to make Warre with them, then in theirs to bring Warre upon your selves. Notwithstanding the *ROMANS* were of opinion, that having gotten the liberty, for which they fought with the Tyrants, they should not disappoint the offered peace, with keeping back their Goods, but rather they should throw their Goods out after them. Howbeit this was the least part of *Tarquines* intent, to seeke his Goods againe: but under pretence of that demand, he secretly corrupted the People, and practised Treason, which his Ambassadors followed, pretending onely to get the Kings Goods and his favourers together, saying, that they had already sold some part, and some part they kept, and sent them daily. So as by delaying the time in this sort with such pretences, they had corrupted two of the best and ancientest houses of the City: to wit, the Family of the *Aquilians*, whereof there were three Senators: and the Family of the *Vitellians*, whereof there were two Senators: all which by their Mothers, were Consul *Collatinus* Nephews. The *Vitellians* also were allied unto *Brutus*, for he had married their owne Sister, and had many Children by her. Of the which the *Vitellians* had drawne to their string, two of the eldest of them, because they familiarly frequented together, being Cousin germains, whom they had enticed to be of their conspiracy, allying them with the House of the *Tarquines*, which was of great power, and through the which they might perswade themselves to rise to great honour and preferment by means of the King, rather then to trust to their Fathers wilfull hardnesse: for they called his severity to the wicked, hardnesse: for that he would never pardon any. Furthermore, *Brutus* had feigned himself man, and a foole of long time for safety of his life, because the Tyrant should not put him to death: so that the name of *Brutus* onely remained. After these two young men had given their consent to be of the Confederacy, and had spoken with the *Aquilians*: they all thought good to be bound one to another, with a great and horrible Oath, drinking the blood of a man, and shaking hands in his bowels, whom they would sacrifice. This matter agreed upon betweene them, they met together to put their Sacrifice in execution, in the House of the *Aquilians*. They had fity pickt out a dark place in the House to do this Sacrifice in, and where almost no body came: yet it hapned by chance, that one of the Servants of the House called *Vindicius*, had hidden himself there, unknowing to the Traytors, and of no set purpose, to spie and see what they did, or that he had any manner of inking thereof before: but falling by chance upon the matter, even as the Traytors came into that place with a countenance to do some secret thing of importance, fearing to be seen, he kept himself close, and lay behind a coffer that was there, so that he saw all that was done, and what they said and determined. The conclusion of their Councell in the end was this; that they would kill both the Consuls: and they wrote Letters to *Tarquinius* advertising the same; which they gave unto his Ambassadors, being lodged in the house of the *Aquilians*; and were present at this conclusion. With this determination they departed from thence, and *Vindicius* came out also as secretly as he could, being marvellously troubled in minde, and at a maze how to deale in this matter. For he thought it dangerous (as it was indeed) to go and accuse the two Sons unto the Father (which was *Brutus*) of so wicked and detestable Treason, and the Nephews unto their Uncle, which was *Collatinus*. On the other side also, he thought this was a secret, not to be imparted to any private person, and not possible for him to conceale it, that was bound in duty to reveale it. So he resolved at the last to go to *Valerius* to bewray this Treason, of a special affection to this man, by reason of his gentle and courteous using of men, giving easie access and audience unto any that came to speake with him, and specially

The first Ambassiator of King *Tarquine* for recovering his Realme.

Another Ambassiator from *Tarquine*, demanding his Goods.

Good counsell of *Minutius*.

Tarquines Ambassadors practise treason. The *Aquili* and *Vitellii* with *Brutus* sonnes, Traytors to their Countrey.

The Confederacy confirmed with drinking of mans blood. *Vindicius* heareth all their Treason.

The conclusion of their Treason.

Vindicius be-
trayeth the
Treason unto
Valerius.

Titus and Val-
erius, Brutus
sons.

Brutus seeth
his owne sons
punished and
executed.

Brutus praised
and reproved
for the death
of his sons.

Collatinus to-
nelle perillous.

Valerius boldly
appeareth
Collatinus of
injustice.

Collatinus re-
signeth his
Consulship,
and departeth
Rome.

specially for that he disdained not to heare poore mens causes. Vindicius being gone to speake with him, and having told him the whole Conspiracy before his brother Marcus Valerius, and his wife, he was abashed and fearfull withall : whereupon he stayed him left he should slip away, and locked him in a chamber, charging his wife to watch the doore, that no body went in nor out unto him. And willed his brother also, that he should go and beset the Kings Palace round about, to intercept these Letters if it were possible, and to see that none of their Servants fled. Valerius selfe being followed (according to his manner) with a great traine of his friends and people that waited on him, went straight unto the house of the Aquilians, who by chance were from home at that time : and entering in at the gate, without lett or trouble of any man, he found the Letters in the chamber, where King Tarquinius Ambassadors lay : Whilst he was thus occupied, the Aquilians having intelligence thereof, ran home immediately, and found Valerius coming out at their Gate. So they would have taken those Letters from him by force and strong hand : but Valerius and his company did resist them, and moreover huddled them with their Gownes over their heads, and by force brought them (do what they could) into the Market-place. The like was done also in the Kings Palace, where Marcus Valerius found other Letters also wrapt up in certaine fardels for their more safe carriage, and brought away with him by force into the Market-place, all the Kings Servants he found there. There the Consuls having caused silence to be made, Valerius sent home to his house for this Bond-man Vindicius, to be brought before the Consuls : then the Traytors were openly accused, and their Letters reade, and they had not the face to answer one word. All that were present, being amazed, hung down their heads, and beheld the ground, and not a man durst once open his mouth to speake, excepting a few, who to gratifie Brutus, began to say that they should banish them : and Collatinus also gave them some hope, because he fell to weeping, and Valerius in like manner, for that he held his peace. But Brutus calling his Sons by their names : Come on (said he) Titus and thou Valerius, why do you not answer to that you are accused of ? and having spoken thrice unto them to answer, when he saw they stood mute, and said nothing : he turned him to the Serjeants, and said unto them : They are now in your hands, do justice. So soone as he had spoken these words, the Serjeants layd hold immediately upon the two young men, and tearing their clothes off their backs, bound their hands behinde them, and then whipped them with rods : which was such a pittifull sight to all the people, that they could not finde in their hearts to behold it, but turned themselves another way, because they would not see it. But contrariwise, they say that their owne Father had never his eye off them, neither did change his austere and fierce countenance, with any pity or naturall affection towards them, but stedfastly did behold the punishment of his owne Children, until they were layd flat on the ground, and both their heads stricken off with an Axe before him. When they were executed, Brutus rose from the Bench, and left the execution of the rest unto his fellow Consul. This was such an act, as men cannot sufficiently praise, nor reprove enough. For either it was his excellent vertue, that made his minde so quiet, or else the greatnesse of his misery that tooke away the feeling of his sorrow : whereof neither the one nor the other was any small matter, but passing the common nature of man, that hath in it both Divinenesse, and sometime beastly brutishnesse. But it is better the judgement of men should commend his fame, then that the affection of men by their judgements should diminish his vertue. For the ROMANS hold opinion, it was not so great an act done of Romulus first to build ROME, as it was for Brutus to recover ROME, and the best liberty thereof, and to renew the ancient Governement of the same. When Brutus was gone, all the People in the Market-place remained as they had bene in a maze, full of feare and wonder, and a great while without speaking to see what was done. The Aquilians straight grew bold, for that they saw the other Consul Collatinus proceede gently, and mildly against them : and so made petition they might have time given them to answer to the Articles they were accused of, and that they might have their Slave and Bond-man Vindicius delivered into their hands, because there was no reason, he should remaine with their accusers. The Consull seemed willing to yeeld thereto, and was ready to breake up the Assembly thereupon. But Valerius said, he would not deliver Vindicius (who was among the Assembly that attended upon his person :) and stayed the People besides for departing away, left they should negligently let those escape that had so wickedly fought to betray their Countrey : untill he himselfe had layd hands upon them, calling upon Brutus to assist him, with open exclamation against Collatinus, that he did not behave himselfe like a just and true man, seeing his fellow Brutus was forced for justice sake to see his owne Sonnes put to death : and he in contrary manner, to please a few Women, sought to let go manifest Traytors, and open Enemies to their Countrey. The Consull being offended herewith, commanded they should bring away the Bond-man Vindicius. So the Serjeants making way through the prease, layd hands upon him to bring him away with them, and began to strike at them which offered to resist them. But Valerius friends stepped out before them, and put them by. The People shouted straight, and cried out for Brutus : who with this noise returned againe into the Market-place, and after silence made him, he spake in this wise : For mine owne children, I alone have bene their sufficient Judge, to see them have the Law according to their deservings : the rest I have left freely to the judgement of the People. Wherefore (said he) if any man be disposed to speake, let him stand up, and perswade the People as he thinketh best. Then there needed no more words, but onely to hear-ken what the People cried : who with one voice and consent condemned them, and cried execution; and accordingly they had their heads stricken off. Now was Consull Collatinus long before had in some suspicion, as allied to the Kings, and disliked for his surname, because he was called Tarquinius : who

who perceiving himself in this case much hated and mistrusted of the people, voluntarily yeelded up his Consulship, and departed the City. The people then assembled themselves, to place a successour in his room : they chose Valerius in his stead, without the contradiction of any, for his faithfull travel and diligence bestowed in this great matter. Then Valerius judging that Vindicius the bond-man had well deserved also some recompence, caused him not onely to be manumitted by the whole grant of the people, but made him a free man of the City besides : and he was the first bondman manumitted, that was made Citizen of ROME, with permission also to give his voice in all elections of Offices, in any company or tribe he would be enrolled in. Long time after that, and very lately, Appius to curry favour with the common people, made it lawfull for bondmen manumitted, to give their voices also in elections, as other Citizens did : and unto this day the perfect manumitting and freeing of bondmen, is called Vindicta, after the name of this Vindicius, that was then made a free-man. These things thus passed over, the goods of the Kings were given to the spoile of the people, and their palaces were razed and overthrowne. Now amongst other Lands, the goodliest part of the field of Mars was belonging unto King Tarquinius : the same they consecrated forthwith, unto the god Mars, and not long before they cut downe the wheat thereof, the sheaves being yet in shocks in the field, they thought they might not grind the wheate, nor make any commodity of the profite thereof : wherefore they threw both Corne and sheaves into the River, and Trees also which they had hewn downe and rooted up, to the end that the field being dedicated to the god Mars, should be left bare, without bearing any fruite at all. These sheaves thus throwne into the River, were carried downe by the streame not farre from thence, unto a foord and shallow place of the water, where they first did stay, and did let the other which came after, that it could goe no further : there these heapes gathered together, and lay so close one to another, that they began to sinke and settle fast in the water. Afterwards the streame of the River brought downe continually such mud and gravell, that it ever increased in the heape of corne more and more, in such sort, that the force of the water could no more remove it from thence, but rather softly pressing and driving it together, did firme and harden it, and made it grow so to Land. Thus this heape rising still in greatnesse and firmenesse, by reason that all that came downe the River staid there, it grew in the end and by time to spread so farre, that at this day it is called the holy Island in ROME : in which are many goodly Temples of diverse gods, and sundry walks about it, and they call it in Latine, Inter duos pontes : in our tongue, betweene the two Bridges. Yet some write, that this thing fell not out at that time when the field of the Tarquines was consecrated unto Mars : but that it happened afterwards, when one of the Vestall Nunnes, called Tarquinia, gave a field of hers unto the people, which was hard adjoining unto Tarquines Field. For which liberality and bounty of hers, they did grant her in recompence many Priviledges, and did her great honour besides. As amongst others, it was Ordained, that her word and witness should stand good, and be allowed in matters judiciall : which Priviledge, never Woman besides her self did enjoy. By speciall grace of the people also, it was granted her, that she might Marry if she thought it good : but yet she would not accept the benefit of that offer. Thus you heare the report how this thing happened. Tarquinus then being past hope of ever entering into his Kingdome againe, went yet unto the THUSCANES for succour, which were very glad of him : and so they levied a great Army together, hoping to have put him in his Kingdome againe. The Consuls also hearing thereof, went out with their Army against him. Both the Armies presented themselves in battell ray, one against another, in the Holy places consecrated to the gods : whereof the one was called the wood Arsa, and the other the Meadow Asuina. And as both Armies began to give charge upon each other, Aruns the eldest Sonne of King Tarquinius, and the Consul Brutus encountred together, not by chance, but fought for of set purpose to execute the deadly feud and malice they did beare each other. The one as against a Tyrant and enemy of the liberty of his Countrey : the other, as against him that had been chiefe author and worker of their exile and Expulsion. So they set Spurres to their Horses, so soone as they had spied each other, with more fury then reason, and fought so desperately together, that they both fell starke dead to the ground. The first onset of the battell being so cruell, the end thereof was no lesse bloody : untill both the Armies having received and done like damage to each other, were parted by a marvellous great tempest that fell upon them. Now was Valerius marvellously perplexed, for that he knew not which of them wanne the Field that day : seeing his souldiers as sorrowfull for the great losse of their men lying dead before them, as they were glad of the slaughter and Victory of their enemies. For, to view the multitude of the flaine bodies of either side, the number was so equal in fight, that it was very hard to judge, of which side fell out the greatest slaughter : so that both the one and the other viewing by the eye the remaine of their Campe, were perswaded in their Opinion, that they had rather lost then won, conjecturing a farre off the fall of their enemies. The night being come, such things fell out as may be looked for after so terrible a battell. For when both Camps were all layed to rest, they say the wood wherein they lay incamped, quaked and trembled : and they hard a voice say, that onely one man more was slaine one the THUSCANES side, then on the ROMANES part. Out of doubt this was some voice from Heaven : for the ROMANES thereupon gave a shrill shout, as those whose hearts received a new quickning spirit or courage. The THUSCANES one the contrary part were so afraid, that the most part of them stole out of the Campe, and scattered here and there : and there remained behind about the number of five thousand men, whom the ROMANES tooke prisoners every one, and had the spoile of their Campe. The carkasses were viewed afterwards, and they found that there were slaine in that battell, eleven thousand

Valerius chosen
Consull in
his place.
Vindicius the
first bondman
manumitted.

Vindicta so cal-
led, by reason
of Vindicius.
Tarquines field
consecrated to
Mars.

Whereof the
holy Island
came in Rome,
that lieth be-
tweene both
Bridges.

Tarquins com-
meth with a
great power of
the Thuscans
to wage battell
with the Ro-
manes.

Aruns & Brutus
encountred
and slew
each other.

The Victory
of the Romanes
against the
Thuscans.

The boldness
of Clelia and
other Roman
Virgins.

The liberality
of King Por-
sena to the
Romans.

Marcus Vale-
rius, Posthumius
Tubertus Con-
sul.
Marcus Vale-
rius the brother
of Publicola
triumphed
over the
Sabines.

that she did embolden and encourage the other to swimme hard by her horse-side, and recover-
ing the other bank, and being past all danger, they went and presented themselves before
Publicola the Consul. Who neither commended them, nor liked the part they had played, but
was marvellous sorry, fearing lest men would judge him lesse carefull to keep his faith, then
was King *Porfena*; and that he might suspect the boldness of these Maidens was but a crafty
sleight devised of the ROMANES; Therefore he tooke them all againe, and sent them imme-
diately unto King *Porfena*. Whereof *Tarquine* having intelligence, he laid an ambush for them
that had the conduction of them. Who so soone as they were past the River, did shew themselves
and brake upon the ROMANES; they being farre fewer in number then the other, did yet
very stoutly defend themselves. Now whilst they were in earnest fight together, *Valeria Pub-
licola's* daughter, and three of her Fathers Servants, escaped through the midde of them, and
saved themselves. The residue of the Virgins remained in the middest among their swords, in
great danger of their lives. *Aruns* King *Porfena's* Sonne advertised hereof, ran thither incont-
inently to the rescue; but when he came the enemies fled, and the ROMANES held on their
journey to re-deliver their hostages. *Porfena* seeing them againe, asked which of them it was
that began first to passe the River, and had encouraged the other to follow her. One point-
ed him unto her, and told him her Name was *Clelia*. He looked upon her very earnestly,
and with a pleasant countenance, and commanded they should bring him one of his best Horses
in the Stable, and the richest furniture he had for the same, and so he gave it unto her. Those
which hold opinion that none but *Clelia* passed the River on horsebacke, doe alledge this to
prove their Opinion true. Others doe deny it, saying, that this *Thuscane* King did onely
honour her noble courage. Howsoever it was, they see her Image on Horsebacke in the Holy
Streete, as they goe to the Palace; And some say, It is the Statue of *Valeria*, other of *Clelia*.
After *Porfena* had made peace with the ROMANES, in breaking up his Campe, he shewed his
noble minde unto them in many other things, and specially in that he commanded his Souldi-
ers they should carry nothing but their armour and weapon onely, leaving his Campe full of
Corne, Victuals, and other kinde of goods. From whence this custome came, that at this day
when they make open sale of any thing belonging to the Common-weale, the Sergeant or Com-
mon-Cryer crieth, that they are King *Porfena's* Goods, and taken of thankfullnesse and perpet-
uall memory of his bounty and liberality towards them. Further, *Porfena's* Image standeth ad-
joyning to the Palace where the Senate is used to be kept, which is made of great antique work.
Afterwards the SABYNES invading the ROMANE Territory with a great force, *Marcus Vale-
rius Publicola's* Brother, was then chosen Consul, with one *Posthumius Tubertus*. Howbeit
all maters of weight and importance passed by *Publicolae* counsell and authority, who was
present at any thing that was done; and by whose meanes *Marcus* his Brother wan two great
Battles, in the last whereof he slew thirteen thousand of his enemies, not losing one of his own
men. For which his Victories, besides the honour of Triumph he had, the people also at their
owne charges built him a house in the street of Mount *Palatine*, and granted him moreover
that his door should open outwards into the street, where all other mens doors did open in-
wards into their house: signifying by grant of this honour and privilege, that he should al-
waies have benefit by the Common-weale. It is reported that the GRECIANS doors of their
houses in old time, did all open outwards after that fashion: And they doe conjecture it by
the comedies that are plaied: where those that would go out of their houses, did first knocke
at their doors, and make a noise within the house, lest in opening their door upon a suddain,
they might overthrow or hurt him that tarried at the Street-door, or passed by the way, who
hearing the noise had warning straight to avoid the danger. The next yeare after that, *Pub-
licola* was chosen Consul the fourth time, because they stood in great doubt that the SABYNES
and LATINES would joine together to make warres upon them: Besides all this, there was
a certaine superstitious feare ranne through the City, of some ill hap toward it, because most part
of the women with childe were delivered of imperfect Children, lacking some one limb or o-
ther, and all of them came before their time. Wherefore *Publicola* looking in some of *Sybil-
lae's* Books, made private sacrifice unto *Pluto*, and did set up againe some Feasts and solemne
Games that were left off, and had been commanded before time to be kept by the Oracle of
Apello. These meanes having a little rejoiced the City with good hope, because they thought
that the anger of the gods had been appeased: *Publicola* then began to provide for the dan-
gers that they were threatned withall by men, for that news was brought him that their ene-
mies were up in all places, and made great preparation to invade them. Now there was at that
time amongst the SABYNES a great rich man called *Appius Claudius*, very strong and active
of body, and otherwise a man of great reputation and eloquence, above all the rest of his coun-
treymen; But notwithstanding he was much envied, and could not avoid it, being a thing
common to great men. He went about to stay those intended warres against the ROMANES.
Whereupon many which before tooke occasion to murmur against him, did now much more
encrease the same; with saying he sought to maintaine the power of the ROMANES, that af-
terwards by their ayde he might make himselfe Tyrant and King of the Countrey. The com-
mon people gave easie care unto such speeches, and *Appius* perceiving well enough how the
souldiers hated him deadly, he feared they would complain and accuse him. Wherefore being
well backed and stood to by his kinsmen, Friends, and Followers, he practised to make a stir
among

among the SABYNES, which was the cause of staying the warres against the ROMANES.
Publicola also for his part was very diligent, not onely to understand the originall cause of this
sedition, but to feede on further and encrease the same, having gotten men meet for that pur-
pose, which carried *Appius* such a message from him; That *Publicola* knew very well he was
a iust man, and one that would not be revenged of his Citizens to the generall hurt of his
Countrey, although the injuries he received at their hands delivered him iust occasion to doe it:
Nevertheless if he had any desire to provide for his safety, and to repaire to ROME, leaving
them which causelesse wished him so much evil, they would both openly and privately receive
him with that due honour which his vertue deserved, and the worthinesse of the ROMANE
people required. *Claudius* having long and many times considered this matter with him-
selfe, resolved, that it was the best way he could take, making vertue of necessity; and there-
fore being determined to doe it, he did procure his Friends to doe as he did, and they got other
also to them, so that he brought away with him out of the Countrey of the SABYNES, five
thousand Families with their Wives and Children (of the quietest and most peaceable people a-
mong the SABYNES) to dwell at ROME. *Publicola* being advertised thereof before they came, *Appius Claudius*
did receive them at their coming to ROME with great joy, and all manner of good courteous
entertainment. For at their first coming he made them all and their Families free Citizens,
and assigned unto every person of them two *Jugera* of Land (which contained one acre, one
rood, eleven pole, and sixty nine parts of a pole) by the River of *Tyber*: And unto *Appius*
selfe he gave five and twenty *Jugera* (to wit, sixteen acres and a half, four pole and seventy six
parts of a pole) and received him into the number of the Senators. And thus came he first
unto the government of the Common-weale in ROME, where he did so wisely behave himselfe,
that in the end he came to be the chiefeit man of dignitie and authority in ROME so long as he
lived. After his death he left behinde him the Family of the *Claudians*, descending from him; The family of
which for honour and worthinesse gave no place to the noblest Family in ROME. But now the
sedition amongst the SABYNES being pacified, by the departure of those that were gone to
ROME: The seditious Governours would not suffer those that remained to live in peace, but
still cried out, It were too much shame for them that *Claudius* being a fugitive, and become
an enemy, should honour their enemies abroad, that being present durst not shew so much at
home, and that the ROMANES should escape unrevenged, who had done them such apparent
wrongs. So they raised great force and power, and went and encamped with their army near
the City of *Fidene*, and laid an ambush hard by ROME in certain hidden and hollow pla-
ces, where they put two thousand choise footmen, very well armed, and did appoint the next
morning to send certain light horsemen to runne and prey to ROME-gates; commanding them,
that when the ROMANES came out of the City to charge them, they should seeme leisurely
to retire, until they had drawne them within danger of their ambush. *Publicola* receiving full
intelligence of all their intention, by a Traitor that fled from them unto him, made due prepa-
ration to encounter with their privy ambush, and so divided his Army into two parts; For he
gave his Sonne in Law *Posthumius Balbus* three thousand footmen, whom he sent away by night,
commanding them the same night to take the hills, in the bottome whereof the SABYNES were
laid in ambush. *Lucretia* fellow-Consul with *Publicola*, having the lightest and lustiest men of
the City, was appointed to make head against the vantage of the SABYNES that minded to
approach the gates. And *Publicola* with the rest of the Army marched a great compasse about
to inclose his enemies behinde. The next morning betimes, by chance it was a thick miste, and
at that present time, *Posthumius* coming downe from the hills, with great shouts charged them
that lay in ambush. *Lucretius* on the other side set upon the light horsemen of the SABYNES,
and *Publicola* fell upon their Campe. So that of all sides the SABYNES enterprife had very ill
successe; For they had the worke in every place, and the ROMANES killed them flying, with-
out any turning againe to make resistance. Thus the place which gave them hope of best safety,
turned most to their deadly overthrow. For every one of their companies supposing the other
had been whole and unbroken, when a charge was give upon them, did straight breake, and
never a company of them turned head toward their enemy; For they that were in the Campe,
ranne towards them that were in ambush; and those which were in ambush on the contrary side,
ranne towards them that were in Campe. So that in flying the one met with the other, and
found those towards whom they were flying to have been safe, to stand in as much need of helpe
as themselves. That which saved some that were not slaine, was the City of *Fidene*, which
was neare the Campe, and specially saved those which fled thither. But such as came short of
the City and could not in time recover it, were all slaine in the Field, or taken prisoners. As
for the glory of this honourable Victory, albeit the ROMANES were wont to ascribe all such
great notable matters to the speciall providence and grace of the gods, yet at that time notwith-
standing they did judge that this happy successe fell out by the wise foresight and valiantnesse of
the Captain. For every man that had served in this journey, had no other talke in his mouth,
but that *Publicola* had delivered their enemies into their hands, lame and blinde, and as a man
might say, bound hand and feet to kill them at their pleasure. The people were marvellously
enriched by this Victory, as well for the spoile as for the ranfome of the prisoners that they
had gotten. Now *Publicola* after he had triumphed, and left the government of the City to
those which were chosen Consuls for the Yeare following, died incontinently, having lived as
honourably

Appius Claudius
goeth to dwell
at Rome.

The family of
the *Claudians*.

The Sabynes
slain.

The death of
Publicola.

His Funerals. honourably and vertuously all the daies of his life as any man living might doe. The people then tooke order for his Funerals, that the charges thereof should be defrayed by the City, as if they had never done him any honour in his life, and that they had been still debtors unto him for the noble service he had done unto the State and Common-weale whilest he lived. Therefore towards his Funerall charges, every Citizen gave a peece of money called a Quatine. The women also for their part to honour his Funerals, agreed among themselves to mourn a whole yeare in black for him, which was a great and honourable memoriall; He was buried also by expresse order of the people, within the City, in the street called *Velia*, and they granted priviledge also unto all his posterity, to be buried in the selfe same place. Howbeit they doe no more bury any of his there: But when any die, they bring they bring the coarfe unto this place, and one holding a torch burning in his hand, doth put it under the place, and take it straight away againe, to shew that they have liberty to bury him there, but that they willingly refuse his honour; and this done, they carry the Coarfe away againe.

The End of the Life of Publicola.

THE COMPARISON OF SOLOX with PUBLICOLA.



Publicola
happy.

NOW presently to compare these two Personages together, it seemeth they both had one vertue in them; which is not found in any other of their lives which we have written of before. And the same is, that the one hath been a witnesse, and the other a follower of him, to whom he was like. So as the sentence that *Solon* spake to King *Craesus* touching *Tellus* felicity and happinesse, might have been better applied unto *Publicola* then to *Tellus*: whom he judged to be very happy because he died honourably, he had lived vertuously, and had left behinde him goodly children. And yet *Solon* speaketh nothing of his excellency or vertue in any of his Poems: Neither did he ever beare any honourable office in all his time, nor yet left any Children that carried any great fame or renowne after his death. Whereas *Publicola* so long as he lived, was alwaies the chiefe man among the *ROMANES*, of credit and authority; and afterwards since his death certain of the noblest Families and most ancient houses of *ROME*, in these our daies, as the *PUBLICOLES*, the *MESSELES*, and the *VALERIANES*, for six hundred yeares continuance, doe referre the glory of the Nobility and anciantry of their houses unto him. Furthermore, *Tellus* was slaine by his enemies, fighting valiantly like a worthy honest man: But *Publicola* died after he had slaine his enemies; which is far more greater good hap then to be slaine. For after he as Generall had honourably served his Country in the warres, and had left them Conquerors, having in his life time received all honors and triumphs due unto his service, he attained to that happy end of life, which *Solon* accounted and esteemed most happy and blessed. Also in wishing manner he would his end should be lamented to his praise, in a place where he confuteth *Nimnermus* about the continuance of mans life, by saying,

Let

Let not my death without lamenting passe,
But rather let my friends bewaile the same:
Whose grievous tears, and cries of out alas;
May oft resound the Echo of my name.

If that be good happy, then most happy maketh he *Publicola*: for at his death, not only his friends and kinsfolkes, but the whole City also, and many thousand persons besides, did bitterly bewaile the losse of him. For all the Women of *ROME* did mourne for him in blacke, and did most pityfully lament his Death, as every one of them had lost either Father, Brother, or Husband.

True it is, that I covet goods to have:
But yet so got as may me not deprave.

Solon saith this, because vengeance followed ill gotten goods. And *Publicola* tooke great heede, not onely to get his goods most justly, but had regard that those which he had, he spent most honestly in helping the needie. So that if *Solon* was justly reputed the wisest man, we must needs confesse also that *Publicola* was the happiest. For what the one desired for the greatest and most perfect good a man can have in the world, the other hath wonne it, kept it, and used it all his life time, until the houre of his death. And thus hath *Solon* honoured *Publicola*, and *Publicola* hath done the like unto *Solon*; shewing himselfe a perfect example and looking-glasse, where men may see how to governe a popular state; when he made his Consulship void of all pride and stately shew, and became himselfe affable, courteous, and beloved of every body. So tooke he profit by many of his Lawes; as when he ordained that the people onely should have authority to chuse and create all common Officers and Magistrates, and that they might appeale from any Judge to the people: as *Solon* when he suffered them to appeale unto the Judges of the people. Indeed *Publicola* did not create any new Senate, as *Solon* did, but he did augment the first number, with as many persons almost as there were before. He did also first erect the office of *Questores*, for keeping of all Fines, Taxes, and other collections of money. Because the chiefe Magistrate, if he were an honest man should not for so light an occasion be taken from the care of better and more weighty affairs; and if he were wickedly given, and ill disposed, that he should have no such meane or occasion to worke his wicked will, by having the treasure of the City in his hands, and to command what he list. Moreover in hating the Tyrants, *Publicola* therein was farre more sharpe and terrible. For *Solon* in his Lawes punished him that went about to make himselfe a Tyrant, yet after he was convicted thereof by Law; but *Publicola* ordained that they should kill him, before the Law did passe upon him, that sought to be King. And where *Solon* justly and truly vauntech himselfe, that being offered to be King and Lord of *ATHENS*, and that with the whole consent of the Citizens, yet he did notwithstanding refuse it: This vaunt and glory is as due unto *Publicola*; who finding the dignity of a Consul tyrannicall, he brought it to be more lowly and favourable for the people, not taking upon him all the authority he might lawfully have done. And it seemeth that *Solon* knew before him what was the true and direct way to governe a Common-weale upright. For he saith in one place:

Both great and small of power, the better Will obey,
If we too little or too much upon them do not lay.

The discharging of debts was proper to *Solon*, which was a full confirmation of libertie: For little prevaileth Law to make equality among Citizens when debts doe hinder the poore people to enjoy the benefit thereof. And where it seemeth that they have most liberty, as in that they may be chosen Judges and Officers, to speake their Opinion in the Council, and give their voices also; There indeed are they most bound and subject, because they do but obey the rich in all they doe command. But yet in this act there is a thing more wonderfull, and worthy to be noted, That commonly discharging of debts was wont to breede great tumults and seditions in Common-weales. And *Solon* having used it in a very good time (as the Physician venturing a dangerous medicine) did appease the sedition already begun, and did utterly quench through his glory, and the common opinion they had of his wisdom and vertue, all the infamy and accusation that might have grown of that act. As for their first entrie into the government, *Solons* beginning was farre more noble: For he went before, and followed not another; and himselfe alone without any others helpe, did put in execution the best, and most part of all his notable and goodly Lawes. Yet was *Publicolaes* end and death much more glorious and happy; For *Solon* before he died, saw all his Common-wealth overthrowne; But *Publicolaes* Common-weale continued whole as he left it, until the broile of civil warres began againe among them. *Solon* after he had made his Lawes, and written them in wooden Tables, leaving them without defence of any man, went his way immediatly out of the City of *ATHENS*. *Publicola* abiding continually in *ROME* governing the state, did thoroughly stablish and confirme the Lawes he made. Furthermore, *Solon* having wisely foreseene *Pysistratus* practises, aspiring to make himselfe King, he could never let him for all that, but was himselfe overcome and oppressed with the Tyranny he saw stablished in his owne fight, and in despite of him; where *Publicola* overthrowne and did put down a mighty Kingdom, that had continued of long time, and was thoroughly stablished; his vertue and desire being equall with *Solons*, and having had besides fortune favourable, and sufficient power to execute his vertuous and well-disposed minde. But as for warres and martiall deeds, there is no comparison to be made betweene them. For *Daimachus* *Plataian*

Plataian, doth not attribute the warres of the *MEGARIANS* unto *Solon*, as we have written it: where *Publicola* being Generall of an Army, and fighting himself in person, hath wonne many great battels. And as for matters of peace and civil government, *Solon* never durst present himselfe openly to perswade the enterprize of *SALAMINA*, but under a counterteit madnesse, and as a foole to make sport: where *Publicola* taking his adventure from the beginning, shewed himselfe without dissimulation an open enemy to *Arginus*, and afterwards he revealed all the whole conspiracy. And when he had been the onely cause and authour of punishing the Traitors, he did not onely drive out of *ROME* the Tyrants selves in person, but tooke from them also all hope of returne againe. Who having alwaies thus nobly and valiantly behaved himselfe, without shrinking back, or flying from ought that required force, a manly courage, or open resistance; did yet shew himselfe discreet, where wisdom was requisite, or reason and perswasion needfull. As when he cunningly wanne King *Porfena*, who was a dreadfull enemy unto him, and invincible by force; whom he handled in such good sort, that he made him his Friend. Peradventure some might stand in this, and say, that *Solon* recovered the Isle of *SALAMINA* unto the *ATHENIANS*, which they would have lost. *Publicola* to the contrary restored the Lands unto *Porfena* againe, which the *ROMANES* had conquered before, within the Countrey of *THUSCANE*. But the times in which these things were done, are alwaies to be considered of. For a wise Governour of a Realme, and politick man, doth governe diversly according to the occasions offered, taking every thing in his time wherein he will deale, and many times in letting go one thing he saveth the whole; and in losing a little he gaineth much: as *Publicola* did, who losing a little peece of another mans Countrey which they had usurped, saved by that means all that was assuredly his owne. And whereas the *ROMANES* thought he should doe very much for them to save their City onely, he got them moreover all the goods that were in their enemies Campe which did bessege them. And in making his enemy judge of his quarrell, he wan the victory; winning that moreover which he would gladly have given to have overcome, and have sentence passe on his side. For the King their Enemy did not onely make peace with them, but did also leave them all his furniture, provision, and munition for the warres: even for the vertue, manhood, and justice, which the great wisdom of the Consul perswaded *Porfena* to beleeve to be in all the other *ROMANES*.

A politick
precept.

THE



THE LIFE OF THEMISTOCLES.



Ann. Mund.
3461.

Ant. Christ.
487.



THEMISTOCLES Parentage did little advance his glory, for his Father *Necles* was of small reputation in *ATHEENS*, being of the hundred of *Phrear*, and tribe of *Leontis*; of his mother an alien or stranger, as these Verses do witnesse:

Abrotonon I am, borne in Thracia,

And yet this high good hap I have, that into Grecia

I have brought forth a Son, Themistocles by name,

The glory of the Greekeish blouds, and man of greatest fame.

Howbeit *Phanias* writeth, that his Mother was not a *THRACIAN*, but borne in the Countrey of *CARIA*; and they doe not call her *Abro-*

tomon but *Euterpe*. And *Neanthes* saith furthermore, that she was of *HALICARNASSUS*, the chiefeft City of all the Realme of *CARIA*. For which cause when the strangers did assemble at *Cynosarges* (a place of exercise without the gate dedicated to *Hercules*, which was not a right god, but noted an alien, in that his mother was a mortal woman:) *Themistocles* perswaded divers youths of the most honourable houses, to goe downe with him, and to anoint themselves at *Cynosarges*, cunningly thereby taking away the difference between the right and allied sort. But setting apart all these circumstances, he was no doubt allied unto the house of the *Lycomedians*; For *Themistocles* caused the Chappell of this Family, which is in the Village of *PHLYES*, being once burnt by the barbarous people, to be built up againe at his owne charges; and as *Simonides* saith, he did set it forth and enrich it with pictures. Moreover every man doth confesse it, that even from his childhood they did perceive he was given to be very hot-headed, stirring, wise, and of good spirit, and enterprising of himself to do great things, and borne to rule weighty causes. For at such daies and howrs as he was taken from his Booke, and had leave to play, he never played, nor would never be idle, as other Children were; But they alwaies found him conning some Oration without Booke, or making it alone by himself; and the ground of his matter was ever commonly, either to defend or accuse some of his companions. Whereupon his Schoolmaster observing him, oft said unto him: Sure some great matter hangeth over thy head my Boy, for it cannot be chosen but that one day thou shalt do some notable good thing, or some extreme mischief. Therefore when they went about to teach him any thing, onely to check his nature, or to fashion him with good manners and civility, or to study any matter for pleasure or honest pastime, he would slowly and carelesly learne of them. But if they delivered him any matter of wit, and things of weight concerning state, they saw he would beate at it marvellously, and would understand more then any could of his age and carriage, trusting altogether to his natural mother wit. This was the cause that being mocked afterwards by

Cynosarges a
place of exer-
cise dedicated
to *Hercules*.

Themistocles
towardnesse.

Themistocles
was *Anaxagoras*
and *Melissus*
brother.

Mucspphilus
Phrearian.

What wife-
dom was in
old time.

How the name
of Sophisters
came up.
Themistocles
youth.

The privy
grudge betwixt
Themistocles
and *Aristides*.

Aristides a just
man.

Themistocles
ambition.

Themistocles
persuaded his
Countrymen
to make gal-
leys.

The Athenians
bent their
force to Sea by
Themistocles
persuasion.

by some that had studied humanity and other liberrall Sciences, he was driven for revenge and his owne defence, to answer with great and stout words, saying, that indeed he had no skill to tune a Harpe, nor a Violl, nor to play on a psalterion; but if they did put a City into his hands that was of small name, weak, and little, he knew waies enough how to make it noble, strong, and great. Nevertheless *Stesimbrotus* writeth, how he went to *Anaxagoras* School, and that under *Melissus* he studied natural Philofophy. But herein he was greatly deceived, for that he tooke no great heed unto the time. For *Melissus* was Captain of the SAMIANS against *Pericles*, at what time he did lay siege unto the City of SAMOS. Now this is true, *Pericles* was much younger then *Themistocles*, and *Anaxagoras* dwelt with *Pericles* in his owne house. Therefore we have better reason and occasion to believe those that write, *Themistocles* did determine to follow *Mucspphilus Phrearian*. For he was no professed Orator nor natural Philosopher, as they termed him at that time; but made profession of that which then they called wisdom; which was no other thing but a certain knowledge to handle great causes, and an endeavour to have a good wit and judgement in matters of state and government: Which profession beginning in *Solon*, did continue, and was taken up from man to man, as a sect of Philofophy. But those that came thence, have mingled it with art of speech, and by little and little have translated the exercise of deeds unto bare and curious words: whereupon they were called *Sophisters*, as who would say, counterfeit wise men. Notwithstanding when *Themistocles* began to meddle with the government of the commonweale, he followed much *Mucspphilus*. In the first part of his youth his behaviour and doings were very light and unconstant, as his name carried away with a rash head, and without any order or discretion: By reason whereof his manners and conditions seemed marvellously to change, and oftentimes fell into very ill-favoured events, as himselfe did afterwards confesse, by saying, that a ragged colt oftentimes proves a good horse, specially if he be well ridden and broken as he should be. Other tales which some will seem to adde to this, are in my opinion but Fables. As, that his Father did disinherite him, and that his mother for very care and sorrow she tooke to see the lewd life of her Son, did kill her selfe. For there are that write to the contrary, that his Father being desirous to take him from dealing in government, did go and shew him all along the Sea shore, the shipwracks and ribs of old galleys cast here and there, whereof no reckoning was made, and said to him, thus the people use their governors when they can serve no longer. Howsoever it was, it is most true that *Themistocles* earnestly gave himself to state, and was suddenly taken with desire of glory. For even at his first entry, because he would set foot before the proudest, he stood at pike against the greatest and mightiest persons that bare the sway and government, and specially against *Aristides*, *Lyfimachus* Son, who ever encountered him, and was still his adversary opposite. Yet it seemeth the evil will he conceived toward him, came of a very light cause. For they both loved *Stesilams* that was borne in the City of TEOS, as *Ariston* the Philosopher writeth. And after this jealousie was kindled betweene them, they alwaies tooke contrary part one against another, not only in their private likings, but also in the government of the commonweale. Yet I am perswaded, that the difference of their manners and conditions did much encrease the grudge and discord betwixt them. For *Aristides* (being by nature a very good man, a just dealer, and honest of life, and one that in all his doings would never flatter the people, nor serve his owne glory, but rather to the contrary would do, say, and counsell alwaies for the most benefit and commodity of the Commonweale) was oftentimes enforced to resist *Themistocles*, and disappoint his ambition, being ever busily moving the people to take some new matter in hand: For they report of him, that he was enflamed with desire of glory, and to enterprize great matters, that being but a very young man at the battell of MARATHON, where there was no talk but of the worthinesse of Captain *Miltiades* that had won the battell: He was found many times solitary alone devising with himself. Besides, they say he could take no rest in the night, neither would goe to Plays in the day time, nor would keepe company with those whom he was accustomed to be familiar withall before. Furthermore, he would tell them that wondred to see so great alteration in his manners, and asked him what he ailed, that *Miltiades* victory would not let him sleepe, because other thought this overthrow at MARATHON, would have made an end of all warres. Howbeit *Themistocles* was of a contrary opinion, and that it was but a beginning of greater troubles: Therefore he daily studied how to prevent them, and how to see to the safety of GREECE; and before occasion offered, he did exercise his City in feats of war, foreseeing what should follow after. Wherefore where the Citizens of ATHENS before did use to divide among themselves the revenue of their mines of silver, which were in a part of ATTICA called LAURION, he alone was the first that durst speak to the people, and perswade them, that from thenceforth they should cease that distribution among themselves, and employ the money of the same in making of galleys, to make warres against the EGYPTIANS. For their wars of all GREECE were most cruel, because they were lords of the Sea, and had so great a number of Ships. This perswasion drew the Citizens more easily to *Themistocles* minde then the threatening them with King *Darius*, or the *Persians* would have done; who were farre from them, and not feared that they would come near unto them. So this opportunity taken of the hatred and jealousie between the ATHENIANS and the EGYPTIANS, made the people to agree, of the said money to make an 100 galleys, with which they fought against King *Xerxes*, and did overcome him by Sea. Now after this good beginning and successe, he wan the Citizens by degrees to bend their force to Sea, declaring unto them, how by land they were scant able to make head against their equals, whereas by their power at Sea they should not only defend themselves from the barbarous people, but moreover be able to command all GREECE. Hereupon he made them good

good mariners, and passing Sea-men, as *Plato* saith, where before they were stout and valiant souldiers by land. This gave his enemies occasion to cait in his teeth afterwards, that he had taken away from the ATHENIANS the pike and the target, and had brought them to the bank and the ower; and so he got the upper hand of *Miltiades*, who inveighed against him in that, as *Stesimbrotus* writeth. Now after he had thus his will, by bringing this Sea-service to passe, whether thereby he did overthrow the justice of the commonweal or not, I leave that to the Philosophers to dispute. But that the preservation of all GREECE stood at that time upon the Sea, and that the galleys only were the cause of setting up ATHENS againe, *Xerxes* himself is a sufficient witness, besides other proofs that might be brought thereof. For his army by Land being yet whole, and unset on, when he saw his Army by Sea broken, dispersed, and sunk, he fled straight upon it, confessing as it were that he was now too weak to deal any more with the GRECIANS, and left *Mardonius* his Lieutenant in *Grece*, of purpose in my opinion, rather to let that the GRECIANS should not follow him, then for any hope he had to overcome them. Some write of *Themistocles*, that he was a very good husband for his own profit, and careful to looke to his things; for he did spend liberally, and was not to be careful to get, to defray his charges. Other to the contrary blame him much, that he was too near and miserable; For some say he would sell presents of meat that were given him. He did aske one *Philides* on a time which had a breed of mares, a colt of gift; who denying him flatly he was so angry, that he threatned him ere it were long he would make his house the horse of wood, with the which TROIA was taken. Meaning covertly to let him understand that he would shortly set strife and quarrel betwixt him, and his nearest kinsmen and familiar friends. It is true that he was the most ambitious man of the world; For when he was but a young man, and scant known, he earnestly entreated one *Epicles* born at HERMIONNA, an excellent player of the Citerne, and counted at that time the cunningest man in all ATHENS at that instrument, that he would come and teach his art at his house, and all was no more but that many people being desirous to hear him play, should ask for his house, and come thither to him. And one year when he went unto the Feast and assembly of the plays Olympical, he would needs keep open house for all comers, have his tents richly furnished, and a great train of servants and all other furniture, only to contend with *Cimon*. This marvellously spited the GRECIANS, who thought *Themistocles* expences fit for *Cimons* countenance and ability, because he was a young gentleman, and of a noble house; but for him that was but a new come man, and would bear a greater port then either became his calling or ability, they thought it not only unallowable in him, but meer presumption and vainglory. Another time he defrayed the whole charges of a tragedy which was played openly; and being set out therein to have won the prize, and the ATHENIANS being marvellous desirous of the honour in such playes, he caused this Victory of his to be painted in a Table which he did dedicate and set up in a Temple, with this Inscription, *Themistocles Phrearian defrayed the charges; Phrynicus made it; Adimantus was chief Ruler*. Yet notwithstanding he was well taken of the common people, partly because he would speake to every citizen by his name, no man telling him their names, and partly also because he shewed himselfe an upright judge in private mens causes. As one day he answered the Poet *Simonides*, born in CHIO, who did request an unreasonable matter at his hands, at that time when he was governeur of the City: Thou couldst be no good Poet, *Simonides*, if thou didst sing against the rules of musick; Neither my selfe a good governeur of a City, if I should do any thing against the Law. And mocking the same *Simonides* another time, he told him he was but a fool to speak ill of the *Corinthians*, considering they were Lords of so great and strong a City; and that he was not wise to make himself to be drawn, being so deformed and ill-favoured. But being growne in credit, and having won the favour of the people, he was such an enemy to *Aristides*, that in the end he made him to be expelled and banished ATHENS for five years. When news were brought that the King of PERSIA was onwards on his journey, and coming down to make wars upon the GRECIANS: the ATHENIANS consulted whom they should make their General. And it is reported that all their common Counsellors which were wont to speake in matters, fearing the danger, drew back, save an Orator called *Epicles*, *Euphemides* Sonne, very eloquent in speech, but somewhat womanish, faint-hearted, and greedy of money, who offered himselfe to sue for this charge, and had some hope to obtain it. Wherefore *Themistocles* fearing all would not be well if it fell to this man to be General of the Army, he bought out *Epicles* ambition with ready money, and so made him let fall his suit. It fell out *Themistocles* was greatly commended, about that was done to the Interpreter, that came with the King of Persia's Embassadours, and demanded the Empire of the *Greecians* both by Sea and Land, that they should acknowledge obedience to the King. For he caused him to be taken and put to death by a common consent; for using the Greek Tongue in the service and commandment of the barbarous people. It was a notable thing also, that at his motion *Athmias* born at ZELBA, was noted of infamy; both he, his children; and all his posterity after him, because he brought gold from the King of Persia, to corrupt and winne the *Greecians*. But the greatest and worthiest act he did in those parts, was this: that he pacified all civil warres among the *Greecians*, perswading the Cities to leave off their quarrels until the warres were done, in the which they they say *Chileus* *Arcadian* did helpe him more then any other man. He being now chosen General of the ATHENIANS, went about presently to imbarke his Citizens into Galleys, declaring to them they should leave their City; and go meet with the barbarous King by Sea, so far from the coast of Greece as they could; but the people did not think that good. Wherefore he led great numbers of Souldiers by Land into the Countrey of TEMPE with the LACEDÆMONIANS;

Themistocles
a good hus-
band to looke
to his profit.

Themistocles
of extremely am-
bitious.

A wife saying
of *Themistocles*

Themistocles
made *Aristi-
des* to be ban-
ished.

Epicles an
Orator sent
to be General.

Athmias de-
famed for bri-
bing.

Themistocles
General of the
Athenians a-
gainst *Xerxes*.

MONIANS, to keep the passage and entry into THESSALY, against the barbarous people, which Country stood yet found to GRECE, and not revolted to the MEDES. Afterwards the GRECIANS coming from thence without any act done, and the THESSALIANS also being won somewhat on the Kings side, so that all the whole Countrey unto BOEOTIA was at the devotion and good-will of the barbarous people, the ATHENIANS began then to finde how Themistocles opinion to fight by Sea was very good. Whereupon they sent him with their Navy to the City of ARTEMISIUM, to keep the straight. There the other GRECIANS would have had the LACEDÆMONIANS and their Admiral Eurybiades to have had the authority and commandment of the rest. But the ATHENIANS would not set sail under any other Admirall then their own, because theirs were the greatest number of Ships in the Army, and above all the other Grecians. Themistocles foreseeing the danger that was likely to fall out amongst themselves, did willingly yeeld the whole authority unto Eurybiades, and got the Athenians to agree unto it: assuring them, that if they behaved themselves valiantly in these wars, the other GRECIANS of their owne accord would afterward submit themselves unto their obedience. Hereby it appeareth, that he only of all other was at that time the originall cause of the saving of GRECE, and did most advance the honour and glory of the Athenians, by making them to overcome their enemies by force, and their friends and allies, with liberality. In the meane time, Eurybiades seeing the barbarous fleet riding at anchor all along the Isle of APHETES, with such a great number of Ships in the vaward, he began to be afraid. And understanding moreover, there were other two hundred saile that went to coit about the Isle of SCIATHE, and so to come in: he presently would have retired further into GRECE, and would have drawn nearer unto Peloponnesus, to the end their Army by Sea might be near their Army by Land, as thinking it impossible to fight with King Xerxes power by Sea. Whereupon the Inhabitants of the Isle of EUBOEIA, fearing lest the Grecians would leave them to the spoile of the enemy, they caused Themistocles secretly to be spoken withall, and sent him a good summe of money by one called Pelagon. Themistocles took the money, as Herodotus writeth, and gave it to Eurybiades. But there was one Architeles amongst the Athenians, Captain of the galley called the holy galley, that was much against Themistocles intended purpose; who having no money to pay his mariners, did what he could that they might depart with speed from thence. Themistocles stirred up then his Souldiers more against him then before, inasmuch as they went aboard his galley, and tooke his supper from him. Architeles being marvellous angry and offended withall, Themistocles sent him both bread and meat in a pannier, and in the bottome thereof he had put a talent of silver, bidding him for that night to sup with that, and the next morning he should provide for his mariners, or else he would complain and accuse him to the Citizens that he had taken money of the enemies. Thus it is written by Phanias Lesbian. Moreover the first fights in the straight of EUBOEIA, between the Grecians and the barbarous people, were nothing to purpose to end the warres betweene them: For it was but a taste given unto them which served the Grecians turne very much, by making them to see by experience, and the manner of the fight, that it was not the great multitude of Ships, nor the pomp and sumptuous setting out of the same, nor the proud barbarous shouts and songs of victory, that could stand them to purpose against noble hearts and valiant-minded Souldiers, that durst grapple with them, and come to hand-strokes with their enemies, and that they should make no reckoning of all that bravery and brags, but should stick to it like men, and lay it on the jacks of them. The which (as it seemeth) the Poet Pindarus understood very well, when he said touching the battle of ARTEMISIUM:

*The stout Athenians have now foundation layed
Unto the liberty of Greece, by these assaults assayed.*

The coast of
Artemisium.

For out of doubt the beginning of victory, is to be hardy. This place ARTEMISIUM is a part of the Isle of EUBOEIA, looking towards the North, above the City of ESTIEA, lying directly over against the Countrey, which sometimes was under the obedience of the PHILOCTETES, and specially of the City of OLIZON. There is a little Temple of Diana, surnamed *Orientalis*, round about the which there are trees, and a compasse of pillars of white stone, which when a man rubs with his hand, they shew of the colour and favour of saffron. And in one of those pillars there is an inscription of lamentable verses to this effect:

*When boldest blonds of Athens by their might,
Had overcome the numbers infinite.
Of Asia: they then in memory
Of all their deeds and valiant victory,
Began to build this noble Monument,
And to Diane the same they did present,
For that they had the Medes likewise subdued,
And with their blood, their hardy hands embued.*

Themistocles
stratagem.

There is a place seen also upon that coast at this day, a good way into the land, in the midst whereof are great sands full of blacke dust like ashes: and they think that they burnt in that place all dead bodies and old shipwracks. News being brought what had been done in the Countrey of THERMOPILES, how that King Leonidas was dead, and how that Xerxes had won that entry into GRECE by land; the GRECIANS then brought their whole Army by Sea more into GRECE, the ATHENIANS being in the rereward in this retreat, as men whose hearts were lift up with the glory of their former valiant deedes. Now Themistocles passing by those places

places where he knew the enemies must of necessity fall upon the Lee shore for harbour: he did engrave certaine words spoken unto the IONIANs, in great letters in stone, which he found there by chance, or purposely brought thither for that purpose, where there was very good harbour for Ships, and fit places also to lye in. These were the words, that the IONIANs should take the GRECIANS parts being their founders and ancestors, and such as fought for their liberty; or at the least they should trouble the army of the barbarous people, and doe them all the mischief they could, when the GRECIANS should come to fight with them. By these words he hoped either to bring the IONIANs to take their part, or at the least he should make the barbarous people jealous and mistrustful of them. Xerxes being already entred into the uppermost part of the Province of DORICA, into the Countrey PHOCIDA, burning and destroying the Towns and Cities of the PHOCIANS, the other GRECIANS lay still and suffered the invasion, notwithstanding the ATHENIANS did request them to meete with the barbarous army in BOEOTIA, to save the Countrey of ATTICA, as before they had done, when they went by sea to ARTEMISIUM. But they would not hearken to it in no wise; and all was because they were desirous they should draw to the straight of PELOPONNESUS, and there they should assemble the whole strength and power of GRECE within the barre of the same, and make a strong substantiall wall from the one Sea to the other. The ATHENIANS were very angry at this device, and were half discouraged and out of heart to see themselves thus forsaken and cast off by the rest of the GRECIANS. For it was out by all speech that they alone should fight against so many thousands of enemies, and therefore their only remedy was, to leave their City, and to get them to the Sea. The people were very unwilling to listen hereunto, making their reckoning it was needlesse to be carefull to overcome, or to save themselves, having once forsaken the temples of their gods, and the graves of their Parents. Wherefore Themistocles seeing that neither reason nor mans persuasion could bring the people to like his opinion; He began to frame a device (as men doe use sometimes in tragedies) and to threaten the ATHENIANS with signs from heaven, with oracles and answers from the gods. And the occasion of Minerva's dragon served his turne for a celestiall signe and token, which by good fortune did not appear in those daies in the Temple as it was wont to do; and the Priests found the Sacrifices which were daily offered to him, whole and untouched by any. Wherefore being informed by Themistocles what they should do, they spread a brute abroad amongst the people, that the goddesse Minerva, the protector and defender of the City, had forsaken it, pointing them the way unto the Sea. And againe he wan them by a Prophecy, which commanded them to save themselves in wals of wood, saying, that the wals of wood did signifie nothing else but Ships. And for this cause he said, Apollo in the Oracle called SALAMINA divine, not miserable nor unfortunate, because it should give the name of a most happy Victory which the GRECIANS should get there. And so at the last they following his counsell, he made this Decree, that they should leave the City of ATHENS to the custody of the goddesse Pallas, that was Lady and Governour of the Countrey, and that all those which were of age to carry any weapon should get them to the galleys; and for the rest that every man should see his wife, children and bondmen placed in some sure place as well as he could. After this decree was past and authorized by the people, the most part of them did convey they aged Fathers and Mothers, their wives and little children, into the City of TROEZEN, where the TROEZENIANS received them very lovingly and gently. For they gave order that they should be entertained of the common charge, allowing them a peece, two oboles of their money a day, and suffered the young children to gather fruit wheresoever they found it, and furthermore did hire Schoolmasters at the charge of the Commonwealt, to bring them up at School. He that was the penner of this decree was one called Nicagoras. The ATHENIANS at that time had no common money, but the Senate of the Areopagites (as Aristotle saith) furnished every Souldier with eight drachma's, which was the only meane that the galleys were armed. Yet Clidemus writeth, that this was a craft devised of Themistocles. The ATHENIANS being come downe unto the haven of PIRÆA, he made as though Pallas target (on the which Medusaes head was graven) had been lost, and was not found with the Image of the goddesse; and feigning to seek for it, he rancked every corner of the galleys, and found a great deal of silver which private persons had hidden amongst their fardels. This money was brought out unto the people, and by this means the Souldiers that were shipped had wherewithall to provide them of necessary things. When time came that they were to depart the haven, and that all the City of ATHENS had taken Sea, one way it was a pity to behold them: another way it made all sorts to wonder, that considered the boldnesse and courage of those men, which before sent away their Fathers and Mothers from them, and were nothing moved at their tears, cries, shrieks, and embracings of their wives, their children, and departures, but stoutly and resolutely held on their course to SALAMINA. Notwithstanding there were many old Citizens left still of necessity in ATHENS, because they could not be removed for very extreme age, which stirred many with compassion toward them. There was besides a certain pity that made mens hearts to yern, when they saw the poor dogges, beasts, and cattel runne up and downe bleating, lowing, and howling out aloud after their Masters, in token of sorrow, when they did imbarke. Amongst these there goeth a strange tale of Xantippus dogge, who was Pericles Father; which for sorrow his Master had left him behinde him, did cast himselfe after into the Sea, and swimming still by the galleys side wherein his master was, he held on to the Ile of SALAMINA, where so soone as the poore curre landed, his breathe failed him, and he died presently.

Wooden wals
signifies
Shippes.

The Athenians
forsake Athens
by Themistocles
persuasion, &
goe to the sea.

Xantippus
Dogge.

Aristides
Counsell unto
Themistocles,
for the break-
ing of *Xerxes*'
Bridge.
Themistocles
stratageme.

Themistocles
honoured a-
bove all the
Grecians.

Themistocles
ambition no-
ted.

Themistocles
sayings.

A pretty Tale
of *Themistocles*.

made: to the end, said he, that we may take ASIA into EUROPE. *Aristides* liked not this opinion: for we have (said he) fought all this while against this barbarous King, who thought but to play with us: but if we shut him within GRECE, and bring him to fight of necessity to save his life: such an enemy that commandeth so great an Army, will no more stand still, as a looker on, and sit at his ease under his golden pavilion, to see the pastime of the battell, but will prove every way, and be himselfe in every place at all assaies to save himselfe from such a straight and danger. Thus with politick care and foresight, he may easily amend his former fault committed by negligence, and doe well enough, when he shall see his life and Kingdome both depend upon it. Therefore *Themistocles*, I would thinke best not to breake downe his Bridge at all, which he hath caused to be made; but rather if we could, to build another to it, to drive him out of EUROPE as soone as we could. *Themistocles* then replied: Seeing you thinke this were best to be done, we must all lay our heads together, to devise how he may be forced to come out as soon as we could. They breaking off with this resolution, *Themistocles* sent immediately one of the Kings Eunuches, called *Arfaces*: that was one of the Grooms of his Chamber, whom he found out amongst the Prisoners, and by him he sent this Message unto the King: That the GRECIANS having won the battell of him by sea, had decreed in their Counsell, how they would goe to the straight of HELLESPONT, to breake the Bridge of the Ships he had caused to be made there. Whereof he thought good to advertise him for the good will he did beare him, and to the end he might bethinke him betimes, to get him away to the sea with in his own Dominion, and so passe back againe into ASIA as soone as he could, whilst he gave order to his allies and confederates, to stay following him at the poepe. The barbarous King understanding this news, was so afraid that he hoised away with all possible speed. The further foresight and great wisdom of *Themistocles* and *Aristides*, in marine causes, did manifestly appeare afterwards in the battell the GRECIANS fought before the City of PLATEA, against *Mardonius* King *Xerxes* Lieutenant: who having but a small power of the King his Sovereigns there, did yet put the GRECIANS to great distresse, and in hazard to have lost all. Of all the Towns and Cities that fought in this battell, *Herodotus* writeth, that the City of AEGINA wanne the fame for valiantnesse above the rest: and of private men, among the GRECIANS, *Themistocles* was judged the worthiest man; although it was fore against their wills, because they envied much his glory. For after the battell done, all the Captaines being gotten into the straight of PELOPONNESUS, and having sworne upon the Altar of their sacrifices, that they would give their voices after their consciences, to those they thought had best deserved it: every one gave himselfe the first place for worthinesse, and the second unto *Themistocles*. The LACEDÆMONIANS carried him unto SPARTA, where they judged the honour and dignity of valiantnesse to their Admirall *Eurybiades*: but the wisdom and policie they attributed unto *Themistocles*. In token thereof they gave him an Olive branch, and the goodliest Coach that was in their City: and moreover they sent three hundred of their lusty youths to accompany him, and conduct him out of their Countrey. And they say, that at the next Feasts and assemblies of the playes Olympick which were made after this victory, when *Themistocles* was once come into the shew-place where these Games were played, the people looked no more on them that fought, but all cast their eyes on him, shewing him to the strangers which knew him not, with their fingers, and by clapping of their hands did witness how much they esteemed him. Whereat he himselfe tooke so great delight, that he confessed to his familiar friends, he then did reape the fruit and benefit of his sundry and painfull services he had taken in hand, for the preservation of GRECE: so ambitious was he of nature, and covetous of honour, as we may easily perceive by certaine of his deeds and notable sayings they have noted of him. For being chosen Admirall of ATHENS, he never dispatched any causes private or publike, howsoever they fell out, untill the very day of his departure and taking ship: and all because that men seeing him dispatch much businesse at once, and to speak with so many persons together, they should esteeme him to be the notablest man, and of the greater authority. Another time he walked upon the sands by the sea side, beholding the dead bodies of the barbarous people, which the sea had cast up upon the shore: and seeing some of them that had on still their chaines of gold and bracelets, he passed by on his way, but shewed them yet to a familiar friend of his that followed him, and said unto him: Take thou those, for thou art not *Themistocles*. And unto one *Amiphates*, who in his youth had been a goodly young boy, and at that time did scornfully behave himselfe unto him, making no reckoning of him: and now that he saw him in great authority came to see him, he said: O my young sonne and friend; we are both even at one time (but too late) growne wife. He said the ATHENIANS did not esteeme of him nor honour him in time of peace: but when any stormes of warres were towards, and they stood in any danger, they ran to him then, as men run to the shadow of a Plane tree, upon any sodaine raine: and afterwards when faire weather cometh againe, they cut away the branches and boughs thereof. There was a man borne in the Isle of SERIPHA, who being fallen out with him, did cast him in the teeth, that it was not for his worthinesse, but for the noble City wherein he was borne, that he had wonne such glory: Thou sayest true said he; but neither should I have wonne any great honour, if I had been a SERIPHIAN, nor thou also if thou hadst been an ATHENIAN. Another time one of the Captains of the City, having done good service unto the Commonweale, made boast before *Themistocles*, and compared his service equall with his. *Themistocles* to answer him, told him a pretty tale, That the Working-day brauled on a time with the Holy-day, repining against her, that he laboured for his living continually, and how she did nothing but fill her belly, and spend that they had gotten. Thou hast reason said the Holy-day: but if I had not been before thee, thou haddest not been here now.

And

And so, if I had not been then; where had you my Masters been now? His owne Sonne was a little too fawcie with his Mother, and with him also, bearing himselfe over-boldly of her good will; by meanes of her cockering of him. Whereupon being merrily disposed, he would say that his Sonne could doe more then any man in all GRECE. For, saith he, the ATHENIANS command the GRECIANS, I command the ATHENIANS, my Wife commandeth me, and my Sonne commandeth her. Moreover because he would be singular by himselfe above all other men: having a piece of Land he would sell, he willed the Cryer to proclaime open sale of it in the market-place, and withall he should add unto the sale, that his Land lay by a good neighbour. Another time, two men being suiters to his Daughter, he preferred the honeste before the richer, saying: he had rather have to his Sonne in law a man that lacked goods, then goods to lacke a man. These were *Themistocles* pleasant conceits and answers. But after he had done all these things we have spoken of before, he took in hand to build againe the City and walls of ATHENS, and did corrupt the Officers of LACEDÆMONIA with money, to the end they should not hinder his purpose, as *Theopompus* writeth: Or as all other say, when he had deceived them by this subtilty, he went unto SPARTA, as Ambassadour, sent thither of purpose upon the complaints of the LACEDÆMONIANS, for that the ATHENIANS did inclose their City againe with walls, who were accused unto the Counsell of SPARTA, by an Orator called *Poliarchus*, who was sent thither from AEGINETES, of purpose to prosecute this matter against the ATHENIANS. *Themistocles* stoutly denied it to them, and prayed them for better understanding of the troth, they would send some of their men thither to see it. This was a fetch onely to winne by this delay, the ATHENIANS so much more time to raise up their walls, and that the ATHENIANS should keepe as Hostages for surety of his person, those they should send to ATHENS to bring back the report thereof; and so it fell out. For the LACEDÆMONIANS being informed of the troth as it was, did him no hurt, but dissembling the mistaking they had to be thus abused by him, sent him away safe and sound. Afterwards he made them also mend and fortifie the haven of PIRÆA, having considered the situation of the place, and all to incline the City to the sea. Wherein he did directly contrary to all the counsell of the ancient Kings of ATHENS: who seeking (as they say) to withdraw their people from the sea, and to accustom them to live upon the land, by planting, sowing, and plowing their grounds, did devise and give out abroad, the Fable they tell of the goddesse *Pallas*: And that is this: How she contending with *Neptune* about the patronage of the Countrey of ATHENS, brought forth and shewed to the Judges the Olive-tree, by meanes whereof she prevailed and obtained the preheminance. Even so *Themistocles* did not joyne the haven of PIRÆA unto the City of ATHENS, as the Comickall Poet *Aristophanes* saith: but rather joynd the City unto the haven PIRÆA, and the land unto the sea. By this meanes he made the people strong against the Nobility, and brought the communalty to wax bolder then they were before, by reason the rule and authority fell into the hands of Saylers, Mariners, Pifors, Ship-masters, and such kinde of seafaring men: so as the Pulpit where all the Orations were made, stood in the market-place of PNIX, and did look towards the sea. But the thirty Tyrants that came in afterwards, did remove it, and turne it towards the land: holding opinion, to be strong by sea, was it that did maintaine the authority of the popular state: and that contrariwise they which live by the labour and toile of the earth, doe more willingly like the government of Nobility. *Themistocles* called to minde another matter alfo of greater importance, to make the City of ATHENS of greater power by sea. For after the retire of *Xerxes*, and that all the Fleet and Navy of the GRECIANS wintred in the haven of PEGASES: he said one day in an open assembly of the people, that he had thought of a thing which would be very profitable and beneficiall for them, but it was not to be told openly. The people willed him then to impart it to *Aristides*; and if he thought it good, they would execute it speedily. *Themistocles* then told *Aristides*: the thing he had considered of was to burne the Arcenall where the GRECIANS Navy lay, and to set on fire all their Shippes. *Aristides* hearing his purpose, returned to the people, and told them; how nothing could be more profitable, but withall more unjust, then that which *Themistocles* had devised. The ATHENIANS then willed *Aristides* it should be let alone altogether. Furthermore when the LACEDÆMONIANS had exhibited their Petition to the Counsell of the *Amphictions* (that is, the generall Counsell of all the states of GRECE assembled) how the Townes and Cities of GRECE which had not been parties with the GRECIANS in the League against the barbarous people, should be put off wholly from this Counsell, *Themistocles* doubting that if the ARGIVES, the THESSALIANS and the THEBANS also should by this meanes be exempted, that the LACEDÆMONIANS would be then the greater number in voices, and by this meanes might doe what they would in this Counsell: he spake so considerably for the Cities which they would have thus discharged, that he made the Petitioners in the assembly utterly to change their opinion. Declaring, how there were but one and thirty Cities comprised onely in the League, and yet that some of them were very weake and small: and how it were no reason, that rejecting all the rest of GRECE, the greatest authority of this Counsell should fall into the hands of two or three of the chiefe Cities alone. For this cause chiefly the LACEDÆMONIANS did ever beare him extreme hatred, and did stirre up *Cimon* all they could, to be alwayes adversary opposite unto him, and as it were to beard him in all matters of state, and the government of ATHENS. They procured him besides the ill will and displeasure of all the friends and confederates of the ATHENIANS, for that he went sayling still to and fro amongst the Isles, exacting Money of the inhabitants of the same. And this is to be known by the matter propounded by him to the ANDRIANS (of whom he would have had Money) and by the answer they made him, as *Herodotus* writeth. Which was, how he had brought

Themistocles
saying of his
Sonne.

Themistocles
built againe the
walls of the
City of Athens.

A subtil fetch
of *Themistocles*.
The haven of
Piræa fortified

The equity of
the Athenians.

Themistocles
gods, Love
and Force.
The *Andrian*
goddesses,
Poverty, and
Impossibility.

brought them two mighty gods: *Love* and *Force*. And they answered him againe, that they also had two great goddesses, which kept them from giving of him any money: *Poverty* and *Impossibility*. And to make this good also, *Timocreon* the *Rhodian* Poet galled him to the quicke, when he sharply taunted him, for calling many home againe for money that were banished: and how for the covetousnesse of Money he had betrayed, and forsaken his host and Friend. The verses wherein this matter is mentioned, are to this effect:

*Who list commend worthy Pausanias,
Zanthippus or good Leotychides,
Yet shall I seeme but light thereof to passe,
Compar'd with valiant Aristides.
For yet was nay the like in Athens towne,
Nor never shall come none of like renowne.
Themistocles by right and due desert,
Is hated of Latona, for his lies,
And for he bare a traiterous Wicked heart,
Who like a Wretch, and niggard did devise,
For small reward his host Timocreon,
To hold out of his Countrey Iasion.
He took for bribe (unjustly yet therewith)
Of ready coine three talents faire and bright,
Revoking such as pleas'd him, from exile,
And banishing full many a worthy knight.
Or putting them to death, without cause told,
He gave thereby great heaps of coine and Gold.
But in the end (o right reward for such)
This bribing wretch, was forced for to hold
A tipling booth, most like a clowne or snuch,
At holy feasts and pastimes manifold,
Which were amongst the people in those dayes,
Istmiciane folke, did use the like alwayes.
And there he serv'd his guests with cold meate still,
Whilst they that tasted of his cookerie,
Gan wish that they (to ease their weary will)
Had never lived, to see the treachery
Of false Themistocles, and that he might
No longer live, which wrought them such despight.*

After this, he did more openly blase him to the world, when he was banished and condemned, in a song that had beginning thus:

*O Muse, let these my verses be dispers'd
Throughtout all Greece, since they deserve no lesse:
And since the truth which is in them rehearst,
Deserveth fame, whom no man should suppress.*

They say the cause why this *Timocreon* was banished, was, the friendship which he had with the Barbarous people, and for giving them intelligence. Whereof *Themistocles* was one that judiciously condemned him. Wherefore when *Themistocles* himself was accused afterwards of the same fault, *Timocreon* then made these verses following against him:

*Timocreon was not without his pbeere,
Which did conferre With Medes privily,
Since others mo, the self same blame might beare,
No foxes lurke in dennes, as well as I.*

Besides these verses; *Themistocles* owne Citizens for ill will they bare him, begane now with great contentment and applaude, to harken to those that gave out evill speeches and slanders of him. Therefore while he sought wayes to redresse all this, he was driven to use such means, which more increased their hatred towards him. For in his orations to the people, he did oft remember them of the good services he had done them: and perceiving how they were offended withall, he was driven to say: Why, are ye weary so often to receive good by one man? Many of them were very angry with him also, when he surnamed *Diana* (in the dedication of her Temple he made unto her) *Aristobule*, as much to say, as the good counsellor: meaning thereby, how he had given grave and wise counsell, both unto his City, and to all the rest of the *Grecians*. He built this Temple also neare his house, in a place called *Melita*, where the hang-men did cast the dead bodies of those that were executed, and throw the Ragges and halters ends of those that were hanged, or otherwise put to death by Law. There was also in our dayes in the Temple of *Diana Aristobule*, a little Image of *Themistocles*, which shewed plainly, that he was not onely wise, and of a noble minde, but also of a great majesty and countenance in the face. In the end the *ATHENIANS* banished him

Themistocles
banished for
five yeares.

him] *ATHENS* for five yeares, because they would pluck downe his over great courage and authority, as they did use to serve those, whose greatnesse they thought to be more, then common equality that ought to be among Citizens would beare. For this manner of banishment for a time, called *Ostracism*, was no punishment for any fault committed, but a mitigation and taking away of the envie of the people, which delighted to pluck downe their stomacks that too much seemed to exceed in greatnesse: and by this means they tooke away the poyson of his malice, with diminishing his glory and honour. So *Themistocles* being banished from *ATHENS*, went to dwell in *ARGOS*. In this meane season, *Pausanias* treachery fell out, which gave his enemies occasion to lie heavy on his back. But he which became his accuser, and was partner of the treason, was one called *Leobates*, (*Alcmeon* Sonne) borne in a Village called *AGRAULA*. Besides this, the *SPARTANS* also did sit on his skirts, and charged him sorely. For *Pausanias* never before revealed to *Themistocles* the treason he had purposed, although he was his very familiar friend. But after he saw *Themistocles* was banished, and did take his exile very unpaciently: then *Pausanias* was bold to open his treason unto him, to procure him to take his part, and shewed him the Letters the King of *PERSIA* had written to him, and all to stirre him up against the *GRECIANS*, as against ungratefull and unnaturall people. Howbeit *Themistocles* shooke him off, and told him plainly he would be no partner of his treason. Notwithstanding, he never revealed it to any living creature, nor discovered the practise he intended: hoping either he would have given it over, or that shortly it would appeare by some other meane, considering he so fondly aspired to things of danger, and without purpose or possibility. After *Pausanias* was condemned, and had suffered paines of death for the same: they found amongst his papers, certaine writings and Letters, which made *Themistocles* to be very sore suspected. Whereupon the *LACEDÆMONIANS* on the one side cryed out of him, and his enemies and ill willers at *ATHENS* accused him one the other side. To the which he made answer by Letters from the beginning, and wrote unto the people; that it was not likely that he (who fought all the wayes to rule, and was not borne to serve, neither had any mind thereto) would ever have thought in his head, to sell his owne liberty, and the *GRECIANS* also unto the Barbarous people their enemies. Notwithstanding this purgation of his, the people by the procurement of his enemies, sent to apprehend him, and to bring him before the States of all *GREECE*, to be judged by that counsell. Whereof *Themistocles* having intelligence in time, he did convey himself into the Isle of *CORPHU*, because the City there was greatly beholding to him, for a certaine pleasure he had done them in times past. For the being at fute and strife with the *CORINTHIANS* he tooke up the matter betweene them, and gave judgement one their side, and condemned the *CORINTHIANS* to pay them twenty Talents damages: and did set downe an Order, that they should occupie the Isle of *LEUCADE* in common together, as ground that had been inhabited with the people, aswell of the one City, as of the other. From thence he fled to *Epirus*, whether being followed by the *ATHENIANS* and the *LACEDÆMONIANS*, he was compelled to venter himself upon a doubtful and very dangerous hope. For he went to yeeld himself into the hands of *Admetus*, King of the *MOLOSSIANS*. Who having heretofore made certaine requests unto the *ATHENIANS*, and being shamefully denied them by means of *Themistocles* (who then was at his chiefe height and authority) the King was marvellously offended with him: and it was a cleere case indeede, that if he could then have layed hands one him, he would have been revenged of him throughly. Howbeit feeling the present misery of his exile, he thought he might lesse feare the Kings old quarrell and displeasure, then the fresh hate and envie of his Countrey men. Whereupon he went unto King *Admetus*, trusting to his mercy, and became an humble suter to him in a strange extraordinary sort. For he tooke the Kings little young Sonne in his Armies, and went and kneeled downe before the Altar in his Chappell: which humble manner of suing the *MOLOSSIANS* take to be most effectually, and such as they dare not denie nor refuse. Some say that Queene *Phibia* her selfe, the Kings Wife did informe him of this their Countrey custome and manner, and brought her little Sonne also nere the Altar. Other write also, that it was *Admetus* himself that taught and shewed him this enforcing manner of Petition, onely for a cloke to excuse himself to those that should come to demand *Themistocles* of him: that by duty of Religion he was so straightly bound and restrained, that he might not deliver him out of his Protection. In this mean time *Epicrates Acharnian* found the meanes secretly to convey *Themistocles* Wife and Children out of *ATHENS*, and did send them privily unto him: whereupon he was afterwards accused and put to death, upon *Cimon* accusation and motion, as *Stesimbrotus* writeth. Who not remembering those matters I know not how, or making as thought *Themistocles* had not remembered himself to say, that *Themistocles* sailed into *STICLE*, where he sought to Marry *Hieron* Daughter, the Tyrant of *SYRACUSA*: promising him if he would let him have her, he would assure him to conquer all *GREECE* for him and to bring them under his obedience. But *Hieron* refusing this offer, *Themistocles* went from thence into *ASIA*: but that is not likely. For *Theophrastus* writeth in his booke intituled of Kingdomes, that *Hieron* having sent certaine running Horses, to the feast of the games Olimpical, and having set up a marvellous rich and sumptuous Tent there: *Themistocles* made an Oration to the *GRECIANS*, declaring unto them how the should teare the Tyrants Tents in peeces, and not to suffer his Horses to run with other swift and light Horses, and to carry away the prize in those holy games. *Thucydides* againe declareth how he went unto the other sea, and embarked in the City of *PYDNE*, being not knowne of never a man in the ship, untill such time as the wind began to carry them into the Isle of *NAXOS*, which they *ATHENIANS* by chance did besiege at that time, where being ascaied to be set on Land;

Pausanias
revealeth his
treason unto
Themistocles.

Themistocles
suspected of
treason.

Themistocles
fled into the
Isle *Corphu*.

The manner
of supplication
among the
Molossians.

* Threecore
thousand
Crownes.
* Eighteene
hundred
Crownes.

Land, he was forced to bewray himself to the Master of the ship, and the Masters mate, and wrought them, what with faire words and what with thereats (by saying he would accuse them to the ATHENIANS, that they did not ignorantly receive him in, but hired for money) so as he compelled them to faile no further, and to carry him into ASIA. As for his goods, his friends saved the most part of them, and sent them into ASIA to him. But for those that came to light, and were confiscate unto the State, *Theopompus* writeth, they did amount to the value of one hundred * Talents; and *Theophrastus* saith, but to fourescore Talents onely: whereas all his goods was not worth three * Talents, when he began to governe the State of the Commonweale. When he came unto the City of CUMA, he perceived that all the coasts by sea were layed for him to apprehend him, and that he had many spials upon him: among the which, these were two speciall noted men, *Ergoteles*, and one *Pythodorus*, the reward being very great, for men that fought their gaine any way they could. For the King of PERSIA had proclaimed by sound of Trumpet, two hundred Talents to him that brought him *Themistocles*. Whereupon he fled unto a little towne of AOLIA, called *ÆGES*, where no living body knew him, but his host onely, called *Nicogenes*: who was the richest man of all the AOLIANS, and knew all the Noble men of authority that were about the King of PERSIA. *Themistocles* continued hidden certaine dayes in his house: in which time, on a night after the feast of a sacrifice, one *Olbius*, schoolemaster to *Nicogenes* Children, by some secret working of the gods, suddenly fell besides himself, and began to sing these verses out aloud:

*Do thou beleeve what so the night thee tels,
And give they voice thy counsell and conceits
Unto the night, in darknessenesse that dwells,
Thereon also thy victory awaits.*

Themistocles
dreams.

The Persians
jealous of their
Wives.

How *Them-*
istocles was
conveyed to
the King of
Persias court.

The Persians
honour their
King as the
Image of the
god of nature.

The next night following, *Themistocles* being fast asleepe in his bed, dreamed that a Snake wound it self round about his Belly, and glided upwards to his necke, untill it touched his face, and suddenly then it became an Eagle, and imbraced him with his wings: and so at length did lift him up in the ayre, and carried him a marvellous way off, untill he thought he saw a golden rodde (such as Herald's use to carry in their hand) whereupon the Eagle did set him, and so was delivered of all this feare and trouble he thought himself in. The troth was, *Nicogenes* had this device in his head, how he might bring him safe to the King of PERSIAES court. The Barbarous Nations for the most part (and specially the PERSIANS) are of a very strange nature, and marvellous jealous over their Women, and that not onely of their Wives, but also of their bondwomen, and concubines: which they keepe so straightly locked up, that no man ever seeth them abroad at any time, but are alwaies like Houfe-doves. And when they have any occasion to goe into the Countrey, they are carried in clofe choaches covered all about, that no man can looke into them. *Themistocles* was conveyed into one of these coaches drest after this manner, and had warned his men to answer those they met by the way, that asked whom they carried: that it was a young GRECIAN gentlewoman of the Countrey of IONIA, which they carried to the Court for a Noble man there. *Thucydides*, and *Charon Lampiscenian* say, he went thither after the death of *Xerxes*, and spake with his soone there. But *Ephorus*, *Dino*, *Clitarchus*, *Heraclides*, and many other write, that he spake with himselfe. Yet notwithstanding it appeareth that *Thucydides* words doe best agree with the Chronicles and Tables, recording the succession of times, although they be of no great certainty. *Themistocles* being come now to the sword's point (as it were) and to the extremity of his danger, did first present him unto one *Artabanus*, Colonell of a thousand footmen, and said unto him: Sir, I am a GRECIAN borne, and desire to speake with the King: I have matters of importance to open to his Majesty, and such as I know he will thankfully receive. *Artabanus* answered him in this manner: My friend fir stranger, the Lawes and cutomes of men are diverse, and some take one thing for honest, other some another thing: but it is most honesty for all men, to keepe and observe the Lawes and manners of their owne Countrey. For you GRECIANS have the name to love Liberty, and equality above all things: and for us, amongst all the goodly Lawes and customs we have, we esteeme this above the rest: to reverence and honour our King, as the Image of the God of nature, who keepeth all things in their perfect life and state. Wherefore, if thou wilt fashion thy self after our manner to honour the King, thou maiest both see him, and speake with him: but if thou have another minde with thee, then must thou of necessity use some third person for thy meane. For this is the manner of our Countrey: the King never giveth audience to any man, that hath not first honoured him. *Themistocles* hearing what he said, answered him againe: My Lord *Artabanus*, the great good will I beare unto the King, and the desire I have to advance his Glory and Power, is the onely cause of my present repaire unto his Court: therefore I meane not onely to obey your Lawes (since it hath so pleased the gods to raise up the Noble Empire of PERSIA unto this greatnesse) but will cause many other people also to honour the King, more then there do at this present. Therefore let there be no stay, but that my selfe in person may deliver to the King that I have to say unto him. Well, said *Artabanus*, Whom then shall we say thou art? For by thy speech it seemeth, thou art a man of no meane state and condition. *Themistocles* answered him: As for that *Artabanus*, none shall know before the King himselfe. Thus doth *Phanias* report it. But *Eratosthenes*, in his Booke he wrote of riches, addeth further: how *Themistocles* had access unto this *Artabanus*, being recommended to the King by a Woman of

of ERETRIA, whom the King kept. *Themistocles* being brought to his presence, after he had presented his humble duty and reverence to him, stood one his feete, and said never a word, untill the King commanded the interpreter to aske him what he was? and he answered: May it please your Majesty, O Noble King, I am *Themistocles* the ATHENIAN, a banished man out of my Countrey by the GRECIANS, who humbly repaireth to your Highnesse, knowing I have done great hurt to the PERSIANS, but I perswade my selfe I have done them far more good then harme. For it was that kept the GRECIANS backe they did not follow you, when the state of GRECE was delivered from thralldome, and my native Countrey from danger, and that I knew I stood in good state to pleasure you. Now for me, I finde all mens good wills agreeable to my present misery and calamity: for I come determined, most humbly to thanke your Highnesse for any grace and favour you shall shew me, and also to crave humble pardon if your Majesty be yet offended with me. And therefore licence me (most noble King) to beseech you, that taking mine enemies the GRECIANS for witness of the pleasures I have done the PERSIAN nation, you will of your princely grace use my hard fortune as a good occasion to shew your honourable vertue, rather then to satisfie the passion of your heat and choler. For in saving my life, your Majesty saveth an humble suter that put himself to your mercy: and in putting me to death, you shall rid away an enemy of the GRECIANS. Having spoken thus these words, he said further: That the gods by diverse signs and tokens had procured him to come to submit himself unto him, and told the King what vision he had seene in his dreame in *Nicogenes* house: and declared also the Oracle of *Jupiter Dodanian*, who had commanded him that he should goe unto him that was called as a god, and how he thought it was the person of his Majesty, because that god and he in troth were called both great Kings. The King having thus heard him speake, gave him then no present answer againe, notwithstanding he marvellously wondred at his great wisdom and boldnesse. But afterwards amongst his familiars the King said, he thought himselfe very happy to meete with the good fortune of *Themistocles* coming to him: and so besought his great god *Arimanius*, that he would alwayes send his enemies such minds, as to banish the greatest and wisest men amongst them. It is reported also he did sacrifice unto the gods, to give them thanks therefore, and disposed himselfe presently to be merry. Infomuch as dreaming in the night, in the midst of his dreame he cried out three times together for joy: I have *Themistocles* the ATHENIAN. The next morning the King having sent for the chieft Lords of his Court, he made *Themistocles* also to be brought before him: who looked for no goodnesse at all, specially when he saw the souldiers warding at the Court gates, give him ill countenance and language both, when they beheld him, and understood his name. Moreover *Raxanes*, one of the captaines, as *Themistocles* passed by him going to the King; (who was set in his chaire of state, and every man keeping silence) softly sighing, said unto him: O thou Greekish serpent, subtle and malicious, the Kings good fortune hath brought thee hither. Nevertheless when he came to the King, and had once againe made him a very humble and low reverence: the King saluted him, and spake very courteously to him, saying: I am now your debtor of two hundred Talents, for presenting your self. It is good reason I should deliver you the money promised him that should have brought you: but I give you a further warrant, be bold I charge you, and speake your minde freely, say what you think of the state of GRECE. *Themistocles* then answered him: That mens words did properly resemble the stories and imagerie in a peece of arras: for both in the one and in the other, the goodly Images of either of them are seene, when they are unfolded and laid open. Contrariwise they appeare not, but are lost, when they are shut up, and clofe folded: whereupon he said to the King: he must needs require some further time of answer. The King liked his comparison passing well, and willed him to appoint his owne time. *Themistocles* asked a yeare: in which time having pretily learned the Persian tongue, he afterwards spake to the King himself without any interpreter. So, such as were no Courtiers, thought he only talked with the King of matters of GRECE. But because the change and alteration of the court fell out great at that time, the noble men imagined he had been so bold to commune with the King of them also. Thereupon they greatly envied him, and afterwards murmured much against him. For indeed the King did honour *Themistocles* above all other strangers whatsoever they were. On a time the King had him out a hunting with him, he made him see his Mother, with whom he grew familiar: and by the Kings owne commandement he was to heare the disputations of the wise men of PERSIA touching secret Philosophie, which they call *Magike*. *Demaratus* the LACEDÆMONIAN being at that time in the court of PERSIA, the King willing him to aske what gift he would, he besought the King to grant him this favour: to licence him to goe up and downe the City of SARDIS with his royall Hat on his head as the Kings of PERSIA do. *Mithropanstes*, the Kings cousin, taking him by the hand, said unto him: *Demaratus*, the Kings hat thou demandest, and if it were on thy head, it would cover but little wit: Nay, though *Jupiter* did give thee his lightning in thy hand, yet that would not make thee *Jupiter*. But the King gave him so sharpe a repulse for his unreasonable request, and was so angry with him for it, that it was thought he would never have forgiven him: howbeit *Themistocles* was so earnest a suter for him, that he brought him into favour againe. And the report goeth, that the Kings successours which have been since that time, under whom the PERSIANS have had more dealings with the GRECIANS, then in former dayes: when they would retain any great state or personage of GRECE into their service, they wrote unto him, and promised him they would make him greater about them, then ever was *Themistocles* about *Xerxes*. That which is written of him, doth also confirme it. For he being stept up to great countenance and authority, and followed with great

Themistocles
talks with the
King of Persia.

An excellent
comparison of
Themistocles.

Themistocles
honoured of
the King of
Persia.
Demaratus
fond demand
of the King.

great good prosperity and victory, some bitter adversity and overthrow be predestined unto us: I beseech you then (most mercifull gods) in sparing our City of ROME, and this her Army, you will (with as little hurt as may be) let it all fall and light upon my person alone. And as he had spoken these words, and was turning on his right hand (according to the manner of the ROMANES after they have prayed unto the gods) he fell downe flat before them all. The standers by taking this fall for an ill token, were somewhat troubled with the matter: but after he got up on his feete againe, he told them that the thing he requested of the gods was happened unto him. And that was, a little hurt, in exchange of a great good fortune. So the whole City being spoiled and rifled, he was also desirous to carry *Junus* Image to ROME, to accomplish the vow he had made. And having sent for workmen for this purpose, he did sacrifice first unto the goddesse, beseeching her to accept well of the ROMANES good will, and that she would willingly vouchsafe to come and dwell with the other gods, who had the protection of the City of ROME. Some say, that the Image answered, she was contented. But *Livius* writeth, that *Camillus* made this prayer as he touched the Image, and that the assistants answered she was contented, and would go with a good will. Yet they which do affirm, it was the Image self that spake, do favour this miracle, grounding their proof upon the opinion of the fortune of ROME: the which, from so base and meane beginning had impossibily attained unto so high glory and power as it had, without the singular favour of the gods: and that hath manifestly appeared unto the world, by sundry great proofs and examples. They bring forth also such otherlike wonders: As, that Images have heretofore let fall drops of sweat from them: that they have been heard to sigh: that they have turned, and that they have made certaine signes with their eyes, as we finde written in many ancient stories. And we could our selves also tell such like wonders, which we have heard men of our time affirme, which are not incredible, nor lightly to be condemned. But for such matters, it is as dangerous to give too much credit to them, as also to discredit them too much, by reason of the weaknesse of mans nature, which hath no certaine bounds, nor can rule it selfe, but runneth sometimes after vanity and superstition, and otherwhile also despiseth and contemneth holy and divine matters: and therefore the meane is the vertue, and not to go too far in this, as in all other things besides, it is the best. Now *Camillus*, whether his late enterprise performed, in winning a City that stood out with ROME, and held siege with them ten years together, had put him into an overweening or conceit of himselfe: or that the words of the people, which did blesse and praise him, had made him looke high, and presume upon himselfe, more then became the modesty of a civil Magistrate and Governour of the Commonweale, and one that was subject to the Law: he shewed a faterly triumph, set forth with all rich furniture, and specially for that himselfe was carried through ROME upon his triumphant Chariot drawn with foure faire white coursers. This, never Captaine nor Generall before him durst undertake to doe, neither any ever after him attempted it: for they thinke it as a sacred carriage, and only meet for the King and Father of the gods. This bred him much envy amongst the Citizens, which had not been acquainted with so great statelinessse. There was another occasion also that made them mislike him much: which was, because he stood against the Law put forth that they should divide the City of ROME. For the *Tribunes* of the people did set out an Edict, that the Senate and people of ROME should be divided into two parts: and that those on whom the Lot should fall, should abide still in ROME, and the other should goe dwell in the new won City of *VEIES*. These were the reasons to perswade this: that both the one and the other sort should be richer then they were before, and should more easily keep their Lands and Goods from the invasion of their enemies, by means of these two great Cities. The people which were multiplied now into great numbers, and had served dutifully and dangerously, thought it the best way in the world: Therefore they still cried out, and thronged with great tumult, about their Pulpit for Orations, praying that this Law might be put unto the voices of the people. But the whole Senate, and wisest Citizens among them, judging this motion of the *Tribunes* would be the destruction, and not the division of the City of ROME, could in no wise abide it should goe any further. Whereupon they went and prayed *Camillus* helpe: who fearing to bring it to the point, whether the Law should passe or no, did alwayes seeke new occasions and lets, still to delay and put off the matter, and stay the confirmation of this Law. For these causes, he was hated of the common people. But the originall and apparent cause of the peoples ill will towards him, was for taking from them the tenth part of their spoiles: and it was not altogether without some reason, and to say truly the people did him much wrong to beare him such malice for that. For before he went to the City of *VEIES*, he made a solemne vow to offer the tenth part unto the gods, of the spoiles of the City, if he won the same. But when it was taken and sacked, whether it was that he was loth to trouble the Citizens, or having a world of businesse in his head, that he easily forgot his vow, he suffered the Souldiers to divide the spoile amongst them, and to take the benefit to themselves. Shortly after he was discharged of his charge, he did enforce the Senate of his vow. Furthermore, the Soothsayers made report at that very time, how they knew by certaine signes and tokens of their Sacrifices, that the gods were offended for somewhat, and how they must of necessity be pacified againe. Whereupon the Senate presently made an Order, where it was unpossible every man should bring in againe the selfe same things he had gotten, to make a new division of every mans share: that every one therefore upon his Oath should present the tenth part of his gaine he had gotten by that booty. There was great trouble about it. They were driven to use great extremity to the poore Souldiers (which had travelled fore, and taken great paines in the warres) to make them restore backe such a collop out of their gaine, and the rather, because many of them had already spent it every penny: and for

Feigned wonders of Images.

Plutarchs judgement of miracles.

Camillus faterly triumph of the *Veians*.

A Law for the people of Rome to dwell at *Veies*.

The chiefest cause of the peoples malice against *Camillus*.

for this trouble, they all cried out with open mouth against *Camillus*. But he (not knowing otherwise how to excuse himselfe) was forced to bring forth as cold and as unreasonable an excuse as he could make, which was forsooth, that he had forgotten his Vow he had made: The people notwithstanding were eager still against him, saying, how he had vowed then to offer the tenth part of the enemies goods to the gods, and that now he would performe it with the tenths of the Citizens goods. Nevertheless every man having brought that he should for his part, it was thought good they should cause a massie cup of gold to be made to send to the Temple of *Apollo* at *DELPHES*. And small store of gold being in the City of ROME, as the Officers of the City were searching up and down to get it, the women of ROME of their own voluntary wils without motion, agreed among themselves, that they would depart with all the jewels they had towards the making up of this Offering, which came to the weight of eight talents. In recompence whereof to honour them withall, the Senate ordained that they should be praised openly with Funeral Orations at their buriall, as they did use at honourable and noble mens obsequies. For before that Law it was not the manner to praise Women openly at their Funerals: Now there were appointed three of the noblest men of the City to goe to carry this Offering, and they sent them out in a galley well manned, stored also with good Mariners, and trimly set forth in all triumphing manner; howbeit both in storm and calme weather, they were in danger of their lives. For after that they had escaped drowning very narrowly by tempest, when the winde was downe againe, they fell into another danger which they escaped also beyond all hope. For hard by the Isles of *Æolus*, the galleys of the *LIPARIANS* fell upon them, as if they had been rovers. But when the *LIPARIANS* saw they made no resistance, and entreated them, holding up their hands, they gave no further charge upon them, but only fastened their galley unto theirs. So when they had haled them to the shore, they declared they were Pyrats, and offered to make port-sale of the men and goods, as if they had been a lawful prize, and had sold them indeed, had not the wifedome and authority of *Timisthenes* letted them, who was Governour at that time of the City, and had great ado to perswade them to let them goe. And he did not so leave them, but sent out certain of his owne Ships to accompany them in their journey, who did help them to goe and performe their offering. For which courtesie of his, the ROMANES afterwards did him great honour at ROME, according to his well-deserving. The *Tribunes* of the people began now to set on foot against the Law for the dividing of the Inhabitants of ROME unto the City of *VEIES*. But the wars of the *FALISCES* fell out happily at that time, whereby the Noble men did chuse such Officers as they would. So they chose *Camillus*, *Tribunus militaris* of the Souldiers, and five others to assist him, the service in that case requiring a General that carried both authority and reputation among them, as an old experienced Souldier in the warres. When the people had confirmed the Election, *Camillus* immediatly entred the territories of the *FALISCES* with the ROMANES Army, where he laid siege unto the City of the *FALERIANS*, being very well fortified, victualled and stored, with all other munition of warre. Knowing therefore that it was no small attempt to win this City, and that it would not be done in a short time, he politickly sought (whatsoever came of it) to keep his Countrey men occupied about some thing, and to stay them for going home, lest by repairing to ROME they should have many occasions to rebell, and raise some civill dissention. For the ROMANES did wisely use this remedy to disperse abroad like good Physicians the humours which troubled the quiet state of their commonweale at home. But the *FALERIANS* trusting in the situation of their City, which was very strong in all parts, made so little account of the Siege, that those which kept not watch upon the wals, walked up and downe in their Gownes in the City, without any weapon about them, and their Children went to School, the School-Master also would commonly leade them abroad out of the City a walking, to play and passe the time by the Town-wals. For the whole City had one common School-Master, as the *GRECIANS* also have, which do bring up their Children from little ones in company together, because one may be familiarly acquainted with another. This School-master spying his time to do the *FALERIANS* a shrewd turn, did accustomably take all his Scholars out of the City with him, to play not farre from the wals at the beginning, and afterwards brought them into the City againe after they had played their fill. Now after he had led them abroad thus once or twice, he trained them out every day a little further, to make them to be bold, perswading them there was no danger. But at the length, one day having gotten all the Citizens children with him, he led them within the watch of the ROMANES Campe, and there delivered all his Scholars into their hands, and praised them they would bring him unto their General. So they did. And when he came before *Camillus*, he began to tell him that he was School-Master unto all these Children, nevertheless that he did more esteeme to have his grace and favour, then regard his office he had by this Name and Title. *Camillus* hearing what he said, and beholding his treacherous part, he said to those that were about him: Warre of it selfe surely is an evil thing, for in wars many injuries and mischiefs are done: Nevertheless among good men there is a Law and discipline, which doth forbid them to seeke Victory by wicked and traitorous means, and that a noble and worthy General should make warre, and procure Victory by trusting to his owne valiantnesse, and not by another vilenesse and villany. Therefore he commanded his Sergeants to teare the clothes off the backe of this vile School master, and to binde his hands behinde him; and that they should give the Children rods and whips in their hands, to whip the Traytor back again into the City, that had betrayed them, and grieved their Parents. Now when the *FALERIANS* heard news that the School-master had thus betrayed them, all the City fell a weeping (as every man may think for so great a losse).

A cup of gold sent to *Delphes*. The Ladies of Rome gave their Jewels towards the making of it. What time womens praefes began at Funerals in Rome.

Camillus chosen Tribune of the souldiers.

Camillus beseegeth the *Falerians*.

Camillus worthy act to the Schoolmaster betraying the *Falerians* children.

A noble saying of *Camillus*, and wise precept for wars. Valiantnesse to be preferred before villany.

Numa Pompilius erected the Colledge of the *Feciales*.

The *Gauls* march towards Rome.

The *Romanes* Army were 40000 footmen.

Too many rulers of an army do confound all order, and put the Army in peril.

Alia fl.

The battel at the River of *Alia* where the *Gauls* won the field of the *Romanes*.

Three hundred of a name slain in one day.

Herald before to *ROME*, to demand livery of the man that had offended him, that he might punish him accordingly. In the mean time he himselfe came marching after, by small journeys, to receive their answer. The Senate hereupon assembled, and many of the Senators blamed the rashnesse of the *Fabians*; but most of all the Priests called *Feciales*. For they followed it very earnestly, as a matter that concerned Religion and the honour of the gods; declaring how the Senate in discharge of all the residue of the City of the offence committed, should lay the whole weight and burthen of it upon him alone, that onely had done the fact. *Numa Pompilius* the justest and most peaceable of all the Kings of *ROME* that had been, was he that first erected the Colledge of these *Feciales*, and did ordaine that they should be the Keepers of peace, and the Judges to hear and allow all the causes for the which they should justly begin any warres. Nevertheless the Senate in the end turned over the ordering of the matter unto the whole will and judgement of the people, before whom these Priests *Feciales* did also accuse *Fabius Ambustus*. The people made so little account of their propounded Religion, and honour of the gods in that case, that instead of delivering of this *Fabius* unto the enemy, they did chuse him for one of the Tribunes of the Souldiers with his Brothers. The *GAULES* understanding this were so furious and angry thereat, that they would no longer linger their journeys, but marched with all speed unto *ROME*. The people that dwelt by the High-waies where they should passe by, were marvellously afraid to see the multitude of them, and their brave and univerfall furniture; and beginning to doubt the fury of their rage, they imagined first of all that they would destroy all the champion country before them, and afterwards would take all the strong Cities. They contrariwise did take nothing at all out of the fields, neither did any hurt or displeasure unto any body; but passing by their Cities, cried out they went to *ROME*, and would have no wars but with the *ROMANES*, and how otherwise they desired to be friends with all the world. These barbarous people marching on in this wise towards *ROME*, the Tribunes of the Souldiers brought their Army to the field to encounter them. They were no lesse in number then the *GAULES*, for they were 40000 Footmen; howbeit most part of them were raw Souldiers, that had never served in the wars before. They were very carelesse of the gods, and dissolute in matters of Religion; for they passed neither for good signes in their Sacrifices, neither to aske counsell of their Soothsayers, which the *ROMANES* were religiously wont to doe before they gave any battel: To make the matter worse, the number of the Captaines having power and authority alike, did as much (or more then the rest) disorder and confound their doings. For oftentimes before in far lesser matters and dangers then these, they did use to chuse special Officers that had sole and soveraigne authority, which they called *Dilators*; knowing very well of how great importance it is in dangerous times to have but one head and General, to command all, and to have supreme authority of justice in his hands, and not to be bound to deliver account of his doings to any. The injury also which they had so ingratefully done to *Camillus*, brought great mischief and inconvenience then upon them. For the Captaines after him durst no more command the people roughly, but ever after did flatter them much. When their Army was now brought into the field, they encamped themselves by a little River called *Alia*, about the eleventh stone from *ROME*; and not farre from the place where the same River falleth into *Tyber*. Thither came the barbarous Army to them, who overthrew them in battel by their discord and lack of government: For the left point or wing of their battel was broken off at the first by the *GAULES*, who charged them so furiously that they drave them headlong into the River. The right wing then retiring out of the plaine, before they had any charge given, and having gotten certaine hills hard by them, they had little hurt, and most of them saving themselves did recover *ROME* againe. The rest that escaped after the enemies were weary of killing, fled by night unto the City of *VEIES*, thinking *ROME* had been lost, and all the City put to the Sword. This overthrow was on the longest day in Summer, the Moone being at the full; and the day before fortun'd the great slaughter of the *Fabians*, of the which were slain by the *THUSCANES* in one day 300 all of a Name. The very day it selfe was afterwards called *Alia fl.*, of the name of the little River, by the which the second overthrow was given. But for the difference of daies, that some of them are naturally unfortunate, or that *Heracitus* the Philosopher had reason to reprove the Poet *Hesiodus*, for making some daies good, and some daies ill, as though he understood they were not all of one nature: we have written and declared our opinion thereof in other places. Yet because the matter delivereth present occasion to speake of the same, peradventure it will not be amiss to alledge a few Examples of it onely. It fortun'd the *BOEOTIANS* on a time to winne two honourable Victories, on the first day of the Moneth they call *Hippodromus* (and which the *ATHENIANS* call *Hecatombæon*) that is now the Moneth of *June*, by either of the which they did still restore the *GRECIANS* to their liberty. One was the battell of *LEUCITRES*, the other was the battell of *GERASTE*, which was twenty years before, when they overcame *Dattamias*, and the *THESSALIANS* in battel. The *PERSIANS* contrarily were overcome in battel by the *GRECIANS* the sixth day of *August* at the journey of *MARATHON*. The third day at the battell of *PLATES*. And on the selfe same day near unto *MYCALA*. On the five and twentieth day at the fight of *ARBELES*, the *ATHENIANS* won the battel by Sea near unto the Isle of *NAXOS*, under the charge and government of *Chabrias*, about the full of the Moone, in the Moneth of *August*. And on the twentieth of the same Moneth, they won the battell of *SALAMINA*; as we have written more amply in our History of difference of daies. The Moneth of *April* also brought to the barbarous people many notable losses. For *Alexander* the Great overcame the General of the King of *PERSIA*, at the field of *GRANICA* in the said Moneth. The *CARTHAGINIANS*

CARTHAGINIANS also were vanquished in *CICILE* by *Timoleon*, on the seven and twentieth day thereof. On which day also it is thought the City of *TROY* was taken; as *Ephorus*, *Calisthenes*, *Damastes*, and *Phylarchus*, have written in their Histories. Now contrariwise the moneth of *July* which the *BOEOTIANS* call *Panemus*, hath not been gracious to the *GRECIANS*. For on the seventh day of the same they were overthrown by *Antipater* at the battel of *CRANON*, which was their utter destruction. They had before also lost a battel the same moneth, near unto the City of *CHERONEA*, by King *Philip*. On the same day also, and in the very selfe moneth and yeare, those which came into *ITALY* with King *Archidamus* were slaine every one of them, by the barbarous people of the Countrey. The *CARTHAGINIANS* also fear the 27. day of the same moneth, as the day which had beforetime brought them into many great and forrowful calamities. Contrarily also I know very well how about the Feast of Mysteries the City of *THEBES* was destroyed by *Alexander*, and that the *ATHENIANS* were compelled to receive a garison of souldiers into their City, about the 20 day of *August*, at which time they made the holy procession of the mysteries of *Iacchus*. And on the selfe same day the *ROMANES* lost their Army, and their Generall *Cepio*, who was slain by the *CIMBRES*. And how afterwards under the leading of *Lucullus*, they overcame King *Tigranes*, and the *ARMENIANS*. And that *Attalus* and *Pompey* also died both on the selfe same day they were born. To conclude, infinite examples of men might be brought, unto whom after like revolutions of time there happened notable chances of good or ill. But to returne againe unto our History. The day of this overthrow is one of those which the *ROMANES* take for one of the unfortunatest daies that ever came unto them. And by reason of that day they reckon two other daies of every Moneth very unfortunate, engendred through feare and superstition, which spreadeth farre (as commonly it doth) upon such sinister misfortunes. But for this matter we have written more largely and exquisitely in the Booke we made, of the Ceremonies and customes of the *ROMANES*. Now after this battel lost, if the *GAULES* had hotly pursued the chase of their flying enemies, nothing could have saved *ROME* from being taken, and the Inhabitants thereof from being put unto the Sword; for the *ROMANES* that fled from the battel brought such a fear upon those that received them, and filled the whole City of *ROME* with such grief and trembling, that they wist not what to doe. The barbarous people againe beleiving little their victory was so great as it was, fell to make good cheer for so great a joy received, and divided among them the spoile of their enemies goods they found in the Campe. So gave they time and leisure by this means, to the multitude of people that fled out of *ROME*, to seeke them some place of safety; and to such as remained still they left good hope to save themselves, and to make some provision for defence. Thereupon they all fortified themselves within Mount Capitoll, and storing it with all kinde of victuall, armour, and munition, they wholly did forsake the rest of the City. But the first work they tooke in hand was this: They did bring into their said fort, part of their sacred reliques: and the professed *Vestals* brought thither also their holy fire and all other their holy monuments. Some Writers say, that they had nothing else in keeping, but the sempiternall fire, and were so consecrated by King *Numa*, who did first institute, that the fire should be worshipped, as the beginning of all things. For that it is the most motive and quickest substance that is of all natural things; notwithstanding that generation also is a moving, or at the least not done without motion. For we see that all other substance which lacketh heat, remaineth idle and without action, end stirreth nor, no more then doth a dead thing, which craveth the force and heat of fire; as the soule it selfe recovering heate, beginneth somewhat to move, and disposeth it selfe to doe and suffer something. Wherefore *Numa* being (as they say) a man of great learning and understanding, who for his wisdom was reported to talke many times with the Muses, did consecrate the same as a most sacred thing, and commanded that they never should suffer that fire to goe out, but to keepe it, as they would preserve the lively Image of the eternal God, the only King and maker of the world. Others say, that the fire burned continually there before the holy and sacred things, signifying a kinde and manner of purification; which opinion the *GRECIANS* hold also; howbeit behinde the same fire there were certain hidden things, which in no case any might see but those holy *Vestall Nuns*. Many also hold an opinion, that the *Palladium* of *TROY* (as much to say as *Pallas* image) is hidden also there, which was brought by *Aeneas* into *ITALY*. Other do report also that *Dardanus* at that time when he first began to build the City of *TROY*, brought thither the holy Images of the gods of *SAMOTHRACIA*, and he did offer them up there; and how *Aeneas* after the City was taken did steale them away, and kept them until he came to dwell in *ITALY*. Some other also that take upon them to know more therein then the common sort do, hold opinion, that there are two pipes not very great, whereof the one is empty and standeth open, the other is full and fast locked up, howbeit they are not to be seen but by these holy *Nunnes*. Other thinke also, that these imaginers invented that they spake of their own heads, because the *Vestall Nunnes* did cast all that they could put in at that time into two pipes, which they buried after in the ground, within the Temple of *Quirinus*; and therefore that very place carrieth the surname at this day of pipes. Howbeit they carried about them the most precious things they had, and fled along the River; where one *Lucius Albinus* (one of the common people) flying also, and having brought away his Wife and little children, and other household stuffe he had in a Cart, by chance he lighted upon the *Vestall Nunnes* in the way. But so soone as he perceived these holy *Nunnes* (carrying the blessed Reliques and Jewels in their armes dedicated unto the service of the gods) all alone, and that they were weary with going a foot; He caused his Wife and his Children to come out of the Cart, and tooke downe all his goods.

The *Romanes* Superstition in observing of daies.

The holy fire.

The force of fire.

also

Fabius chief
Bishop of Rome

Rome taken by
the Gauls.

Aristotle re-
fines one of the
taking of Rome

The Majesty
of the old Sen-
ators set in
the market-
place of Rome.

The City of
Rome razed by
the Gauls.

The City of
Ardea.

Camillus vents
into the Arde-
ans in excuse
of the Romans

Camillus per-
suadeth the
Ardeans to
assist against
the Gauls.

also, and willed them to get them up, and fly into some City or Towne of GRECE. Thus methought I could not well passe over with silence, *Albius* reverence and devotion he shewed unto the gods in so dangerous a time and pinch of extremity. Furthermore the Priests of other gods, and the most honourable old men of the City of ROME (that had been Consuls beforetime, or had past the honour of triumph) had not the heart to forsake ROME; but putting on all their most holy robes and vestments, did vow, and as it were willingly sacrificed themselves unto the fortune that should befall them for the safety of their Countrey. And using certaine words and Prayers which their high Bishop *Fabius* had taught them, they went even thus apparelled into the great market-place, and did sit them downe there in chairs of Ivory, expecting the goodwill and pleasure of the gods what should become of them. But within three daies after *Brennus* came to ROME with his Army, who finding the gates of the City all open, and the Walls without watch, he doubted some devise in it, and feared some privy ambush had been laid, as one hardly beleeving to have found the ROMANES of so base a minde as to forsake their City: After being informed of the truth, he entred into ROME by the gate *Collina*, and tooke the same little more then 360 yeares after it was first builded; if it be true at the least that there hath remained any certaine Chronicles of those times unto this present day, considering the trouble and confusion of that time hath made many things more certain then that doubtful unto us. But so it was, that the rumour ran to GRECE incontinently how ROME was taken, but yet withal somewhat doubtfully and uncertainly. For *Heraclides Ponticus* (who was about that time) saith in a certaine Booke he wrote of the Soule, that there was news come from the West part, that an Army which came from the *HYPERBORIANS* had taken a City of GRECE called ROME, situated in that Countrey neare the great Sea. But I wonder not that *Heraclides* (who hath written so many other fables and lies) did amplify the true newes of the taking of ROME, with adding too of his own device, of the *HYPERBORIANS*, and by the great Sea. It is a most true tale, that *Aristotle* the Philosopher had certaine knowledge it was taken by the GAULES; howbeit he saith also it was recovered againe afterwards by one called *Lucius*; where indeed it was by *Marcus Camillus*, and not by *Lucius*. But all this in manner is spoken by conjecture. Moreover *Brennus* being entred ROME did appoint part of his souldiers to besiege those which were gotten into Mount Capitol. And he with the residue of his Army marched on towards the Market-place, where when he saw the ancient Senators sit so gravely in their chairs, and spake never a word, nor offered once to rise, though they saw their enemies come armed against them, neither changed countenance nor colour at all, but leaped softly on their staves they had in their hands, seeming to be nothing afraid nor abashed, but looked one upon another, he marvelously wondered at it. This their so strange manner at the first did so dampe the GAULES, that for a space they stood still, and were in doubt to come near to touch them, fearing lest they had been some gods, until such time as one of them went boldly unto *Marcus Papyrius*, and laid his hand faire and softly upon his long beard: But *Papyrius* gave him such a rap on the pate with his Staffe, that he made the bloud run about his ears. This barbarous beast was in such a rage with the blow, that he drew out his Sword and slue him. The other Souldiers also killed all the rest afterwards, and so the GAULES continued many daies spoiling and sacking all things they found in the houses, and in the end did set them all on fire, and destroyed them every one, for despite of those that kept the Fort of the Capitoll, and would not yield upon their Summons, but valiantly repulsed them when they scaled the walls. For this cause they razed the whole City, and put all to the Sword that came in their hands, young and old, man, woman, and childe. Now this sieg continuing long, and the ROMANES holding them out very stoutly, victuals began to grow scant in the Campe of the GAULES, insomuch as they were driven of force to seeke it abroad without the City. Hereupon they divided themselves, whereof some remained still with the King at the Siege of the Capitoll, and the rest went a foraging and spoiling all the Champion Countrey and Villages thereabouts. scattered as it were by Bands and Companies, some here, some there, fearing nothing, nor passing upon watch or ward, they lived in such security of their victory. Howbeit the greatest company amongst them went by fortune towards the City of ARDEA where *Camillus* dwelt, living like a private man, meddling with no matters of state from the time of his exile until that present time. But then he began not to thinke himselfe as a man that was in safety, and might have escaped the hands of his enemies, but rather fought to devise and finde out all the means he could to subdue them if occasion were so offered. Whereupon considering that the Inhabitants of ARDEA were enough in number to set upon them, although faint-hearted and cowardly, by reason of the sloth and negligence of their Governours and Captaines, who had no manner of experience in the warres: he began to cast out these words among the young men: That they should not thinke the ROMANES misfortune fell upon them, through the valiantnesse of the GAULES, nor that their calamity (who had refused good counsell) had happened unto them by any worke or act of the GAULES, having done nothing for their part to make them carry away the victory; but that they should thinke it was no other thing, but Fortune alone that would needs shew her power. Therefore that it were now a notable and honourable enterprise (although somewhat dangerous) to drive these strangers and barbarous people out of their Countrey; considering that the onely end of their victory was, but to destroy and consume as fire all that fell into their hands. Wherefore if they would but only take a good lusty heart and courage unto them, he would with opportunity and space, assure them the victory without any danger. The young men were pleased with these words of life and comfort. Whereupon *Camillus* went to breake the matter also unto the Magistrates and Counsellors, and having drawne them by perswasion unto this enterprise, he armed all that were of age to

carry

carry armour, and would not suffer a man to goe out of the City for feare lest the enemies (which were not farre off) should have intelligence of the same. Now after the GAULES had run over all the Champion Countrey, and were loaden with all sorts of spoils, they did encampe themselves negligently in open fields, and never charged watch nor ward; but having their full carriage of wine laid them down to sleepe, and made no noise at all in their Campe. *Camillus* being advertised thereof by his severall scouts, caused the ARDEANS with as little noise as might be, forthwith to go out into the fields, and having marched somewhat roundly the distance betwene the City and the Campe of the GAULES, they came thither much about midnight. Then he made his Souldiers make great shouts and cries, and the Trumpets to be sounded on every side, to put a feare in their enemies, who yet with all the loud noise they made could hardly be made to wake, they were so deadly drunk. Yet there were some notwithstanding that for feare to be taken tardy did budge up at this sudden noise, and coming to themselves fell to their weapons to resist *Camillus*, which were slain by and by. The rest and the greatest number of them lay here and there scattered in the midst of the field without any weapon dead asleepe, stark drunke with wine, and were put to the Sword and never strake stroak. Those that fled out of the Campe that night (which were but few in number) were overthrowne also the next day by the Horlemen that followed and killed them as they tooke them stragling here and there in the Fields. The bruit of this Victory was blowne abroad incontinently through all the Towns and Villages thereabouts, which caused many young men to come and joyn themselves to *Camillus*: but specially the ROMANES desired the same, that had saved themselves in the City of VEIES, after the Battell lost at ALLIA, who made their moans among themselves there, saying, O gods, what a Captaine hath Fortune taken from the City of ROME? What honour hath the City of ARDEA by the valiantnesse and worthy deeds of *Camillus*; and in the meane season his natural City that brought him forth is now lost and utterly destroyed? We, for lacke of a Captaine to leade us are shut up here within others walls, and do nothing but suffer ITALY in the meane space to goe to ruine and utter destruction before our eyes. Why then do we not fend to the ARDEANS for our Captaine? or why do we not arme our selves to goe unto him? For he is now no more a banished man, nor we poore Citizens; since our City is possessed with the foreign power of our hatefull enemies. So they all agreed to this counsel, and sent unto *Camillus* to beseech him to be their Captaine and leade them. But he made answer, he would in no case consent unto it, unlesse they that were besieged in the Capitoll had lawfully first confirmed it by their voices. For those (said he) so long as they remaine within the City, doe represent the state and body thereof. Therefore if they commanded him to take this charge upon him, he would most willingly obey them; if otherwise they misliked of it, that then he would not meddle against their good wils and commandment. They having received this answer, there was not a ROMANE against them but greatly honoured and extolled the wisdom and justice of *Camillus*. But now they knew not how to make them privy unto it that were besieged in the Capitoll; for they saw no possibility to convey a messenger to them; considering the enemies were Lords of the City, and laid sieg to it. Howbeit it there was one *Pontius Cominius* among the young men (a man of a meane house, but yet desirous of honour and glory) that offered himselfe very willingly to venter to get in if he could. So he tooke no Letters to carry to them that were besieged, for feare lest they might be intercepted, and so they should discover *Camillus* intention; but putting on an illfavoured gown upon him, he conveyed certaine peeces of cork under it, and travelling at noone daies kept on his way without feare until he came to ROME, bringing dark night with him. And because he could not passe by the Bridge, for that the barbarous people kept watch upon it, he wrapped such clothes as he had about his necke (which were not many nor heavy) and tooke the River, and swimming with these corks he had brought, at the length he got over to the other side where the City stood. Then taking up those lanes alwaies where he thought the enemies were not, seeing fire, and hearing noise in other places, he went into the gate Carmentis, where he found more silence then in other places; on the which side also the hill of the Capitoll was more steep and upright, by reason of the great rocks that were hard to climbe up upon. But he digged and crept up so long amongst them, that he got up with great paine unto the wall of the fortress, on the which side also the enemy kept no watch, and saluting the Watch of the Capitoll, he told them what he was. So they plucked him up unto them, and brought him to the Magistrates that ruled then, who caused the Senate to assemble presently, to whom he told the newes of *Camillus* Victory, which they had not heard of before; and therewith also he did declare unto them the determination of the ROMANE Souldiers that were abroad, which was to make *Camillus* their Captaine and General, and did perswade them also to grant him the charge, for that he was the only man abroad whom the Citizens gave their consents to obey. When they heard this, all that were within the Capitoll, consulted thereupon amongst themselves, and so did chuse *Camillus Dictator*, and returned the Messenger *Pontius Cominius* back againe the selfe same way he came unto them. His fortune in returning back was like unto his coming thither, for the enemies never saw him. And so he brought report to them that were abroad, of the Senates decree and consent, whereof they were all marvellous glad. Thus came *Camillus* to take this charge of general upon him, and found there were twenty thousand good fighting men abroad, and well armed. Then got he further aide also of their allies and confederates, and prepared daily to goe and set upon the enemies. So was *Camillus* chosen now Dictator the second time, and went into the City of VEIES where he spake with the ROMANE Souldiers that were there, and levied a great number of the allies besides, to go fight with the enemies as soone as he could. But whilst *Camillus* was thus a preparing, certaine of the barbarous people

Camillus slew
the Gauls
hard by Ardea.

Pontius Cominius got up in to the Capitoll at Rome.

Camillus chosen Dictator the second time.

people in ROME, walking out by chance on that side of the Capitoll where *Pontius Cominius* had gotten up the night before; spied in divers places the prints of his feet and hands, as he had griped and gotten hold, still digging to get up, and saw the weeds and herbs also growing upon the rocks. and the earth in like manner flat troden down. Whereupon they went presently unto the King to let him understand the same, who forthwith came to view the place. And having considered it well, he did nothing at that time; but when dark night was come, he called a company of the lightest GAULES together, and that used most to digge in mountaines, and said unto them: Our enemies themselves doe shew us the way how to take them, which we could not have found out but by themselves. For they having gone up before us, do give us easily to understand it is no impossible thing for us to climbe up also. Wherefore we were utterly shamed, having already begunne well, if we should faile also to end well, and to leave this place as invincible. For if it were easie for one man alone, by digging to climbe up to the height thereof, much lesse is it hard for many to get up one after another, so that one do helpe another. Therefore Sirs I assure you, those that doe take paines to get up, shall be honourably rewarded, according to their just desert. When the King had spoken these words unto the GAULES, they fell to it lustily every man to get up, and about midnight they began many of them to dig, and make steps up to the rocke one after another, as softly as could possibly, with catching hold the best they could, by the hanging of the rock, which they found very steepe, but nevertheless easier to climbe then they tooke it at the beginning. So that the foremost of them being come to the top of the rock, were now ready to take the wall, and to set upon the Watch that slept; For there was neither man nor dog that heard them. It chanced then there were holy geefe kept in the Temple of *Juno*, which at other times were wont to be fed till their crops were full: But Victuals being very strait and scant at that time even to finde the men, the poor geefe were so hard handled and so little regarded, that they were in manner starved for lacke of meate. This Fowle indeed naturally is very quicke of hearing, and so is the also very fearful by nature, and being in manner famished with their hard allowance they were so much the more waking and easier to be afraid. Upon this occasion therefore they heard the coming of the GAULES, and also began to runne up and down and cry for feare; with which noise they did wake those that were within the Cattle. The GAULES being bewraied by these foolish geefe, left their stealing upon them, and came in with all the open noise and terrour they could. The ROMANES hearing this Alarum, every man tooke such weapon as came first to his hand, and they ran suddenly to rescue that place from whence they understood the noise; amongst those the foremost man of all was *Marcus Manlius* a man that had been Consul, who had a lusty body, and as stout a heart. His hap being to meete with two of the GAULES together, as one of them was lifting up his Axe to knock him on the head, he prevented him, and strake off his hand with his Sword, and clapt his Target on the others face so fiercely, that he threw him backward downe the Rock; And coming afterwards unto the wall with others that ran thither with him, he repulst the rest of the GAULES that were gotten up, who were not not many in number, neither did any great act. Thus the ROMANES having escaped this danger, the next morning they threw the Capitaine downe the rocks from the cattie, who had charge of the watch the night before, and gave *Manlius* in recompence of the good service he had done, a more honourable then profitable reward, which was this, Every man of them gave him halfe a pound of the Country wheat, which they call *Far*, and the fourth part of the measure of wine, which the GRECIANS call *Cotile*; and this might be about a quart, being the ordinary allowance of every man by the day. After this repulse, the GAULES began to be discouraged, partly for that their victuals failed them, and durst no more forage abroad in the fields for feare of *Camillus*, and partly also for that the plague came amongst them, being lodged amongst heapes of dead bodies, lying in every place above ground without buriall, and amongst burnt houses destroyed, where the ashes being blowne very high by the winde and vehemency of heat, did give a dry piercing aire, that did marvellously poison their bodies when they came to draw in the breath of it. But the greatest cause of all their mischief was, the change of their wonted diet. Who coming out of a fresh Country, where there were excellent pleasant places to retire unto, to avoid the discomfort of the parching heat of the Summer, were now in a naughty plain Country for them to remaine in, in the latter season of the yeare. All these things together did heape diseases upon them, besides the long continuance of the sieg about the Capitoll (for it was then about the seventh moneth) by reason whereof there grew a marvellous death in their Campe, through the great numbers of them that died daily and lay unburied. But notwithstanding all the death and trouble of the GAULES, the poor besieged ROMANES were nothing holpen the more, the famine did still grow so fast upon them. And because they could heare nothing of *Camillus*, they were growne almost unto a despaire, and send unto him they could not, the GAULES kept so strait watch upon them in the City. Whereupon both parties finding themselves in hard state, first the watch of either side began to cast out words of peace amongst themselves, and afterwards by consent of the heads, *Sulpitius* Tribune of the Souldiers came to parly with *Brennus*. In which parly it was articulated, that the ROMANES should pay a thousand pound weight of gold, and that the GAULES should incontinently after the receipt of the same, depart out of their City and all their territories. This Decree being passed by Oath from both, the gold was brought. And when it came to be weighed, the GAULES at the first privily began to deale fallily with them; but afterwards they openly staid the ballance, and would not let them weigh no more, whereat the ROMANES began to be angry with them. Then *Brennus* in scorne and mockerie to despight them more, pluckt off his sword,

The Gaules
climbe up to
the Capitoll in
the night.

The holy geefe
saw the Ca-
pitoll.

Marcus Manli-
us repulst the
Gaules from
the Capitoll.

The Gaules
waxed with the
plague at Rome.

The Romans
went about to
redeem their
liberty of the
Gaules with
gold.

girdle and all, and put it into the ballance where the gold was weighed. *Sulpitius* seeing that, asked him what he meant by it. *Brennus* answered him: What can it signifie else, but sorrow to the vanquished? This word ever after ranne as a common Proverbe in the Peoples mouths. Some of the ROMANES tooke this vile part of theirs in such scorne, that they would needs take the gold from them againe by force, and so returne into their hold, to abide the sieg still, as they had done before. Other were of opinion to the contrary, and thought it best with patience to put up this scorne of theirs, and not to thinke it was a shame to pay more then they had promised: but only to pay it by compulsion as they did, by misfortune of time, was to thinke it rather necessary, then honourable. And as they were debating the matter thus, as well amongst themselves, as with the GAULES, *Camillus* came to ROME Gates with his Army, and understanding all what had passed betweene them, he commanded the rest of the Army to march faire and softly after him in good order, and he in the meane season with the best choice men he had, went before with all speede. As soone as the other ROMANES within the City had spied him, they shouted out for joy, and received him every one with great reverence, without any more words, as their Sovereigne Capitaine and Prince, who had power over them all. And *Camillus* taking the Gold out of the Scales, gave it unto his men, and commanded the GAULES presently to take up the Scales, and to get them going: For, saith he, it is not the ROMANES manner to keepe their Country with Gold, but with the Sword. Then *Brennus* began to be hot, and told him, it was not honourably done of him, to breake the accord that had passed betweene them before by oath. Whereupon *Camillus* stoutly answered him againe, that accord was of no validity: for he being created Dictator before, all other Officers and Magistrates whatsoever, and their acts, by his election were made of no authority. And seeing therefore they had dealt with men that had no power of themselves to accord to any matter, they were to speak to him, if they required ought: for he alone had absolute authority to pardon them if they repented, and would aske it: or else to punish them, and make their bodies answer the damages and losse his Country had by them sustained. These words made *Brennus* mad as a March Hare, that out went his blade. Then they drew their Swords of all sides, and laid lustily one at another as they could, within the houses, and in open streets, where they could set no Battell in order. But *Brennus* suddenly remembering himselfe, that it was no even match for him, retired with his men about him into his Campe, before he had lost many of his People. The next night following, he departed out of ROME with all his Army, and went to encampe himselfe about a threescore furlongs from thence, in the high way that goeth towards the City of the GABIANES. *Camillus* with his whole Army well appointed, went after him immediately, and shewed at his Campe by the breake of day. The ROMANES having taken heart againe unto them, did lustily give them battell: the same continued long, very cruell and doubtfull, untill the GAULES at the length were overthrowne, and their Campe taken with great slaughter. As for those that did escape the fury of the Battell, they were killed, some by the ROMANES selves, who hotly followed the chase after the Battell broken: the residue of them, and the greatest part, were slaine by those of the Cities and Villages neare abouts, that did set upon them as they fled scatteringly here and there in the Fields. And thus was the City of ROME strangely againe recovered that was before strangely wonne and lost, after it had continued seven moneths in the hands of the barbarous People. For they entred ROME about the fifteenth day of July: and they were driven out againe, about the thirteenth day of February following. So *Camillus* triumphed as befemed him, and as one that had saved and delivered his Country out of the hands of their Enemies, and set ROME againe at liberty. Those that had bene abroade all the time of this Sieg, came into ROME againe, following his triumphing Chariot: and those that had bene besieged within the Capitoll (looking for no other but to have died by famine) went and presented themselves before him, and each one embraced other, in weeping wile for joy. The Priests and Ministers of the Temples also, presented their holy Jewels, whole and undefaced, which some of them had buried in the ground within the City selfe: and other some had carried away with them, when they fled out of ROME. All these the People did as gladly see, as if the gods themselves had returned home againe into their City. After they had sacrificed unto the gods, and rendred them most humble thanks, and had purged their City, as they had bene taught by men experienced in those matters for satisfaction of the gods, *Camillus* began againe to build up the Temples that were there before, hard by the which he built another new one also to the god *Aius Locutius*, in that very place where *Marcus Cadius* heard the voyce warne him of the coming of the GAULES. So by *Camillus* good diligence, and the Priests great paine and travell, the situations of these Temples were with much ado found out againe. But when they were to build againe all the rest of the City, that was wholly burnt and destroyed to the ground, the People had no minde to it, but ever shrinked backe to put any hand to the Worke, for that they lacked all things necessary to begin the same. Furthermore, weighing their late and long sustained trouble and miseries, they were fitter to take their ease and rest, then to begin new labour and toyle, to kill their hearts and bodies altogether. For neither were their bodies able to performe it, nor yet their goods to reach to the charge of it. Wherefore disposing their mindes to dwell in the City of VETES, which remained whole, untouched, and furnished of all things to receive them, they delivered to the prating Orators (whose tongues did never cease to speake *placencia* to the People) trimme occasion to set this matter abroach. So they gave good care, and were willing to heare certaine feditious words spoken against *Camillus*, which were these: That for his private ambition he would deprive them of a City well furnished already, and would against their wills compell them to lodge in

Camillus came
to Rome with
his Army.

Camillus spea-
keth stoutly to
Brennus King
of the Gaules.

Camillus over-
throweth the
Army of the
Gaules.

Rome was se-
ven moneths
in the hands
of the Gaules.
Camillus tri-
umphed of the
Gaules.

The busie hear-
ed Orators
stir the People
to tumult a-
gainst *Camil-
lus*.

Camillus Dictatorship pro-
rogued.
Camillus per-
suaded the
People what
he could to
dwell in Rome,
and to leave
Veies.

their owne Houses, wholly burnt and pulled downe. And moreover, that he would make them to raise up againe the great ruine the fire had made, to the end the People might call him, not onely Captaine and Generall of the ROMANS, but the Founder of Rome also, and so drowne *Romulus* honourable Title thereof. The Senate considering of this matter, and fearing some tumult among the People, they would not suffer *Camillus* to leave the Dictatorship before the end of the year, notwithstanding no man ever enjoyed that Office above fixe Moneths. Then *Camillus* for his part did much indeavour himselfe, to comfort and appease the People, praying them all he could to tarry: and further pointed with his finger unto the graves of their Ancestors, and put them in minde also of the holy places dedicated to the gods, and sanctified by King *Numa*, or by *Romulus*, or by other Kings. But amongst many other tokens drawne out of holy and Divine things, he forgot not to bring for example, the head of a man found new and fresh, in making the foundation of the Capitoll, as if that place by fatall destiny had bene once chosen to be the head and chiefe of all ITALY. And moreover, that the holy fire of the goddesse *Vesta* (which since the Warres had bene kindled againe by the holy *Vestall Nuns*) would againe come to be put out by them, if they did forsake their naturall City: besides the great shame and dishonour it would be unto them, to see it inhabited in time to come by unknowne strangers, or else to be left a common field and pasture, for Cibeasts and Cattell to graze in: Such sorrowfull examples and griefes, the honest naturall borne Citizens, did ever blow into the Peoples eares, as well privately as openly. The People againe to the contrary, did make their hearts to yerne for pity, when they laid before their eyes their penury and poverty they sustained: and besought them also not to enforce them to gather and joyne together againe the broken pieces of a spoiled City (as of a Shipwracke that had caft them naked into the Sea, having onely saved bare life and persons) since that they had another City neare at hand and ready to receive them. So *Camillus* counsell was, that the Senate should consult upon this matter, and deliver their absolute opinion herein: which was done. And in this Councell, he himselfe brought forth many probable reasons, why they should not leave in any case, the place of their naturall birth and Countrey: and so did many other Senators in like case, favouring that opinion. Last of all, after these perswasions, he commanded *Lucius Lucretius* (whose manner was to speake first in such Assemblies) that he should stand up and deliver his opinion, and that the rest also in order as they fate, should say their mindes. So every man keeping silence, as *Lucretius* was ready to speake, at the present time there passed by their Councell-house, a Captaine with his Bande that warded that day, who spake aloud to his Ensigne-bearer that went formost, to stay, and set downe his Ensigne there: For, said he, here is a very good place for us to dwell in. These words being heard up into the Senate-house, even as they stood all in a doubt and maze what would be the resolution of this matter, *Lucretius* began to say, that he most humbly thanked the gods; and allowed of the Capitaines judgement, and so every one of the rest in their order, said as much. Moreover there was a wonderful change and alteration of minde suddenly among the common People: for every man did perswade and encourage his fellow lively to put his hand to this worke. Infomuch as tarrying for no division or appointing out of streets, nor setting out every man his place he should build in, they fell to worke of all hands, every one chusing that place he liked best, and was most commodious for their building, without any other order or division amongst them. Whereupon, they running to this Building on a head, the streets were confused on heaps together, and their houses all built out of order and uniformity. For the report goeth, that the whole City (as well common as private Buildings) was built up new againe in a yeare. But the Survivors, to whom *Camillus* had given charge to finde out all the holy places where the Temples had bene overthrowne, as they were about Mount *Palatine*, they came by chance to the place, where the Chappell of *Mars* had stood, which the GAULES had wholly burnt and destroyed, as they had done all the rest. They making cleane the place, and surveying every corner, did finde by chance *Romulus* Augures crooked staffe hidden under a great mount of ashes. This staffe is crooked at one of the ends, and they call it *Litnus*, which Soothsayers do use to quarter out the Regions of the Element, when they will behold the flying of Birds to tell of things to come. *Romulus* that was very skilfull in this art, did use this staffe: and after he was taken away from all mens fights, the Priests tooke it, and kept it as a holy Relique, suffering no creature to lay hands on it. Now when they found this staffe whole and unbroken, where all things else were consumed and perished by fire, they were in a marvellous joy thereat: for they interpreted this to be a signe of the everlasting continuance of the City of Rome. But before they could make an end of all their building, there grew a new Warre againe upon them. For at one very instant, all the *ÆQUES*, the *VOLSCES*, and the *LATINES*, entred with all their might and maine into the Territories of the ROMANS. The *Thuscans* also went then and besieged *Sutrium*, that was in league and amity with the ROMANS. The *Tribuni militares* got them straight to the Field with their Army, and encamped about Mount *Martian*. The *LATINES* besieged them so straightly, that their Army stood in great danger to be overthrowne, and they were driven to send to Rome for a new supply. Thereupon the ROMANS did choose *Camillus* Dictator againe the third time. The occasion of this Warre is reported two manner of waies: whereof I will declare the first, which I do conceive to be but a tale. They say the *LATINES* sent unto the ROMANS, to demand some of their free Maids in marriage: which they did either to make a quarrell of Warre, or else as desirous indeede to joyne both the Peoples againe by new marriages. The ROMANS were amazed very much at this, and fore troubled, as not knowing how to answer them, they were so afraid of Warres. For they were yet scant new settled at home, and dreaded much lest this demand of Daugh-

Rome is built
againe.

Rome was new
built againe in
a yeare.

Romulus Augures staffe
found whole
after Rome was
burnt.

Camillus cho-
sen Dictator
the third time.

Daughters, was but a Summons made to give them Hostages, which they finely cloaked under the name of alliance in Marriage. Some say that there was at that time a Bond-maide called *Tutola*, or as some say, *Philotis*, that went unto the Senate, and counselled them they should send her away with some other faire Maid-slaves, dressed up like Gentlewomen, and then let her alone. The Senate liked very well of this device, and chose such a number of Bond-maides as she desired to have, and trimming them up in fine Apparell, begawed with Chaines of Gold and Jewels, they sent them forth to the *LATINES*, who were encamped not farre from the City. When night was come, the other Maides hid their Enemies Swords. But this *Tutola*, or *Philotis* (call her as you will) did climbe up to the top of a wilde Fig-tree, from which she shewed a burning Torch unto the ROMANS, having made shift to hang somewhat behinde her, to keepe the light from sight of the Enemies. For this signall the Senate of Rome had secretly appointed her to set up, which was the cause that the issuing out of the Souldiers, being commanded to go out in the night, was full of trouble and tumult. For being pressed by their Captaines, they called one another, and there was great ado to put them in order of Battell. Thus they went to take their Enemies sleeping, who nothing mistrusting the fame, were slain the most part of them within their Campe. This was done on the fifth day of the Moneth called then *Quintilis*, and now is named *July*: at which time they do yet celebrate a certaine Feast in remembrance of that act. For first of all, going out of the City, they call aloud many of their fellowes names which are most common: as *Caius*, *Marcus*, and *Lucius*, shewing thereby how one of them called another after that sort, as they went in great haste out of the City. Afterwards all the Maid-servants of the City being trimly apparelled, go playing up and downe the Towne, pleasantly jesting with those they meete: and in the end they make as though they fought together, in token that they did helpe the ROMANS at that time to destroy the *LATINES*. Then they are feasted, sitting under Bowers made with wilde Fig-tree boughes: and this Feast is called *Nona Capratina*, by reason of the wilde Fig-tree (as some thinke) from the top whereof, the Bond-maide shewed to the ROMANS the burning Torch. For the ROMANS call the wilde Fig-tree, *Caprificus*. Other say, that all these things are done and spoken in remembrance of the mischance that happened unto *Romulus*, when he was taken out of their fight, the same day without the Gates of the City, at which time there arose a sudden mist and darke cloud. Or as some other say, that then was the Eclipse of the Sunne: and they hold opinion that the day was named *Nona Capratina*, because *Capra* in the ROMAN Tongue, signifieth a Goate. *Romulus* vanished out of mens fights, as he was making an Oration unto his People, neare unto the place which is called Goat-marsh, as we have mentioned more at large in his life. The second occasion and beginning of this Warre (according to the opinion of most Writers) was, that *Camillus* being chosen Dictator the third time, and knowing that the *Trib. militares* with their Army were straightly besieged by the *LATINES* and *VOLSCES*, he was enforced to arme all the old men, who for very age were priviledged from further service in Warres. And having fetched a great compasse about Mount *Martian*, because he would not be seene of his Enemies, he came to lodge his Campe behinde them, where he raised fires, to make the ROMANS know that were besieged, that he was come: which as soone as they perceived, they tooke to them courage againe, and determined to fight. But the *LATINES* and *VOLSCES* kept within their Campe, and did intrench and fortifie themselves with a Wall of Wood, which they laide across, because they saw they were beset both before and behinde: and determined to tarry the reliefe of a new supply, as well of their owne, as of some other aide besides from the *Thuscans*: which thing *Camillus* perceiving, and fearing lest they should serve him, as he had already handled them, by compassing of him againe behinde, he thought it necessary to prevent this. So considering the inclosure and fortification of their Campe was all of Wood, and that every morning commonly, there came a great winde from the side of the Mountaines, he made provision of a number of fire-brands. And leading out his Army into the Fields by breake of day, he appointed one part of them to give charge upon the Enemies on the one side, with great noise and shouting: and he with the other part determined to raise fire on the contrary side, from whence the winde should come, looking for opportunity to do the same. When he saw the Sunne up, and the winde beginning to whistle, blowing a good gale from the side of the hills, and that the skirmish was begun on the other side: then he gave a signall unto the Company he led with him, to set upon the Enemies, and made them throw into the inclosure of their Campe, divers pots and darts with fire, so that the flame finding matter to catch hold of, in this inclosure of wood, and Trees laid overthwart, did raise straight an exceeding great flame in the aire, and still got way inwards into the *LATINES* Campe. Whereupon the *LATINES* being unprovided of present remedie to quench the flame, and seeing their Campe a fire all about their eares, they gathered themselves together at the first in a very small roome. Nevertheless, they were enforced in the end to get them into the Field, and there they found their Enemies ready armed, and in battell ray. So as few of those escaped that came into the Field, and their fellowes that remained within their Campe, were burnt to death with fire, untill the ROMANS themselves came to quench it, for greedineffe of their spoile and goods. When all this was done, *Camillus* left his Sonne in the Campe, to keepe the prisoners and spoiles: and he himselfe, with the rest of the Army, went to invade his Enemies Countrey, where he tooke the City of *Æques*. Then after he had overcome the *VOLSCES*, he led his Army presently from thence unto the City of *Sutrium*. For he had not yet heard of their misfortune. Therefore he hastened himself to aid them, because he thought they were yet besieged by the *Thuscans*. But such was their hard fortune, that they had already yielded up their City by composition, and saved no part of their goods, but the very clothes they had on their backs.

Tutola, or *Philotis* craft and
subtillty.

Rome delivered
from Wars by
Tutola the
Bond-maid.

The Maids
Feast, called
Nona Capra-
tina.

Camillus stra-
tagem against
the *Latines*
and *Volsces*.

Camillus slew
the *Latines*.

Camillus tooke
the City of
Æques.

Camillus was
the City of
Sutrium.

Marcus Manlius
Capitolinus
moveth sedition.

Flattery and
hypocritie
winneeth the
multitude and
common people.

Manlius clapt
in prison by
Capitolinus
Dictator.

Camillus chosen
again Tribune
militaris.

Marcus Manlius
Capitolinus
put to death.

So being turned out of all they had, they met *Camillus* by the way as they were wandering abroad, lamenting their misery with their Wives and little young Children: whose misery went to the very heart of *Camillus*, when he beheld their lamentable state. Furthermore, when he saw the ROMANS weep for pity also, to see the moane that these unfortunate People made unto him, and that it grieved them heartily to behold their great mischance: he determined with himselfe not to defer revenge, but presently to go the self-same day before the City of SUTRIUM, imagining that he should finde the THUSCANES out of order, without keeping watch, and attending nothing but making good chere, because they had newly taken a wealthy rich City, where they had left never an Enemy in the same to hurt them, neither feared any abroade to come neare to assault them. And indeede it fell out rightly as he guessed. For he had not only passed through the Territories of the City, without any intelligence given to the Enemies within the same: but he was come to the very Gates, and had taken the Walls before they heard any thing of his coming, by reason they neither kept Watch nor Ward, but were dispersed abroade in the City, in every house, eating and drinking drunke together. Infomuch as when they knew their Enemies were already within the City, they were so full fraught with Meate and Wine, that the most of their wits served them not so much as to flee, but tarried untill they were slaine or taken, like Beasts in the Houses. Thus was the City of SUTRIUM twice taken in one day. And it chanced that those which had wonne it, lost it: and those which had lost it, recovered it againe by *Camillus* means; who deserved both the honour and entry of triumph into ROME: the which wanne him no lesse good will and glory, then the two first before had done praise, and gotten fame. For even his greatest Enemies that most spited and envied his former noble acts, ascribing them rather to Fortune that favoured him, then to his valiantnesse or worthinesse, were forced now by this deepe of his to confesse, that his wisdom and valiantnesse deserved praise and commendation to the skies. *Camillus* of all his Enemies had one most bitter to him, which was *Marcus Manlius*, that was the first man that gave the GAULES the repulse that night they had entred the Walls of the Capitoll, and had thought to have taken it: whereupon they gave him the surname of *Capitolinus*. He aspiring to be the chiefe of the City, and finding no direct way to exceede the glory of *Camillus*, tooke the broad High-way of them that practise Tyranny. For he began to flatter the common People, and specially those that were indebted: he tooke upon him to defend their causes, and pleaded their case at the barre against their Creditors. Sometimes he tooke the Debtors out of the Creditors hands, and carried them away by force, that for lacke of ability to pay were by rigour of the Law condemned to be Bond-slaves. But by this practice, in short time he got him a marvellous number of such needy followers, and poore men, that the Noblemen and honest Citizens were afraid of the insolent parts they played, and of the continuall troubles and tumults they daily stirred up in the Market-place. Therefore suspecting the worst in this case, they did choose *Quintus Capitolinus Dictator*: who caused the said *Manlius* immediately to be apprehended, and committed to prison. Whereupon the People began to change their Apparel: which they were never wont to do, but in great and common calamities. But the Senate fearing lest some commotion would rise hereupon, they did set him at liberty againe. He being thus out of prison, was no whit the better, nor wiser thereby, but did still stir up the Commons, more boldly and seditiously then before. Then was *Camillus* chosen againe *Tribune militaris*, and *Manlius* was accused in his time of Office. But when the matter came to pleading, the fight of the Capitoll troubled his Accusers much. For the very place it selfe where *Manlius* had repulsed the GAULES by night, and defended the Capitoll, was easily scene from the Marker-place, where the matter was a hearing: and he himselfe pointing with his hand, shewed the place unto the gods, and weeping tenderly, he laid before them the remembrance of the hazard of his life, in fight for their safety. This did move the Judges hearts to pity, so as they knew not what to doe, but many times they did put over the hearing of his case unto another day, and neither would they give judgement, knowing he was convicted by manifest proofes: neither could they use the severity of the Law upon him, because the place of his so notable good service was ever still before their eyes. Wherefore *Camillus* finding the cause of delay of Justice, did make the place of Judgement to be removed without the City, into a place called the Woode *Petelian*, from whence they could not see the Capitoll. And there the Accusers gave apparent evidence against him: and the Judges considering all his wicked practises, conceived a just cause to punish him, as he had deserved. So they gave sentence of death against him: that he should be carried to the Mount-Capitoll, and there to be throwne downe headlong the Rocks thereof. Thus, one and the selfe-place was a memory both of his notable good service, and also of his miserable and unfortunate ende. Besides all this, they razed his house, and built in the same place a Temple to the goddess they call *Moneta*: and made a Law also, that no *Patrician* from thenceforth should dwell any more in the Mount-Capitoll. *Camillus* after this, being called againe to take the Office of *Tribune militaris* the sixth time, he thought to excuse himselfe, as well for that he saw he was well steep in yeares, as also for that he feared Fortunes spight, or some mishap after he had obtained such glory for his noble acts and service. Howbeit the most apparent cause of his excuse, was his sicknesse, which troubled him much at that time. But the People would allow no excuse by any means, but cried out, they did not desire he should fight on foote nor on Horsebacke, but that he should onely give counsell, and command: and therefore they compelled him to take the charge, and to leade the Army with one of his companions named *Lucius Frurius*, against their Enemies the PRÆNESTINES, and the VOLSCES, who joyning together, did invade the Confines of the ROMANS friends. So he led his

his Army out immediately to the field, and camped as neer the Enemy as he could: being minded for his part to draw the Wars out in length, that he might fight afterwards (if need required) when he had recovered strength. But *Frurius* contrarily coveting glory, was wholly bent to hazard the Battell, whatsoever perill came of it: and to this end he stirred up and incouraged the Captains of every private Band. Wherefore *Camillus* fearing lest they should think, for ill will he bare the young men, that he went about to hinder and take away the meane to win their honour, and to do some noble act: suffered *Frurius* against his will to put his men in order of battell, and he in the meane season by reason of his sicknesse, remained with a few about him in the Campe. So went *Lucius* upon a head to present battell to the Enemy, and so was he as headily also overthrowne. But *Camillus* hearing the ROMANS were overthrowne, sick as he was himselfe, got up, and taking his household Servants with him, he went in hafte to the Gates of the Campe, and passed through those that fled, untill he came to meete with the Enemies that had them in chase. The ROMANS seeing this that were already entred into the Campe, they followed him at the heeles forthwith: and those that fled also without, when they saw him, they gathered together and put themselves againe in array before him, and perswaded one another not to forsake their Captaine. So their Enemies hereupon stayed their chasing, and would pursue no further that day. But the next morning, *Camillus* leading his Army into the field, gave them battell, and wanne the field of them by plaine force: and following the victory hard, he entred amongst them that fled into their Campe pellmell, or hand over head, and slew the most part of them even there. After this victory, he was advertised how the THUSCANES had taken the City of SUTRIUM, and had put to the sword all the Inhabitants of the same, which were ROMAN Citizens. Whereupon he sent to ROME the greatest part of his Army, and keeping with him the highest and lustiest men, went and gave assault unto the THUSCANES, that now were harboured in the City of SUTRIUM. Which when he had wonne againe, he slew part of them, and the other saved themselves by flight. After this, he returned to ROME with an exceeding spoile, confirming by experience, the wisdom of the ROMANS, who did not feare the age nor sicknesse of a good Captaine that was expert and valiant, but had chosen him against his will, though he was both old and sick: and preferred him far before the younger and lustier that made fute to have the charge. Newes being brought unto the Senate, that the THUSCULANIANS were revolted, they sent *Camillus* thither againe, willing him of five other companions to take out one he liked best, every of the which desired to be chosen, and made their sute unto him for the same. But he refusing all other, did choose againe *Lucius Frurius* beyond all expectation of men, seeing not long before he needed would against his will hazard battell, in which he was overthrowne. Howbeit *Camillus*, having a desire (as I thinke) to hide his fault and shame he had received, did of courtesie prefer him before all other. Now the THUSCULANIANS hearing of *Camillus* coming against them, subtilly sought to colour the fault they had already committed. Wherefore they put out a great number of people into the fields, some to plough, other to keepe the beatts, as if they had been in best peace: and did let the Gates of the City wide open, sent their Children openly to Schoole, their Artificers wrought their Occupations in their Shops, the men of haviour and honest Citizens walked in the Market-place in their long Gownes, and the Officers and Governours of the City went up and down to every house, commanding them to prepare lodgings for the ROMANS, as if they had stood in no feare at all, and as though they had committed no fault. Howbeit all these fine fetches could not make *Camillus* believe, but that they had intent to rebell against the ROMANS: yet they made *Camillus* pity them, seeing they repented them of that they had determined to do. So he commanded them to go to ROME to the Senate, to crave pardon for their fault: and he himselfe did helpe them, not onely to purge their City of any intent of rebellion, but also to get them the Priviledge and Freedome of ROME. And these be the chiefest acts *Camillus* did in the sixth time of his Tribuneship. After this, one *Licinius Stolo* moved great sedition in the City, betwene the common people and the Senate. For he would in any case that of the two Consuls, which were chosen yearly, the one of them should be a Commoner, and not that both of them should be of the ancient Noble Families, called *Patricians*. The Tribunes of the People were chosen, but the Election of the Consuls, the People stayed: so that the Common-wealth went to decay, and declined to greater troubles, then ever it did before, for lack of Government. But to suppress this, the Senate created *Camillus* the fourth time *Dictator*: but this was fore against his will, because it disliked the People much. Furthermore, he would not complaine of the People, for that they having served him in many Wars and Battells, might boldly and truly say unto him: that he had done more notable acts by them in the Wars, then he had done by the *Patricians* in Peace. Yet was he created *Dictator* in despite, to rule the People, and of envie in the Noblemen towards them. Thus necessity did urge him, either by force to suppress the People, if he were the stronger in this dissention: or else that he himselfe should be suppressed, if he became the weaker. *Camillus* notwithstanding, preparing to prevent this mischief, and knowing the day the Tribunes had determined, to prefer the passing of their Law by voyces of the People: he gave warning by Proclamations set upon posts, that the same very day he would muster the People: and all was but to draw them from the Marker-place into the field of *Mars*, and did set great penalties upon those that should be lacking at the Musters, and would presume to disobey. The Tribunes of the People on the contrary part, did withstand his threats, and swore they would condemne *Camillus* selfe in fifty thousand Drachmes of Silver, if he did not let the People alone, but would go about to disturbe them for giving their voyces to such a Law as they liked of. *Camillus* perceiving this, and fearing to be condemned and banished once againe, which would fall out

Lucius Frurius
gave battell to
the *Prænestines*
and *Volces*,
and was over-
throwne.

Camillus wan-
the field of the
Prænestines and
Volces.

Camillus slew
the *Thuscans*
at *Sutrium*.

Camillus sent a-
gain against
the *Thusculani-
ans*.

The craft of
the *Thusculi-
ans*.

Great sedition
moved in Rome
by *Licinius Sto-
lo*.

Camillus crea-
ted *Dictator*
the fourth
time.

Licinius Stolo made a Law for enjoying of Lands. Stolo the first offender of the same Law.

The Gauls come againe to Rome. Camillus chosen Dictator the fifth time. How Camillus appointed his Souldiers with armour and weapon to fight with advantage against the Gauls.

Anies st.

Camillus flew the Gauls againe.

very ill for him, being now an old man, and one that had done so many great and notable acts, or else for that he thought himselfe not strong enough to withstand the force of the People: he kept his house that day, feigning himselfe to be sick, and certaine other dayes following, and in the end he gave up his Office. Thereupon the Senate chose in his place another *Dictator*, who named the same *Licinius Stolo* Generall of the Horsemen, that was the Authour and furtherer of all this sedition: and besides did suffer him to prefer another Law, and to passe it by voices of the People, that above all other Laws, did most trouble the *Patricians*. Which Law did forbid any Citizen of *Rome*, to have, or occupy above five hundred *jugera*, which amount to 330 acres and a halfe, 12 pole, and 121 parts of a pole. Then was this *Stolo* aloft, and of great estimation at that time: for that he had in despite of the Senate established this Law. Howbeit shortly after it was found out, that himselfe had more number of acres then his owne Law permitted: by reason whereof, he received the just punishment of his owne devised forfeiture. Yet the most weighty matter of all this diffention that began first, and most of all troubled the Senate, touching the election of the Consuls, remained still undetermined. But while these matters were thus in talke, the *ROMANS* had certaine intelligence, how the *GAULES* were departed once againe from the Adriatick Sea, and were coming with a great power straight unto *Rome*: upon report of which news, the Wars followed immediately. For the *GAULES* destroyed the champion Countrey as they went: and the poore Countrey-men that could not recover *Rome*, were scattered here and there amongst the Mountaines. The feare of this did somewhat appease the diffention. The People then assembling with the Senate, and the baser sort with the Noble, did all with one voice and assent choose *Camillus Dictator* the fifth time. He was now a very old man, lacking little of fourscore yeares: but nevertheless, confidently undertooke the charge. Now that he had taken it upon him, he presently levied men, and prepared his Army. And knowing very well how the fiercenesse of these barbarous *GAULES* consisted in down-right blows with their Swords, with which they would strike off heads and shoulders of men at a blow, mangle them like Butchers, without any art or skill of fight: he caused iron Sallets, and Morions to be made for the most of his men, as smoothly wrought on the out-side as could be, that their Swords lighting on them, should either slide off, or breake. Moreover, he caused their Shields to have barres made about them of copper, because the wood selfe was not able to abide their blows. Furthermore, he did teach his Souldiers to carry long Javelins or Punction-Raves, wherewith they might wound their Enemies lifting up their Swords to strike them. Now when the *GAULES* were come neare *Rome*, having pitched their Campe upon the River of *Anian*, and being full laden and stuffed with all kindes of spoile and booties: then *Camillus* brought his Army also into the Field, and went to lodge on a little hill which was easie to get upon, where there were many little caves, so that the most of his Army was all hidden and covered, and those that were seene, seemed to be retired thither into those high places for an advantage, and of feare. *Camillus* to increase this opinion more in his Enemies, and to make them the bolder, did suffer them to come and spoile even to the foote of the hill where he was lodged, and stirred not once out to trouble them, but kept himselfe quiet in his Campe and well fortified: untill such time as he spied occasion of advantage, that the best part of their Army were scattered here and there, a foraging all about the Fields: and those which remained in their Campe, fell to eating and drinking as they used carelessly at all houres. Then *Camillus* sent very early before day, his lightest armed men, to vex and trouble the barbarous People in coming out of their Campe, and to lett them in any case from putting their men in order of battell: and he in the breake of day came downe into the Plaine, and did set his other men being well armed, in good array, which were a great number, and lusty fellows, and were not as the barbarous People thought, few, and fearfull. This at the very first discouraged the hearts of the *GAULES* marvellously, because they thought themselves dishonoured, that the *ROMANS* should charge them first. Afterwards also *Camillus* Vaunt-guard did set upon the *GAULES*, and that on a sudden, before they had leifure to put themselves in battell, or to order their Troupes: compelling them to fight without order, as they met out of order by chance. In the end also, *Camillus* came upon the necks of them, with all his whole force and Army together: against whom they ranne notwithstanding, holding up their naked Swords aloft in their hands. But the *ROMANS* thrusting with their armed Javelins, received their Enemies blowes upon them, and thereby so rebated the edges of their Swords (their blades being very sharpe and thinne ground, and of so soft a temper) that they bowed againe, and stood crooked unreasonably: and furthermore, having pierced their Shields thorow with their punction-staves, the *GAULES* armes were so clogd and wearied with them, the *ROMANS* plucking them backe to them againe, that they threw away their Swords and Shields, and flying in, closed with the *ROMANS* and caught hold of their Javelins, thinking by plaine force to have wrested them out of their hands. Howbeit they perceiving then the *GAULES* were naked, fell straight to their Swords: and so was the slaughter of their first ranks very great. The other fled scatteringly here and there, all about the Plaine: because *Camillus* had caused all the Hills and Mountaines about them to be occupied and possessed. Neither did they retire towards their Campe, for that it was unfortified, and also knew well enough it would be easily taken. This battell (as they say) was thirteene yeares after their taking of *Rome* before. But after that Field, the *ROMANS* courages were good enough against these barbarous *GAULES*, whom they stood in feare of before: thinking the first time they came, that they had not overcome them by force, but by reason of the plague that fell amongst them, or through some other strange chance. For they did so feare them at that time, that

they made a Law, that their Priests should be exempted from Warres, so it were not against the *GAULES*. This overthrow was the last martiall act *Camillus* did in the Warres. For, the taking of the City of *VELITRES*, was an accident depending upon this Journey: because they yeelded straight unto him, without striking any stroke. But the seditiousnesse of the People of *Rome* about Government, and the chusing of the yeare Consuls, was the hardest matter he ever had in hand. For they returning home to *Rome* strong and of great power, by their late obtained victory, would in any case have one of the Consuls to be chosen of a Commoner, which was directly against their ancient custome. But the Senate stoutly withstood it, and would not suffer *Camillus* to be put out of office: hoping the better by means of his authority, which was great then, that they should maintaine and continue their ancient Dignity, and Prerogative of their Nobility. But as *Camillus* was set in his chaire in the Market-place, where he heard and dispatched Causes, there came a Serjeant to him, sent from the Tribunes of the People, who commanded him to follow him, and therewithall laid violent hands upon him, as he would have carried him away by force. This made such a terrible tumult and uprore, that the like was never seene before in the Market-place. For *Camillus* friends drave the Serjeant backe behind the Chaire. The common People cried out againe to the Serjeant from beneath, Pull him out of his chaire. This so amazed *Camillus*, that he knew not well what to say to the matter. Notwithstanding, he would not resigne up his Office, but taking those Senators he had about him, he went unto the place where the Senate was wont to be kept: and there, before he would go into it, he returned backe againe unto the Capitoll, and made his Prayer unto the gods, that it would please them to bring his troubles againe to a quiet, and so made a solemne vow and promise (if these tumults and troubles might be pacified) that he would build a Temple of *Concord*. When this matter came to debating before the Senate, there fell great contention and diversity of opinions among them: yet in the end, the easiest way did carry it, and that was, to grant the common Peoples desire, that a Commoner should be chosen Consull with a Nobleman. The *Dictator* having openly published to the People the Senates Decree, confirming their desire: the common People were so joyfull, that at that present they let fall all their malice against the Nobility and Senate, and brought *Camillus* home to his house: with great shouts of joy and clapping of hands. The next meeting all the People being assembled together in the Market-place, it was there decreed: that the Temple of *Concord* should be built at the Common-wealths charge (according to the vow *Camillus* had made) in such a place, as it might be seene from the Market-place selfe, where all the Assemblies for matters of counsell were made. And further, it was ordered that one day more should be added to the Feasts of the *LATINES*: and that from thenceforth they should solemnize foure Festivall dayes, and should presently make great Sacrifices unto the gods, in every Temple of the City, to give them thanks: and in token of joy they should all weare Garlands upon their heads for this reconciliation. So *Camillus* proceeding to election, there were chosen two Consuls, *Marcus Emilius* of the noble *Patricians*, and *Lucius Sextus* of the *Plebeians* or Commoners. And this was the last act that ever *Camillus* did. For the next yeare after the Plague was in *Rome*, and tooke away an infinite number of the People that died, besides many Magistrates and Officers of the City that departed: among whom, *Camillus* also left his life. Who notwithstanding he had lived a long time, and had ended a reasonable course of life, and was ripe for death: yet the *ROMANS* made more mone and lamentation for his death alone, then for all the rest the Plague had already consumed.

The End of the Life of *Furius Camillus*.



M 4

THE

The Romans how they exempted Priests from the Wars

Sedition at Rome about choosing of Consuls.

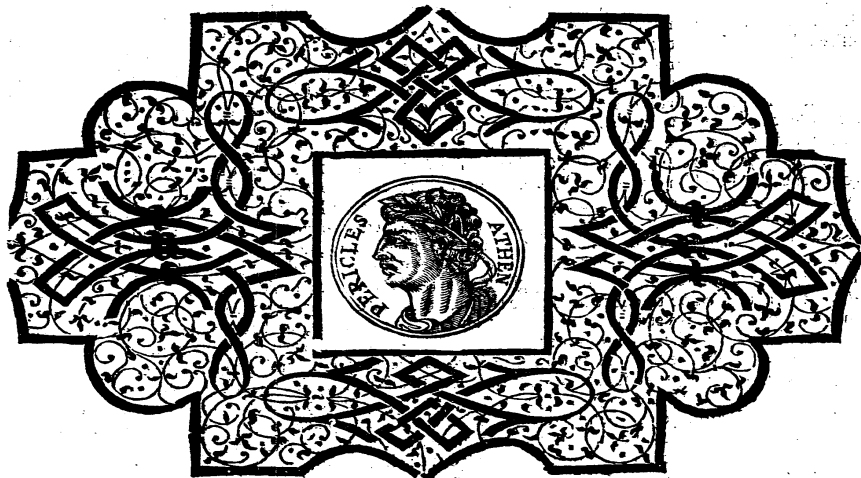
Policy to yield to necessity.

A Commoner chosen Consull with a noble man.

Marcus Emilius, Lucius Sextus Consuls.

Camillus died of the plague.

THE LIFE OF PERICLES.



Ann. Mond.
3429.

Ant. Christ.
519.



ESAR seeing in Rome one day certaine rich and wealthy strangers, having little Dogs and Monkeys in their armes, and that they made marvelous much of them, he asked them if the women in their Country had no Children: wisely reproving them by this question, for that they bestowed their naturall love and affection upon brute Beasts, which they should with all kindeesse and love bestow upon men. Nature in like case also, having planted in our mindes a naturall desire to learne and understand, we are in reason to reprove those that vainly abuse this good desire, fondly disposing it to learne things vaine and unprofitable: and to cast behinde them in the meane season things honest and necessary to be learned. For

as touching our outward sense, which with passion receiveth impression of the thing it seeth, peradventure it will be necessary to consider indifferently the thing seene, whether it will fall out beneficiall or hurtfull unto him: but so farreth it not with our understanding, for every man may at his pleasure turne and dispose that to the thing he taketh delight in, the reason whereof we must alwayes employ to the best part, and that not onely to consider and looke upon the thing, but also to reape the benefit and commodity of the thing we see. For like as the eye is most delighted with the lightest and freshest colours: even so we must give our mindes unto those sights, which by looking upon them do draw profit and pleasure unto us. For such effects doth vertue bring: that either to heare or reade them, they do print in our hearts an earnest love and desire to follow them. But this followeth not in all other things we esteeme, neither are we alwayes disposed to desire to do the things we see well done: but contrarily oftentimes, when we like the Worke, we milke the Workman, as commonly in making these perfumes and purple colours. For both the one and the other do please us well: but yet we take Perfumers and Dyers to be men of a meane Occupation. Therefore *Antisthenes* answered one very wisely, that told him *Ismenias* was an excellent player of the Flute. But yet he is a naughty man, said he: otherwise he could not be so cunning at the Flute as he is. Even so did *Philip* King of *Macedon* say to his Sonne *Alexander* the Great on a time: that at a certaine Feast had sung passing sweetly, and like a Master of Musick: Art thou not ashamed Sonne to sing so well? It is enough for a King to bestow his leisure sometime to heare Musicians sing, and he doth much honour to the Muses to heare the Masters of the Science otherwise, when one of them singeth to excell another. But he that personally shall bestow his time, exercising any meane Science: bringeth his paines he hath taken in matters unprofitable, a witnesse against himselfe, to prove that he hath beene negligent to learne things honest and profitable. And there was never any young Gentleman nobly borne, that seeing the Image of *Jupiter* (which is in the City of *Pisa*) desired

Wit alwayes to
be employed to
good things.

Antisthenes
saying of a
Flute player.

desired to become *Phidias*: nor *Polycletus*, for seeing of *Juno* in the City of *Argos*: nor that desired to be *Anacreon*, or *Philemon*, or *Archilocus*, for that they took pleasure sometime to reade their works. For it followeth not of necessity, that though the Worke delight, the Workman must needs be praised. So in like case, such things do not profit those which behold them, because they do not move affection in the hearts of the beholders to follow them, neither do stir up affection to resemble them, and much lesse to conforme our selves unto them. But Vertue hath this singular property in all her actions: that she maketh the man that knoweth her, to affect her so, that straight he liketh all her doings, and desireth to follow those that are vertuous. For, as for riches, we onely desire to have them in possession: but of Vertue, we chiefly love the deeds. Wherefore we are contented to have Goods from other men: but good deeds we would other should have from us. For Vertue is of this power, that she allureth a mans minde presently to use her, that wisely considereth of her, and maketh him very desirous in his heart to follow her: and doth not frame his manners that beholdeth her by any imitation, but by the onely understanding and knowledge of vertuous deeds, which suddenly bringeth unto him a resolute desire to do the like. And this is the reason, why we thought I should continue still to write on the lives of Noble men, and why I made also this tenth Booke: in the which are contained the lives of *Pericles* and *Fabius Maximus*, who maintained Warres against *Hannibal*. For they were both men very like together in many sundry vertues, and specially in courtesie and justice: and for that they could patiently beare the follies of their People, and companions that were in charge of Government with them, they were marvellous profitable Members for their Countrey. But if we have sorted them well together, comparing the one with the other: you shall easily judge that reade our Writings of their lives. *Pericles* was of the Tribe of the *Acamantides*, of the Towne of *Cholargus*, and one of the best and most ancient Families of the City of *Athens*, both by his Father and Mother. For *Xantippus* his Father (who overcame in battell the Lieutenants of the King of *Persia* in the journey of *Mygala*) married *Agariste* that came of *Clisphenes*, he who drave out of *Athens* *Pysistratus* off-spring, and valiantly overthrew their tyranny. Afterwards he established Lawes, and ordained a very grave forme of Government, to maintaine his Citizens in peace and concord together. This *Agariste* dreamed one night that she was brought to bed of a Lion: and very shortly after she was delivered of *Pericles*, who was so well proportioned in all the parts of his body, that nothing could be mended, saving that his head was somewhat too long and out of proportion to the rest of his body. And this is the onely cause why all the Statues and Images of him almost, are made with a Helmet on his head: because the Workmen as it should seeme (and so it is most likely) were willing to hide the blemish of his deformity. But the *Attican* Poets did call him *Schinocephalos*, as much to say, as headed like an Onion. For those of *Attica* do sometime name that which is called in the Vulgar Tongue *Scilla*, that is to say, an Onion of *Barbary*, *Schinos*. And *Cratinus* the Comical Poet in his Comedy he intituled *Chirones*, said:

The power of
vertue.

Pericles stock.

Pericles mother
dreamed.
Pericles had a
long head.

Old Saturne he, and dreadfull dire Debate,
begotten have, betwene them carnally,
this Tyrant here, this heaveie jolting pate,
in court of gods so termed worthily.

And againe also in that which he termeth *Nemesis*, speaking of him, he saith:

Come *Jupiter*, come *Jupiter*,
Come jolt-head, and come In-keeper.

And *Teleclides* mocking him also, saith in a place:

Sometimes he stands amaz'd when he perceiveth,
that hard it were sufficiently to know,
in what estate his Government he leaves.
And then will he be seldome scene below,
such heaveie beaps within his braines do grow.

But yet sometimes out of that monstrous pate,
he thundereth fast, and threatneth every state.

And *Eupolis* in a Comedy which he intituled *Demi*: being very inquisitive, and asking particularly of every one of the Orators (whom he feigned were returned out of Hell) when they named *Pericles* the last man unto him, he said:

Truly thou hast now brought unto us here that dwell,
the chiefe of all the Captaines that come from darke some hell.

And as for Musicke, the most Authours write, that *Damon* did teach him Musicke, of whose name (as men say) they should pronounce the first syllable short. Howbeit *Aristotle* saith, that he was taught Musicke by *Pythoclides*. Howsoever it was, it is certaine that this *Damon* was a man of deepe understanding, and subtil in matters of Government: for, to hide from the People his sufficiency therein, he gave it out he was a Musitian, and did resort unto *Pericles* as a Master Wrestler or Fencer: but he taught him how he should deale in matters of State. Notwithstanding, in the end he could not so cunningly convey this matter: but the People saw his Harping and Musicke, was onely a Vizer to his other practise: wherefore they did banish him *Athens* for five yeares, as a man that busily tooke upon him to change the state of things, and that favoured Tyranny. And this gave the Comical Poets matter to play upon him finely, among which *Plato* in a Comedy of his, bringeth in a man that asketh him:

Pericles studies
and Teachers.

O Chi-

they do take away those also which are done by art. As the noise of bafons, the lights of fire by the Sea fide, and the fhadows of needles or points of Dials in the Sunne : all which things are done by some caufe and handiwork, to be a figne and token of fomething. But this argument peradventure may ferve better in another Booke. And now againe to *Pericles*. Whileft he was yet but a young man, the People flood in awe of him, becaufe he fomewhat refembled *Pyfiftratus* in his countenance : and the ancienteft men of the City alfo were much afraid of his foft voyce, his eloquent tongue, and readie utterance, becaufe in thofe he was *Pyfiftratus* up and downe. Moreover he was very rich and wealthy, and of one of the nobleft Families of the City, and thofe were his friends alfo that carried the onely fway and authority in the State : whereupon, fearing left they would banifh him with the banifhment of *Oftiafifmon*, he would not meddle with Government in any cafe, although otherwife he fhewed himfelfe in Warres very valiant and forward, and feared not to venture his perfon. But after that *Arifides* was dead, that *Themiftocles* was driven away, and that *Cimon* being ever in fervice in the Warres as Generall in Forraigne Countries, was a long time out of GREECE : then he came to leane to the Tribe of the poore People, preferring the multitude of the poore Commonalty, above the fmall number of Nobility and rich men, the which was directly againft his nature. For of himfelfe he was not popular, nor meanely given : but he did it (as it fhould feeme) to avoid fufpition, that he fhould pretend to make himfelfe King. And becaufe he faw *Cimon* was inclined alfo to take part with the Nobility, and that he was fingularly beloved and liked of all the honefter fort : he to the contrary enclined to the common People, purchafing by this meanes fafety to himfelfe, and authority againft *Cimon*. So he prefently began a new courfe of life, fince he had taken upon him to deale in matters of State : for they never faw him afterwards at any time go into the City, but to the Market-place, or to the Senate-houfe. He gave up going to all Feaftes where he was bidden, and left the entertainment of his friends, their company and familiarity. So that in all his time wherein he governed the Common-weale, which was a long time, he never went out to fupper to any of his friends, unleffe it were that he was once at a Feaft at his Nephew *Euryptolemus* Marriage : and then he tarried there no longer, but while the Ceremony was a doing, when they offer Wine to the gods, and fo he rofe from the Table. For thefe friendly meetings at fuch Feaftes, do much abate any counterfeit Majefty or fet countenance : and he fhall have much ado to keepe gravity and reputation, fhewing familiarity to every knowne friend in fuch open places. For in perfect vertue, thofe things truly are ever moft excellent, which be moft common : and in good and vertuous men there is nothing more admirable unto ftrangers, then their daily converfation is to their friends. *Pericles* now to prevent that the People fhould not be glutton with feeing him too oft, nor that they fhould come much to him : they did fee him but at fome times, and then he would not talke in every matter, neither came much abroad among them, but referved himfelfe (as *Crisolaus* faid they kept the SALAMINIAN Galley at ATHENS) for matters of great importance. And in the meane feafon, in other matters of fmall moment, he dealt by means of certaine Orators his familiars friends, amongst whom *Ephialtes* (as they fay) was one : he who tooke away the Authority and Power from the Court of *Areopagus*, and did give too much liberty to the People, as *Plato* faid. Upon which occafion, as the Comical Poets fay, he became fo ftout and head-ftrong, that they could no more hold him backe, then a young unbridled Colt : and tooke fuch a courage upon him, that he would obey no more, but invaded the Ifle of EUBOEIA, and fet upon the other Iflands. *Pericles* alfo becaufe he would fafhion a phrafe of fpeech, with a kinde of ftile altogether agreeable to the manner of life and gravity he had taken upon him : he gave himfelfe to all matters which he had learned of *Anaxagoras*, fhadowing his reafons of Naturall Philofophy, with artificiall Rhetorick. For having obtained a deep underftanding by ftudying of Philofophy, and a ready way effectually to end any matter he undertooke to prove, (befides that Nature had endued him with an excellent wit and capacity, as the Divine *Plato* doth write, to bring any thing to ferve his purpofe) he did fo artificially compaffe it with Eloquence, that he farre paffed all the Orators in his time. And for this caufe was he (as they fay) furnamed *Olympius*, as much to fay, as Heavenly or Divine. But fome are of opinion he had that furname, by reafon of the common Buildings and flatly Workes he raifed up in the City of ATHENS, that did much fet forth the fame. Other thinke it was given him for his great Authority and Power he had in Government, as well in Warres as in Peace. But it is no marvel that this glory was given him, confidering the many other qualities and vertues that were in him. Howbeit the Comedies the Poets caufed to be played in thofe times (in which there were many words fpoken of him, fome in earneft, fome in fport and jeft) do witneffe that he had that furname given him, chiefly for his Eloquence. For it is reported, that he thundred and lightened in his Orations to the People, and that his tongue was a terrible lightning. And touching this matter, they tell of an Answer *Thucydides*, *Milefius* Sonne, fhould pleafantly make concerning the force of *Pericles* Eloquence. *Thucydides* was a Nobleman, and had long time contended againft *Pericles* in matters of the Common-weale. *Archidamus*, King of LACEDÆMON, asked *Thucydides* on a time whether he or *Pericles* wrefteled beft. *Thucydides* made him answer. When I have given him an open fall before the face of the World, he can fo excellently deny it, that he maketh the People believe he had no fall at all, and perfwadeth them the contrary of that they faw. Notwithftanding, he was ever very grave and wife in fpeaking. For ever when he went up into the Pulpit for Orations, to fpeake unto the People, he made his Prayers unto the gods, that nothing might efcape his mouth, but that he might confider before, whether it would ferve the purpofe of his matter he treated on : yet are there none of his Workes extant in writing, unleffe

Pericles say-
ings.

Pericles Com-
mon-wealth.

The good
deeds of Cimon

Pericles large
distribution
diminished the
Areopagites
authority.

Pericles cau-
sed Cimon to
be banished
Athens.

The Ostracis-
mon.

Pericles called
Cimon from
exile.

unless it be some few Lawes he made, and but very few of his notable sayings are brought to light, save onely these. He said on a time, that they must take away the City of *Ægina*, because it was a straw lying in the eye of the haven *Piræa*. And another time, he said that he saw the Warres afar off, coming from *Peloponnesus*. And another time, as he tooke Ship with *Sophocles* (his companion in commission with him as Generall of the Army) who commended a faire young boy they met as they came to the haven: *Sophocles*, said he, a Governour must not onely have his hands, but also his eyes cleane. And *Stesimbrotus* writeth, that in a funerall Oration he made in the praise of those that were slaine in the Warre of *Samos*: he said they were immortall as the gods. For we do not see the gods (said he) as they be, but for the honour that is done to them, and the great happineffe they enjoy, we do conjecture they are immortall: and the same things are in those that die in service and defence of their Countrey. Now where *Thucydides* doth write the Government of the Common-wealth under *Pericles* to be as a Government of Nobility, and yet had appearance of a popular State: it is true, that in effect it was a Kingdome, because one alone did rule and governe the whole State. And many other say also, he was the first that brought in the custome to divide the Enemies Lands wonne by conquest among the People, and of the common money to make the People see Playes and Pastimes, and that appointed them reward for all things. But this custome wasill brought up. For the common People that before were contented with little, and got their living painfully with sweat of their browes, became now to be very vaine, sumptuous, and riotous, by reason of these things brought up then. The cause of the alteration doth easily appeare by those things. For *Pericles* at his first coming, fought to winne the favour of the People, as we have said before, onely to get like reputation that *Cimon* had wonne. But coming far short of his Wealth and ability, to carry out the port and charge that *Cimon* did, entertaining the poore, keeping open house to all comers, cloathing poore old People, breaking open besides all Inclosures and Pales through all his Lands, that every one might with more liberty come in, and take the Fruits thereof at their pleasure: and seeing himselfe by these great meanes out-gone farre in good will with the common People, by *Demonides* counsell and procurement (who was borne in the Isle of *Ios*) he brought in this distribution of the common money, as *Aristotle* writeth. And having wonne in a short time the favour and good will of the common People, by distribution of the common Treasurie, which he caused to be divided among them, aswell to have place to see these Playes, as for that they had reward to be present at the judgements, and by other such like corruptions: he with the Peoples helpe, did inveigh against the Court of the *Areopagites*, whereof he never was any member. For it never came to be his happe to be yearly Governour, nor Keeper of the Lawes, nor King of the Sacrifices, nor Master of the Warres: all which were Officers chosen in ancient time by lot. And further, those on whom the lot fell, if they had behaved themselves well in their Office, they were called forwards, and raised to be of the body of this Court of the *Areopagites*. *Pericles* now by these meanes having obtained great credit and authority amongst the People, he troubled the Senate of the *Areopagites* in such sort, that he plucked many matters from their hearing, by *Ephialtes* helpe: and in time made *Cimon* to be banished *Athens*, as one that favoured the *Lacedæmonians*, and contraried the Common-wealth and Authority of the People. Notwithstanding he was the noblest and richest person of all the City, and one that had wonne so many glorious Victories, and had so replenished *Athens* with the conquered spoiles of their Enemies, as we have declared in his life: so great was the Authority of *Pericles* amongst the People. Now the banishment wherewith he was punished (which they called *Ostracismos*) was limited by the Law for tenne yeares. In which space the *Lacedæmonians* being come downe with a great Army into the Countrey of *Tanagra*, the *Athenians* sent out their power presently against them. There *Cimon* willing to shew the *Athenians* by his deedes, that they had falsely accused him for favouring the *Lacedæmonians*: did arme himselfe, and went on his Country-mens side, to fight in the company of his Tribe. But *Pericles* friends gathered together, and forced *Cimon* to depart thence as a banished man. And this was the cause that *Pericles* fought that day more valiantly then ever he did, and he wanne the honour and name to have done more in the person of himselfe that day, then any other of all the Army. At that Battell also, all *Cimons* friends, whom *Pericles* had burdened likewise to favour the *Lacedæmonians* doings, died every man of them that day. Then the *Athenians* repented them much that they had driven *Cimon* away, and wished he were restored, after they had lost this Battell upon the Confines of the Countrey of *Attica*: because they feared sharpe Warres would come upon them againe at the next Spring. Which thing when *Pericles* perceived, he sought also to further that the common People desired: wherefore he straight caused a Decree to be made, that *Cimon* should be called home againe, which was done accordingly. Now when *Cimon* was returned, he advised that peace should be made betweene both Cities: for the *Lacedæmonians* did love *Cimon* very well, and contrarily they hated *Pericles*, and all other Governours. Some notwithstanding do write, that *Pericles* did never passe his consent to call him home againe, before such time as they had made a secret agreement amongst themselves (by meanes of *Elpinice*, *Cimons* Sister) that *Cimon* should be sent out with an Army of two hundred Gallies, to make Warres in the King of *Persia* his Dominions, and that *Pericles* should remaine at home with the Authority of Government within the Citie. This *Elpinice* (*Cimons* Sister) had once before intreated *Pericles* for her brother, at such time as he was accused before the Judge of treason. For *Pericles* was one of the Committees, to whom this Accusation was referred by the People. *Elpinice* went unto him, and besought him

Pericles mode-
ration, unto
Cimon.

The murder
of Ephialtes.

Thucydides
Pericles adver-
sary in the
Common-
wealth.

A politick care
for idle persons

Sumptuous
buildings ere-
cted by Peri-
cles.

him not to doe his worst unto her Brother. *Pericles* answered her mildly: Thou art too old *Elpinice*, thou art too old to goe through with these matters. Yet when this matter came to judgement, and that his cause was pleaded: he rose but once to speake against him (for his owne discharge as it were) and went his way when he had said: doing lesse hurt to *Cimon* then any other of his accusers. How is *Idomeneus* to be credited now, who accuseth *Pericles* that he had caused the Orator *Ephialtes* to be slaine by treason (that was his friend, and did alwayes counsell him; and take his part in all kinde of government of the Commonweale) onely for the jealousie and envy he did beare to his glory? I can but muse why *Idomeneus* should speake so slanderously against *Pericles*: unless it were that his melancholy humour procured such violent speech: who though peradventure he was not altogether blamelesse, yet he was ever nobly minded, and had a naturall desire of honour, in which kinde of men such furious cruell passions are seldome seene to breed. But this Orator *Ephialtes* being cruell to those that tooke part with the Nobility, because he would spare or pardon no man for any offence whatsoever committed against the peoples authority, but did follow and persecute them with all rigour to the uttermost: his enemies laid waite for him by meanes of one *Aristodemus* *Tanagrian*, and they killed him by treason, as *Aristotle* writeth. In the meane *Cimon* died in the Isle of *Cyprus*, being Generall of the Army of the *Athenians* by sea. Wherefore those that tooke part with the Nobility, seeing *Pericles* was now growne very great, and that he went before all other Citizens of *Athens*, thinking it good to have some one to stick on their side against him, and to lessen thereby somewhat his authority, that he might not come to rule all as he would: they raised up against him one *Thucydides* of the Towne of *Alpeceia*, a grave wise man and Father in law to *Cimon*. This *Thucydides* had lesse skill of warres then *Cimon*, but understood more in Civil government then he, for that he remained most part of his time within the City: where continually inveighing against *Pericles* in his Pulpit for Orations to the people, in short time he had stirred up a like company against the faction of *Pericles*. For he kept the Gentlemen and richer sort (which they call Nobility) from mingling with the common people, as they were before, when through the multitude of the commons their estate and dignity was obscured, and trodden under foot. Moreover he did separate them from the people, and did assemble them all as it were into one body, who came to be of equal power with the other faction, and did put (as a man will say) a counterpoise into the ballance. For at the beginning there was but a little secret grudge onely betwene these two factions, as an artificall Flower set in the blade of a Sword, which made those shew a little, that did leane unto the people; and the other also somewhat that favoured the Nobility. But the contention betwene these two persons, was as a deep cut, which divided the City into two factions: of which the one was called the Nobility, and the other the Communalty. Therefore *Pericles* giving yet more liberty unto the people, did all things that might be to please them, ordaining continual Playes and Games in the City, many Feasts and Bankets, and open pastimes to entertaine the commons with such honest pleasures and devises: and besides all this, he sent yearly an Army of three score Gallies unto the warres, into the which he put a great number of poore Citizens, that tooke pay of the State for nine moneths of the yeare, and thereby they did learne together, and practise to be good Seamen. Furthermore he sent into the Countrey of *Cherroneus*, a thousand free-men of the City to dwell there, and to divide the Lands amongst them: five hundred also into the Isle of *Naxos*: into the Isle of *Andros* two hundred and fifty: into *Thracia*, a thousand to dwell with the *Bisaltes*: and other also into *Italy*, when the City of *Syracuse* was built againe; which afterwards was furnished the City of the *Thurians*. All this he did, to rid the City of a number of idle people, who through idlenesse began to be curious, and to desire change of things, as also to provide for the necessity of the poore Towne-men that had nothing. For placing the naturall Citizens of *Athens* neere unto their subjects and friends, they served as a Garison to keepe them under, and did suppress them also from attempting any alteration or change. But that which delighteth most, and is the greatest ornament unto the City of *Athens*, which maketh strangers most to wonder, and which alone doth bring sufficient testimony, to confirme that which is reported of the ancient power, riches, and great wealth of *Greece*, to be true and not false; are the stately and sumptuous buildings which *Pericles* made to be built in the City of *Athens*: For it is the onely act of all other *Pericles* did, and which made his enemies most to spite him, and which they most accused him for, crying out upon him in all counsels and assemblies: that the people of *Athens* were openly defamed, for carrying away the ready Money of all *Greece*, which was left in the Isle of *Delos*, to be safely kept there. And although they could with good honesty have excused this fact, saying, that *Pericles* had taken it from them, for feare of the barbarous people, to the end to lay it up in a more stronger place, where it should be in better safety: yet was this too overgreat an injury offered unto all the rest of *Greece*, and too manifest a token of tyranny also, to behold before their eyes, how we doe employ the Money, which they were enforced to gather for the maintenance of the warres against the barbarous people, in gilding, building, and setting forth our City, like a glorious woman, all to be gauded with gold and precious stones; and how we doe make Images, and build up Temples of wonderfull and infinite charge. *Pericles* replied to the contrary, and declared unto the *Athenians*, that they were not bound to make any account of this Money unto their friends and allies, considering that they fought for their safety, and that they kept the barbarous people farre from *Greece* without troubling them to set out any one Man, Horse or Ship of theirs, the Money onely excepted, which is no more theirs that paid it, then theirs that received it, so they bestow it to that use they received it for.

And their City being already well furnished and provided of all things necessary for the wars, it was good reason they should employ and bestow the surplus of the treasure in things which in time to come (and being thoroughly finished) would make their fame eternall. Moreover he said that whilst they continue building, they should be presently rich, by reason of the diversity of works of all sorts, and other things which they should have need of, and to compass these things the better, and to set them in hand, all manner of artificers and workmen (that would labour) should be set on work; So should all the Town-men and Inhabitants of the City receive pay and wages of the common treasure, and the City by this means should be greatly beautified, and much more able to maintain it selfe. For such as were strong and able men of body, and of years to carry weapon, had pay and entertainment of the Common-wealth, which were sent abroad unto the warres, and other that were not meet for warres, as craft-men and labourers: He would also they should have part of the common treasure, but not without they earned it, and by doing somewhat. And this was his reason, and the cause that made him occupy the common people with great buildings and devises of works of diverse occupations, which could not be finished of long time; to the end that the Citizens remaining at home might have a meane way to take part of the common treasure, and enrich themselves as well as those that went to the wars, and served on the sea, or else that lay in garison to keep any place or fort. For some gained by bringing stuffe, as stones, brasse, ivory, gold, ebony, and cyprisse. Other got to work and fashion it, as Carpenters, Gravers, Founders, Casters of Images, Masons, Hewers of stone, Diers, Goldsmiths, Joyners working in Ivory, Painters, Men that let in sundry colours of peeces of stone or wood, and Turners. Others gained to bring stuffe, and to furnish them, as Merchants, Mariners, and Shipmasters, for things they brought them by Sea: And by Land others got also, as Cart-makers, Carriers, Carters, Cord-makers, Sadlers, Coller-makers, and Pyopers to make waies plain, and Miners, and such like. Furthermore every science and craft, as a Captain having Souldiers, had also their Army of the Workmen that served them, labouring truly for their living, who served as apprentices and Journeymen under the workmasters; So the work by this means did disperse abroad a common gain to all sorts of people and ages, what occupation or trade soever they had. And thus came the buildings to rise in greatnesse and sumptuousnesse, being of excellent workmanship, and for grace and beauty not comparable, because every workman in his Science did strive what he could to excell others, to make his work appear greatest in sight, and to be most workmanly done in shew. But the greatest thing to be wondred at was their speed and diligence. For where every man thought those works were not likely to be finished in many mens lives and ages, and from man to man; they were all done and finished, whilst one only governour continued still in credit and authority. And yet they say that in the same time as one *Agatharchus* boasted himselfe that he had quickly painted certaine beasts; *Zenxis* another Painter hearing him, answered, And I contrarily do rejoyce that I am a long time in drawing of them. For commonly sleight and sudden drawing of any thing, cannot take deepe colours, nor give perfect beauty to the worke; but length of time adding to the Painters diligence and labour in making of the worke, maketh the colours to continue for ever. For this cause therefore the workes *Pericles* made are more wonderfull because they were perfectly made in so short a time, and have continued so long a season. For every one of those which were finished up at that time, seemed then to be very ancient touching the beauty thereof; and yet for the grace and continuance of the same it looketh at this day as if it were but newly done and finished, there is such a certain kinde of flourishing freshnesse in it, which letteth that the injury of time cannot impair the sight thereof. As if every of those foresaid workes had some living spirit in it, to make it seeme young and fresh, and a soul that lived ever, which kept them in their good continuing state. Now the chief Surveyor General of all these workes was *Phidias*, albeit that there were many other excellent Workmasters in every science and occupation. For the Temple of *Pallas* which is called *Parthenon* (as a man would say, the Temple of the Virgin, and is surnamed *Hecatompodon*, for that it is a hundred foot every way) was built by *Ictinus*, and *Galligrates*; and the Chappell of *Elenus* (where the secret Ceremonies of the mysteries were made) was first founded by *Corabus*, who raised up the first pillars in order, standing beneath on the ground, and did set them up unto the Master Chaptrels. But after he was dead, *Metagenes*, born in the Town of *Xypeta*, turned the arches over, and then did set the pillars in order also which are above, and *Xenochus* of the Towne of *Cholargea*, was he that made the lanthorne or top of the steeple which covereth the Sanctuary; but the long wall which *Socrates* heard *Pericles* himselfe give order for the building of it, was done by *Callicrates*, who undertook the work. *Crasinus* the Poet, in a Comedy he made, laugheth at this work, to see how slowly it went forward, and how long it was a doing, saying,

*Pericles long agoe did end this worke begunne,
And build it high with glorious words, if so it had been done.
But as for deeds (in deed) he built nothing at all,
But let it stand; as yet it stands, much liker for to fall,*

And as for the Theater or place appointed for musick, where they heare all Musicians play, and is called *Odeon*: It is very well made within with divers seats and degrees, and many ranges of pillars, but the top of the rooff is altogether round, which is somewhat hanging downward round about of it selfe, coming together into one point. And it is said that this was made after the pattern and fashon of King *Xerxes* royall Pavilion, and that *Pericles* was the first deviser and maker of it. Wherefore *Crasinus* in another place of his comedy he maketh of the *Thracians*, doth play very pretily upon him, saying,

Pericles

*Pericles here doth come, Dan Jupiter surnamed,
(And onions head) which hath in his great noddle finely framed
The plot of Odeon, when he delivered was*

From banishment and dangers deepe, wherein he long did passe.

Pericles was the first that made marvellous earnest labour to the people that they would make an order, that on the day of the Feast called *Panathenea*, they would set up games for musicke. And he himselfe being chosen Ruler of these games, as judge to reward the best deserver; ordained the manner the Musicians should ever after keepe in their finging, playing on their flutes, or upon the Citherne, or other Instruments of musicke. So the first games that ever were for musicke, were kept within the *Odeon*, and so were the other after them also ever celebrated there. The gate and entring into the Castle was made and finished within the space of five yeares, under the charge of *Menescles*, that was Master of the Works. And whilst these gates were a building, there happened a wonderful chance, which declared very well that the goddesse *Minerva* did not mislike the Building, but that it pleased her marvellously. For one of the most painfulllest Workemen that wrought there fell by mischance from the height of the Castle to the ground, which fall did so sore bruise him, and he was so sick withall, that the Physicians and Surgeons had no hope of his life. *Pericles* being very sorry for his mischance, the goddesse appeared to him in his sleep in the night, and taught him a medicine, with the which he did easily heale the poore bruised man, and that in short time. And this was the occasion why he caused the Image of the goddesse *Minerva* (otherwise called of health) to be cast in brasse, and set up within the Temple of the Castle, neare unto the Altar which was there before, as they say. But the golden Image of *Minerva* was made by *Phidias*, and graven round about the base, who had the charge in manner of all other workes, and by reason of the good will *Pericles* bare him, he commanded all the other workemen. And this made the one to be greatly envied, and the other to be very ill spoken of. For their enemies gave it out abroad, that *Phidias* received the Gentlewomen of the City into his house, under colour to goe see his workes, and did convey them to *Pericles*. Upon this brute the Comical Poets taking occasion, did cast out many slanderous Speeches against *Pericles*, accusing him that he kept one *Menippus* Wife, who was his friend and Lieutenant in the warres: and burthened him further, that *Pyrilampes* one of his familiar friends also, brought up Fowl, and specially Peacocks, which he secretly sent unto the women that *Pericles* kept. But we must not wonder at those Satyres that make profession to speake slanderously against all the world; as it were to sacrifice the injuries and wrongs they cast upon honourable and good men, to the spite and envy of the people, as unto wicked spirits; considering that *Stesimbrotus* *Thasian* durst fallily accuse *Pericles* of detestable incest, and of abusing his owne Sons wife. And this is the reason in my opinion, why it is so hard a matter to come to the perfect knowledge of the truth of ancient things, by the Monuments of Historiographers; considering long processe of time doth utterly obscure the truth of matters done in former times. For every written History speaking of men that are alive, and of the time of things, whereof it maketh mention; sometime for hate and envy, sometime for favour or flattery, doth disguise and corrupt the truth. But *Pericles* perceiving that the Orators of *Thucydides* faction in their common Orations did still cry out upon him, that he did vainly waste and consume the common treasure, and that he bestowed upon the workes all the whole revenue of the City; One day when the people were assembled together before them all, he asked them if they thought that the cost bestowed were too much. The people answered him, a great deal too much. Well, said he then, the charges shall be mine (if you thinke good) and none of yours; provided that no mans name be written upon the workes but mine onely. When *Pericles* had said so, the people cried out aloud, they would none of that (either because that they wondred at the greatnesse of his minde, or else for that they would not give him the only honour and praise to have done so sumptuous and stately workes) but willed him that he should see them ended at the common charges, without sparing for any cost. But in the end, falling out openly with *Thucydides*, and putting it to an adventure which of them should banish other, with the banishment of *Ostracism*: *Pericles* got the upper hand; and banished *Thucydides* out of the City, and therewithall also overthrew the contrary faction against him. Now when he had rooted out all factions, and brought the City againe to unity and concord, he found then the whole power of *Athenes* in his hands, and all the *Athenians* matters at his disposing. And having all the treasure, armour, galleys, the Isles, and the Sea, and a marvellous feignory and kingdom (that did enlarge it selfe partly over the *Grecians*, and partly over the barbarous people) so well fortified and strengthened with the obedience of Nations subject unto them, with the friendship of Kings, and with the alliance of divers other Princes and mighty Lords; then from that time forward he began to change his manners towards the people, and not so easily to give place and frame himselfe to the peoples wils and desires, no more then as it were to contrary winds. Furthermore he altered his over-gentle and popular manner of government which he used until that time, as too delicate and too effeminate an harmony of musicke, and did convert it unto an imperious government, or rather to a Kingly authority; but yet held still a direct course, and kept himselfe ever upright without fault, as one that did, said, and counseled that which was most expedient for the Commonweale. He many times brought on the people by persuasions and reasons to be willing to grant that he preferred unto them; but many times also he drave them to it by force; and made them against their wils do that which was best for them. Following therein the devise of a wife Physician, who in a long and changeable disease doth grant his Patient sometime to take his pleasure of a thing he liketh, but yet after a moderate sort; and another time

Pericles erected Games for Musick.

The Poets raise up slanders against Pericles.

The noble saying of Pericles.

Thucydides banished by Pericles.

Pericles power.

Pericles somewhat altereth the Commonweale.

The force of
Eloquence.

Pericles com-
mended for his
good life and
worthinesse.

Pericles free
from gifts tak-
ing.
Pericles good
husbandry.

Anaxagoras a
Mathematici-
cian.
Great diversity
betwixt con-
templative and
civil life.

Anaxagoras de-
termined to
fashish himself
to death.

Anaxagoras
saying to Pe-
ricles.

Pericles ap-
pointeth a ge-
nerall Council
to be holden at
Athens.

time also, he doth give him a sharpe or bitter medicine that doth vex him, though it heale him: For (as it falleth out commonly unto people that enjoy so great an Empire) many times misfor-
tunes did chance, that filled them full of sundry passions, the which *Pericles* alone could finely steere
and governe with two principall rudders, Feare and Hope; brideling with the one the fierce and
insolent rashnesse of the common people in prosperity, and with the other comforting their grieie
and discouragement in adversity. Wherein he manifestly proved, that Rhetoricke and Eloquence
(as *Plato* saith) is an Art which quickeneth mens spirits at her pleasure, and her chiefe skill
is to know how to move passions and affections throughly, which are as strops and founds of the
Soul, that would be plaied upon with a fine sliogered hand of a cunning Master. All which, not
the force of Eloquence only brought to passe, as *Thucydides* witnesseth, but the reputation of his life,
and the opinion and confidence they had of his great worthinesse, because he would not any
way be corrupted with gifts, neither had he any covetousnesse in him. For, when he had brought
his City not onely to be great, but exceeding great and wealthy, and had in power and authority
exceeded many Kings and Tyrants, yea, even those which by their Wils and Testaments might
have left great possessions to their Children; he never for all that encreased his Fathers Goods and
Patrimony left him the value of a groate in silver. And yet the Historiographer *Thucydides* doth
set forth plainly enough the greatnesse of his power. And the Comical Poets also of that time
doe report it maliciously under covert words, calling his familiar friends the new *Pythiades*, say-
ing, how they must make him sweare and protest he would never be King, giving us thereby
to understand that his authority was too exceeding great for a popular Government. And *Telecli-
des* (amongst other) saith, that the *ATHENIANS* had put into his hands the revenue of the Townes
and Cities under their obedience, and the Townes themselves, to binde the one and lose the other,
and to pull downe their wals, or to build them againe at his pleasure. They gave him power to
make peace and alliance, they gave all their force, treasure, and authority, and all their goods whol-
ly into his hands. But this was not for a little while, nor in a geere of favour, that should continue
for a time, but this held out forty years together, he being alwaies the chiefe of his City amongst
the *Ephialtes*, the *Leocrates*, the *Miromides*, the *Cimons*, the *Tolmides*, and the *Thucydides*. For after
he had prevailed against *Thucydides*, and had banished him, he yet remained chiefe above all o-
ther, the space of fifteene yeares. Thus having attained a regal Dignity to command all, which
continued as aforesaid, where no other Captaines authority endured but one yeare: he ever kept
himselfe upright from bribes and money, though otherwise he was no ill husband, and could wa-
rily looke to his owne. As for his Lands and Goods left him by his Parents, that they miskaried
not by negligence, nor that they should trouble him much, in buyling himselfe to reduce them to a va-
lue; he did to husband them as he thought was his best and easiest way. For he sold in grosse ever
the whole years profit and commodity of his lands, and afterwards sent to the market daily to buy the
cates, and other ordinary provision of household. This did not like his Sons that were men growne,
neither were his women contented with it, who would have had him more liberrall in his house; for
they complained of his overhard and straight ordinary, because in so noble and great a house as his,
there was never any great remaine left of meate, but all things received into the house, ranne under
account, and were delivered out by proportion. All this good husbandry of his was kept upright
in this good order, by one *Evangelus*, steward of his house, a man very honest and skillful in all his
household provision; and whether *Pericles* had brought him up to it, or that he had it by nature, it
was not knowne. But these things were far contrary to *Anaxagoras* wisdom; For he despising the
world, and casting his affection on heavenly things, did willingly forsake his house, and suffered all his
land to run to layes and to pasture. But (in my opinion) great is the diversity betwixt a contempla-
tive life and a civil life. For the one employeth all his time upon the speculation of good and honest
things; and to attaine to that, he thinketh he hath no need of any exterior help or instrument. The
other applying all his time upon vertue, to the common profit and benefit of men, he thinketh that
he needeth riches as an Instrument not only necessary but also honest. As, looke upon the example of
Pericles, who did relieve many people; And *Anaxagoras* specially among other; of whom it is re-
ported, that *Pericles* being occupied about matters of state at that time, having no leisure to thinke
upon *Anaxagoras*, he seeing himselfe old and forsaken of the world, laid him downe, and covered
his head close, determining to starve himselfe to death with hunger. *Pericles* understanding this, ran
presently to him as a man halfe cait away, and prayed him as earnestly as he could that he would dis-
pose himselfe to live, being not onely sorry for him, but for himselfe also, that he should lose so
faithfull and wife a Counsellour in matters of state and government. Then *Anaxagoras* shewed his
face, and told him: O *Pericles*, those that will see by the light of a Lampe, must put oyle to it, to
make the light burne. Now began the *LACEDÆMONIANS* to grow jealous of the greatnesse of
the *ATHENIANS*, wherefore *Pericles* to make the *ATHENIANS* hearts greater, and so draw their
minde to great enterprises; set downe an order they should send Ambassadors to perswade all the
GRECIANS (in what part soever they dwelt in EUROPE or ASIA, as well the little as the great
Cities) to send their Deputies unto *ATHENS*, to the general assembly that should be holden there
to take order for the Temples of the gods which the barbarous people had burnt, and touching
the sacrifices they had vowed for the preservation of *GREECE*, when they gave battel upon them;
and touching Sea matters also, that every man might faile in safety where he would, and that all
might live together in good peace and love one with another. To performe this commission,
twenty persons were sent of this Ambassiate, every one of them being fifty years of age and up-
ward.

ward. Whereof five of them went to the *DORIANS* dwelling in ASIA; and to the Inhabitants of
the Isles, even unto the Isles of *LESBOS*, and of the *RHODES*. Five other went through all the Coun-
trei of *HELLES PONT*, and of *THRACIA*, unto the City of *BIZANTIUM*. Other five were com-
manded to go into *BOROTIA*, into *PHOCIDES*, and through all *PELOPONNESUS*; and from
thence by the Countrey of the *LOCRIANS*, into the upland Countrey joyning to it, until they came
into the Countrey of *ACHARNIA* and of *AMBRACIA*. And the other five went first into the
Isle of *EUROPA*, and from thence unto the *ORBITANS* and through all the gulfe of *MALIA* unto
the *PHYTIANS*, unto the *ACHAIANS*, and the *THESSALIANS*, declaring to all the people,
where they came the *ATHENIANS* Commission, perswading them to send unto *ATHENS*, and so
be present at the Councell which should be holden there for the pacification and union of all *GREECE*.
But when all came to all nothing was done; and the said Cities of *GREECE* did not assemble, by pra-
ctice of the *LACEDÆMONIANS* (as it is reported) who were altogether the let; for the first refu-
sal that was made of their Summons was at *PELOPONNESUS*. This have I written to make *Pericles*
noble courage to be knowne, and how profound a wife man he shewed himselfe unto the world. Fur-
thermore when he was chosen Generall in the warres he was much esteemed, because he ever tooke
great regard to the safety of his Souldiers. For by his good will he would never hazard battel, which
he saw might fall out doubtful, or in any thing dangerous; And moreover he never praised them for
good Generals; neither would he follow them that had obtained great Victories by hazard, howsoever
other did esteem or commend them. For he was wont to say, that if none but himselfe did leade them
to the flames, as much as lay in him, they should be immortal. And when he saw *Tolmides*, the Son
of *Tolmaus* (trusting to his former Victories, and the praise and commendation of his good service)
did prepare upon no occasion, and to no purpose, to enter into the Countrey of *BOROTIA*, and had
procured also a thousand of the lustiest and most valiant men of the City, to be contented to go with
him in that journey, over and above the rest of the Army he had levied; He went about to turne him
from his purpose, and to keepe him at home, by many perswasions he used to him before the peoples
face, and spake certain words at that time that were remembered long after, and these they were.
That if he would not beleve *Pericles* counsell, yet that he would tarry time at the least, which is the
wisest Counsellor of men. These words were prettily liked at that present time. But within few daies
after, when newes was brought that *Tolmides* selfe was slaine in a battel he had lost neare unto the
City of *CORONEA*, wherein perished also many other honest and valiant men of *ATHENS*: His
words spoken before did then greatly encrease *Pericles* his reputation and good will with the common
people, because he was taken for a wife man; and one that loved his Citizens. But of all his journeys
he made, being General over the army of the *ATHENIANS*, the journey of *CHERONEA* was
best thought of and esteemed, because it fell out to the great benefit and preservation of all the
GRECIANS inhabiting in that Countrey. For besides that he brought thither a thousand Citi-
zens of *ATHENS* to dwell there (in which doing he strengthened the Cities with so many good
men) he did fortifie the barre also, which did let it from being of an Isle, with a Fortification he drew
from one Sea to another, so that he defended the Countrey against all the invasions and piracies of
the *THRACIANS* inhabiting thereabouts, and delivered it of extreme warre, with the which it
was plagued before, by the barbarous people their neighbours, or dwelling amongst them, who
onely lived upon Piracy and robbing on the Seas. So was he likewise much honoured and esteemed
of strangers when he did environ all *PELOPONNESUS*, departing out of the Haven of *PEGES*,
on the Coast of *MEGARA*, with a Fleet of a hundred Gallies. For he did not only spoile the Towns
all along the Sea side, as *Tolmides* had done before him; but going up further into the maine
Land, farre from the Sea, with his Souldiers he had in the Gallies, he drave some of them to re-
tire within their walles, he made them so afraid of him; and in the County of *NEMEA* he over-
came the *SICYONIANS* in battel, that raised him in the field, and did erect a pillar for a notable
marke of his Victory. And imbarcking in his Ships a new Supply of Souldiers which he tooke up in
ACHAIA, being Friends with the *ATHENIANS* at that time, he passed over to the firme Land
that lay directly against it. And pointing beyond the mouth of the River of *Achelous*, he invaded the
Countrey of *ACHARNANIA*, where he shut up the *OENEADES* within their wals. And after he
had laid waste and destroyed all the Champion Countrey, he returned home againe to *ATHENS*:
Having shewed himselfe in this Journey a dreadfull Captaine to his enemies, and very carefull
for the safety of his Souldiers. For there fell out no manner of misfortune all this Journey (by
chance or otherwise) unto the Souldiers under his Charge. And afterwarde, going with a
great Navy marvellous well appointed unto the Realme of *PONTUS*, he did there gently use and
entreate the Cities of *GREECE*, and granted them all that were required of him, making the barba-
rous people inhabiting thereabouts, and the Kings and Princes of the same also, to know the
great power and force of the *ATHENIANS*, who sailed without feare all about where they
thought good, keeping all the Coasts of the Sea under their obedience. Furthermore, he left with
the *SINOPIANS* thirteen gallies, with certaine number of Souldiers under Captaine *Lamachus*,
to defend them against the Tyrant *Timislaus*, who being expulsed and driven away with those
of his Faction, *Pericles* caused Proclamation to be made at *ATHENS*, that six hundred freemen of
the City, that had any desire to go, without compulsion, might go dwell at *SINOPA*, where they
should have divided among them the goods and lands of the Tyrant and his Followers. But he
did not follow the foolish vaine humours of his Citizens, nor would not yeeld to their unsatiable
covetousnesse, who being set on a jollity to see themselves so strong and of such a power, and
besides

Pericles loved
the safety of
his men in
warre.

Time the best
Counsellor. In
Tolmides slaine
in the field.
Pericles jour-
neys.

Achelous fl.

Pericles would not follow the covetousness of the people. The enterprise of *Sigillia*.

Pericles an enemy to the Lacedæmonians.

Plistonax King
of *Lacedæmon*.

Cleandrides
corrupted by
Pericles.

Gylippus over-
come the *Athe-
nians* at *Syra-
cusa* in *Sicily*.
Gylippus rob-
bed part of the
treasure *Lyfan-
der* sent him
withall to
Sparta.
Pericles wife
policie in fur-
raine enter-
tainment.
Pericles acts in
Eubœa

Pericles makes war with the Samians.

Aspasia a passing wife.
Woman.

The description of *Aspidia Thurellia*.

besides, to have good lucke, would needs once againe; attempte to contempt EGYPT, and to re-
vise all the Countreys upon the Seacoasts, from the Empire of the King of PERSIA, for there were
many of them whose mindes were marvellously bent to attempt the unfortunate enterprize of en-
tering SICILIA, which Alcibiades afterwards did much pricke forward. And some of them dream-
ing of the Conquest of THUSCAN, and the Empire of CARTHAGE. But this was not al-
together without some likelihood, nor without occasion of hope, considering the large bound-
s of their kingdom, and the fortunate estate of their affaires; which fell out according to their owne
desire. But *Pericles* did hinder their going out, and cut off altogether their curious desire, employing
the most part of their power and force, to keepe that they had already gotten: judging it no small
matter to keepe downe the LACEDÆMONIANS from growing greater. For he was alwayes an
enemy to the LACEDÆMONIANS, as he shewed himselfe in many things, but specially in the warre
he made, called the Holy warre. For the LACEDÆMONIANS having put the PHOCIANS from
the charge of the Temple of *Apollo*, in the City of DELPHES, which they had usurped, and having
restored the DELPHIANS againe unto the same, so soone as they were gone thence, *Pericles* went
also with another Army, and restored the PHOCIANS againe. And whereas the LACEDÆMO-
NIANS had caused to be graven in the forehead of a Wolfe of brasse, the priviledge the DEL-
PHIANS had granted them, to be the first that should make their demands of the Oracle, he having
attained the like priviledge of the PHOCIANS, made his Image also to be graven on the right side of
the same Image of the brasse Wolfe. Now how wisely *Pericles* did governe GREECE by the power
of the ATHENIANS, his deeds doe plainly shew. For first of all, the countrey of EUBOEA did
rebell, against whom he brought the Army of the ATHENIANS. And suddenly in the necke of
that, came newes from another Coast, that the MEGARIANS also were in armes against them, and
how they were already entred into the countrey of ATTICA with a great Army, led by *Plistonax*,
King of LACEDÆMON. This occasion drew him homeward againe, and so he marched backe with
speede into his countrey, to make preparation to encounter his enemies, that were already entred
into the territories of ATTICA. He durst not offer them battell, being so great a number of valiant
Souldiers: but hearing that King *Plistonax* was yet a young man, and was ruled altogether by
Cleandrides counsell and direction (whom the *Ephores* had placed about him to counsell and direct
him) he sought privily to corrupt *Cleandrides*. When he had won him soone with his money, he
perswaded him to draw backe the PELOPONNESIANS out of their countrey of ATTICA: and
so he did. But when the LACEDÆMONIANS saw their Army cased, and that the people were
gone their way, every man to his owne City or Towne, they were so mad at it, that the King was
condemned in a great summe. The King being unable to answer his Fine, which was so extreme great,
he was driven to absent himself from LACEDÆMON. *Cleandrides* on the other side, if he had not fled
in time, even for spite had been condemned to death. This *Cleandrides* was *Gylippus* Father, that af-
terwards overcame the ATHENIANS in SICILIA, in whom it seemed nature bred covetousnesse,
as a disease inheritable by succession from the Father to the Sonne. For he being shamefully con-
victed also, for certaine vile parts he had plaid, was likewise banished from SPARTA: as we have more
amply declared in the Life of *Lysander*. And *Pericles* delivering up the account of his charge, and set-
ting downe an Article of the expence of ten Talents he had employed, or should employ in needfull
causes: the people allowed them him, never asking question how, or which way, nor whether it was
true that they were bestowed. Now there are certaine writers (amongst whom the Philosopher
Theophrastus is one) who write, that *Pericles* sent yearly unto SPARTA ten Talents, with the
which he entertained those that were in authority there, because they should make no wars with them:
not to buy peace of them, but time, that he might in the meane season, with better commodity, and
that leisure, provide to maintaine the warres. After that, as the Army of the PELOPONNESIANS
were out of the countrey of ATTICA, he returned against the Rebels, and passed into the Isle
EUBOEA with fifty saile, and five thousand Pootmen well armed: and there he overcame all the Ci-
ties that had taken armes against him, and drave away the *Hyppobotes*, who were the most famous
men of all the CHALCIDIANS, as well for their riches, as for their valiantesie. He drave away
also all the HESTIANS, whom he chased cleane out of all the Countrey, and placed in their City
only the Citizens of ATHENS. And the cause why he dealt so rigorously with them was, because
they having taken a Galley of the ATHENIANS prisoner, had put all the men to death that were in
her. And peace being concluded afterwards betweene the ATHENIANS and LACEDÆMONIANS
for thirty yeares: he proclaimed open warres against those of the Isle of SAMOS, burthening them;
that they being commanded by the ATHENIANS to pacifie the quarrels which they had against the
MILESIANS, they would not obey. But because some hold opinion, that he tooke upon him this
warre against SAMOS, for the love of *Alfasia*, it shall be no great digression of our story, to tell you
by the way, what manner of Woman she was, and what a marvellous gift and power she had, that
she could entangle with her love the chieffest Rulers and Governours at that time of the Common-
weale, and that the Philosophers themselves did so largely speake and write of her. First of all, it is
certaine that she was borne in the City of MILETUM, and was the Daughter of one *Asiochus*: the
following the steps and example of an old Curtisan of IONIA, called *Thargelia*, gave her selfe only
to entertaine the greatest Persons and chieffest Rulers in her time. For this *Thargelia* being passing
faire, and carrying a comely grace with her, having a sharp wit and pleasant tongue, she had the
acquaintance and friendship of the greatest of all GREECE, and wan all those that did haunt her
company, to be at the King of *Perfians* commandement. So that she sowed through all the Cities

OF GREECE, great beginnings of the faction of the MENDS: for they were the greatest men of power and authority of every City that were acquainted with her. But as for *Apasia*, some say that *Pericles* resorted unto her, because she was a wife woman, and had great understanding in matters of state and government. For *Socrates* himselfe went to see her sometimes with his friends: and those that used her company also, brought their Wives many times with them to heare her talke: though her traine were, to entertaine such as would warme them by her fire. *Epichimus* writeth, that *Lysicles* a Grasier, being before but a meane man, and of a clubbish nature, came to be the chiefe man of *ATHENS*, by frequenting the company of *Apasia*, after the death of *Pericles*. And to *Plautus* booke intituled *Menexenus*, although the beginning of it be but pleasantly written, yet in that, this story is written truly: that this *Apasia* was repaired unto by divers of the *ATHENIANS*, to learne the Art of Rhetoricks of her. Yet notwithstanding it seemeth most likely, that the affection *Pericles* did beare her, grew rather of love then of any other cause. For he was married unto a Kinswoman of his owne, and that before was *Hipponicus* Wife, by whom he had *Callias*, surnamed the rich: and had afterwards by *Pericles*, *Xanippus* and *Paralus*. But not liking her company, he gave her with her own goodwill and consent unto another, and married *Apasia* whom he dearely loved. For ever when he went abroad, and came home againe, he saluted her with a kisse. Whereupon in the ancient Comedies, she is called in many places, the new *Omphale*, and sometimes *Deianira*, and sometimes *Phno*. But *Cratinus* plainly calleth her Whore in these verses:

*His Juno she him brought, Aspasia by Name,
which was indeed an open whore, and past all kinde of shame.*

And it seemeth that he had a Bastard: for *Exopolis* in a Comedy of his called *Demofij*, bringeth him in, asking *Pironides* thus:

I pray thee is my bastard-Sonne yet alive?

And then *Pirrides* answered him :

*A perfect man long since, he surely had been found;
If that this lewd and naughty whore, his virtue had not drown'd.*

To conclude, this *Alpafia* was so famous, that *Cyrus* (he that fought against King *Artaxerxes* his Brother, for the Empire of *PERSIA*) called *Alpafia* his best beloved of all his Concubines, which before was called *Militio*; and was borne in *PHOCIDES*, being *Hermotimus* Daughter: And *Cyrus* being slain in the field, *Alpafia* was carried to the King his Brother, with whom afterwards she was in great favour. As I was writing this Life, this story came in my minde: and me thought I should have dealt hardly, if I should have left it unwritten. But to our matter againe. *Pericles* was charged that he made warres against the *SAMIANS*, on the behalfs of the *MILESIANS*, at the request of *Alpafia*: for these two Cities were at warres together for the City of *PRILENA*, but the *SAMIANS* were the stronger. Now the *ATHENIANS* commanded them to lay aside their armes, and to come and pleade their matter before them, that the right might be decided: but they refused it utterly. Wherefore *Pericles* went thither and tooke away the government of the small number of Nobility, taking for hostages, fifty of the chiefeft Men of the City, and so many Children besides, which he left to be kept in the Ile of *LEMNOS*. Some say every one of these hostages offered to give him a Talent: and besides those, many other offered him the like, such as would not have the sovereign authority put into the hands of the people. Moreover *Pisisthnes* the *PERSIAN*, Lieutenant to the King of Persia, for the good will he bore those of *SAMOS*, did send *Pericles* ten thousand Crownes to release the hostages. But *Pericles* never tooke Penny: and having done that he determined at *SAMOS*, and established a popular government, he returned againe to Athens. Notwithstanding, the *SAMIANS* rebelled immediately after, having recovered their hostages againe by means of these *Pisisthnes* that stole them away, and did furnish them also with all their munition of warre. Whereupon *Pericles* returning against them once more, he found them not idle, nor amazed at his coming, but resolutely determined to receive him, and to fight for the seigniory by sea. So there was a great battell fought betwene them neere the Ile of *THRACIA*. And *Pericles* won the battell: having with forty foure saile onely nobly overcome his enemies, which were threefoore and ten in number, whereof twenty of them were Ships of warre. And so following his victory forthwith, he wan also the Port of *SAMOS*, and kept the *SAMIANS* besieged within their owne City: where they were yet so bold, as they would make sallies out many times, and fight before the wallles of the City. But when there arrived a new supply of Shippes, bringing a greater aide unto *Pericles*, then were they shut up on all sides. *Pericles* then taking threefoore Galleyes with him, lancht out into the sea, with intent (as some say) to goe meete certaine Shippes of the *PHOENICIANS* (that came to aide the *SAMIANS*) as farre from *SAMOS* as he could: or as *Stesimbrotus* saith; to goe into *CYPRUS*, which me thinketh is not true. But whatsoever was his intent; he committed a foule fault. For *Melissus* (the sonne of *Ithageneis*, a great Philosopher) being at that time Generall of the *SAMIANS*, perceiving that few shippes were left behind at the siege of the City, and that the Captaines also that had the charge of them were not very expert men of warre, perswaded his Citizens to make a sallie upon them. Whereupon they fought a battell, and the *SAMIANS* overcame: the *ATHENIANS* were taken prisoners, and they sunke many of their ships. Now they being Lords againe of the sea, did furnish their City with all manner of munition for warres, whereof before they had great want. Yet *Aristotle* writeth; that *Pericles* self was once overcome in a battell at sea by *Melissus*. Furthermore the *SAMIANS*, to be even with the *ATHENIANS* for the injury they had received of them before, did brand them in the forehead with the stampe of an

inticed *Menon*, one of the Workmen that wrought under *Phidias*, and made him come into the market-place to pray assurance of the people that he might openly accuse *Phidias*, for a fault he had committed about *Pallas* Image. The people received his obedience, and his accusation was heard openly in the market-place, but no mention was made of any theft at all, because that *Phidias* (through *Pericles* counsell and device) had from the beginning so laid on the gold upon the Image, that it might be taken off and weighed every whit. Whereupon *Pericles* openly said unto his accusers, take off the gold and weigh it. The glory of his works did purchase him this envy: For he having graven upon the Scutcheon of the goddess, the battell of the *AMAZONS*, had cut out the portraiture of himselfe marvellous lively, under the person of an old bald man, lifting up a great stone with both his hands. Further, he had cut out *Pericles* Image excellently wrought and artificially, seeming in manner to be *Pericles* selfe, fighting with an *AMAZON* in this sort: the *AMAZONS* hand being lift up high, holdeth a dart before *Pericles* face, so passing cunningly wrought, as it seemed to shadow the likenesse and resemblance of *Pericles*: and yet notwithstanding appeareth plainly to be *Pericles* selfe on either side of the portraiture. So *Phidias* was clapt up in prison, and there died of a sicknesse, or else of poison (as some say) which his enemies had prepared for him; and all to bring *Pericles* into further suspition, and to give them the more cause to accuse him. But howsoever it was, the people gave *Menon* his freedom, and set him free from payment of all Subsidies, following the order *Glycon* made, and gave the Capitaines charge they should see him safely kept, and that he tooke no hurt. And about the same time also *Aspasia* was accused, that she did not beleve in the gods: and her accuser was *Hermippus*, maker of the Comedies. He burdened her further, that she was a Bawd to *Pericles*, and received Citizens Wives into her house, which *Pericles* kept. And *Diophetes* at the same time made a Decree, that they should make search and enquiry for Hereticks that did not beleve in the gods, and that taught certaine new Doctrine and opinion touching the operations of things above in the element, turning the suspition upon *Pericles* because of *Anaxagoras*. The people did receive and confirme this Inquisition: and it was moved also then by *Dracondites*, that *Pericles* should deliver an account of the Money he had spent, unto the hands of the *Prytanes*, who were treasurers of the common Fines and Revenues; and that the Judges deputed to give judgement, should give sentence within the City upon the Altar. But *Agnon* put that word out of the Decree, and placed in steade thereof, that the Cause should be judged by the fifteen hundred Judges, as they thought good, if any man brought his Action for Theft, for Battery, or for Injustice. As for *Aspasia*, he saved her, even for the very pity and compassion the Judges tooke of him, for the teares he shed in making his humble suit for her, all the time he pleaded her case; as *Eschines* writeth. But for *Anaxagoras*, fearing that he could not doe so much for him, he sent him out of the City, and himselfe did accompany him. And furthermore, seeing he had incurred the ill will of the people for *Phidias* fact, and for this cause fearing the issue of the judgement; he set the warres afire againe, that alwayes went backward, and did but smoke a little, hoping by this meanes to wear out the accusations against him, and to roote out the malice some did beare him. For the people having weighty matters in hand and very dangerous also, he knew they would put all into his hands alone, he having won already such great authority and reputation among them. And these be the causes why he would not (as it is said) suffer the *ATHENIANS* to yeeld unto the *LACEDÆMONIANS* in any thing: howbeit the truth cannot certainly be knowne. But the *LACEDÆMONIANS* knowing well, that if they could weede out *Pericles*, and overthrow him, they might then deale as they would with the *ATHENIANS*; they commanded them they should purge their City of *Cylon* rebellion, because they knew well enough that *Pericles* kinne by the Mothers side were to be touched withall, as *Thucydides* declareth. But this practice fell out contrary to their hope and expectation, that were sent to *ATHENS* for this purpose. For, weening to have brought *Pericles* into further suspition and displeasure, the Citizens honoured him the more, and had a better affiance in him then before, because they saw his enemies did so much feare and hate him. Wherefore, before King *Archidamus* entred with the Army of the *PELOPONNESIANS* into the Country of *ATTICA*, he told the *ATHENIANS*, that if King *Archidamus* fortun'd to waite and destroy all the Country about, and should spare his Lands and Goods for the old love and familiarity that was betweene them, or rather to give his enemies occasion fallly to accuse him: that from thenceforth, he gave all the Lands and Tenements he had in the Country, unto the Commonwealth. So it fortun'd that the *LACEDÆMONIANS* with all their friends and confederates, brought a marvellous Army into the Country of *ATTICA*, under the leading of King *Archidamus*: who burning and spoiling all the Country they came along, they came unto the Towne of *ACHARNES*, where they encamped, supposing the *ATHENIANS* would never suffer them to approach so neere, but that they would give them battell for the honour and defence of their Country, and to shew that they were no cowards. But *Pericles* wisely considered how the danger was too great to hazard battell, where the losse of the City of *ATHENS* stood in perill, seeing they were threecore thousand Footmen of the *PELOPONNESIANS*, and of the *BOEOTIANS* together: for so many was their number in the first voyage they made against the *ATHENIANS*. And as for those that were very desirous to fight, and to put themselves to any hazard, being mad to see their Country thus waisted and destroyed before their eyes, *Pericles* did comfort and pacifie them with these words: That Trees being cut and hewne downe, did spring againe in short time: but men being once dead, by no possibility could be brought againe. Therefore he never durst assemble the people in Councell, fearing lest he should be enforced by the multitude, to doe something still against his will. But as a wise Pilot, when he seeth a storme coming on the sea, doth

Aspasia accused.

Prytani, Treasurers of the Common fines

The *Lacedæmonians* invade *Athens*.

An excellent comparison to stay the Soldiers desire to fight.

doth straight give order to make all things safe in the Shippe, preparing every thing ready to defend the storme, according to his art and skill, not hearkening to the passengers fearfull cries and pitifull teares, who think themselves cast away: even so did *Pericles* rule all things according to his wisdom, having walled the City substantially about, and set good watch in every corner; and passed not for those that were angry and offended with him, neither would he be perswaded by his friends earnest requests and intreaties, neither cared for his enemies threats nor accusations against him, nor yet reckoned of all their foolish scoffing Songs then sung of him in the City to the shame and reproach of his government, saying that he was a cowardly Capitaine, and that for daftardinesse he let the enemies take all, and spoile what they would. Of which number *Cleon* was one that most defamed him, and began to enter into some pretty credit and favour with the common people, for that they were angry, and misliked with *Pericles*: as appeareth by these slanderous verses of *Hermippus*, which were then abroad:

*O King of Satyres thou, who with such manly speech,
Of bloody warres and doughty deeds, dost daily to us preach:
Why art thou now afraid to take thy Lance in hand,
Or with thy Pike against thy foes, courageously to stand?
Since Cleon stout and fierce, doth daily thee provoke,
With biting words, with trenchant blades, and deadly daunting strokes.*

All this notwithstanding, *Pericles* was never moved any thing, but with silence did patiently beare all injuries and scoffings of his enemies, and did send for all that, a navy of a hundred saile unto *PELOPONNESUS*, whether he would not goe in person, but kept himselfe at home, to keepe the people in quiet, untill such time as the enemies had raised their Campe, and were gone away. And to entertaine the common people that were offended and angry at this warre, he comforted the poor people againe, with causing a certaine distribution to be made amongst them of the common Treasure, and division also of the Lands that were got by Conquest. For after he had driven all the *EGI- NETES* out of their Country, he caused the whole Isle of *EGINA* to be divided by Lot amongst the Citizens of *ATHENS*. And then it was a great comfort to them in this adversity; to heare of their enemies hurt and losse in such manner as it did fall out. For their Army that was sent by sea unto *PELOPONNESUS*, had waisted and destroyed a great part of the champion countrey there, and had sacked besides many small Cities and Townes. *Pericles* selfe also entering into the *MEGARIAN* Countrey by land, did waste the whole Countrey all afore him. So the *PELOPONNESIANS* receiving by sea as much hurt and losse at the *ATHENIANS* hands, as they before had done by land unto the *ATHENIANS*; they had not holden out warres so long with the *ATHENIANS*, but would soone have given over (as *Pericles* had told them before) had not the gods above secretly hindred mans reason and policie. For first of all there came such a fore plague among the *ATHENIANS*, that it tooke away the flower of *ATHENS* youth, and weakened the force of the whole City besides. Furthermore, the bodies of them that were left alive being infected with this disease, their hearts also were so sharply bent against *Pericles*, that the sicknesse having troubled their braines, they fell to flat rebellion against him, as the Patient against his Physitian, or Children against their Father, even to the hurting of him, at the provocation of his enemies; who bruted abroad, that the plague came of no cause else, but of the great multitude of the countrey men that came into the City on heapes, one upon anothers necke in the heate of the Summer, where they were compelled to lie many together, smothered up in little Tents and Cabines, remaining there all day long, cowering downwards, and doing nothing, where before they lived in the Countrey in a fresh open ayre, and at liberty. And of all this (say they) *Pericles* is the onely cause, who precluding this warre, hath pent and shrouded the countrey men together within the walls of a City, employing them to no manner of use nor service, but keeping them like Sheep in a pinfold, maketh one to poison another with the infection of their plague sores running upon them, and giving them no leave to change aire, that they might so much as take breath abroad. *Pericles* to remedy this, and to doe their enemies a little mischief, armed a hundred and fifty Shippes, and shipped into them a great number of armed Footmen and Horsemen also. Hereby he put the Citizens in good hope, and the enemies in great feare, seeing so great a power. But when he had shipped all his men, and was himselfe also in the Admirall ready to hoise saile: suddenly there was a great eclipse of the Sunne, and the day was very darke, that all the Army was stricken with a marvellous feare, as of some dangerous and very ill token towards them. *Pericles* seeing the Master of his Galley in a maze withall, not knowing what to doe, cast his Cloake over the Masters face, and hid his eyes, asking him whether he thought that any harme or no. The Master answered him, he thought it none. Then said *Pericles* againe to him: There is no difference betweene this and that, saving that the body which maketh the darkenesse is greater, then my Cloake which hideth thy eyes. These things are thus disputed of in the Schooles of the Philosophers. But *Pericles* hoisting saile notwithstanding, did no notable nor special service, answerable to so great an Army and preparation. For he laying siege unto the Holy City of *EPIDAUROM*, when every man looked they should have taken it, was compelled to raise his siege; for the plague, that was so vehement, that it did not onely kill the *ATHENIANS* themselves, but all other also (were they never so few) that came to them or neere the Campe. Wherefore perceiving the *ATHENIANS* were marvellously offended with him, he did what he could to comfort them and put them in heart againe: *Pericles* depriv'd all was in vaine, he could not pacifie them: for by the most part of voices, they desired him of his charge of Generall, and condemned him in a marvellous great fine and summe of Money, the which charge those

Cleon accuseth *Pericles*.

Note *Pericles* policie to pacifie the peoples anger. *EGINA* won by the *Abenians*.

Plague at *Athens*.

Accusations against *Pericles*.

An Eclipse of the Sun.

Pericles hard fortune.

Pericles depriv'd of his charge.

Pericles home troubles.

Pericles constancy.

A Law at Athens for base borne Children.

Pericles the base borne put to death.
Pericles sickness.
A philosophical question touching the change of mens manners by misfortunes

those that tell the least, doe write, that it was the summe of fiftene Talents: and those that say more, speake of fifty Talents. The accuser subscribed in this condemnation, was *Gleom*, as *Idomenus*, or *Simmius* say, or as *Theophrastus* writeth: yet *Heraclides Ponticus* saith, one *Lacratides*. Now his common griefes were soone blowne over; for the people did easily let fall their displeasures towards him, as the Waspe leaveth her sting behinde her with them she had stung. But his owne private affaires and household causes were in very ill case; both for that the plague had taken away many of his friends and kinsmen from him, as also for that he and his house had continued a long time in disgrace. For *Xanippus* (*Pericles* Sonne and Heire) being a man of a very ill disposition and nature, and having married a younge woman very prodigall and lavish of expence, the Daughter of *Alander*, Sonne of *Epylichus*, he grudged much at his Fathers hardnesse, who scantily gave him Money and but a little at a time. Whereupon he sent on a time to one of his Fathers friends in *Pericles* Name, to pray him to lend him some Money, who sent it unto him: But afterwards when he came to demand it againe, *Pericles* did not onely refuse to pay it him, but further also he put him in suite. But this made the younge man *Xanippus* to angry with his Father, that he spake very ill of him in every place where he came: and reported in way of mockery, how his Father spent his time when he was at home, and what talke he had with the Sophisters, and the Master Rhetoricians: For a mischance fortuning on a time, at the game of the throwing of the Dart, who should throw best, that he that threw, did unfortunately kill one *Epiimemus* a *THESSALIAN*: *Xanippus* went prating up and downe the Towne, that his Father *Pericles* was a whole day disputing with *Protagoras* the Rhetorician, to know which of the three by Law and reason should be condemned for this murder: The Dart, he that threw the Dart, or the deviser of the game. Moreover *Stesimbrotus* writeth, that the bruit that ranne thorough the City, that *Pericles* did keepe his Wife, was fowne abroad by *Xanippus* himselfe. But so it is, this quarrell and hate betwixt the Father and the Sonne continued without reconciliation unto the death. For *Xanippus* died in the great plague, and *Pericles* owne Sister also; moreover he lost at that time by the plague, the more part of his friends and kinsfolkes, and those specially that did him greatest pleasure in governing of the State. But all this did never pull down his countenance, nor any thing abate the greatnesse of his minde, what misfortune soever he had sustained. Neither saw they him weep at any time, nor mourne at the funerals of any of his kinsmen or friends, but at the death of *Paralus*, his youngest and lawfull begotten Sonne: for the losse of him alone did onely melt his heart. Yet he did strive to shew his naturall constancy, and to keepe his accustomed modesty. But as he would have put a Garland of Flowers upon his head, sorrow did so pierce his heart when he saw his face, that then he burst out in teares and cried amaine; which they never saw him doe before all the dayes of his life. Furthermore the people having proved other Captaines and Governours, and finding by experience that there was no one of them of judgement and authority sufficient for so great a charge: in the end, of themselves they called him againe to the Pulpit for Orations to heare their Counsels, and to the state of a Captaine also to take charge of the state. But at that time he kept himselfe close in his house, as one bewailing his late grievous losse and sorrow. Howbeit *Alcibiades*, and other his familiar friends, perswaded him to shew himselfe unto the people; who did excuse themselves unto him, for their ingratitude towards him. *Pericles* then taking the Governement againe upon him, the first matter he entred into was: that he prayed them to revoke the Statute he had made for base borne Children, fearing lest his lawfull Heires would faile, and so his house and Name should fall to the ground. But as for the Law, thus it stood: *Pericles* when he was in his best authority, caused a Law to be made, that they onely should be counted Citizens of *ATHENS*, which were natural *ATHENIANS* born by Father and Mother. Not long time after, it fortuned that the King of *EGYPT* having sent a gift unto the people of *ATHENS*, of fourty thousand bushels of Corne, to be distributed among the Citizens there: many by occasion of this Law were accused to be base borne, and especially men of the baser sort of people, which were not knowne before; or at the least had no reckoning made of them, and so some of them were falsely and wrongfully condemned. Whereupon so it fell out, that there were no lesse then five thousand of them convicted and sold for slaves: and those that remained as free-men, and were judged to be naturall Citizens, amounted to the number of fourteene thousand and forty persons. Now this was much disliked of the people, that a Law enacted, and that had bene of such force, should by the selfe same maker and deviser of the same be againe revoked and called in. Howbeit *Pericles* late calamity that fortuned to his house, did breake the peoples hardened hearts against him: who thinking these sorrowes smart, to be punishment enough unto him for his former pride, and judging that by Gods divine justice and permission this plague and losse fell upon him, and that his request also was tollerable: they suffered him to enrolle his base borne Sonne in the Register of the lawfull Citizens of his family, giving him his owne Name *Pericles*. It is the selfe same *Pericles*, who after he had overcome the *PELOPONNESIANS* in a great battell by sea, neere unto the Isles of *ARGINUSES*, was put to death by sentence of the people, with other Captains his companions. Now was *Pericles* at that time infected with the plague, but not so vehemently as other were, but more temperately: which by long space of time, with many alterations and changes, did by little and little decay and consume the strength of his body, and overcame his senses and noble minde. Therefore *Theophrastus* in his *Morals* declareth in a place where he disputeth, whether mens manners doe change with their misfortunes, and whether corporall troubles and afflictions doe so alter men, that they forget vertue, and abandon reason: that *Pericles* in his sicknesse shewed a friend of his that came to see him, I cannot tell what a preserving Charme, that the women had tied (as a Carcanet) about his necke, to let him understand he was very ill, since he suffered them to apply such

Pericles death.

A notable saying of Pericles at his death.

Pericles defectively called Olympius.

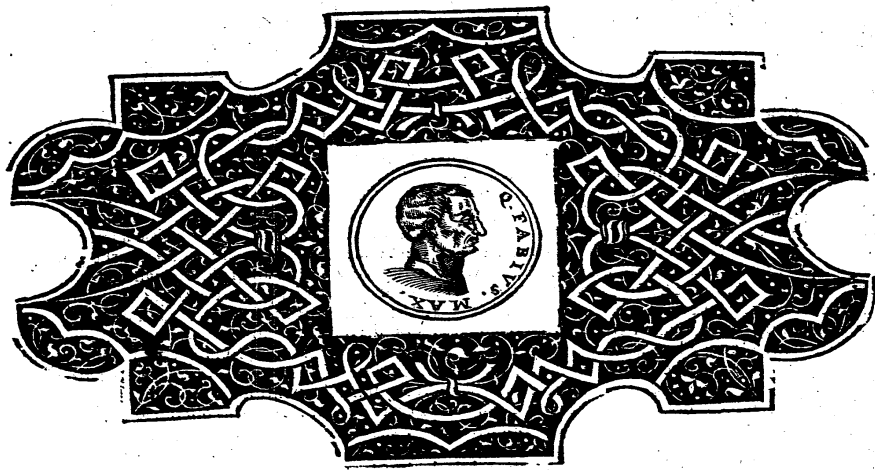
The Athenians lamented the losse of Pericles being dead.

such a foolish bable to him. In the end *Pericles* drawing fast unto his death, the Nobility of the City, and such his friends as were left alive, standing about his bed, began to speake of his vertue, and of the great authority he had borne, considering the greatnesse of his Noble acts, and counting the number of his victories he had wonne (for he had wonne Nine foughten battels being Generall of the *ATHENIANS*, and had set up so many tokens and triumphs in honour of his Countrey) they reckoned up among themselves all these matters, as if he had not underflood them, imagining his senses had beene gone. But he contrarily being yet of perfect memory, heard all what they had said, and thus he began to speake unto them: That he marvelled why they had so highly praised that in him, which was common to many other Captaines, and wherein fortune dealt with them in equality alike, and all this while they had forgotten to speake of the best and most notable thing that was in him, which was, that no *ATHENIAN* had ever worne blacke gowne through his occasion; and sure so was he a noble and worthy person. For he did not onely shew himselfe mercifull and courteous, even in weighty matters of government among so envious people and hatefull enemies; but he had this judgement also to thinke, that the most noble acts he did were these; that he never gave himselfe to hatred, envy nor choler, to be revenged of his most mortall enemy, without mercy shewed towards him, though he had committed unto him such absolute power and sole government among them. And this made his surname be *Olympius* (that is, divine or celestiall) which otherwise for him had bene too proud and arrogant a Name, because he was of so good and gentle a nature, and for that in so great liberty he had kept cleane hands and undefiled: even as we esteeme the gods authors of all good, and causers of no evil, and so worthy to governe and rule the whole Monarchy of the world. And not as Poets say, which doe confound our wits by their follies and fond feignings, and are also contrary to themselves, considering that they call Heaven (which containeth the gods) the everlasting seate, which trembleth not, and is not driven nor moved with windes, neither is darkned with clouds, but is always bright and cleare, and at all times shining equally with a pure bright light, as being the onely habitation and mansion place of the eternall God, onely happy and immortal: and afterwards they describe it themselves, full of dissensions and enmities, of anger and passions, which doe nothing become wise and Learned men. But this discourse peradventure would be better spoken of in some other Booke. Now the troubles the *ATHENIANS* felt immediately after *Pericles* death, made them then lament the losse of so Noble a member. For those who unpatiently did brooke his great authority while he lived, because it drowned their owne; when they came after his death to prove other speakers and Governours, they were compelled then to confesse, that no mans nature living could be more moderate nor grave, with lenity and mercy, then was his. And that most hated power, which in his life time they called Monarchy, did then most plainly appeare unto them, to have bene the manifest rampier and bulwarke of the safety of their whole State and Commonweale: such corruption and vice in government of the State did then spring up immediately after his death, which when he was alive, he did ever suppress and keep under, in such sort, that either it did not appeare at all, or at least it came not to that head and liberty, that such faults were committed, as were unpossible to be remedied.

The End of the Life of Pericles.



THE LIFE OF FABIUS MAXIMUS.



Ann. Mund.
3628.]

Ant. Christ.
320.

Having already declared unto you such things worthy memory as we could collect and gather of the Life of *Pericles*: it is now good time we should proceed to write also of the Life of *Fabius Maximus*. It is said the first *Fabius*, from whom the House and Family of the *Fabians* did descend; (being the greatest and Noblest house of all other in Rome) was begotten by *Hercules*, whom he got of a *Nymph*, or (as other say) a Woman of the Country by the River of Tyber. And some say, that the first of this House, were called at the beginning *Fodians*, because they did hunt wilde beasts, with pitfalls and ditches. For unto this present the ROMANES call ditches *Fosse*; and to digge *Fodere*. Since that time, the two second Letters have beene changed and they have called them *Fabians*. But howsoever it was, this is certaine, that many Noble men have come out of that House: and among other, there was one of that House called *Fabius Rullus*, whom the ROMANES for his noble acts did surname *Maximus*, very great. After him *Fabius Maximus*, whose Life we have now in hand, was the fourth lineally descended of the same line, and he was surnamed *Verrucosus*, because of a certaine birth-marke he had upon one of his lips, like a little wart. And he was also surnamed *Ovicula*, a little Lambe, for his softnesse, slownesse, and gravity of his doings whilst he was a childe. But, because of nature he was dull, still, and very silent, and that he was seldome seene to play at any pastime among the boyes, and for that they saw he was but of slow capacity, and hard to learne and conceive, and withall that the boyes might doe to him what they would, he was so lowly to his fellows: this made men judge that looked not into him, that he would prove a very foole and idiot. Yet other were in contrary opinion of him: who considering more deeply the man, perceived in his nature a certaine secret constancy and the majesty of a Lyon. But *Fabius* selfe when he was called to serve the Commonweale, did quickly shew to the world, that which they tooke for dullnesse in him, was his gravity, which never altered for no cause or respect: and that which other judged fearefullnesse in him, was very wisdom. And where he shewed himselfe not hasty nor sodaine in any thing, it was found in him an assured and settled constancy. Wherefore when he came to consider the great sovereignty of the Commonweale, and the continuall warres it was in, he did use his body to all hardnesse, and brought up himselfe therewithall, that he might be the better able to serve in the field: and he gave himselfe much to eloquence also, as a necessary instrument to perswade Souldiers unto reason. His tongue likewise did agree with his conditions and manner of life. For he had no manner of affectation, nor counterfet finenesse in his speech, but his words (as were ever very grave and profound, and his sentences even grafted in him by nature, and (as some say) were much like *Thucydides* sayings: As appeareth in a funerall Oration he made before the

Fabius Rullus.
Maximus called
Verrucosus and
Ovicula.

the people in the praise of his Sonne, who died when he came out of his Consulship, which is yet extant to be seene. Now as for him, having been five times chosen Consul, in his first yeare of his Consulship, he triumphed over the *LIGURIANS* (which be people of the mountaines, and upon the coast of *GENOVA*) who being overthrown by him in a great battell, where they had lost many men, they were compelled to goe their way, and to take the *ALPS* for their succour, and durst no more appeare upon the borders of *ITALY*, whereupon they did confine. *Hannibal* entring *ITALY* afterwards with a great Army, and having won the first battell neare unto the River of *TREBIA*: he passed further and went through *THUSCAN*, waisting and destroying all the Countrey as he passed by. This made *ROME* quake for feare. Besides they saw many signes and tokens, some common unto them, as thundring, lightning and such other like: but other also more strange, never seene nor heard of before. For it was reported that certaine Targets were waxen all bloody of themselves, and that about the City of *ANTIUM* they found Wheate eares, which were all bloody when they were reaped: that there fell from Heaven burning stones, all in a flame of fire: and in the Countrey of the *PHALERIANS* how the element seemed to open, and many little written scroles fell downe upon the ground, in one of the which were written these words, word for word: *Mars doth now handle his Weapons*. But all these signes and wonders did nothing appall nor daunt the boldnesse of *Caius Flaminius* Consul then: who besides the naturall great courage, and aspiring minde he had to honour, yet was it beyond all reason increased in him, by the wonderfull good successe he had before. For, notwithstanding the Senate called him home againe, and that his fellow Consul stood against his intent; he for all that did give battell to the *GAULES*, in despite of them all, and won the victory. Likewise, though all these signes and wonders in the ayre, did greatly trouble and amaze multitudes of people: yet did they nothing trouble *Fabius*, for he saw no apparent cause to be troubled withall. But he understanding the small number of his enemies, and lacke of Money that was among them: gave counsell, and was of opinion that they should patiently forbear a little, and not to hazard battell against a man, whose Army had been long trained in warres, and by many foughten fields was grown valiant and expert. Moreover, he thought good they should send aide to their subjects, and other in their allies and confederates, as need required, to keepe their Cities still under their obedience: and in the meane season by tract of time, to weare out *Hannibals* force and power, which was like straw set on fire, that straight giveth forth a blaze, and yet hath no substance to hold fire long. When *Fabius* had thus said enough to perswade *Flaminius*, yet it would not sinke into *Flaminius* head: for said he, I will not tarry until the warres come to *ROME* gates, neither will I be brought to fight upon the walles of the City to defend it, as *Camillus* did, that fought within the City himselfe in old time. Whereupon he commanded his Captaine to set out their bands to the field, and he himselfe tooke his Horsebacke; which upon the suddaine, without any cause, was so afraid, and tooke on so with himselfe, that he cast the Consul to the ground with his head forward. For all this fall he would not change his minde, but held on his journey towards *Hannibal*, and presented him battell in *THUSCAN*, by the Lake called *Thrasimena*, which is the Lake of *PERUSIA*. This battell was so fiercely fought on both sides, that notwithstanding there was such a terrible earthquake therewith, that some Cities were overthrowne and turned topsie turvie, some Rivers had their streames turned against their course, and the foote of the mountaines were torne in sunder and broken open; yet not one of them that were fighting, heard any such thing at all. *Flaminius* the Consul himselfe was slaine at that battell, after he had in his owne person done many valiant acts, and many of the worthiest Gentlemen and valiant Souldiers of his Army lay dead about him: the residue being fled, the slaughter was great, for the bodies slaine were Fifteene thousand, and so many Prisoners left alive. After this overthrow, *Hannibal* made all the search he could possibly to finde the body of *Flaminius*, to bury him honourably, because of his valiantnesse; but he could never be found amongst the dead bodies, neither was it ever heard what became of it. Now as touching the first overthrow at *TREBIA*, neither the Generall that wrote it, nor the Post that brought the first newes to *Rome*, told the troth of it as it was, but fained that the end was doubtfull, and that they could not tell who had the best. But of this battell, so soone as the *Prator Pomponius* had received the newes, he called all the people to counsell, where without disguising or dissembling at all, he plainly said thus unto them: My Lords, we have lost the battell, our Army is overthrowne and the Consul himselfe is slaine in the field: wherefore, consider what you have to doe, and provide for your safety. These words spoken to the people, as it had beene a boysterous storme of weather that had fallen on them from the sea to put them in danger, did so terrifie the multitude, and trouble the whole City for feare, that they were all in a maze, and knew not what to determine. Yet in the end they all agreed, that it stood them upon to have a chiefe Magistrate, called in Latine *Dictator*, that should be a man of courage, and could stoutly use it without sparing or fearing any person. And for this, *Fabius Maximus* was thought the onely man meete to be chosen, as he, whose noble courage and grave behaviour was answerable to the dignity and sovereignty of the Office: and moreover, that to his gravity and wisdom there was joyned (by reasonable age) strength of body, and valiantnesse with experience. This counsell being confirmed by them all, *Fabius* was chosen *Dictator*, who named *Lucius Minutius* Generall of the Horsemen. Then he first required the Senate, that they would grant him he might have his Horse in the warres: the which was not lawfull for the *Dictator*, but expressly forbidden by an ancient order. Either because they thought the chiefe force of their Army did consist in their Footemen, which caused the making of this Law; whereby the Generall should be amongst them in the day of the battell, and in no wise should forsake them: Or else

Fabius five
times Consul.

Hannibal de-
stroyeth the
Countrey of
Tuscan.

Wonders.

Flaminius
rashnesse.

Fabius wife
counsell.

The Romanes
slaine by the
Lake *Thrasimena*.

Flaminius the
Consul slaine.

Fabius *Dictator*.

The *Dictator*
might not ride
in the warres.
Or else

The Majesty
of Fabius the
Dictator.

Fabius Reli-
gion.

The Sibylles
Bookes of Pro-
phesies.

Fabius Vow.

Fabius doing
against Hanni-
bal.

Minutius Ge-
nerall of the
H. Romenes de-
spised Fabius
council.

else because the authority of this Magistrate in all other things was so great, that it was in manner after the state of a King: Yet all this notwithstanding, they were willing thereunto, and that the Dictator should have absolute power over the people. Fabius at his first coming, because he would shew the majesty and dignity of his Office, that every man should be the more obedient and ready at his commandment: when he went abroad, he had foure and twenty Sergeants before him, carrying the bundles of Rods and Axes. And when one of the Consuls came to him, he sent a Sergeant to command his bundle of Rods that were carried before him, to be put downe, and all other tokens of dignity to be laid aside: and that he should come and speake with him, as a private man. And first to make a good foundation, and to begin with the service of the gods, he declared unto the people, that the losse they had received, came through the rashnesse and willfull negligence of their Captaine, who made no reckoning of the gods nor Religion: and not through any default and cowardinesse of the Souldiers. And for this cause he did perswade them not to be afraid of their enemies, but to appease the wrath of the gods, and to serve and honour them. Not that he made them hereby superstitious, but did confirme their valiancy with true Religion and godlinesse: and besides did utterly take away and asswage their feare of their enemies, by giving them certaine hope and assurance of the aide of the gods. Then were the holy Bookes of the Sibylles Prophetes perused, which were kept very secret, and therein they found certaine ancient Prophetes and Oracles, which spake of the present misfortunes of the time: But what was contained therein, it is not lawfull to be uttered to any person. Afterwards the Dictator, before the open assembly of the people made a solemne vow unto the gods, that he would sacrifice all the profits and fruits that should fall the next yeare, of Sheep, of Sows, of milch-Kine, of Goats in the Mountaines, champion Country, Rivers or Meadows of ITALY. And he would celebrate playes of Musicke, and shew other fights in the honour of the gods, and would bestow upon the same the summe of three hundred three and thirty Sestericians, and three hundred three and thirty ROMANE Pence, and a third part over. All which summe reduced into GRECIAN Money, amounteth to fourescore and three thousand, five hundred and fourescore and three silver Drachmaes, and two Oboles. Now it was a hard thing to tell the reason why he doth mention this summe so precisely, and why he did divide it by three, unlesse it were to extoll the power of the number of Three: because it is a perfect number by the nature, and it is the first of the odd numbers, which is the beginning of divers numbers, and containeth in it selfe the first differences, and the first elements and principles of all the numbers united and joyned together. So Fabius having brought the people to hope and trust to have the ayde and favour of the gods, made them in the end the better disposed to live well afterwards. Then Fabius hoping after victory, and that the gods would send good lucke and prosperity unto men through their valianthesse and wisdom: did straight set forwards unto Hannibal, not as minded to fight with him, but fully resolved to weare out his strength and power, by delays and tract of time: and to increase his poverty by the long spending of his owne money, and to consume the small number of his people, with the great number of his Souldiers. Fabius camped alwayes in the strong and high places of the mountaines, out of all danger of his enemies Horsemen, and coasted still after the enemy: so that when Hannibal stayed in any place, Fabius also stayed: if Hannibal removed, he followed him straight, and would be alwayes neere him, but never forsooke the hills, neither would he come so neere him, as that he should be enforced to fight against his will. Yet alwayes he followed the enemy at his taile, and made him ever afraid of him, thinking still that he sought to get the vantage, to give the charge upon him. Thus by delaying, and prolonging the time in this sort, he became disliked of every body: for every man both in his owne Campe and abroad, spake very ill of him openly: and as for his enemies, they tooke him for no better then a ranke coward, Hannibal onely excepted. But he perceiving his great reach and policie, and foreseeing his manner of fight, saw there was no remedy, but by plaine force or slight to bring him to the fight: for otherwise his delay would overthrow the CARTHAGINIANS, when they should not come to handy strokes with him, wherein onely consisted all their hope and strength, and in the meane time his Souldiers should fall away and die, and his Money wax scant, and himselfe should grow the weaker. Thereupon Hannibal began to bethinke him, and devise all the stratagemes and policies of warre he could imagine: and like a cunning wrestler, to seeke out all the trickes he could to give his adversary the fall. For suddenly he would goe and give alarm to his Campe; by and by againe he would retire: Another time he would remove his Campe from one place to another, and give him some advantage, to see if he could plucke his lingring device out of his head, and yet to hazard nothing. But as for Fabius, he continued still resolute in the first determination: that delay of fight was the best way, so to overthrow him. Howbeit Minutius, Generall of his Horsemen, did trouble him much: for he being earnestly bent to fight without discretion, and braving of a lusty courage, crept into opinion with the Souldiers, by his hot fury and desire to fight: Which wrought much in them, and so stirred up their courages, that they mocked Fabius altogether, and called him Hannibals School-master: and contrariwise they commended Minutius, for a valiant Captaine and worthy ROMANE. This made Minutius looke high, and have a proud opinion of himselfe, mocking Fabius because he ever lodged on the hills, with saying the Dictator would make them goodly sports, to see their enemies waste and burne ITALY before their faces. Moreover he asked Fabius friends, Whether he would in the end lodge his Campe in the skie, that he did climbe so high upon mountaines, mistrusting the earth: or else that he

was

was so afraid his enemies would finde him out, that he went to hide himselfe in the clotdes. Fabius friends made report of these jests, and advised him rather to hazard battell, then to beare such reproachfull words as were spoken of him. But Fabius answered them: If I should yeeld to that you counsell me, I should shew my selfe a greater coward then I am taken for now: by leaving my determination, for feare of their mocks and spightfull words. For it is no shame for a man to stand fearefull and jealous of the welfare and safety of his Countrey: but otherwise to be afraid of the wagging of every straw, or to regard every common prating, it is not the part of a worthy man of courage, but rather of a base minded person, to seeke to please those whom he ought to command and governe, because they are but fooles. After this Hannibal chanced to fall into a great error: for intending to leave Fabius to bring his Army into the plaines, where there was plenty of Victuals, and store of Pasture to feede his Horse and Cattell: he commanded his guides to bring him straight after supper, into the plaine of CASINUM. They mistaking his words, and not understanding well what he said, because his ITALIAN Tongue was but meane, tooke one thing for another, and so brought him and his Army to the end of the field neere the City of CASTILINUM, through the midst of which runneth a River, the ROMANES call Vulturum fl. Now the Countrey lying by it, was a Valley compassed in with Mountaines round about, saving that the River went to the Sea: where leaving its owne banks, it spreadeth abroad into the marishes and banks of sand very deepe, and in the end fell into that part of the Sea which is most dangerous, and where was neither succour nor covert. Hannibal being now fallen as it were into the bottome of a sacke; Fabius that knew the Countrey, and was very perfect in all the wayes thereabouts, followed him steppe by steppe, and stopped his passage, where they should have come out of the Valley, with foure thousand Footemen, which he planted there to keepe the straight, and disposed the rest of his Army upon the hangings of the hills, in the most apt and fit places all about. Then with his Light horsemen he gave a charge upon the rereward of his enemies battell: which put all Hannibals Army by and by out of order, and so there were slaine eight hundred of his men. Whereupon Hannibal would have removed his Campe thence immediately: and knowing then the fault his guides had made, taking one place for another, and the danger wherein they had brought him, he roundly trussed them up, and hung them by the neckes. Now to force his enemies to come downe from the tops of the hills, and to winne them from their strength, he saw it was impossible, and out of all hope. Wherefore perceiving his Souldiers both afraid and discouraged, for that they saw themselves hemmed in on all sides, without any order to escape; Hannibal determined to deceive Fabius by a device. He caused straight two thousand Oxen to be chosen out of the heard, which they had taken before in their spoiles, and tied to their hornes light bundles of reedes, and fallow faggots, or bunches of the dead cuttings of Vines: and commanded the Drovers that had the charge of them, that when they saw any signall or token lift up in the aire in the night, they should then straight set fire on those bundles and bunches, and drive up the beasts to the hills, towards the wayes where the enemies lay. Whilst these things were preparing, he on the other side ranged his Army in order of battell, and when night came, caused them to march faire and softly. Now these beasts, whilst the fire was but little that burnt upon their hornes, went but faire and softly up the hill, from the foote of the mountaines from whence they were driven: in such manner as the Heardmen that were on the top of the mountaines, wondered marvelously to see such flames of fire about the hornes of so many beasts, as if it had been an Army marching in order of battell with lights and torches. But when their hornes came to be burnt to the stumps, and that the force of the fire did fry their very flesh, then began the Oxen to fight together, and to shake their heads, whereby they did set one another on fire. Then left they their soft pace, and went no more in order as they did before, but for the extreme paine they felt, began to runne here and there in the mountaines, carrying fire still about their hornes, and in their tailes, and set fire of all the boughes and Coppies they passed by. This was a strange sight to looke upon, and did much amaze the ROMANES, that kept the passages of the mountaines, for they thought they had bene men that ranne here and there with Torches in their hands. Whereupon they were in a marvellous feare and trouble, supposing they had bene their enemies that ranne thus towards them, to environ them on all sides, so as they durst no more keepe the passages which they were commanded, but forsaking their straights, began to flie towards their maine and great Campe. Thereupon Hannibals Light horsemen immediately possessed the straights that were kept: by reason whereof, all the rest of his Army marched out at their ease and leisure, without feare or danger, notwithstanding they were laden and troubled with marvellous great spoiles, and of all kinde of forts. Fabius then perceived very well the same night, that it was but a sleight of Hannibal: for some of the Oxen that fled here and there fell upon his Army: Whereupon fearing to fall upon some ambush by reason of the darke night, he kept his Men in battell ray, without stirring, or making any noyse. The next morning by breake of day, he began to follow his enemies by the tracke, and fell upon the taile of the rereward, with whom he skirmished within the straights of the mountaines, and so did distresse somewhat Hannibals Army. Hannibal thereupon sent out of his vanguard a certaine number of SPANIARDS (very lusty and nimble fellows that were used to the mountaines, and acquainted with climbing up upon them) who coming downe, and setting upon the ROMANES that were heavy armed, slew a great number of them, and made Fabius to retire. Thereupon they despised Fabius the more, and thought worse of him then they did before, because his pretence and determination was, not to be brought

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Hannibal craft-
tiness against
Fabius.

Fabius chan-
geeth Prisoners
with Hannibal.

Fabius redee-
meth the Pri-
soners with his
Money.

Fabius leaveth
Minnitius his
Lieutenant in
the field.

Minnitius rash-
ness.

Fabius accused
of Treason by
Metellus the
Tribune.

The cruelty of
Manlius Tor-
quatus to his
Sonne after
his victory.

brought to fight with *Hannibal*, but by wisdom and policie to overthrow him, whereas he himselfe by *Hannibal* was first finely handled and deceived. *Hannibal* then to bring *Fabius* further in disliking and suspicion with the ROMANS, commanded his Souldiers when they came neare any of *Fabius* Lands, that they should burne and destroy all round about them, but gave them in charge in no wise to meddle with *Fabius* Lands, nor any thing of his, and did purposely appoint a Garrison to see that nothing of *Fabius* should miscarry, nor yet take hurt. This was straight carried to ROME, which did thereby the more incense the people against him. And to helpe it forward, the Tribunes never ceased crying out upon him in their Orations to the people, and all by *Metellus* speciall procurement and perswasion: who of himselfe had no cause to dislike with *Fabius*, but onely because he was *Minnitius* Kinsman (General of the Horsemen) and thought that the ill opinion they beare to *Fabius*, would turne to the praise and advancement of *Minnitius*. The Senate also were much offended with *Fabius*, for the composition he made with *Hannibal*, touching the Prisoners taking of either side. For it was Articled between them, that they should change Prisoners, delivering Man for Man, or else two hundred and fifty silver Drachmas for a Man, if the one chanced to have more Prisoners then the other. When exchange was made between them, it appeared that *Hannibal* had left in his hands of ROMAN Prisoners, two hundred and forty more then *Fabius* had to exchange of his. The Senate commanded there should be no Money sent to redeeme them, and greatly found fault with *Fabius* for making this accord: because it was neither honourable nor profitable for the Commonweale, to redeeme men that cowardly suffered themselves to be taken Prisoners of their enemies. *Fabius* understanding it, did patiently beare this displeasure conceived against him by the Senate. Howbeit having no Money, and meaning to keepe his word, and not to leave the poore Citizens Prisoners behind him: he sent his Sonne to ROME, with Commission to sell his Lands, and bring him Money immediately. The young man went his way to ROME, and sold his Fathers Farmes, and brought him Money forthwith to the Campe: *Fabius* therewith redeemed the Prisoners, and sent their ranfome unto *Hannibal*. Many of the Prisoners whom he had redeemed, offered to repay him their ranfome; but he would never take any thing againe, and gave them all their ranfome freely. Afterwards being called to ROME by the Priests to doe certaine solemne Sacrifices, he left the Army in charge with *Minnitius* to governe the same in his absence: with condition not to set upon the enemy, nor to fight with him at all: the which not onely by his authority he did exprelly forbid him, but also as his very friend, he did warne and intreat him in no wise to attempt. Howbeit *Minnitius* little regarding his commandments or requests, so soone as *Fabius* backe was turned, began to be somewhat luffy, and doing with his enemies. So one day amongst the rest, *Minnitius* perceiving *Hannibal* had sent a great part of his Army abroad to forrage and get victuals, came and set upon them that remained behinde, and drave them into their Campe, with great slaughter, and did put them in a marvellous feare that were saved, as men that looked for no lesse, but to have been besieged in their Campe. Afterwards also, when their whole Army came together againe, he retired backe in sight of them all, and lost not a man. This exploit set *Minnitius* in a pride, and brought the Souldiers to be more rash then they were before. The newes of this overthrow went with speed to ROME, and there they made it a great deale more then it was. *Fabius* hearing of it, said; he was more afraid of *Minnitius* prosperity, then of his owne adversity. But the common people rejoiced marvellously, and made great shew of joy and downe the market-place. Whereupon *Metellus* one of the Tribunes going up into the Pulpit, made an Oration unto the people, in the which he highly magnified *Minnitius*, and commended his courage: and contrarily charged *Fabius* no more of cowardlinesse, but with flat treason. Furthermore, he did accuse the Nobility and greatest men of ROME, saying: that from the first beginning they had laid a Plot, to draw these warres out at length, onely to destroy the peoples power and authority, having brought the whole Commonweale to the state of a Monarchy, and into the hands of a private person; who by his remissenesse and delays, would give *Hannibal* leisure to plant himselfe in ITALY, and by time give open passage to the CARTHAGINIANS, at their pleasure to send *Hannibal* a second aide and Army, to make a full conquest of all ITALY. *Fabius* hearing these words, rose up straight and spake to the people, and taried not about the answering of the accusations the Tribune had burthened him withall; but prayed them they would dispatch these Sacrifices and Ceremonies of the gods, that he might speedily returne againe to the Campe, to punish *Minnitius*, for breaking his commandment, in fighting with the enemy. He had no sooner spoken these words, but there arose a marvellous tumult and hurlyburly presently among the people, for the danger *Minnitius* stood in then, because the Dictator had absolute power and authority to imprison and put to death whom he thought good, without ordinary course of Law or arraignment. Moreover, they did judge, since *Fabius* had of late left his accustomed mildnesse and affability, that he would grow to such severity in his anger, that it would be a hard thing to appeale him. Wherefore every man held his peace for feare, saving onely *Metellus* the Tribune: he having authority by vertue of his Office, to say what he thought good, and who onely of all other kept still his place and authority, when any Dictator was chosen. Then all the Officers that were put downe, instantly besought the people not to forsake *Minnitius*, nor to suffer the like to be done to him, as *Manlius Torquatus* did of late to his Sonne, who strook off his head, after he had valiantly fought with his enemies and overcome them; for breaking his commandment. And began to perswade them further, to take this tyrannicall power of the Dictatorship from *Fabius*; and to put their affaires into the hands of him, that would and could tell how to bring them safely to passe. The people were tickled marvellously with these seditious words, but yet they durst not force

Fabius

Fabius to resigne his Dictatorship, though they bare him great grudge, and were angry with him in their hearts. Howbeit they ordained, that *Minnitius* thenceforth should have equal power and authority with the Dictator in the warres; a thing that was never seen nor heard of before, and yet the very same done in that sort againe, after the battell of CANNES. For *Marcus Junius* being at that time Dictator in the Campe, they did chuse another Dictator in ROME, which was *Fabius Buteo*, to Name and create new Senators in the place of those that were slaine in the battell. But after he had named them, and restored the full number againe of the Councill of the Senate, he discharged the selfe same day the Sergeants that carried the Axes before him, and sent away the traine that waited upon him, and did so put himselfe in prease of the people in the market-place, and followed his owne peculiar businesse as a private person. Now the ROMANS imagined, that when *Fabius* should see how they had made *Minnitius* equall in authority with him, it would grieve him to the heart for very anger: but they came short to judge of his nature, for he did not think that their folly should hurt or dishonour him at all. But as wife *Diogenes* answered one that said unto him, Looke, they mocke thee: Tush (said he) they mocke not me: meaning thereby, that he tooke them to be mocked, that were offended with their mockes. Thus *Fabius* tooke every think quietly, that the people offered him, and did comfort himselfe with the Philosophers rules and examples; who did maintaine, that an honest and wise man, can no way be injured nor dishonoured. For all the displeasure he received by the peoples folly, was in respect of the Commonweale; because they had put a Sword into a mad mans hand, in giving *Minnitius* authority to follow his rash humour and fond ambition in the warres. Wherefore, fearing lest he being blinded with vaine glory and presumptuous opinion of himselfe, should rashly (and upon a head) hasten to doe some great hurt before he came to the Campe, he departed suddenly out of ROME without any mans knowledge, to returne againe to the Campe, where he found *Minnitius* so proud and stout, that he was not to be dealt with. For he would needs have the authority to command the whole Army when it came to his turne. But *Fabius* would not consent to that, but divided the Army betweene them; thinking it better he should alone command the one halfe, then the whole Army by turnes. So he chose for himselfe the first and third Legion; and gave unto him the second and fourth; and divided also betweene them the aide of their Friends. And when *Minnitius* made his boast, that the Majesty of the highest Magistrate was brought lower for his sake; *Fabius* told him, that he might thinke, if he were wife, he had not to fight with him, but with *Hannibal*: and if he would needs contend against his Companion, yet he should have a speciall regard and consideration, that having wonne now the Citizens good wils, by whom he was so much honoured, he should have no lesse care of their health and safety; then he had, who was now trodden under foot, and ill intreated by them. *Minnitius* tooke his lesson for a counterfeit mock, after old mens manners and fashion: and so taking the one halfe of the Army unto him, went and lodged alone by himselfe. *Hannibal* hearing of their jarre and squaring together, sought straight opportunity to make their discord finely to serve his turne. Now there was a hill between both their Campes not very hard to be won, and it was an excellent place to lodge a Campe safely in, and was very fit and commodious for all things. The Fields that were about it, did seem afar off to be very plaine and even ground, because they had no covert of wood to shadow them, yet were there many ditches and little vallies in them: wherefore *Hannibal* though he might easily have taken it at his pleasure if he had list, did let it alone in the midst betweene them, for a baite to draw out his enemies to battell. Now when *Hannibal* saw *Fabius* and *Minnitius* lodged asunder, he placed certaine bandes in the night among those ditches and vallies. Afterwards the next morning by breake of day, he sent a small number of men openly to winne this hill: hoping by this policy to traine *Minnitius* out to the Field, as it fell out indeed. For first *Minnitius* sent thither his light horsemen, and afterwards all his men at armes: and lastly perceiving that *Hannibal* himselfe came to releve his men that were upon the hill, he himselfe marched forward also with all the rest of his Army in order of battell, and gave a hot charge upon them that defended the hill, to drive them thence. The fight continued equall a good space betweene them both, untill such time as *Hannibal* saw his enemy come directly within his danger, and shewed the rereward of his battell naked unto his men, whom before he had laid in ambush: he straight raised the signall he had given them. They upon that discovered all together, and with great cries did set upon the rereward of the ROMANS, and slew a great number of them at the first charge: and did put the rest in such a feare and disorder, as it is impossible to expresse it. Then was *Minnitius* rash bravery and fond boasts much cooled, when he looked first upon one Captain, then upon another, and saw in none of them any courage to tarry by it, but rather that they were all ready to run away: which if they had done, they had bene cast away every man: for the NUMIDIANS finding they were the stronger, did disperse themselves all about the plaine, killing all straglers that fled. *Minnitius* Souldiers being brought to this danger and distresse, which *Fabius* foresaw they would fall into and having upon this occasion his Army ready ranged in order of battell, to see what would become of *Minnitius*, not by report of Messengers, but with his owne eyes: he got him to a little hill before his Campe, where when he saw *Minnitius* and all his men compassed about on every side, and even staggering and ready to fly, and heard besides their cries, not like men that had hearts to fight, but as men scared, and ready to fly for feare to save themselves: he clapped his hand on his thigh, and fetched a great sigh, saying to those that were about them: O gods, how *Minnitius* is gone to cast himself away, sooner then I looked for, and later then he desired? But in speaking these words, he made his ensignes march on in haste, crying out aloud: O my friends, we must dispatch with speed to succour *Minnitius*: for he is a valiant man of person, and one that loveth

The Dictator
and Generall
of the Horse-
men made e-
quall in autho-
rity.

Diogenes
words.

Minnitius pride.

Hannibal laid
ambush for
Minnitius.

Fabius fore-
sight in the
Warre.

50000 Romans slain at the battell of Cannes.

All Italy revolted and submitted themselves to Hannibal.

Fabius constancy after the overthrow at Cannes.

Fabius order for mourning.

The magnanimity of the Romans after the overthrow at Cannes.

Fabius Maximus and Claudius Marcellus Generals.

more then ever had need of a good and wife Capitaine. But he refused the Gentlemans offer and his intreaty, and compelled him to take his Horfe back againe, though the teares ran downe the cheekes for pity: and raising himselfe up to take him by the hand, he said unto him: I pray you tell *Fabius Maximus* from me, and witness with me, that *Paulus Emilius* even to his last houre hath followed his counsell, and did never swerve from the promise he made him: but that first he was forced to it by *Varro*, and afterwards by *Hannibal*. When he had delivered these words, he bad *Lentulus* farewell: and running againe into the fury of the slaughter, there he died amongst his laine companies. It is thought there were laine at this battell Fifty thousand ROMANES, and Four thousand taken Prisoners; and other Ten thousand that were taken Prisoners in two Campes after the battell. When this noble victory was gotten, *Hannibal*'s friends gave him counsell to follow his good fortune, and to enter ROME after the scattered number that fled thither; so as within few dayes following he might sup in their Capitoll. A man cannot easily guesse what was the cause that stayed him, that he went not, unlesse it was (as I thinke) some good fortune, or favourable God toward the ROMANES that withstood him, and made him afraid and glad to retire. Whereupon they say, that one *Barca* CARTHAGINIAN, in his anger said to *Hannibal*; Sir, you have the way to overcome, but you cannot use victorie. Notwithstanding, this victory made a marvellous change for him; for hereupon, all ITALY in manner came in to submit themselves to him; where before he had no Towne at commandment, nor any storehouse or Port through all ITALY: yea he did marvellous hardly, and with much ado victuall his Army with that he could daily rob and spoyle, having no certaine place to retire unto, nor grounded hope to entertaine these warres, but kept the field with his Army, removing from place to place, as they had been a great number of murderers and thieves together. For the most part of the Countrey did yeeld immediately unto him: as the City of CAPUA, being the chiefe and greatest City of all ITALY but ROME, and did receive *Hannibal*, and were at his devotion. Thus we may plainly see, that as the Poet *Euripides* saith; It is a great mischief not onely to be driven to make triall of friends, but proofe also of Captaines wisdom. For that which before they accounted cowardlinesse and faint heart in *Fabius*, immediately after the battell, they thought it more then mans reason, and rather an heavenly wisdom and influence, that so long foresaw the things to come, which the parties selves that afterwards felt them, gave little credit unto before. Upon this occasion, ROME repored incontinently all their hope and trust in *Fabius*, and they repaired to him for counsell, as they would have ran unto some Temple or Altar for sanctuary. So as the first and chiefe cause of staying the people together from dispersing themselves abroad, as they did when ROME was taken by the GAULES, was the onely opinion and confidence they had in *Fabius* wisdom. For where before he seemed to be a coward and timorous, when there was no danger nor misfortune happened; then when every man wept and cried out for sorrow, which could not helpe, and that all the world was so troubled that there was no order taken for any thing; he contrarily went alone up and downe the City very modestly, with a bold constant countenance, speaking courteously to every one, and did appeale their womanish cries and lamentations, and did forbid the common assemblies and fond ceremonies, of lamenting the dead corse at their burials. Then he perswaded the Senate to assemble in counsell, and did comfort up those that were Magistrates, and he alone was the onely force and power of the City: for there was not a man that bare any Office, but did cast his eye upon *Fabius*, to know what he should doe. He it was that caused the gates of the City straight to be warded, and to keepe those in for going their way, that would have forsaken the City. He moreover did appoint the time and place of mourning, and did command whosoever was disposed to mourne, that he should doe it privately in his owne house, and to continue onely but thirty dayes. Then he willed all mourning to be left off, and that the City might be cleane from such uncleane things. So the Feast of *Ceres* falling about that time, he thought it better to leave off the Sacrifices and Procession which they were wont to keepe on *Ceres* day; then by their small number that were left, and sorrow of those that remained, to let their enemies understand their exceeding great losse: For the gods delight to be served with glad and rejoycing hearts, and with those that are in prosperity. But all this notwithstanding, whatsoever the Priests would have done, either to pacifie the wrath of the gods, or to turne away the threatnings of these sinister signes, it was forthwith done. For they did fend to the Oracle of *Apollo* in the City of DELPHES, one of *Fabius* Kinsmen furnamed *Pictor*. And two of the *Vestal Nunnes* being deffoured, the one was buried alive according to the Law and custome, and the other made her selfe away. But herein the great courage and noble clemency of the ROMANES is marvellously to be noted and regarded; For the Consul *Terentius Varro*, returning back to ROME, with the shame of his extreme misfortune and overthrow, that he durst not looke upon any man; the Senate notwithstanding, and all the people following them, went to the gates of the City to meete him, and did honourably receive him. Nay furthermore, those that were the chiefe Magistrates and Senators, among whom *Fabius* was one, when silence was made, they commended *Varro* much because he did not despair of the preservation of the Commonweale after so great calamity, but did returne againe to the City, to helpe to reduce things to order, in using the authority of the Law, and the service of the Citizens, as not being altogether under foot, but standing yet in reasonable termes of good recovery. But when they understood that *Hannibal* after the battell was gone into other parts of ITALY, then they began to be of good cheere againe, and sent a new Army and Generals to the field, among which the two chiefe Generals were *Fabius Maximus*, and *Claudius Marcellus*, both which by contrary meanes in manner, wan alike glory and reputation. For *Marcellus* (as we have declared in his

his Life) was a man of speedy execution, of a quick hand, of a valiant nature, and a right martiall man, as *Homer* calleth them that valiantly put themselves in any danger: by reason whereof, having to deale with another Capitaine alike venturous and valiant as himselfe, in all service and execution, he shewed the selfe boldnesse and courage that *Hannibal* did. But *Fabius* persisting still upon his first determination, did hope that though he did not fight with *Hannibal*, nor stirre him at all, yet continuall warres would consume him and his Army in the end, and bring them both to nought; as a common wrestler that forreth his body above his naturall strength, doth in the end become a lame and bruised man: Hereupon *Possidonius* writeth, that the one was called the ROMANES Sword, and the other their Target. And that *Fabius* constancy and resolutenesse in warres to fight with security, and to commit nothing to hazard and danger, being mingled with *Marcellus* heate and fury, was that onely which preserved the ROMANES Empire. For *Hannibal* meeting alwayes in his way the one that was furious as a strong running streame, found that his Army was continually turmoyled and overharrid; and the other that was slow as a little pretty River, he found that his Army ran softly under him without any noyse, but yet continually by little and little it did still consume and diminish him, untill he saw himselfe at the last brought to that passe, that he was weary of fighting with *Marcellus*, and afraid of *Fabius*, because he fought not. For during all the time of these warres, he had ever these two Captaines almost against him, which were made either Prators, Consuls or Proconsuls, for either of them both had been five times before chosen Consul. Yet as for *Marcellus*, *Hannibal* had laid in ambush for him in the first and last yeare of his Consulship, where he set upon him on a sudden, and slew him. But as for *Fabius*, he laid many baits for him, and did what he could by all the skill and reach he had, by ambushes, and other warlike policies to entrap him, but he could never draw him within his danger. Howbeit at one time he put him to a little trouble, and was in good hope then to have made him fall upon his ambush he had laid for him, and this policy: He had counterfeited Letters written and sent unto him from the City of METAPONT, to pray him to come to them, and they would deliver their City into his hands: and withall, that such as were privy to the contents of the same, desired no other thing but his repaire thither. These Letters prettily quickened *Fabius*, inasmuch as he was determined one night to have taken part of his Army, and to have gone to them: but because the signes of the Birds did promise him no good successe, he left off his purpose. Soone after he understood they were counterfeited Letters, made by *Hannibal*'s fine device to have drawne him out, and to have entrapped him, for whom himselfe lay in person in ambush neare the City, looking and waiting for his coming: but the gods who would have him saved, were onely to be thanked for his happy scape. Furthermore concerning the revolt of the Cities that were subject unto him, and the rising of their allies and friends against them; *Fabius* thought it farre better to entreat them courteously, making them ashamed without occasion to rebell against them, rather than openly to suspect them, and to deale straightly with those that were so to be suspected. Now for this matter, it is reported that *Fabius* had a Souldier in his Campe that was a MARSIAN borne by Nation, a valiant man of his person, and also of as Noble a House as any that were of all the allies of the ROMANES; who had practised with other his fellowes of the Band he served in, to goe serve the enemy. *Fabius* hearing of this practise he went about, gave him no ill countenance for it, but calling him to him, he said: I must confesse there is no reckoning made of you, as your good service doth deserve; wherefore for this time (saith he) I blame the petty Captaines onely, which in such sort doe bestow their good will and favour at adventure, and not by desert: But henceforth it shall be your owne fault if you doe not declare your minde unto me, and betweene you and me make me privy of your lacke and necessity. When he had spoken these words to him, he gave him a very good Horfe for service, and did reward him with other honourable gifts, as men of good service and desert have commonly bestowed on them. And this did so encourage his Souldiers thenceforth, that he became a very faithfull and serviceable Souldier to the ROMANES. For *Fabius* thought it more fit, that hunters, riders of Horses and such like as take upon them to tame brut beasts, should sooner make them leave their savage and churlish nature by gentle usage and manning of them, then by beating and shacking of them. And so a Governour of Men, should rather correct his Souldiers by patience, gentlenesse and clemency, then by rigor, violence or severity: Otherwise he should handle them more rudely and sharply then Husbandmen doe Fig-trees, Olive-trees and wilde Pomegranates; who by diligent pruning and good handling of them, doe after their hard and wilde nature, and cause them in the end to bring forth good Figs, Olives and Pomegranates. Another time certaine Captaines of his brought him word, that there was one of their Souldiers which would ever goe out of the Campe and leave his Ensigne. He asked them, what manner of man he was: They answered him all together, that he was a very good Souldier, and that they could hardly finde out such another in all their Bands as he: and therewithall they told him of some notable service they had seene him doe in person. Whereupon *Fabius* made a diligent enquiry to know what the cause was, that made him goe so oft out of the Campe: in the end he found he was in love with a young Woman, and that to goe see her was the cause he did so oft leave his Ensigne, and did put his life in so great danger, for that the was so farre off. When *Fabius* understood this, he sent certaine Souldiers (unknowing to the Souldier) to bring the Woman away he loved, and willed them to hide her in his Tent; and then called he the Souldier to him, that was a LUCANIAN borne, and taking him aside, said unto him thus: My friend, it hath been told me, that thou hast been many nights out of the Campe, against the Law of Armes and Order of the ROMANES; but therewithall I understand also, that otherwise thou art an honest man, and therefore I pardon thy faults past, in consideration of thy good

Possidonius words of *Fabius* and *Marcellus*.

Marcellus slain by an ambush of *Hannibal*'s.

Hannibal's ambush laid for *Fabius*.

Fabius lenity in correcting of faults.

Note how *Fabius* reclaimed an evil Souldier.

Necessary Rules for a Capitaine.

How Fabius
wan Tarentum
againc.

good service: but from henceforth I will give thee in custody to such a one, as shall make me account of thee. The Souldier was blanke when he heard these words. *Fabius* with that caused the Woman he was in love with to be brought forth, and delivered her into his hands, saying unto him: This Woman hereafter shall answer me thy body to be forthcoming in the Campe amongst us: and from henceforth thy deeds shall witness for the rest, that thy love unto this Woman, may be no cloke for thy departing out of the Campe for any wicked practise or intent. Thus much we finde written concerning this matter. Moreover, *Fabius* after such a sort recovered againe the City of TARENTUM, and brought it to the obedience of the ROMANES, which they had lost by treason. It fortuned there was a young man in his Campe, a TARENTINE borne, that had a Sister within TARENTUM, which was very faithfull to him, and loved him marvellous dearly: now there was a Capitaine, a BRUTIAN borne, that fell in love with her, and was one of those to whom *Hannibal* had committed the charge of the City of TARENTUM. This gave the young Souldier the TARENTINE, very good hope and way, to bring his enterprise to good effect: whereupon he revealed his intent to *Fabius*, and with his privy fled from his Campe, and got into the City of TARENTUM, giving it out in the City, that he would altogether dwell with his Sister. Now for a few dayes at his first coming the BRUTIAN Capitaine lay alone by himselfe; at the request of the maid his Sister, who thought her Brother had not knowne of her love: and shortly after the young fellow tooke his Sister aside, and said unto her: My good Sister, there was a great speech in the ROMANES Campe, that thou wert kept by one of the chiefe Captaines of the Garrison: I pray thee if it be so, let me know what he is; for so he be a good fellow, and an honest man (as they say he is) I care not: for warres that turneth all thing topsi-turvy, regardeth not of what place, or calling he is of, and still maketh vertue of necessity, without respect of shame. And it is a speciall good fortune, at such time as neither right nor reason rules, to happen yet into the hands of a good and gracious Lord. His Sister hearing him speake these words, sent for the BRUTIAN Capitaine, to bring him acquainted with her Brother, who liked well of both their loves, and endeavoured himselfe to frame his Sisters love in better sort towards him, then it was before: by reason whereof, the Capitaine also began to trust him very much. So this young TARENTINE saw it was very easie to winne and turne the minde of this amorous and mercenary man, with hope of great gifts that were promised him, and *Fabius* should performe. Thus doe the most part of writers let downe this story. Howbeit some writers say, that this Woman who wanne the BRUTIAN Capitaine, was not a TARENTINE, but a BRUTIAN borne, whom *Fabius* it is said, kept afterwards for his Concubine, and that the understanding the Capitaine of the BRUTIANS (who lay in garrison within the City of TARENTUM) was also a BRUTIAN borne, and of her owne native Countrey, made *Fabius* privy to her intent, and with his consent, she coming to the walls of the City, spake with this BRUTIAN Captain, whom she handled in such sort, that they wanne him. But whilst this gere was a brewing, *Fabius*, because he would traine *Hannibal* out of those quarters, wrote unto the Souldiers of RHEGIO, which belonged to the ROMANES, that they should enter the borders of the BRUTIANS, and lay siege to the City of CAULONIA, and raze it to the ground. These RHEGIAN Souldiers were about the number of Eight thousand, and the most of them Traitors and runagates from one Campe to another: and the worst sort of them and most defamed of life, were those that *Marcellus* brought thither out of SICILE, so that in losing them all, the losse were nothing to the Commonwealth, and the forrow much lesse. So *Fabius* thought, that putting these fellows out for a prey to *Hannibal* (as a stale to draw him from those quarters) he should plucke him by this meanes from TARENTUM; and so it came to passe. For *Hannibal* incontinently went thence with his Army to entrap them: and in the meane time *Fabius* went to lay siege to TARENTUM, where he had not lien six dayes before it, but the young man (who together with his Sister had drawne the BRUTIAN Capitaine to this treason) stole out one night to *Fabius*, to informe him of all, having taken very good marks of that side of the wall the BRUTIAN Capitaine had taken charge of, who had promised him to keepe it secret, and to suffer them to enter that came to assault that side. Yet *Fabius* would not ground his hope altogether upon the BRUTIANS executing this treason, but went himselfe in person to view the place appointed, howbeit without attempting any thing for that time: and in the meane season, he gave a generall assault to all parts of the City (as well by sea as by Land) with great shouts and cries. Then the BRUTIAN Capitaine seeing all the Citizens and garrisons run to that part where they perceived the noise to be greatest, made a signall unto *Fabius*, that now was the time. Who then caused scaling ladders to be brought apace, whereupon himselfe with his company scaled the wals, and so wan the City. But it appeared here, that ambition overcame him: for first he commanded they should kill all the BRUTIANS, because it should not be knowne he had won the City by treason. But this bloody policy failed him: for he missed not onely of the glory he looked for, but most deservedly he had the reproach of cruelty and falshood. At the taking of this City, a marvellous number of the TARENTINES were slaine, besides there were sold Thirty thousand of the chiefe of them, and all the City was sacked: and of the spoile there was carried to the common store treasure at Rome Three thousand Talents. It is reported also, that when they did spoile and carry away all other spoiles left behind, the Recorder of the City asked *Fabius*, what his pleasure was to doe with the gods, meaning the Tables, and their Images: and to that *Fabius* answered him; Let us leave the TARENTINES their gods that be angry with them. This notwithstanding, he carried from thence *Hercules* statue, that was of a monstrous bignesse, and caused it to be set up in the Capitoll, and withall did set up his owne Image in brasse on horsebacke by him.

Tarentum won
by a Womans
meanes.

Fabius took
the City of
Tarentum.
Fabius ambi-
tion cause of
his murder.

But in that act he shewed himselfe farre harder hearted then *Marcellus* had done, or to say more truly, thereby he made the world know how much *Marcellus* curtesie, clemency, and bounty was to be wondred at, as we have written in his Life. News being brought so *Hannibal*, that TARENTUM was besieged, he marched presently with all speed possible to raise the siege: and they say he had almost come in time, for he was within forty furlongs of the City when he understood the troth of the taking of it. Then said he out aloud, Sure the ROMANES have their *Hannibal* too: for as we wan TARENTUM, so have we lost it. But after that, to his friends he said plainly (and that was the first time they ever heard him speake it) that he saw long before, and now appeared plainly, that they could not possibly with this small power keep ITALY. *Fabius* made his Triumph and entry into ROMES the second time, by reason of taking this City: and his second Triumph was much more honourable then the first, as of a valiant Captain that held out still with *Hannibal*, and easily met with all his fine policies, much like the flight tricks of a cunning wrestler, which carried not now the former roughnesse and strength any more, because that his Army was given to take their ease, and grown to delicacy, partly through the great riches they had gotten, and partly also for that it was sore wasted and diminished through the sundry foughten battels and blowes they had been at. Now there was one *Marcius Livius* a ROMANE, that was Governour of TARENTUM at that time when *Hannibal* tooke it, and nevertheless kept the Castle still out of *Hannibals* hands, and so held it still until the City came againe into the hands of the ROMANES. This *Livius* spited to see such honour done to *Fabius*, so that one day in open Senate, being drowned with envy and ambition, he burst out and said: that it was himselfe, not *Fabius*, that was cause of taking of the City of TARENTUM againe. *Fabius* smiling to hear him, answered him openly: Indeed thou sayest true, for if thou hadst not lost it, I had never won it againe. But the ROMANES in all other respects did greatly honour *Fabius*, and specially for that they chose his Sonne Confull. He having already taken possession of his Office, as he was dispatching certaine causes touching the Warres, his Father (whether it was for debility of his age, or to prove his Sonne) tooke his horse to come to him, and rode through the preale of the people that thronged about him, having businesse with him. But his Sonne seeing him coming a farre off, would not suffer it, but sent an Officer of his unto him, to command him to light off his horse, and to come on foote if he had any thing to do with the Confull. This commandment misliked the people that heard it; and they all looked upon *Fabius*, but said not a word: thinking with themselves, that the Confull did great wrong to his Fathers greatnesse. So he lighted straight, and went a good round pace to embrace his Sonne, and said unto him; You have reason Sonne, and do well to shew over whom you command, understanding the authority of a Confull, which place you have received: For it is the direct course, by the which we and our ancestors have encreased the ROMANE Empire: preferring ever the honour and state of our Countrey, above Father, Mother or Children. And truly they say, that *Fabius* Great-Grandfather, being the greatest and most Noble person of ROMES in his time, having five times been Confull, and had obtained many Triumphs, for divers Honourable and sundry Victories he had won: was contented after all these, to be his Sonnes Lieutenant, and to go to the warres with him, he being chosen Confull. And last of all, the Confull his Sonne returning home to ROMES a Conquerour, in his triumphing Chariot drawne with foure Horses, he followed him on Horsebacke also, in troop with the rest; thinking it honour to him, that having authority over his Sonne in the right of a Father, and being also the Noblest man of all the Citizens, so taken and reputed, nevertheless he willingly submitted himselfe to the Law and Magistrate, who had authority of him. Yet besides all this, he had farre more excellent vertues to be had in admiration, then those already spoken of. But it fortuned that this Sonne of *Fabius* died before him, whose death he took patiently, like a wife man, and a good Father. Now the custome being at that time, that at the death of a Noble man, their neere Kinsman should make a Funerall Oration in his praise at their Obsequies: he himselfe made the same Oration in honour of his Sonne, and did openly speake it in the market-place, and moreover wrote it, and delivered it out abroad. About this time, *Cornelius Scipio* was sent into SPAIN, who drave out the CARTHAGINIANS from thence, after he had overthrowen them in many battels, and had conquered many great Cities, and greatly advanced the honour and estimation of the State of ROMES: for the which at his returne, he was as much, or rather more honoured, beloved and esteemed, then any other that was in the City of ROMES. Hereupon *Scipio* being made Confull, considered that the people of ROMES looked for some great matter at his hands, above all other. Therefore he thought, to take upon him to fight against *Hannibal* in ITALY, he should but follow the old manner, and tread too much in the steps of the old man: whereupon he resolved immediately to make wars in AFRICKE, and to burne and destroy the Countrey even unto CARTHAGE gates, and so to transerre the wars out of ITALY into LYBIA, procuring by all possible device he could, to put it into the peoples heads, and to make them like of it. But *Fabius* contrarily, perswading himselfe that the enterprise this young rash youth took in hand, was utterly to overthrow the Commonweale, or to put the State of ROMES in great danger: devised to put ROMES in the greatest feare he could possible, without sparing speech, or deed he thought might serve for his purpose, to make the people change from that minde. Now he could so cunningly worke his purpose, what with speaking and doing, that he had drawn all the Senate to his opinion. But the people judged, it was the secret envy he bare to *Scipios* glory, that drew him to encounter this device, only to blemish *Scipios* Noble fortune; fearing, lest if he should happen to doe some honourable service (as to make an end altogether of this warre, or otherwise to draw *Hannibal* out of ITALY) that then it would appeare to the world, he had been too soft, or too negligent, to draw this warre out to such a length. For my part, me thinks the only matter that moved *Fabius*:

Fabius second
Triumph.

Fabius witty
Answer.

A strange
commandment
of the
Sonne to the
Father.
The Father
obeyeth his
Sonnes autho-
rity, and com-
mendeth him.

Scipio Con-
full.

Fabius was a-
gainst the
Counsell and
device of *Scipio*
African.

Craſſus high
Biſhop of
Rome.

The famous
acts done in
Africa by Sci-
pio Africanus.

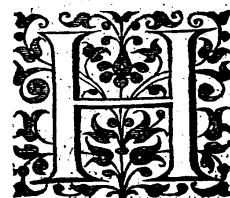
The death
of Fabius
Maximus.

The Funerals
of Fabius.

from the beginning to be againſt *Scipio*, was the great care he had of the ſafety of the Commonweale, by reaſon of the great danger depending upon ſuch a reſolution. And yet I doe think alſo, that afterwards he went further then he ſhould, contending too ſore againſt him (whether it were through ambition or obſtinacy) ſeeking to hinder and ſuppreſſe the greatneſſe of *Scipio*: conſidering alſo he did his beſt to perſwade *Craſſus*, *Scipio*'s companion in the Conſulſhip, that he ſhould not grant unto him the leading of the Army, but if he thought good to goe into *AFRICK*, to make warres upon the *CARTHAGINIANS*, that he ſhould rather goe himſelfe. And moreover, he was the let that they gave him no Money for maintenance of theſe warres. *Scipio* hereupon being turned over to his own credit, to furniſh himſelfe as he could, he leavied great ſummes of Money in the Cities of *THUSCAN*, who for the great love they bare him, made contribution towards his journey. And *Craſſus* remained at home, both becauſe he was a ſoft and no ambitious nor covetous man of nature; as alſo, becauſe he was the chiefeſt Prelate and high Biſhop, who by the Law of their Religion, was conſtrained to keep *ROME*. *Fabius* ſeeing his labour loſt that way, tooke againe another courſe to croſſe *Scipio*, deviſing to ſtay the young men at home, that had great deſire to goe this journey with him. For he cried out with open mouth, in all aſſemblies of the Senate and people, that *Scipio* was not contented onely to ſlie *Hannibal*, but that he would carry with him beſides the whole force of *ITALY* that remained: alluring the youth with ſweet baits of vaine hope, and perſwading them to leave their Wives, their Fathers, Mothers, and their Countrey, even now when their enemy knocked at *ROME* gates, who did ever conquer, and was never yet conquered. Theſe words of *Fabius* did ſo dampe the *ROMANS*, that they appointed *Scipio* ſhould furniſh his journey onely with the Army that was in *SICILIA*, ſaying that he might ſupply to them if he would, three hundred of the beſt Souldiers that had ſerved him faithfully in *SPAIN*. And ſo it doth appeare even to this preſent, that *Fabius* both did and ſaid all things according to his wonted manner, and naturall diſpoſition. Now *Scipio* was no ſooner arrived in *AFRICK*, but newes were brought to *ROME* incontinently, of wonderfull exploits, and noble ſervice done beyond meaſure; and of great ſpoiles taken by him, which argued the troth of the newes. As, the King of the *NUMIDIANS* taken Priſoner, two Campes of the enemies burnt and deſtroyed at a time, with loſſe of a great number of people, armour and houſes that were conſumed in the ſame: Letters and Poſts for life running in the necke one of another from *CARTHAGE* to call *Hannibal* home, and to pray him to hunt no longer after vaine hope that would never have end, haſting himſelfe with all ſpeed poſſible to come to the reſcue of his Countrey. Theſe wonderfull great fortunes of *Scipio*, made him of ſuch renowne and fame within *ROME*, that there was no talke but of *Scipio*. *Fabius* notwithstanding deſiſted not to make a new requeſt, being of opinion they ſhould ſend him a Succellor; alledging no other cauſe nor reaſon, but a common ſpeech of every body; that it was a dangerous thing to commit to the fortune of one man alone, ſo great exceeding proſperity and good ſucceſſe, becauſe it is a rare matter to ſee one man happy in all things. Theſe words did ſo much miſlike the people, that they thought him an envious troubleſome man, or elſe they thought his age had made him fearfull; and that his courage failed with his ſtrength, fearing *Hannibal* more doubtfully then he needed. For now though *Hannibal* was forced to leave *ITALY*, and to returne into *AFRICK*, yet *Fabius* would not grant, that the peoples joy and ſecurity they thought they were in, was altogether clear, and without fear and miſtruſt; but gave it out, that then they were in greateſt danger, and that the Common-weal was breeding more miſchief now then before. For when *Hannibal* (ſaid he) ſhall returne home into *AFRICK*, and come before *CARTHAGE* wals, the *ROMANS* ſhall be leſſe able to abide him there, then they have been before: and *Scipio* moreover ſhall meet with an Army yet warm, and embred with the bloud of ſo many Prators, Dictators, and Conſuls of *ROME*, which they have overcome, and put to the Sword in *ITALY*. With theſe uncomfortable ſpeeches, he ſtill troubled and diſquieted the whole City, perſwading them that notwithstanding the war was transferred out of *ITALY* into *AFRICK*, yet that the occaſion of feare was no leſſe near unto *ROME*, then it was ever before. But within ſhort ſpace after, *Scipio* having overcome *Hannibal* in plain battell in the field, and troden under foot the glory and pride of *Carthage*, he brought a greater joy to *Rome* then they ever looked for; And by this noble victory of his, he raiſed up again the declining ſtate of the Empire of *ROME*, which a little before was falling downright. Howbeit *Fabius* lived not to the end of this War, nor ever heard while he lived the joyful newes of *Hannibal*'s happy overthrow, neither were his years prolonged to ſee the happy aſſured proſperity of his Countrey; For about that time that *Hannibal* departed out of *ITALY*, a ſickeſſe took him, whereof he died. The ſtorieſ declare that the *THEBANS* buried *Epaminondas* at the common charges of the people; becauſe he died in ſo great poverty, that when he was dead, they found nothing in the houſe but a little iron ſpit. Now the *ROMANS* buried not *Fabius* ſo at the common charge of the City, but every man of benevolence gave towards his Funeral charge, a peece of coin that carried the leaſt value of their currant money; not for that he lacked ability to bring him to the ground, but onely to honour his memory, in making his obſequies at their charges, as of one that had been their common Father. So had his vertuous life an honourable end and buriall.

The end of Fabius Maximus Life.

THE COMPARISON OF PERICLES with FABIUS.



Here have you heard what is written of theſe two great Perſons. And for as much as they have both left behind them, many notable examples of vertue, as well in martiall matters, as in civil government, let us begin to compare them together. Firſt of all, *Pericles* began to govern the Commonweale, at what time the people of *ATHENS* were in their chiefeſt proſperity; and of greater power and wealth, then ever they had been of before or ſince. The which might ſeeme to be a cauſe of the continuall maintenance of the ſame in ſecurity without danger of falling, not ſo much for their worthineſſe, as for their common power and felicity: where contrariwiſe *Fabius* acts felt out in the moſt diſhonourable and unfortunate time that ever happened to his countrey, in which he did not onely keepe the City in good ſtate from declining, but raiſed it up; and delivered it from calamity, and brought it to be better then he found it. Furthermore, *Cimon*'s great good fortune and ſucceſſe, the victories and triumphs of *Myronides*, and of *Leocrates*, and many notable valiant deeds at armes of *Tolmides*, gave good cauſe to *Pericles*, to entertaine his City in Feaſts and Playes, whileſt he did govern the ſame: and he did not finde it in ſuch ill caſe and diſtreſſe, that he was driven to defend it by force of armes, or to conquer that againe which before was loſt. But *Fabius* in contrary manner, when he ſaw before him many overthrowes, great flying away, much murder, great ſlaughters of the Generals of the *ROMAN* Armies, the Lakes, the Plaines, the Woods filled with ſcattered Men, the people overcome, the Floods and Rivers running all agore-bloud (by reaſon of the great ſlaughter) and the ſtream carrying downe the dead bodies to the maine ſea: did take in hand the government of his Countrey, and by a courſe farre contrary to all other, he did ſo underprop and beare up the ſame, that he kept it from falling flat to the ground, amongſt thoſe ruines and overthrowes other had brought it to before him. Yet a man may ſay alſo, that it is no matter of ſo great difficulty to rule a City already brought low by adverſity, and which compelled by neceſſity, is contented to be governed by a wiſe man: as it is to bridle and keepe under the inſolency of a people, puſt up with pride and preſumption of long proſperity, as *Pericles* found it amongſt the *ATHENIANS*. The great multitude alſo of ſo many grievous calamities as lighted on the *ROMAN*'s necks at that time, did plainly ſhew *Fabius* to be a grave and conſtant man; which would never give way unto the importunate cries of the common people, nor could ever be removed from that he had at the firſt determined. The winning and recovering againe of *TARENTUM*, may well be compared to the taking of *SAMOS*, which *Pericles* wan by force: and the Cities of *CAMPANIA*, unto the Iſle of *EUROEA*: excepting the City of *CAPUA*, which the Conſuls *Fulvius* and *Appius* recovered againe. But it ſeemeth that *Fabius* never wan battell, ſave that onely for which he triumphed the firſt time: where *Pericles* ſet up nine Triumphs, of Battels and Victories he had won, as well by Sea as by Land. And ſo alſo, they cannot alledge ſuch an act done by *Pericles* as *Fabius* did, when he reſcued *Minutius* out of the hands of *Hannibal*, and ſaved a whole Army of the *ROMANS*: which doubtleſſe was a famous act, and proceeded of a noble minde, great wiſedome, and an honourable heart. But *Pericles*, againe did never commit ſo groſſe an error as *Fabius* did, when he was out-reached and deceived by *Hannibal*'s fine ſtratageme of his Oxen: who having found his enemy by chance to have ſhut himſelfe up in the ſtraight of a valley, did ſuffer him to eſcape in the night by a ſubtilty, and in the day by plaine force: for he was prevented by overmuch delay, and fought withall by him he kept incloſed. Now if it be requiſite, a good

The gift of a good Generall.

The faults of Generalls.

The comparison betwixt Pericles and Fabius for civil government.

good Captaine doe not onely use well what he hath in his hands, but that he wisely judge also what will follow after, then then the warres of the ATHENIANS fell out in such sort, as *Pericles* said they would come to passe: for with ambition to embrace too much, they overthrew their estate. But the ROMANES contrariwise, having sent *Scipio* into AFRICK to make warres with the CARTHAGINIANS, was all that they tooke in hand: where their Generall did not overcome the enemy by fortune, but by valiantesse. So that the wisdom of the one is witnessed, by the ruine of his Country: and the error of the other testified, by the happy event of that he would have let. Now the fault is alike in a Generall, to fall into danger, for lacke of foresight: as for cowardinesse to let slip a fit opportunity offered, to doe any notable peece of service. For like default and lacke of experience maketh the one too hardy, and the other too fearefull. And thus much touching the warres. Now for civil government: it was a foule blot to *Pericles*, to be the author of warres. For it is thought, that he alone was the cause of the same, for that he would not have them yeeld to the LACEDÆMONIANS in any respect. And yet me thinkes *Fabius Maximus* also would no more give place unto the CARTHAGINIANS, but stood firme and bold in all danger, to maintaine the Empire of his Country against them. But the goodnesse and clemency *Fabius* shewed unto *Minutius*, doth much commend *Pericles* accusations and practises, against *Cimon* and *Thucydides*: both of them being Noble and good men, and taking part with the Nobility, whom he expelled out of ATHENS, and banished for a time. So was *Pericles* power and authority in the Commonweale greater: by reason whereof he did ever foresee, that no Generall in all his time did rashly attempt any thing hurtfull unto the Commonweale, except *Tolmides* only: who fled from him, and in despite of him went to fight with the BOEOTIANS, where he was slaine. As for all other Generalls, they wholly put themselves into his hands, and did obey him for the greatnesse of his authority. But *Fabius*, although for his part he never committed any fault, and that he went orderly to worke in all government; yet because he was not of power to keepe other from doing ill, it seemeth in this respect he was defective. For if *Fabius* had carried like authority in ROME, as *Pericles* did in ATHENS, the ROMANES had not fallen into so great misery as they did. And for Liberality, the one shewed it, in refusing the Money offered him: and the other in giving unto those that needed, and redeeming his poore captive Countreyemen. And yet *Fabius* might dispend no great Revenue, for his whole Receipts came onely to six Talents. But for *Pericles*, it is hard to say how rich he was, who had coming in to him, great Presents by his authority, as well of the Subject, as of the Friends and Allies of the ATHENIANS, as also of Kings and strange Princes: yet he never tooke Bribe for all that of any person living. And to conclude, as for the sumptuous building of Temples, the stately Works and common Buildings: put all the Ornaments together that ever were in ROME, before the times of the *Caesars*, they are not to be compared with those, wherewith *Pericles* did beautifie and adorne the City of ATHENS. For neither in quality nor quantity was there any proportion or like comparison, betwene the exceeding sumptuousnesse of the one, and of the other.

Fabius Revenue.

The Buildings of Rome nothing comparable to Pericles Works.



THE

THE LIFE OF ALCIBIADES.



Ann. Mund. 3532.

Ant. Christ. 416.



ALCIBIADES by his Fathers side, was anciently defended of Euripides, that was the Sonne of Ajax, and by his Mothers side of Alcmaeon, for his Mother *Dinomacha*, was the Daughter of *Megacles*. His Father *Clinias* having armed and set forth a Galley at his owne proper costs and charges, did win great honour in the battell by sea, that was fought along the coast of ARTEMISIUM, and he was slaine afterward in another battell fought at CORONEA, against the BOEOTIANS. His Sonne *Alcibiades* Tutors, were *Pericles* and *Ariphron*, *Xanthippus* Sonnes: who were also his neer Kinsmen. They say, and truly, that *Socrates* good will and friendship did greatly further *Alcibiades* honour. For it appeareth not,

neither was it ever written, what were the Names of the Mothers of *Nicias*, of *Demosthenes*, of *Lamachus*, of *Phormion*, of *Thrafsibulus*, and of *Themistocles*; all which were notable famous men in their time. And to the contrary, we finde the Nurce of *Alcibiades*, that she was a LACEDÆMONIAN borne, and was called *Amicla*, and that his Schoollmaster was called *Zopyrus*: of the which, *Antisthenes* mentioneth the one, and *Plato* the other. Now for *Alcibiades* beauty, it made no matter if we spake not of it, yet I will a little touch it by the way: for he was wonderfull faire, being a Childe, a Boy, and a Man, and that at all times, which made him marvellous amiable, and beloved of every man. For where *Euripides* saith, that of all the faire times of the yeare, the Autumne or later season is the fairest: that commonly falleth not out true. And yet it proved true in *Alcibiades*, though in few other; for he was passing faire even to his latter time, and of good temperature of body. They write of him also, that his tongue was somewhat fat, and it did not become him ill, but gave a certaine naturall pleasant grace in his talke: which *Aristophanes* mentioneth, mocking one *Theorus* that did counterfet a lisping grace with his tongue:

*This Alcibiades, With his fat lisping tongue,
Into mine eares, this trusty tale, and Song full of merrung:
Looks upon Theolus (quoth he) to there he bowes,
Behold his comely crown-bright face with fat and *flashing blowes.
The Sonne of Clinias, would lisse it thus somewhiles,
And sure he lissed never a lye, but rightly hit his wiles.
And Archippus another Poet also, mocking the Sonne of Alcibiades, saith thus:
Because he would be like his Father every way,
In his long trailing gowne he would go jetting day by day.
And counterfet his speech, his countenance and face;
As though dame nature had him given therein a perfect grace;
To lisse and looke aside, and hold his head awry,
Even as his Father lookt, and list so would he prate and pry.*

For his manners they altered and changed very oft with time, which is not to be wondred at, seeing his marvellous great prosperity, as also adversity that followed him afterwards. But of all the great desires he had, and that by nature he was most inclined to, was ambition, seeking to have the upper hand in all things, and to be taken for the best person: as appeareth by certaine of his deeds, and notable sayings in his youth, extant in writing. One day wrestling with a companion of his, that handled him hardly, and thereby was likely to have given him the fall; he got his fellowes arme in his mouth, and bit so hard, as he would have eaten it off. The other feeling him bite so hard, let go his hold straight, and said unto him: What *Alcibiades*, bitest thou like a Woman? No marry doe I not (quoth he) but like a Lyon. Another time being but a little boy, he played at Skales in the middest of the street.

P 3

with

Alcibiades Tutors.

The Mothers of famous men never knowne what they were.

Alcibiades beauty.

Alcibiades lissed by nature.

* The equivocation of these two Greeke words Kops and Kops, is hard to be expressed in English, in stead whereof I have set flashing blowes, for flattering browes, observing the grace of lisping as neere as I could, like to the Latine aut French translations, likewise *Theorus* for *Theorus*.

Alcibiades ambition.

with other of his companions, and when his turn came about to throw, he cast a cart laden by chance that way: *Alcibiades* prayed the carter to stay a while, until he had played out his game, because the skales were set right in the high way where the cart should passe over. The carter was a stubburne knave, and would not stay for any request the Boy could make, but drove his Horse on still, in so much as other boys came backe to let him go on: but *Alcibiades* fell flat to the ground before the cart, and had the carter drive over and he durst. The carter being affraid, plucked backe his Horse to stay them: the neighbours flocked to see the danger, and the Boy in all haste crying out. Afterwards when he was put to schoole to learne, he was very obedient to all his Masters that taught him any thing, so that he desired to learne to play on the flute or recorder: saying, that it was no gentlemanly quality. For he did he to play on the viol with a fluke, doth not after mans favour, nor disgrace any gentleman: but otherwise, to play on the flute, his countenance alwayeth and changed in sport, that his familiar friends could not know him. Moreover, the harpe or viol doth not let him that playeth of them, from speaking, or fingring as he playeth: where he that playeth on the flute, holdeth his mouth so hard to it, that it taketh not onely his words from him but his voyce. Therefore said he, let the Children of the *THEBANS* play on the flute, that cannot tell how to speake: as for the *ATHENIANS*, we have (as our forefathers tell us) for Protecters and Patrones of our Countrey, the goddesse *Pallas*, and the god *Apollo*: of the which the one in old time (as it is said) brake the flute, and the other pulled his skinne over his eares, that played upon a flute. Thus *Alcibiades* alledging these reasons, partly in sport, and partly in good earnest, did not onely himselfe leave to learne to play on the flute, but he turned his companions minds also quite from it. For these words of *Alcibiades*, ran from boy to boy incontinently: that *Alcibiades* had reason to despise playing on the flute, and that he mocked all those that learned to play on it. So afterwards, it fell out at *ATHENS*, that teaching to play on the flute, was put out of the number of Honest and liberrall exercises, and the flute it selfe was thought a vile instrument, and of no reputation. Furthermore, in the accusations *Anisphon* wrote against *Alcibiades*, it is declared: that when he was a Boy, he fled out of his tutors house, into the house of *Democritus* one of his lovers, and how *Anisphon* one of his tutors thought to have made a beards cry him through the City: but *Pericles* would not suffer him, saying, that if he were dead, they should know it but one day sooner by crying of him: and if he were alive, that it would be such a shame to him while he lived, that he had bin better he had never bin heard of againe. The same *Anisphon* accuseth him further, that he had killed a servant of his that attended on him, in the wrastring place of *Silyrius*, with a blow of a staffe. But there is no reason to credit his writing, who confesseth he speaketh all the ill he can of him, for the ill will he did beare him. Now straight there were many great and rich men that made much of *Alcibiades*, and were glad to get his good will. But *Socrates* Love unto him had another end and cause, which witnessed that *Alcibiades* had a naturall inclination to vertue. Who perceiving that vertue did appeare in him, and was joynted with the other beauty of his face and body, and fearing the corruption of riches, dignity and authority, and the great number of his companions, as well of the chieftest of the City, as of strangers, seeking to entice him by flattery, and by many other pleasures: he tooke upon him to protect him from them all, and not to suffer so goodly an ympe to loose the hope of the good fruit of his youth. For fortune doth never so intangle nor share a man without, with that which they commonly call riches, as to let and hinder him so, that Philosophy should not take hold on him with her free, severe and quick reasons. So *Alcibiades* was at the beginning, assailed with all delights, and shut up as it were in their company that feasted him with all pleasures, onely to turne him that he should not hearken to *Socrates* words, who sought to bring him up at his charge, and to teach him. But *Alcibiades* notwithstanding, having a good naturall wit, knew what *Socrates* was, and went to him, refusing the company of all his rich friends and their flatteries, and fell in a kinde of familiar friendship with *Socrates*. Whom when he had heard speake, he noted his words very well: that they were no persuasions of a man seeking his dishonesty, but one that gave him good counsell, and went about to reforme his faults and imperfections, and to plucke downe the pride and presumption that was in him: then, as the common Proverbe saith.

*Like to the craven Cocks, he drooped downe his wings,
Which cowardly doth runne away, or from the pit out-flings.*

And thinke with himselfe, that all *Socrates* love and following of young men, was indeede a thing sent from the Gods, and ordained above for them, whom they would have preserved and put into the path-way of honour. Therefore he began to despise himselfe, and greatly to reverence *Socrates*, taking pleasure in his good using of him, and much imbraced his vertue: so as he had (he wist not how) an image of love graven in his heart, or rather (as *Plato* saith) a mutuall love, to wit, an holy and honest affection towards *Socrates*. Inomuch as all the world wondered at *Alcibiades*, to see him commonly at *Socrates* boord, to play, to wrestle, and to lodge in the wars with *Socrates*: and contrarily to chide his other well-willers, who could not so much as have a good looke at his hands; and besides became dangerous to some, as it is said he was unto *Anytus*, the Sonne of *Anthemion*, being one of those that loved him well. *Anytus*, making good cheere to certaine strangers his friends that were come to see him, went and prayed *Alcibiades* to come and make merry with them: but he refused to goe. For he went to make merry with certaine of his companions at his owne house, and after he had well taken his cups, he went to *Anytus* house to counterfeit the foole amongst them; and staying at the hall doore, and seeing *Anytus* table and cubbord full of plate of silver and gold, he commanded his servants to take away halfe of it, and carry

Alcibiades studies.

A vile thing to play on the Flute.

Socrates loveth Alcibiades.

Alcibiades intends to envy unto Anytus.

carry it home to his house. But when he had thus taken his pleasure, he would come to heere into the house, but went his way home. *Anytus* friends and guests mistaking this strange part of *Alcibiades* said it was shamefully and boldly done to abuse *Anytus*. Nay, gently done of him, said *Anytus* for he hath left us some where he might have taken all. All other also that made much of him, he setved after that sort, saying a stranger that came to dwell in *ATHENS*, who being but a poore man as the voice went, sold all that he had, whereof he made about a hundred Straters; which he brought unto *Alcibiades*, and prayed him to take it at his hands. *Alcibiades* began to be merry, and being very glad to understand his good will towards him, tooke his honest offer, and prayed him to come to supper to him: so he welcomed him very heartily and made him good cheere. When supper was done, he gave him his Money againe, and commanded him not to faile the next morning to meete him where the Farnes and Lands of the City are wont to be let out to those that bid most, and charged him he should outbid all. The poore man would faine have excused himselfe, saying the Farnes were too great for him to hire: But *Alcibiades* threatned to whip him, if he would not doe it: For besides the desire he had to pleasure him, he bare a private grudge against the ordinary Farmers of the City. The next morning the stranger was ready in the market-place, where they did cry out the letting of their Farnes, and he raised one to a Talent more then all other did offer. The other Farmers were as mad with him as could be; that they all did set upon him, crying out; Let him put in security straight, supposing he could have found none. The stranger was marvellous blanke thereat, and began to shrink backe. Then cried *Alcibiades* out aloud to the Officers that sat there to take the best offers: I will be his surety, saith he, put me in the Booke, for he is a friend of mine. The Farmers hearing him say so, were at their wits end, and wist not what to doe. For they being alwayes accustomed to pay their yearly Rent as it went before, by the helpe of the rest of the yeares that followed after: perceiving now that they should not be able to pay the arrearages of the Rent due to the Commonweale, and seeing no other remedy, they prayed him to take a piece of Money, and to leave the bargain. Then *Alcibiades* would in no wise he should take lesse then a Talent, which they gave him willingly. So *Alcibiades* suffered the stranger then to depart, and made him gaine by his device. Now *Socrates* love which he bare him, though it had many mighty and great adversaries, yet it did stay much *Alcibiades*, sometime by gentle nature, sometime by his grave counsell and advice: so as the reason thereof tooke so deepe root in him, and did so pierce his heart, that many times the teares ran downe his cheeks. Another time also being carried away with the enticement of flatterers, that held up his humour with all pleasure and delights, he stole away from *Socrates*, and made him run after him to fetch him againe, as if he had beene a slave that had run away from his Masters house: for *Alcibiades* stood in awe of no man but *Socrates* onely, and indeed he did reverence him, and did despise all other. And therefore *Cleanthes* was wont to say, that *Alcibiades* was held of *Socrates* by the eares: but that he gave his other lovers hold, which *Socrates* never fought for: for to say truly, *Alcibiades* was much given over to lust and pleasure. And peradventure it was that *Thucydides* meant of him, when he wrote that he was incontinent of body, and dissolute of life. These that marred *Alcibiades* quite, did still pricke forward his ambition and desire of honour, and did put him in the head to thrust himselfe into great matters betimes, making him beleeve that if he did but once begin to shew himselfe to deale in matters of state, he would not onely blissh and defeat all other Governours, but farre excell *Pericles*, in authority and power among the *GREEKS*: For like as Iron by fire is made soft, to be wrought in any forme, and by cold also is shut and hardened againe: even so *Alcibiades* being puffed up with vanity and opinion of himselfe, as oft as *Socrates* took him in hand, was made soft and firme againe by his good persuasions, in so much that when he saw his owne fault and folly, and how farre wide he had strayed from vertue, he became suddenly very humble and lowly againe. Now on a time when he was growne to mans state, he went into a Grammar schoole, and asked the Schoolemaster for one of *Homers* bookes. The Schoolemaster answered him, He had none of them: *Alcibiades* up with his fist and gave him a good boxe on the eare, and went his way. Another Grammarian told him on a time he had *Homer* which he had corrected. *Alcibiades* replied, Why what meanest thou, to stand teaching little Children their A, B, C, when thou art able to correct *Homer*, and to teach young men not boyes? Another time he came and knocked at *Pericles* gate, desirous to speake with him: answer was made him He was not at leisure now, for that he was busily occupied by himselfe, thinking on his reckonings he had to make with the *ATHENIANS*. Why, said he, going his way, it were better he were occupied, thinking how to make no account at all. Moreover, being but a young boy, he was at the journey to *PORTIENE*, where he lay still with *Socrates*, who would never let him be from him in all battels and skirmishes he was in: among which there was one very hot and bloody, where they both fought valiantly, and *Alcibiades* was hurt. But *Socrates* stepped before him, and did defend him so valiantly before them all, that he saved him and his weapon out of the enemies hand. So the honour of this fight out of doubt, in equity and reason, was due unto *Socrates*: but yet the Captaines would faine have judged it on *Alcibiades* side, because he was of a Noble house. But *Socrates*, because he would increase his desire of honour, and would pricke him forward to honest and commendable things, was the very first that witnessed *Alcibiades* had deserved it, and therefore prayed the Captaines to judge him the Crowne and complete armour. Afterwards, in the battell of *DELION*, the *ATHENIANS* having received the overthrow, *Socrates* retired with a few other on foot. *Alcibiades* being on horsebacke, and overtaking him, would not goe from him, but kept him company, and defended him against a troope of his enemies that followed him, and slew many of his company. But that was a pretty while after, and before he gave a boxe on the eare unto *Hippomachus*, *Callias* Father; who was one of the greatest men of power in the City.

Alcibiades liberall fact.

Alcibiades ran from Socrates.

Alcibiades given to pleasure.

Alcibiades strooke a Schoolemaster, because he had not Homer in his Schoole.

Alcibiades first Soldier fare with Socrates. Alcibiades saved by Socrates.

Alcibiades saved Socrates life after the overthrow at the Battell of Delion.

declaring unto them, that they should not feare the LACEDÆMONIANS, nor yeeld to them at all, but to stick to the ATHENIANS, who would soone repent them of the peace they had made, and breake it with them. Afterwards when the LACEDÆMONIANS had made league with the BOEOTIANS, and had delivered the City of PANACTUM to the ATHENIANS, all defaced and spoiled, contrary to the league: *Alcibiades* perceiving how the people were much offended thereat, made them more earnest against them, and therewithall brought *Nicias* in disgrace with the people, and charged him with many matters of great likelihood. As at that time when he was General: that he would never take any of the LACEDÆMONIANS, when they were shut up within the Ille SPHACTERIA, and much lesse distresse them when he might: and moreover when other had taken them prisoners by force, that he had found the meanes to deliver them, and fend them home againe, to gratifie the LACEDÆMONIANS. Furthermore, that being their friend, he did not his duty to disswade the people from making of league offensive and defensive with the BOEOTIANS and the CORINTHIANS: and againe also, if there were any people of GREECE that had a desire to become friends and allies with the ATHENIANS, that he did the best he could to let them, if the LACEDÆMONIANS had no liking of the matter. Now as *Nicias* was thus in disgrace with the people, for the causes abovesaid: in the midst of this stir, Ambassadors came by chance from LACEDÆMON to ATHENS, who at their coming gave very good words, saying they had full power and commission to compound all controversies, under reasonable and equall conditions. The Senate heard them, and received them curteously, and the people the next day should assemble in counsell to give them audience: which *Alcibiades* fearing much, he went to labour the Ambassadors, and spake with them apart in this sort. What meane you, my Lords of SPARTA: doe ye not know that the Senate hath alwayes accustomed to be gracious and favourable unto those that sue unto them for any matter, and that the people contrarily are of a proud nature, and desirous to imbrace all great matters? If therefore at the first sight, ye doe give them to understand that you are come hither with full power, to treat freely with them in all manner of causes: doe you not thinke that they will make you stretch your authority, to grant them all that they will demand? Therefore, my Lords Ambassadors, if you looke for indifferency at the ATHENIANS hands, and that they shall not presse you too farre against your wills, to grant them any thing of advantage: I would wish you a litle to cover your full Commission, and in open manner to propound certaine Articles, and reasonable capitulations of Peace, not acquainting them otherwise with your full power to agree in all things: and for my part, I will assure you of my good will in favour of the LACEDÆMONIANS. When he had told them this tale, he gave them his faithfull promise, and vowed as it were to performe his word. Hereupon *Alcibiades* turned the Ambassadors from the truit they repofed in *Nicias*, and wan them on his side: in so much as they gave credit to no man but to him, wondering much at his great wisdom and ready wit, and they thought him a rare and notable man. The next morning the people were assembled to give the Ambassadors audience. They were sent for, and brought into the market-place. There *Alcibiades* gently asked them, what was the cause of their coming. They answered; that they were come to treat of Peace, but they had no power to determine any thing. Then began *Alcibiades* to be angry with them, as if they had done him wrong, and not he any to them: calling them unfaithfull, unconstant, and fickle men, that were come neither to doe, nor say any thing worth the hearing. The Senate also were offended with them, and the people rated them very roughly: whereat *Nicias* was so ashamed and amazed withall, that he could not tell what to say, to see so sudden a change, knowing nothing of *Alcibiades* malice and subtill practise with the Ambassadors. So the Ambassadors of LACEDÆMON were dispatched without any thing done, and *Alcibiades* chosen General: who presently brought the ARGIVES, the ELIANS, and the MANTINIANS in league with the ATHENIANS. Though no man did commend this practise of his, in working it after this sort: yea it was a marvellous thing of him to devise to put all PELOPONNESUS in armes, and to procure such a number of Souldiers against the LACEDÆMONIANS, as he did before the City of MANTINEA, and to shift off the miseries of warre and hazard of battell, so farre from ATHENS. Which if the LACEDÆMONIANS did win, could not profit them much; and if they lost it, they could hardly save their City of SPARTA. After this battell of MANTINEA, the thousand men whom the City by an ancient Order did keepe continually in pay, as well in peace as in warre, within the City of ARGOS, thinking now opportunity served them very trimly: attempted to take the soveraigne authority from the common people, and to make themselves Lords of the City. And to bring this to passe, the LACEDÆMONIANS coming in the mean time, did aide them in their purpose, and so did put downe the government of the people: notwithstanding immediately after the people tooke armes againe, and became the stronger. *Alcibiades* coming thither even at that time, did warrant them the victory, and to set up againe the authority of the people. Then he perswaded them to make their walles longer to joine the City to the Sea, to the end they might more easily be aided by Sea, by the ATHENIANS. He brought them also from ATHENS, many Carpenters, Masons, Stone-hewers, and other Workmen: and to conclude, he shewed them by all the meanes and wayes he could, that he did beare good will unto them, and thereby wan himselfe no lesse favour particularly among them, then generally he did good unto his Country. He did perswade also his Citizens of PATRAS, to joine their Towne to the Sea, by making long walles, which they built out even to the cliffes of the Sea. And when one said unto them, Alas, poore people of PATRAS! what doe you meane? the ATHENIANS will eate you out: *Alcibiades* answered him, it may well be, but it shall be by litle and litle, beginning first at the feet, but the LACEDÆMONIANS will devoure you all at once, and begin at the head. Now although *Alcibiades* did make the City of

Alcibiades beguileth the Lacedæmonians.

Alcibiades chosen General.

The walles brought to the Sea by the ARGIVES.

ATHENS strong by sea, yet he did not leave to perswade the ATHENIANS also to make themselves strong by land. For he did put the young men oftentimes in minde of the Oath they were made to sweare in AGRANLOS, and did advise them to accomplish it indeed, Which was that they should take all Corn-fields, Vines, and Olive-Trees, to be borders and confines of ATTICA, whereby they were taught to reckon all Land theirs that was manured and did bring forth fruit. Yet with all these goodly deeds and fair words of *Alcibiades*, and with this great courage and quicknesse of understanding, he had many great faults and imperfections. For he was too dainty in his fare, wantonly given to light women, riotous in banquets, vain and womanish in apparell; He wore ever a long purple gown that swept the Market-place as he walked up and down, it had such a train, and was too rich and costly for him to wear. And following these vain pleasures and delights, when he was in his galley, he caused the planks of the poepe thereof to be cut and broken up, that he might lie the softer; for his bed was not laid upon the overlop, but laid upon girthes strained over the hole, cut out and fastened to the sides, and he carried to the wars with him a gilded Scuchion wherein he had no cognizance nor ordinary device of the ATHENIANS, but only had the Image of *Cupid* in it, holding lightning in his hand. The Noble men and best Citizens of ATHENS perceiving this, they hated his fashions and conditions, and were much offended at him, and were afraid withall of his rashnesse and infolency; he did so contemne the Lawes and customes of their Country, being manifest tokens of a man that aspired to be King, and would subvert and turn all overhand. And as for the good-will of the common people towards him, the Poet *Aristophanes* doth plainly expresse it in these words:

Alcibiades sycor.

The people most desire what most they hate to have,

And what their minde abhors, even that they seem to crave.

And in another place he said also, aggravating the suspition they had of him:

For State or Commonwealth, much better should it be,

To keepe Within the Country, none such Lions look as he;

But if they needs Will keepe a Lion to their cost,

Then must they needs obey his Will, for he Will rule the roff.

For to say truly, his courtesies, his liberalities, and noble expences to shew the people so great pleasure and pastime as nothing could be more: the glorious memory of his ancestors, the grace of his Eloquence, the beauty of his person, the strength and valiantnesse of his body joyned together with his wisdom and experience in martiall affaires; were the very causes that made them to beare with him in all things, and that the ATHENIANS did patiently endure all his light parts, and did cover his faults with the best words and termes they could, calling them youthfull and gentlemen sports. As when he kept *Agarbarcus* the Painter prisoner in his house by force, until he had painted all his wals within: and when he had done, did let him goe, and rewarded him very honestly for his paines. Againe, when he gave a boxe on the eare to *Taurus*, who did pay the whole charges of a company of common Plaiers, in spite of him, to carrie away the honour of the Games. Also when he tooke away a young woman of MELIA by his authority that was taken among certaine prisoners in the Warres, and kept her for his Concubine: By whom he had a Childe, which he caused to be brought up: which they called a worke of charity, albeit afterwards they burthened him, that he was the onely cause of murdering of the poore MELIANS, saving the little Children, because he had favoured and perswaded that unnatural and wicked Decree, which another had propounded. Likewise where one *Aristophon* a Painter had painted a Curtisan named *Nemæa*, holding *Alcibiades* in her armes, and sitting in her lap, which all the people ranne to see, and tooke great pleasure to behold it: the grave and ancient men were angry at these foolish parts, accounting them impudent things, and done against all civill modesty and temperancy. Wherefore it seemed *Archestratus* words were spoken to good purpose, when he said: that GREECE could not abide two *Alcibiades* at once. And on a day as he came from the Councell and assembly of the City, where he had made an excellent Oration, to the great good liking and acceptation of all the hearers, and by meanes thereof had obtained the thing he desired, and was accompanied with a great traine that followed him to his honour: *Timon* surnamed *Misanthropus* (as who would say, *Loup-garon*, or the man-hater) meeting *Alcibiades* thus accompanied, did not passe by him, nor gave him way (as he was wont to do all other men), but went straight to him, and tooke him by the hand, and said: O, thou dost well my Sonne, I can thee thanke, that thou goest on, and climest up still: for if ever thou be in authority, woe be unto those that follow thee, for they are utterly undone. When they heard these words, those that stood by fell a laughing: other reviled *Timon*, other again marked well his words, and thought of them many a time after: such sundry opinions they had of him for the unconfancy of his life, and waywardnesse of his nature and conditions. Now for the taking of SICILE, the ATHENIANS did marvellously covet it in *Pericles* life, but yet they did not meddle withall, until after his death: and then they did it at the first under colour of friendship, as ayding those Cities which were oppressed and spoiled by the SYRACUSANS. This was in manner a plaine bridge made, to passe afterwards a greater power and Army thither. Howbeit the onely procurer of the ATHENIANS, and perswader of them, to send small Companies thither no more, but to enter with a great Army at once to conquer all the Country together, was *Alcibiades*, who had so allured the people with his pleasant tongue, that upon his perswasion, they built Castles in the aire, and thought to doe greater wonders by winning onely of SICILIA. For where other did set their mindes upon the conquest of SICILE, being that they only hoped after: it was to *Alcibiades*, but

Alcibiades dishonesty and wantonnesse.

Archestratus saying.

Alcibiades the author of the warres in Sicilia.

The divination of *Socrates* and *Meton*.

Images hewn and mangled at Athens

Alcibiades accused for profaning the holy Mysteries.

but a beginning of further enterprizes. And where *Nicias* commonly in all his persuasions, did turne the *ATHENIANS* from their purpose to make warres against the *SYRACUSANS*, as being too great a matter for them to take the City of *SYRACUSA*: *Alcibiades* againe had a further reach in his head, to goe conquer *LYBIA*, and *CARTHAGE*, and that being conquered, to passe from thence into *ITALY*, and so to *PELOPONNESUS*: so that *SICILIA* should serve but to furnish them with victuals, and to pay the Souldiers for their conquests which he had imagined. Thus the young men were incontinently carried away with a marvellous hope and opinion of this journey, and gave good ear to old mens tales that told them wonders of the Countries: inofmuch as there was no other pastime nor exercise among the youth in their meetings, but companies of men to sit round together, draw plats of *SICILE*, and describe the situation of *LYBIA* and *CARTHAGE*. And yet they say, that neither *Socrates* the Philosopher, nor *Meton* the Astronomer did ever hope to see any good successe of this journey. For the one by the revealing of his familiar spirit, who told him all things to come, as was thought, had no great opinion of it: and *Meton*, whether it was for feare of the successe of the journey he had by reason, or that he knew by divination of his Art what would follow, he counterfeited the mad man, and holding a burning Torch in his hand, made as though he would have set his house on fire. Other say, that he did not counterfeit, but like a mad man indeed did set his house on fire one night, and that the next morning betimes he went into the marketplace to pray the people, that in consideration of his great losse and his grievous calamity so late happened him, it would please them to discharge his Sonne from going this voyage. So by this mad device, he obtained his request of the people for his Sonne, whom he abused much. But *Nicias* against his will was chosen Captaine, to take charge of Men in these Warres: who mistliked this journey, as well for his companion and affocate in the charge of these Warres, as for other misfortunes he foresaw therein. Howbeit the *ATHENIANS* thought the Warre would fall out well, if they did not commit it wholly to *Alcibiades* rashnesse and hardinesse, but did joyne with him the wisdom of *Nicias*: and appointed *Lamachus* also for their third Captaine, whom they sent thither, though he were waxen now somewhat old, as one that had shewed himselfe no lesse venterous and hardy in some battels, then *Alcibiades* himselfe. Now when they came to resolve of the number of Souldiers, the furniture and order of these Warres; *Nicias* sought crookedly to thwart this journey, and to breake it off altogether: but *Alcibiades* withstood him, and got the better hand of him. There was an Orator called *Demoftratus*, who moved the people also that the Captaines whom they had chosen for these Warres, might have full power and authority to leavie men at their discretion, and to make such preparation as they thought good: whereunto the people consented, and did authorize them. But when they were even ready to goe their way, many signes of ill successe lighted in the necke one of another: and amongst the rest this was one; That they were commanded to take Ship on the day of the celebration of the Feast of *Adonia*, on the which the custome is, that Women doe set up in divers places of the City, in the midst of the streets, Images like to dead corfes which they carry to burial, and they represent the mourning and lamentations made at the funerals of the dead, with blubbering and beating themselves, in token of the sorrow the goddesse *Venus* made, for the death of her friend *Adonis*. Moreover, the *Hermes* (which are the Images of *Mercury*, and were wont to be set up in every lane and street) were found in a night all hacked and hewed, and mangled, specially in their faces: which put diverse in great feare and trouble, yea even those that made no account of such toys. Whereupon it was alledged, that it might be the *CORINTHIANS* that did it, or procured that leud act to be done, favouring the *SYRACUSANS*, who were their neere Kinsmen, and had been the first founders of them; imagining upon this ill token, it might be a cause to breake off the enterprize, and to make the people repent them, that they had taken this Warre in hand. Nevertheless the people would not allow this excuse, neither hearken to their words that said, they should not reckon of any such signes or tokens, and that they were but some light brained youths, that being tiptled, had played this shamefull part in their bravery, or for sport. But for all these reasons, they tooke these signes very grievously, and were indeed not a little afeard, as thinking undoubtedly that no man durst have been so bold to have done such an abominable fact, but that there was some conspiracy in the matter. Hereupon they looked upon every suspition and conjecture that might be (how little or unlikely foever it were) and that very severely: and both Senate and people also met in councill upon it, very oft in few dayes. Now whilst they were busily searching out the matter, *Androcles* a common Counsellor, and Oratour in the Commonwealth, brought before the Counsell certaine slaves and strangers that dwelt in *ATHENS*: who deposed, that *Alcibiades*, and other of his friends and companions, had hacked and mangled other Images after that sort, and in a mockery had counterfeited also in a banquet that he made, the Ceremonies of the holy Mysteries; declaring these matters particularly: How one *Theodorus* counterfeited the Herald, that was wont to make the Proclamations: *Polytion* the Torch-bearer, and *Alcibiades* the Priest, who sheweth the holy signes and Mysteries: and that his other companions were the Assistants, as those that make suit to be received into their Religion and Order, and into the brotherhood, of their holy Mysteries, whom for this cause they call *Mystes*. These very words are written in the Accusation *Thestalus* (*Cimons* Sonne) made against *Alcibiades*, charging him that he had wickedly mocked the two goddeses, *Ceres* and *Proserpina*. Whereat the people being marvellously moved and offended, and the Orator *Androcles* his mortall enemy, aggravating and stirring them up the more against him: *Alcibiades* a little at the first began to be amazed at it. But afterwards, hearing that the Mariners which were prepared for the voyage of

SICILIA,

SICILIA, and the Souldiers also that were gathered, did beare him great good will, and specially how the aide, that came from *ARGOS*, and *MANTINEA* (being a thousand Footmen well armed and appointed) did say openly, how it was for *Alcibiades* sake they did take upon them so long a voyage beyond Sea, and that if they went about to do him any hurt or wrong, they would presently returne home againe from whence they came: he began to be of a good courage againe, and determined with this good favourable opportunity of time, to come before the Counsell, to answer to all such Articles and Accusations as should be laid against him. Thereupon his Enemies were a little cooled, fearing lest the People in this judgement would have shewed him more favour, because they stood in neede of him. Wherefore to prevent this danger, they had fed other Orators, who set a good face on the matter, as they had beene *Alcibiades* friends, and yet they wished him no lesse evil then the rankest Enemies he had. These fine fellows rose up in open Assembly, and said: It was no reason, that he that was now chosen one of the Generals of so mighty and puissant an Army (being ready to hoise saile, and the aide also of their Allies and friends) should be driven to stay now, and to lose time and occasion of well doing, whilst they should go about to choose Judges, and appoint him his houres and time of answer. Therefore they said, it was fit he should take his journey betimes, and when Warres were done, that he should present himselfe to require justice, and to purge himselfe of such matters as should be objected against him. But *Alcibiades* smelling straight their fetch, and perceiving the practice of his stay, slept up (and declared how they did him great wrong, to make him depart with the charge of a Generall of so great an Army, his minde being troubled with continuall feare of so grievous curses, as he should leave upon him: and that he deserved death, if he could not purge and justifie himselfe of all the unjust and surmized accusations against him. And if he had once cleared himselfe of all things, and had published his innocency, he should then have nothing in his head to trouble him, nor to thinke upon, but to go on lustily to fight with his Enemies, and to cast behinde him the danger of all his slanderous detractors. But all this could not persuade them. And so he was presently commanded in the behalfe of the People, to imbarke and ship away his men. Thus he was compelled to take the Seas with his other companions, having in their Navie about a hundred and forty Galleys, all having three Oares to a banke: and five thousand one hundred Footmen, very well armed and appointed, and throwers with flings, Archers, and other light armed men to the number of thirteene hundred, sufficiently furnished of all warlike and necessary munition. Now after they were arrived on the Coast of *ITALY*, they landed in the City of *RHEGIO*: where, holding councill in what sort they should direct these Warres, it was resolved in the end that they should straight go unto *SICILIA*. This opinion was followed, although *Nicias* did contrary it, when *Lamachus* gave his consent thereunto, and at his first coming, he was the occasion of winning the City of *CATHANA*. But he never after did any exploit, for he was called home immediately by the *ATHENIANS*, to come and answer certaine Accusations laid to his charge. For as we told you before, there was at the beginning certaine light suspitions and accusations put up against him, by some Slaves and strangers. But afterwards when he was gone, his Enemies enforced them, and burthened him more cruelly, adding to his former fault, that he had broken the Images of *Mercury*: and had committed Sacriledge, in counterfeiting in jest and mockery the holy Ceremonies of the Mysteries: and blew into the eares of the People, that both the one and the other proceeded of one set conspiracy, to change and alter the Governement of the state of the City. Upon these informations, the People tooke it in foill part, that they committed all to prison, that were in any sort accused or suspected thereof, and would never let them come to their answer: and moreover did much repent them that they had not condemned *Alcibiades*, upon so great complaints and informations as were exhibited against him, while his offence was in question before them, and the fury and hatred of the People was such towards him, that if any of *Alcibiades* friends and acquaintance came within their danger, they were the worse handled for his sake. *Thucydides* did not name his Accusers, but some other do name *Diocles* and *Tencer*: amongst whom *Phrynicus* the Comical Poet is one, who discovereth it in his Verses, by bringing in one that speaketh to the Image of *Mercury*:

*My good friend Mercury, I pray thee take good heed,
That thou fall not and breake thy neck: for so thou mightst me breed
Both danger and distrust, and though I guiltlesse be,
Some Diocles falsly might accuse and trouble me.*

Mercury answereth:

*Take thou no thought for me, my selfe I shall well save:
And will foresee full well therewith, that Tencer (that false knave)
Shall not the money get, which he by Law hath won,
For his promoters bribing part and accusation.*

And yet for all this, these tokens do shew no certainty of any thing. For one of them being asked how he could know them by their faces in the night, that had broken and defaced these Images? he answered, that he knew them well enough by the brightnesse of the Moone. And hereby it appeareth plainly that he was perjured, because that the same night, on the which this fact was committed, there was a conjunction of the Moone. This did a little trouble and stay men of judgement: howbeit the common sort of People this notwithstanding, did not leave to be as sharpe set, to receive all Accusations and Informations that were brought in against him, as ever they were before. Now there was among the Prisoners whose cause was hanging before them, the

The craft of *Alcibiades* his enemies.

Alcibiades journey into *Sicile*.

Phrynicus the Comical Poet.

Orator

Andocides the
Orator cast
into prison.

Orator, *Andocides* (whom *Hellanicus* the Historiographer describeth to descend of the race of *Ulysses*) whom they tooke to be a man that hated the Government of the common People, and bent altogether to favour the small number of the Nobility. But one of the chiefeft occasions why he was suspected to be one of them that had broken the Images, was: for that hard by his house there was a faire great Image set up in old time by the Family or Tribe of the *Ægides*, and that alone amongst all the rest of so many famous Images, was left whole and unbroken: whereupon it is called at this day, the *Mercury of Andocides*, and is so called generally of every body, albeit the Inscription sheweth the contrary. *Andocides* being in prison, chanced to fall in acquaintance with one *Timon*, with whom he was more familiar then with all the rest, who was also prisoner with him for the self cause. This *Timon* was a man not so well knowne as he, but besides, a wife man, and very hardy. He perswaded him, and put into his head, that he should accuse himselfe, and certaine other with him: for taking the matter upon him, and confessing it, he should receive grace and pardon, according to the courtesie and promise of the Law: where contrarily, if he should stand upon the courtesie of the Judges sentence, he might easily endanger himselfe: because Judgements in such cases are uncertaine to all People, and most to be doubted and feared toward the rich. And therefore he told him, it were his best way, if he looked into the matter wisely, by lying to save his life, rather then to suffer death with shame, and to be condemned upon this false accusation. Also he said, if he would have regard to the Common-wealth, that it should in like case be wisely done of him, to put in danger a few of those (which stood doubtfull whether in troth they were any of them or no) to save from the fury of the People, and terror of death, many honest men, who indeede were innocent of this lewd Fact. *Timon* words and perswasions wrought such effect with *Andocides*, that they made him yeeld unto them, and brought him to accuse himselfe, and certaine other with him: by means whereof *Andocides* according to the Law had his pardon: but all such as he named and accused, were every man put to death, saving such as saved themselves by running away. Furthermore, to shadow his Accusation with some appearance of troth, *Andocides* among those that were accused, did accuse also certaine of his owne Servants. Now though the People had no more occasion to occupie their busie heads about the breakers of these Images, yet was not their malice thus appeased against *Alcibiades*, untill they sent the Galley called *Salaminiensis*, commanding those they sent by a speciall Commission to seeke him out, in no case to attempt to take him by force, nor to lay hold on him by violence: but to use him with all the good words and courteous manner that they possibly could, and to will him onely to appeare in person before the People, to answer to certaine Accusations put up against him. If otherwise they should have used force, they feared much lest the Army would have mutined on his behalfe within the Countrey of their Enemies, and that there would have growne some sedition amongst their Souldiers. This might *Alcibiades* have easily done, if he had bene disposed: for the Souldiers were very sorry to see him depart: perceiving that the Warres should be drawne out now in length, and be much prolonged under *Nicias*, seeing that the Warres were taken from them, who was the onely spur that pricked *Nicias* forward to do any Service: and that *Lamachus* also, though he were a valiant man of his hands, yet he lacked Honour and Authority in the Army, because he was but a meane man borne, and poore besides. Now *Alcibiades* for a farewell, disappointed the *ATHENIANS* of winning the City of *Messina*: for they having intelligence by certaine private persons within the City, that it would yeeld up into their hand, *Alcibiades* knowing them very well by their names, bewrayed them unto those that were the *SYRACUSANS* friends: whereupon all this practise was broken utterly. Afterwards when he came to the City of *Thurie*, so soone as he had landed, he went and hid himselfe incontinently in such sort, that such as sought for him could not finde him. Yet there was one that knew him where he was, and said: Why, how now *Alcibiades*, darest thou not trust the justice of thy Countrey? Yes very well (quoth he) and it were in another matter: but my life standing upon it, I would not trust mine owne mother, fearing lest negligently she should put in the black beane, where she should cast in the white: for by the first, condemnation of death was signified: and by the other, pardon of life. But afterwards, hearing that the *ATHENIANS* for malice had condemned him to death: Well, quoth he, they shall know I am yet alive. Now the manner of his Accusation and Indictment framed against him, was found written in this sort: *Thessalus* the Sonne of *Cimon*, of the Village of *Laciades*, hath accused, and doth accuse *Alcibiades*, the Sonne of *Clinias*, of the Village of *Scambonides*, to have offended against the goddesse, *Ceres* and *Proserpina*, counterfeiting in mockery their holy mysteries, and shewing them to his familiar friends in his house, himselfe apparelled and arrayed in a long Vestment or Cope, like unto the Vestment the Priest weareth when he sheweth these holy Sacred Mysteries: and naming himselfe the Priest, *Polytion* the Torch-bearer, and *Theodorus* of the Village of *Paygra* the Verger, and the other lookers on Brethren, and fellow-scorers with them, and all done in manifest contempt and derision of holy Ceremonies and Mysteries of the *Eumolpides*, the religious Priests and Ministers of the sacred Temple of the City of *Ereus*. So *Alcibiades* for his contempt and not appearing, was condemned, and his Goods confiscate. Besides this condemnation, they decreed also, that all the religious Priests and women should banne and accurse him. But hereunto answered one of the Nunnes called *Theano*, the Daughter of *Menon*, of the Village of *Agraula*, saying that she was professed religious, to pray and to blesse, not to curse and banne. After this most grievous sentence and condemnation passed against him, *Alcibiades* departed out of the City of *Thurie*, and went into the Countrey of *Peloponnesus*, where he continued a good season in the City of *Argos*.

Alcibiades sent
for to answer
to his accusati-
ons.

Alcibiades ac-
cusation.

Alcibiades con-
demned being
absent.

ARGOS. But in the end fearing his Enemies, and having no hope to returne againe to his owne Countrey with any safety: he sent unto *SPARTA*, to have safe conduct and license of the *LACEDÆMONIANS*, that he might come and dwell in their Countrey, promising them he would do to them more good being now their friend, then he ever did them hurt, while he was their Enemy. The *LACEDÆMONIANS* granted his request, and received him very willingly into their City: where even at his first coming, he did three things. The first was: that the *LACEDÆMONIANS* by his perswasion and procurement, did determine speedily to send aide to the *SYRACUSANS* whom they had long before delayed: and so they sent *Gylippus* their Captaine to overthrow the *ATHENIANS* Army, which they had sent thither. The second thing he did for them, was: that he made them of *GREECE* to begin Warre upon the *ATHENIANS*. The third, and greatest matter of importance, was: that he did counsel them to fortifie the City of *Decælea*, which was within the Territories of *ATTICA* selfe: which consumed, and brought the Power of the *ATHENIANS* lower then any other thing whatsoever he could have done. And if he were welcome, and well esteemed in *SPARTA*, for the service he did to the Common-wealth: much more he was the love and good wills of private men, for that he lived after the *LACONIAN* manner. So as they that saw his skin scraped to the flesh, and saw him wash himselfe in cold water, and how he did eat brown bread, and sup of their black broth: would have doubted (or to say better, never have believed) that such a man had ever kept Cooke in his house, nor that he ever had seene so much as a perfuming panne, or had touche cloth of Tissue made in *Miletum*. For among other qualities and properties he had (whereof he was full) this as they say was one whereby he most robbed mens hearts: that he could frame altogether with their manners and fashions of life, transforming himselfe more easily to all manner of shapies, then the Camelion. For it is reported, that the Camelion cannot take white colour: but *Alcibiades* could put upon him any manners, customes or fashions, of what Nation soever, and could follow, exercise, and counterfeite them when he would, as well the good as the bad. For in *SPARTA*, he was very painfull, and in continuall exercise: he lived sparingly with little, and led a streight life. In *IONIA*, to the contrary, there he lived daintily and superfluously, and gave himselfe to all mirth and pleasure. In *THRASIA*, he was alwaies on horseback. If he came to *Tijaphernes*, Lieutenant of the mighty King of *PERSIA*, he far exceeded the magnificence of *PERSIA* in pompe and sumptuousnesse. And these things notwithstanding, never altered his naturall condition from one fashion to another, neither did his manners (to say truly) receive all sorts of changes. But because peradventure, if he had shewed his naturall disposition, he might in divers places where he came, have offended those whose company he kept, he did with such a vizard and cloake disguise himselfe, to fit their manners whom he companied with, by transforming himselfe into their naturall countenance: as he that had seene him when he was at *SPARTA*, to have looked upon the outward man, would have said as the common Proverbe saith:

It is not the sunne of Achilles, but Achilles selfe.

Even so, it is even he whom *Lycurgus* brought up. But he that had inwardly seene his naturall doings, and good will indeede lye naked before him, would contrarily, have used this common saying:

This woman is no changeling.

For he entertained Queene *Timea*, King *Agis* wife of *SPARTA*, so well in his absence, he being abroad in the Warres, that he got her with childe, and she her selfe denied it not. For she being brought to bed of a sonne, who was named *Leotychides*, openly to the world called him by that name: but when she was amongst her familiars and very friends, she called him softly *Alcibiades*, she was so farre in love with him. And *Alcibiades*, jesting out the matter, said he had done it for no hurt, nor for any lust of flesh to satisfie his desire: but onely to leave of his race, to reigne amongst the *LACEDÆMONIANS*. This matter was brought by divers unto King *Agis*, who at the length believed it: but specially when he began to make a reckoning of the time how long it was since he lay with his wife. For lying with his wife one night when there was a terrible Earthquake, he ranne out of his chamber for feare the house would fall on his head: so that it was tenne moneths after ere he lay againe with her. Whereupon her Sonne *Leotychides* being borne at the end of tenne moneths, he said it was none of his: and this was the cause that *Leotychides* did not succede afterwards in the Kingdome, because he was not of the blood-royall. After the utter overthrow of the *ATHENIANS* in *SICILIA*, those of the Isles of *Chio* and *Lesbos*, with the *CYZICENIANS*, did send altogether their Ambassadors to *SPARTA*, to let the *LACEDÆMONIANS* understand, they had good will to leave the *ATHENIANS*, so they would send them aide to defend them. The *BOEOTIANS* favoured those of *LESBOS*: *Pharnabazus*, the King of *PERSIANS* Lieutenant, favoured the *CYZICENIANS*. This notwithstanding the *LACEDÆMONIANS* were better affected to helpe those of *CHIO* first, by the perswasion of *Alcibiades*, who took their matter in hand: and he tooke Sea himselfe and went into *ASIA*, where he almost turned the Countrey of *IONIA* against the *ATHENIANS*: and keeping alwaies with the Generals of the *LACEDÆMONIANS*, he did much hurt the *ATHENIANS*. Yet notwithstanding, King *Agis* did beare him ill will, partly for the injury he did him in dishonouring and defiling his wife, and partly also, for that he envied his glory: because the rumour ranne all about, that the most part of the goodly exploits of those Warres did happen well by *Alcibiades* means. Other also of the greatest Authority among the *SPARTANS*, that were most ambitious among them, began in their mindes

Alcibiades fly-
eth to Sparta.

Alcibiades more
changeable
then the Cam-
elion.

Alcibiades got
Timea King
Agis wife with
childe.

Leotychides Alc-
ibiades barbad

The Lacedæmonians practise to kill Alcibiades. Alcibiades flying the Lacedæmonians, goeth to Tisaphernes.

Alcibiades called a pleasant place, and goodly prospect.

The inconsistency of the common people.

to be angry with *Alcibiades*, for the envie they bare him: who were of so great power, that they procured their Governours to write Letters to their Captaines in the Field to kill him. *Alcibiades* hearing of this, did no whit desist to do all that he could for the benefit of the LACEDÆMONIANS: yet he had an eye behinde him, flying all occasions to fall into their hands. So in the end, for more fury of his person, he went unto *Tisaphernes* one of the King of PERSIA's Lieutenants, with whom he wanne incontinently such credit, that he was the first and chiefeest person he had about him. For this barbarous man being no simple person, but rather malicious, and subtil of nature, and that loved fine and crafty men: did wonder how he could so easily turne from one manner of living to another, and also at his quick wit and understanding. Moreover, his company and manner to passe the time away, was commonly marvellous full of mirth and pleasure, and he had such pleasant comely devices with him, that no man was of so fullen a nature, but he would make him merry, nor so churlish, but he would make him gentle. So that both those that feared him, and also they that envied him, were yet glad to see him, and it did them good to be in his company, and use talke with him. Inasmuch as this *Tisaphernes* (that otherwife was a churlish man, and naturally hated the GRECIANS) did give himselfe so much unto *Alcibiades* flatteries, and they pleased him so well, that he himselfe did studie to flatter *Alcibiades* againe, and made much of him. For he called *Alcibiades* his faire house of pleasure, and goodly prospect: notwithstanding he had many goodly Gardens, sweete Springs, greene Arbours, and pleasant Meadows, and those in all royall and magnificent manner. *Alcibiades* despairing utterly to finde any safety or friendship among the SPARTANS, and fearing on the other side King *Agis* also: he began to speake ill of them, and to disgrace all that they did, to *Tisaphernes*. By this practise he stayed *Tisaphernes* from aiding them so friendly as he might; and that he did not utterly destroy the ATHENIANS: for he perswaded him that he should furnish the LACEDÆMONIANS but with little money, to let them diminish and consume by little and little, to the end that after one had troubled and weakened the other, they both at the length should be the easier for the King to overcome. This barbarous man did easily consent to this device. All the world then saw he loved *Alcibiades*, and esteemed of him very much: inasmuch as he was fought to, and regarded of all hands of the GRECIANS. Then were the ATHENIANS sory, and repented them when they had received so great losse and hurt, for that they had decreed so severely against *Alcibiades*, whom in like manner was very sorrowfull, to see them brought to so hard termes, fearing, if the City of ATHENS came to destruction, that he himselfe should fall in the end into the hands of the LACEDÆMONIANS, who maliced him to the death. Now about that time, all the power of the ATHENIANS was almost in the Isle of SAMOS, from whence with their Army by Sea, they sought to suppress the Rebels that were up against them, and to keepe all that which yet remained. For they were yet prettily strong to resist the Enemies, at the least by Sea: but they stood in feare of the power of *Tisaphernes*, and of the hundred and fifty Gallies which were reported to be coming out of their Countrey of PHOENICIA to the aid of their Enemies, which if they had come, the City of ATHENS had been utterly spoiled, and for ever without hope of recovery. The which *Alcibiades* understanding, sent secretly unto the chiefeest men that were in the Army of the ATHENIANS at SAMOS, to give them hope he would make *Tisaphernes* their friend: howbeit not of any desire he had to gratifie the People, nor that he trusted to the Commonalty of ATHENS, but onely to the honourable and honest Citizens, and that conditionally, so as they had the heart and courage, to bridle a little the over-licentiousness and insolency of the common People, and that they would take upon them the Authority to govern, and to redresse their State, and to preserve the City of ATHENS from finall and utter destruction. Upon this advertisement, all the heads and chiefe men did give very good care unto it: saving onely *Phryniscus*, one of the Captaines, and of the Towne of DIRADES: who mistrusting (that was true indeede) that *Alcibiades* cared not which end went forward, nor who had the chiefe government of ATHENS, the Nobility or the Commonalty, and did but seeke all the devices and waies he could, to returne againe if it might be possible, in any manner of sort, and that he did but curry favour with the Nobility, blaming and accusing the People: he stood altogether against the motion, whereupon *Alcibiades* device was not followed. And having now shewed himselfe open Enemy to *Alcibiades*, he did secretly advertise *Astiochus*, then Admirall to the LACEDÆMONIANS, of *Alcibiades* practise, and warned him to take heed of him, and to lay him up safe, as a double-dealer, and one that had intelligence with both sides: but he understood not how it was, one Traytor to speak to another. For this *Astiochus* was a follower of *Tisaphernes* for his private commodity: and perceiving *Alcibiades* in such credit with him, he did discover to *Alcibiades* all that *Phryniscus* had advertised him. *Alcibiades* straight sent men of purpose to SAMOS, unto the Captaines there, to accuse *Phryniscus* of the treason he had revealed against them. Those of the Councell there, receiving this intelligence, were highly offended with *Phryniscus*. So, he seeing no better way to save himself for making of this fault, went about to make amends with committing a worse fault. Thereupon he sent againe to *Astiochus*, complaining much he had disclosed him: and yet nevertheless he promised him, if he would keepe his counsell, that he would deliver the whole Fleete and Army of the ATHENIANS into his hands. Howbeit this treason of *Phryniscus* did the ATHENIANS no hurt at all, by reason of *Astiochus* counter-treason: for he did let *Alcibiades* againe understand what offer *Phryniscus* had made him. *Phryniscus* looking to be charged with this againe the second time before the Councell, by means of *Alcibiades*, did first advertise the chiefe of the Army of the ATHENIANS: that their Enemies would come and set upon them, and where, and how, and gave them warning to keepe neere their Ships,

to

to make a strong watch, and to fortifie themselves with all speed, the which forthwith they did. And as they were about it, there came other Letters from *Alcibiades*, by the which he did warn them again to take heed of *Phryniscus*, because he had practised againe with their Enemies, to deliver the whole Army of ATHENS into their hands. But they gave no credit to his second Letters: for they thought that he knowing the preparation and mines of the enemies, would serve his owne turne with the false accusing of *Phryniscus*. Notwithstanding this, there was some fallshood in fellowship: for one *Hermomon*, openly in the Market-place stabbed *Phryniscus* in with a dagger, and killed him. The fact being pleaded in Law, and thoroughly considered of, the dead body by the sentence of the People was condemned for a Traytor: and *Hermomon* the murderher and his fellows, were crowned in recompence of their fact they had done to kill a Traytor to the Common-wealth. Wherefore those that were *Alcibiades* friends, being at that time the stronger and greatest men of the Councell in the Army of SAMOS: they sent one *Pisander* to ATHENS, to attempt to alter the Government, and to encourage the Noblemen to take upon them the Authority, and to pluck it from the People: assuring them that *Tisaphernes* would give them aide to do it, by means of *Alcibiades*, who would make him their friend. This was the colour and cloke wherewith they served their turnes, that did change the Government of ATHENS, and that brought it into the hands of a small number of Nobility: for they were in all but foure hundred, and yet they called themselves five thousand. But so soone as they felt themselves strong, and that they had the whole authority of Government, without contradiction in their hands, they made then no more reckoning of *Alcibiades*, and so they made Warres more coldly and slackly then before. Partly because they mistrusted their Citizens, who found the change of Government very strange: and partly also because they were of opinion that the LACEDÆMONIANS (who at all times did most favour the Government of Nobility) would be better inclined to make peace with them. Now the common People that remained still in the City, stirred not, but were quiet against their wills, for feare of danger, because there were many of them slaine, that boldly tooke upon them in open preference to resist these foure hundred. But those that were in the Campe in the Isle of SAMOS, hearing these newes, were so grievously offended, that they resolved to returne incontinently againe, unto the haven of PIRÆA. First of all, they sent for *Alcibiades*: whom they chose their Captaine, then they commanded him straightly to leade them against these Tyrants, who had usurped the liberty of the People of ATHENS. But nevertheless he did not herein, as another would have done in this case, seeing himselfe so suddenly crept againe in favour with the common People: for he did not thinke he should incontinently please and gratifie them in all things, though they had made him now their Generall over all their Ships, and so great an Army, being before but a banished man, a vagabond, and a fugitive. But to the contrary, as it became a Generall worthy of such a charge, he considered with himselfe, that it was his part wisely to stay those, who would in a rage and fury carelessly cast themselves away, and not suffer them to do it. And truly *Alcibiades* was the cause of the preserving of the City of ATHENS at that time from utter destruction. For if they had suddenly (according to their determination) departed from SAMOS to goe to ATHENS: the Enemies finding no man to lett them, might easily have wonne all the Countrey of IONIA, of HELLESPOINT, and of all the other Isles without stroke striking, whilst the ATHENIANS were busie fighting one against another in civil Warres, and within the compasse of their owne walls. This *Alcibiades* alone, and no other, did prevent, not onely by perswading the whole Army, and declaring the inconvenience thereof, which would fall out upon their suddain departure: but also by intreating some particularly apart, and keeping a number backe by very force. To bring this about, one *Thrafsibulus* of the Towne of STIRA, did helpe him much: who went through the Army, and cried out upon them that were bent to enterprise this journey: for he had the biggest and loudest voyce, as they say, of any man that was in all the City of ATHENS. This was a notable act, and a great piece of service done by *Alcibiades*: that he promised the five hundred saile of the PHOENICIANS (which the LACEDÆMONIANS assuredly looked for, in their aide from the King of PERSIA) should not come at all, or else if they came, it should be in the favour of the ATHENIANS. For he departed immediately, and went with great speed to *Tisaphernes*: whom he handled in such sort, that he brought not the Ships that lay at rode before the City of AFRANDA, and so he brake promise with the LACEDÆMONIANS. Therefore *Alcibiades* was marvellously blamed and accused, both of the one and the other side, to have altered *Tisaphernes* minde, but chiefly the LACEDÆMONIANS: who said, that he had perswaded this barbarous Captaine, he should neither aide the one nor the other, but rather to suffer themselves to devoure and destroy each other. For it had been out of doubt, if this great Fleet and Navie of the Kings had come, to joyne their force with either party: that they had taken from the one of them the feignory and domination of the sea. Shortly after, the 400 Noblemen that had usurped the authority and government of ATHENS, were utterly driven away and overthrowne, by means of the friendly aid and assistance that *Alcibiades* friends gave those that tooke the Peoples part. So the Citizens were very well pleased with *Alcibiades*, inasmuch as they sent for him to returne when he thought good. But he esteeming it no honour unto him to returne without some well-deserving, and before he had done some greater exploit, as only upon the Peoples favour and good will: to the end that his returne might be glorious and triumphant: he departed first from SAMOS with a small number of Gallies, and went sailing up and downe the Isles of COS and of GYTOS. There he was advertised, that *Mindarus*, the Admirall of the LACEDÆMONIANS, was gone with all his Fleete unto the Straights of HELLESPOINT, and that the Captaines of the ATHENIANS gave chase unto him. Thereupon he went also and joyned thither,

The murder of Phryniscus and his condemnation.

Alcibiades called home from exile.

Thrafsibulus a man of the biggest voyce of all the Athenians.

The Citizens of Athens sent for Alcibiades to returne.

Battell by Sea before the City of Abydos, between the Athenians and Lacedæmonians.

Alcibiades victory of the Lacedæmonians by Sea.

Alcibiades taken prisoner at Sardis, thence from Tisaphernes.

Alcibiades victory at Cyzicum.

with speed, to aide the ATHENIANS: and by very good fortune came with eightene Gallies, even at the very instant when they were both in the midst of their fight, with all their Ships before the City of ABYDOS. The battell was cruelly foughten between them from morning till night, both the one and the other having the better in one part of the battell, and the worst in another place. Now at the first discovery of Alcibiades coming, both parts had indeede contrary imaginations of him. For the enemies tooke heart unto them: and the ATHENIANS began to be afraid. But Alcibiades setting up a Flag in the top of his Admirall Galley, to shew what he was, he presently set upon the PELOPONNESIANS that had the better, and had certaine Gallies of the ATHENIANS in chase: whereupon the PELOPONNESIANS gave over their chase, and fled. But Alcibiades followed them so lustily, that he ran divers of them aground, and brake their Ships, and slew a great number of men that leapt into the Sea, in hope to save themselves by swimming a land: notwithstanding that Pharnabazus was come thither to aide the LACEDÆMONIANS, and did his best endeavour to save their Gallies by the Sea shore: yet the ATHENIANS in the end wanne 30. Gallies of their Enemies, and saved all their owne, and so did set up certaine Flags of triumph and victory. Alcibiades having now happily gotten this glorious victory, would needs go shew himselfe in triumph unto Tisaphernes. So having prepared to present him with goodly rich presents, and appointed also a convenient Traine and number of Saile meete for a General, he tooke his course directly to him. But he found not that entertainment he hoped for: for Tisaphernes standing in great hazard of displeasure, and feare of punishment at the Kings hands, having long time before beene defamed by the LACEDÆMONIANS, who had complained of him, that he did not fulfill the Kings commandment, thought that Alcibiades was arrived in very happy houre: whereupon he kept him prisoner in the City of SARDIS, supposing the wrong he had done, would by this meanes easily discharge and purge him to the King. Yet at the end of thirty daies, Alcibiades by fortune got a horse, and stealing from his keepers, fled unto the City of CLAZOMENES; and this did more increase the suspicion they had of Tisaphernes, because they thought that underhand he had wrought his liberty. Alcibiades tooke then Sea againe, and went to seeke out the Army of the ATHENIANS. Which when he had found, and heard newes that Mindarus and Pharnabazus were together in the City of CYZICUM, he made an Oration to his Souldiers, and declared unto them how it was very requisite they should fight with their Enemies, both by Sea and by Land, and moreover that they should assault them within their Forts and Castles, because otherwise they could have no money to defray their charges. His Oration ended, he made them immediately hoise saile, and so to go lie at anker in the Ile of PROCONNESUS: where he tooke order that they should keepe all the Pinaces and Brigantines among the Ships of warre, that the Enemy might have no manner of intelligence of his coming. The great shoures of raine also, with thunder and dark weather that fell out suddenly upon it, did greatly further him in his attempt and enterprize: inso much as not onely his Enemies, but the ATHENIANS that were there before, knew nothing of his coming. So some made their reckoning, that they could do little or nothing all that day: yet he made them suddenly imbarke, and hoise saile. They were no sooner in the maine Sea, but they discried afar off the Gallies of their Enemies, which lay at rode before the haven of CYZICUM. And fearing lest the great number of his Fleet would make them sicke, and take Land before he could come to them: he commanded certaine Captaines to flye behinde, and to row softly after him, and himselfe with forty Gallies with him, went towards the Enemies to provoke them to fight. The Enemies supposing there had beene no more Ships then those that were in fight, did set out presently to fight with them. They were no sooner joyned together, but Alcibiades Ships that came behinde, were also discried. The Enemies were so affraid thereof, that they cast about and fled straight. Alcibiades leaving his Fleet, followed the chase with twenty of the best Gallies he had, and drave them a land. Thereupon he landed also, and pursued them so courageously at their heeles, that he slew a great number of them on the maine Land, who thought by flying to have saved themselves. Moreover, Mindarus and Pharnabazus, being come out of the City to rescue their People, were overthrowne both. He slew Mindarus in the Field, fighting valiantly: as for Pharnabazus, he cowardly fled away. So the ATHENIANS spoiled the dead bodies (which were a great number) of a great deale of armour and riches, and tooke besides all their Enemies Ships. After they tooke the City of CYZICUM, Pharnabazus having left it. Then the PELOPONNESIANS being slaine, they had not onely the possession of the whole Countrey of HELLESPOINT, which they kept: but they drave their Enemies by force out of all parts of the Sea. There were at that time certaine Letters intercepted, whereby a Secretary gave advertisement unto the Ephors at SPARTA, of the overthrow in this sort: All is lost, Mindarus is slaine, our People die for hunger, and we know not what to do. Now the Souldiers of ATHENS that had beene at this journey and overthrow, grew to such pride and reputation of themselves, that they would not, and disdaind also to serve with other Souldiers that had beene beaten many times, and went away with the worse: where they to the contrary had never beene overcome as a little before happened, that the Captaine Thersippus had beene overthrowne by the City of EPHESUS: and for this overthrow, the EPHESIANS had set up triumph and token of brasse, to the utter shame and ignominy of the ATHENIANS. For the which Alcibiades Souldiers did very much rebuke Thersippus men, and did exceedingly extoll their Captaine and themselves, and would neither encampe with them, neither have to do with them, nor yet keepe them company: untill such time as Pharnabazus came with a great Army against them, as well of Footmen as Horsemen, when they ran a foraging upon the ABYDENIANS: and then Alcibiades went to the rescue of them, and gave Pharnabazus battell, and

and overthrow him once againe, and did together with Thersippus, chase him even untill darke night. Then both Alcibiades and Thersippus Souldiers did company together, one rejoicing with another: and so returned all with great joy into one Campe. The next morning Alcibiades set up a Triumph for the Victory he had the day before, and then went to spoile and destroy Pharnabazus Countrey where he was Governour, and no man durst once come out to meete him. In this rode there were taken Prisoners, certaine Priests and Nuns of the Countrey: but Alcibiades freely delivered them afterwards without ranfome. And preparing to make Warres against the CHALCEDONIANS, who were revolted from the ATHENIANS, and had received a Garison and Governour of the LACEDÆMONIANS into their City, he was advertised that they had brought all their Goods and Cattels out of their Fields, and had delivered them to the safe custody of the BYTHINIANS, who were their neighbours and friends. Hereupon he led his Army into their Borders, and sent a Herald to summon the BYTHINIANS, to make amends for the wrong they had done the ATHENIANS. The BYTHINIANS fearing lest Alcibiades would set upon them, did straight deliver him their goods they had before in their custody, and moreover made a league with the ATHENIANS besides. That done, he went and laid siege to the City of CHALCEDON, the which he environed all about from the one side of the Sea to the other. Pharnabazus came thither, thinking to have raised the siege. And Hippocrates a Captaine of the LACEDÆMONIANS, that was Governour of the City, assembled all the force he was able to make within the same, and made a sallie out also upon the ATHENIANS at the very same time. Whereupon Alcibiades putting his men in order of battell, so as they might give charge upon them both at one instant, fought so valiantly, that he forced Pharnabazus to runne his way with shame enough, and slew Hippocrates in the Field, with a great number of his men. Then tooke he the Seas againe, to go towards the Countrey of HELLESPOINT, to get some Money, where on the sudden he did take the City of SELYBREA: because he valiantly put himselfe in hazard before the time appointed him. For certaine of his friends within, with whom he had secret practise, had given him a token, that when time served, they would shew a burning torch in the aire at midnight: but they were compelled to shew this fire in the aire before they were ready, for feare lest one of their confederacy would betray the matter, who suddenly repented him. Now this torch burning in the aire, was set before Alcibiades was ready with his company. But he perceiving the signe set, tooke about thirty men with him in his company, and ranne with them to the walls of the City, having commanded the rest of his Army to follow him with all speede possible. The gate was opened to him, and to his thirty men: besides them there followed twenty other light armed men. Howbeit they were no sooner entred the City, but they heard the Citizens armed come against them: so that there was no hope to scape, if they did tarry their coming. Neverthelesse, considering that untill that present time, he was never overcome in battell where he had taken charge, it grieved him very much to flye: wherefore it straight came in his head to make silence by sound of Trumpet, and after silence made, he caused one of them that were about him to make Proclamation with a loud voyce, that the SELYBRIANIANS should not take Armes against the ATHENIANS. This cooled them a little that would faine have bene doing, because they supposed that all the Army of the ATHENIANS had beene already in the City: the other on the contrary side, were very glad to talke of peace, without any further danger. And as they began to parle upon composition, the rest of Alcibiades Army was come on. Now he thinking indeede (which was true) that the SELYBRIANIANS fought nothing but peace, and fearing lest the THRACIANS (which were many in number, and came with good will to serve him in that journey) would sacke and spoile the City, he made them all to go out againe: and so concluding peace with the chiefe of the SELYBRIANIANS, he did them no more hurt upon their humble submission, but made them pay him a summe of money, and so leaving a Garison of the ATHENIANS within the City, he departed thence. Whilst Alcibiades was in treaty with the SELYBRIANIANS, the other ATHENIAN Captaines that lay at the siege of CHALCEDON, made an agreement with Pharnabazus, that he should give them a summe of money, and give up the Towne into the ATHENIANS hands, to enjoy it as they did before. And with expresse condition also, that the ATHENIANS should make no rodes into Pharnabazus Dominions, to hurt or spoile any of his: and he likewise should be bound to give good safe conduct unto the Ambassadors of the ATHENIANS, to go and come safe from time to time, to the King of PERSIA. The other Captaines being sworne to this peace, Pharnabazus conditioned also that Alcibiades at his returne should likewise be sworne to the peace and conditions thereof. But Alcibiades said he would not be sworne at all, unless Pharnabazus were first sworne for his part. Thus when Oathes were taken on either side, Alcibiades went also against those of BYZANTIUM, who in like case had rebelled against the ATHENIANS. At his first coming thither, he environed the City round about with a wall. Afterwards he practised with two secret friends of his, Ananias and Lycurgus, and certaine other within the City, who promised him to deliver it into his hands, so they might be assured he would do them no hurt. To colour this practise, he gave it out that he must needs leave the siege, and depart with speede, for certaine newes that were come out of IONIA: and thereupon he imbarked presently, and went out of the haven at noone daies with all his Ships, howbeit he returned againe the same night. And going a land with the choicest and best armed men he had, he approached the walls of the City, without any manner of noise, and having left order with them that remained in the Ships, that in the meane season they should rowe with all force into the haven, with as great cries and shouts as might be, to feare and trouble the Enemies: partly to feare the BYZANTIANS: the

Alcibiades victory at Chalcedonia. Alcibiades tooke the City of Selybrea.

The presence wit of Alcibiades.

The Chalcedonians receive the Athenians.

Alcibiades straggle at Byzantium.

Alcibiades second journey.

Lack of money the occasion of the overthrow of the Athenians Army by Sea.

Antiochus rashly procured his owne death and the overthrow of the Athenians Army.

Lyfander being generall of the Lacedæmonians, overthrew the Athenians.

Alcibiades accused again by Thrafybulus.

Alcibiades put from his Authority of General.

withstand all envie, and drive away the Lawes and Customes of trying of matters by the voyces of the People, and all such fonde devices as did destroy the state of the Common-weale. And furthermore, they said it was very needfull that he alone should take upon him the whole Rule and Government of the City, that he might dispose all things according to his will, and not stand in feare of slanderous and wicked tongues. Now, whether *Alcibiades* ever had any minde to usurpe the Kingdom, the matter is somewhat doubtfull. But this is certaine, the greatest men of the City fearing lest indeede he meant some such thing, did hasten his departure as soone as they could possible, doing all other things according to his minde: and did assigne him such Associates in his charge of Generall, as he himselfe best liked. So in the end he departed with a Fleete of an hundred Gallies, and first of all he fell with the Isle of *ANDROS*, where he overcame by fight the Inhabitants of the said Isle, and certaine *LACEDÆMONIANS* that were amongst them: but he tooke not the City, which was one of the first matters his Enemies did accuse him for. For if ever man was overthrowne and envied for the estimation they had of his valour and sufficiency, truly *Alcibiades* was the man. For his notable and sundry services he had done, wonne him such estimation of wisdom and valiantnesse, that where he slackened in any service whatsoever, he was presently suspected, judging the ill successe not in that he could not, but for that he would not: and that where he undertooke any Enterprise, nothing could withstand or lye in his way. Hereupon the People perswading themselves, that immediately after his departure, they should heare that the Isle of *CHIO* was taken, with all the Countrey of *IONIA*, they were angry they could have no newes so suddenly from him as they looked for. Moreover, they did not consider the lacke of money he had, and specially making Warre with such Enemies, as were ever relieved with the great King of *PERSIAES* aide, and that for necessities sake he was sundry times driven to leave his Campe, to seeke money where he could get it, to pay his Souldiers, and to maintaine his Army. Now for testimony hereof, the last Accusation that was against him, was onely for this matter. *Lyfander* being sent by the *LACEDÆMONIANS* for Admirall and Generall of their Army by Sea, used such policy with *Cyrus* the King of *PERSIAES* brother, that he got into his hands a great summe of money: by meanes whereof he gave unto his Mariners foure Oboles a day for their Wages, where before they were wont to have but three, and yet *Alcibiades* had much ado to furnish his with three onely a day. For this cause, to get money, *Alcibiades* sailed unto *CARIA*. But in the meane time *Antiochus*, whom *Alcibiades* had left his Lieutenant behinde him, and had given him charge of all the Ships in his absence, being a very skilfull Sea-man, but otherwise a hasty harebraynd foole, and of small capacity: he being expressly commanded by *Alcibiades* not to fight in any case, though the Enemies offered him Battell, was so foolish rash, and made so little reckoning of his straight commandment, that he armed his owne Galley, whereof himselfe was Captaine, and other besides, and went to the City of *EPHESUS*, passing all along his Enemies Gallies, reviling and offering villany to those that stood upon the Hatches of their Gallies. *Lyfander* being marvelously provoked by these words, went and encountred him at the first with a few Shippes. The other Captaines of the Gallies of the *ATHENIANS*, seeing *Antiochus* in danger, went to aide him, one after another. Then *Lyfander* of his part also set out all his whole Fleete against him, and in the end overcame them: *Antiochus* selfe was killed in the conflict, and many Gallies and men were taken Prisoners: wherefore *Lyfander* set up shewes of triumph in token of victory. *Alcibiades* hearing this illfavoured newes, returned presently with all possible speede to *SAMOS*: and when he came thither, he went with all the rest of his Fleete to offer *Lyfander* battell. But *Lyfander* quietly contenting himselfe with his first Victory, went not out against him. Now this Victory was no sooner wonne, but one *Thrafybulus* the Sonne of *Thrason*, *Alcibiades* Enemy; went incontinently from the Campe, and got him to *ATHENS*, to accuse *Alcibiades* to the People: whom he informed how all went to wracke, and that he had lost many Ships, for that he regarded not his charge, carelessly putting men in trust, whom he gave too great credit to, because they were good fellows, and would drinke drunke with him, and were full of Mariners mocks and knavish jests, such as they use commonly amongst themselves. And that he in the meane time tooke his pleasure abroad, here and there, scraping money together where he could come by it, keeping good cheare, and feasting of the *ABYDENIAN* and *IONIAN* Curtizans, when the Enemies Army was so neare theirs as it was. Moreover, they laid to his charge, that he did fortifie a Cattle in the Countrey of *THRACIA*, neare unto the City *BISANTHE*, for a place to retire himselfe unto, either because he could not, or rather that he would not live any longer in his owne Countrey. Upon those accusations, the *ATHENIANS* giving credit to the report, did immediately choose new Captaines, and thereby declared their mistaking. *Alcibiades* hearing of this, and fearing lest they would do him some worse harme, did leave straight the *ATHENIANS* Campe, and gathering a certaine number of strangers together, went of himselfe to make Warre upon certaine free People of the *THRACIANS*, who were subject to no Prince nor State: where he got a marvellous masse of money together, by meanes whereof he did assure the *GRECIANS* inhabiting those marches, from all invasion of foraigne Enemies. Now *Tydemus*, and *Menander*, and *Adimantus*, the *ATHENIANS* Captaines, being afterwards in a place commonly called the *Goates River*, with all the Gallies the City of *ATHENS* had at that time upon the Coast: used every morning to go into the Sea, to offer Battell to *Lyfander*, who rode at

at Anker before the City of *Lampsachus*, with all the *LACEDÆMONIANS* Army by Sea, and commonly returned againe to the place from whence they came, in very ill order, without either watch or ward, as men that were carelesse of their Enemies. *Alcibiades* being on the Land not farre off, and finding their great fault and negligence, tooke his Horse, and went to them, and told them that they lay on an ill shoare, where there was no good rode, nor Towne, and where they were driven to seeke their Victuals, as far as to the City of *SESTOS*, and that they suffered their Mariners to leave their Shippes, and go aland when they lay at anker, stragling up and downe the Countrey as they would themselves, without regard that there lay a great Army of their Enemies before them, ready to be set out at the Generals commandment: and therefore he advised them to remove thence, and go to cast anker before the City of *SESTOS*. Howbeit the Captaines would not be advised by him: and that which was worit of all, *Tydemus*, one of the Captaines, stoutly commanded him to get him away, as one that had nothing to do with the matter, and that other had charge of the Army. Whereupon *Alcibiades* fearing they would purpose some Treason against him, did depart presently from them. And as he went his way, he said to some of his friends which accompanied him out of the Campe at his returne: that if the Captaines of the *ATHENIANS* had not beene so round with him, he would have forced the *LACEDÆMONIANS* to have come to battell in despite of their beards, or else he would have driven them to forsake their Shippes. Some tooke this for a glorious brag: other thought he was like enough to have done it, because he could have brought from Land a great number of *THRACIANS*, both Archers and Horsemen, with whom he might have given a charge upon the *LACEDÆMONIANS*, and done great mischief unto their Campe. But now, how wisely *Alcibiades* did foresee the faults he told the *ATHENIANS* Captaines of, their great misfortune and losse that followed incontinently, did too plainly witness it to the World. For *Lyfander* came so fiercely upon them on a sudden; that of all the Shippes that they had in their whole Fleete, onely eight Gallies were saved, with whom *Conon* fled: and the other being not much lesse then two hundred in number, were every one of them taken and carried away, with three thousand Prisoners, whom *Lyfander* put to death. Shortly after, he tooke the City selfe of *ATHENS*, and razed their long Walls even to the ground. After this great and notable Victory, *Alcibiades* fearing sore the *LACEDÆMONIANS*, who then without lett or interruption of any, were onely Lords and Princes by Sea and by Land: he went into the Countrey of *BYTHINIA*, and caused great Goods to be brought after him, and tooke a marvellous summe of money with him, besides great Riches he left also in the Castles of *THRACIA*, where he did remaine before. Howbeit he lost much of his Goods in *BYTHINIA*, which certaine *THRACIANS* dwelling in that Countrey, had robbed him of, and taken from him. So he determined to repaire forthwith unto King *Araxerxes*, hoping that when the King had once proved him, he should finde him a man of no lesse service, then he had found *Themistocles* before him: besides that the occasion of his going thither, should be much juster then his was: for he did not go thither, to make Warre against the City of *ATHENS* and his Countrey, as *Themistocles* did: but of a contrary intent, to make intercession to the King, that it would please him to aide them. Now *Alcibiades* thinking he could use no better meane then *Pharnabazus* helpe onely, to see him safely conducted to the Kings Court: he tooke his journey to him into the Countrey of *PHRYGIA*, where he abode a certaine time to attend upon him, and was very honourably entertained and received of *Pharnabazus*. All this while the *ATHENIANS* found themselves desolate, and in miserable state to see their Empire lost: but then much more, when *Lyfander* had taken away their Liberties, and set thirty Governours over their City. Now too late, after all was lost (where they might have recovered againe, if they had beene wise) they began together to bewaile and lament their miseries and wretched state, looking backe upon all their wilfull faults and follies committed: among which, they did reckon their second time of falling out with *Alcibiades*, was their greatest fault: for they banished him onely of malice and displeasure, not for any offence himselfe in person had committed against them, saving that his Lieutenant in his absence had shamefully lost a few of their Shippes: and they themselves more shamefully had driven out of their City, the noblest Souldier, and most skilfull Captaine that they had. And yet they had some little poore hope left, that they were not altogether cast away, so long as *Alcibiades* lived, and had his health. For before, when he was a forsaken man, and led a banished life, yet he could not live idly, and do nothing: wherefore now much more, said they to themselves, if there be any helpe at all, he will not suffer out of doubt the infolency and pride of the *LACEDÆMONIANS*, nor yet abide the cruelties and outrages of these thirty Tyrants. And surely the common People had some reason to have these thoughts in their heads, considering that the thirty Governours themselves did what they could possibly to spie out *Alcibiades* doings, and what he went about. Inomuch as *Critias* at the last, declared to *Lyfander*, that so long the *LACEDÆMONIANS* might reckon themselves Lords over all *GREECE*, as they kept from the common People the Rule and Authority of the City of *ATHENS*. And further he added, that notwithstanding the People of *ATHENS* could well away to live like Subjects under the Government of a few: yet *Alcibiades* whilest he lived, would never suffer them so to be reigned over, but would attempt by all device he could, to bring a change and innovation among them. Yet *Lyfander* would not credit these perswasions, before speciall commandment was sent to him.

Lyfander rode at anker before *Lampsachus*.

The Athenians regarded not *Alcibiades* good counsell.

The Athenians overcome by *Lyfander*.

Athen taken by *Lyfander*.

Alcibiades Byeth into the Countrey of *Bythinia*.

Lyfander appointed thirty tyrants over the Citizens of *Athen*. Too late repentance of the *Athenians*.

The Lacedæmonians will Lyfander to kill Alcibiades.

Alcibiades dreame in Phrygia before his death.

Alcibiades death. Timandra the Curtizan buried Alcibiades. Laïs a Curtizan of Corinth.

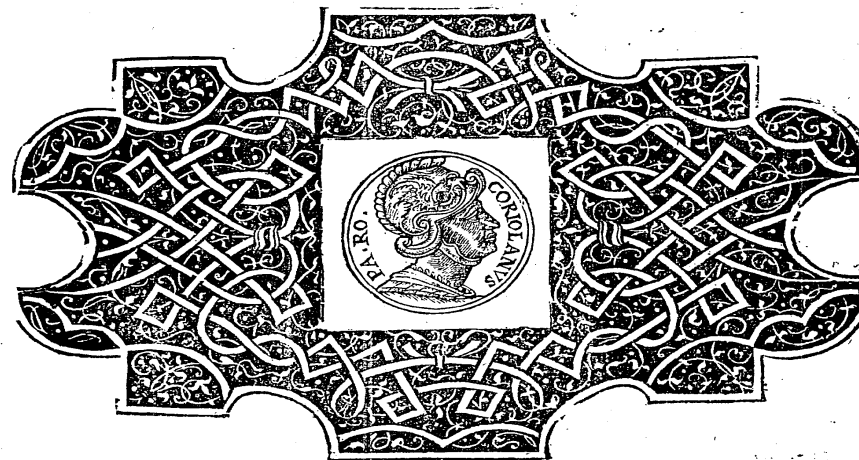
from the Senate of LACEDÆMON, upon his Allegiance, that he should devise to kill *Alcibiades* by all meanes he could procure: either because in troth they feared the subtilty of his wit, and the greatnesse of his courage, to enterprife matters of great weight and danger, or else that they sought to gratifie King *Agis* by it. *Lyfander* being thus straightly commanded, did send and practise incontinently with *Pharnabazus* to execute the Fact: who gave his Brother *Magamus*, and his Uncle *Sufamithres* Commission to attempt the matter. Now was *Alcibiades* in a certaine Village of PHRYGIA, with a Concubine of his called *Timandra*. So he thought he dreamed one night that he had put on his Concubines Apparell, and how she dandling him in her armes, had dressed his head, frizeled his haire, and painted his face, as he had beene a woman. Other say, that he thought *Magamus* strake off his head, and made his body to be burnt: and the voyce goeth, this Vision was but a little before his death. Those that were sent to kill him, durst not enter the house where he was, but set it on fire round about. *Alcibiades* spying the fire, got such Apparell and Hangings as he had, and threw it on the fire, thinking to have put it out: and so casting his Cloake about his left arme, tooke his naked Sword in his other hand, and ranne out of the house, himselfe not once touched with fire, saving his clothes were a little singed. These murderers, so soone as they spied him, drew backe, and stoode asunder, and durst not one of them come neare him, to stand and fight with him: but asfarre off, they bestowed so many Arrowes and Darts on him, that they killed him there. Now when they had left him, *Timandra* went and tooke his body, which she wrapped up in the best Linen she had, and buried him as honourably as she could possiblie, with such things as she had, and could get together. Some hold opinion that *Laïs*, the onely famous Curtizan, which they say was of CORINTH (though indeede she was borne in a little Towne of SICILIA, called HICCARA, where she was taken, was his Daughter. Notwithstanding, touching the death of *Alcibiades*, there are some that agree to all the rest I have written, saving that they say, it was neither *Pharnabazus*, nor *Lyfander*, nor the LACEDÆMONIANS, which caused him to be slaine, but that he keeping with a young Gentlewoman of a Noble house, whom he had stolne away, and inticed to folly: her Brethren to revenge this injury, went to set fire upon the house where he was, and that they killed him as we have told you, thinking to leap out of the fire.

The end of Alcibiades life.



THE

THE LIFE OF CAIUS MARTIUS CORIOLANUS.



Ann. Mund.
3463.

Ant. Crist.
585.



THE House of the *Martians* at ROME was of the number of the *Patricians*, out of the which have sprung many noble personages, whereof *Anacrus Martius* was one, King *Numa's* Daughters Sonne, who was King of ROME after *Tullus Hostilius*. Of the same House were *Publius* and *Quintus*, who brought to ROME their best water they had by Conduits. *Censorinus* also came of that Family, that was so surnamed, because the People had chosen him *Censor* twice. Through whose perswasion they made a Law, that no man from thenceforth might require, or enjoy the Censorship twice. *Caius Martius*, whose Life we intend now to write, being left an Orphan by his Father, was brought up under his Mother a

The Family of the Martians.

Publius and *Quintus Martius*, brought the water by conduits to Rome.

Censorinus law.

Widow, who taught us by experience, that Orphanage bringeth many discomforts to a Child, but doth not hinder him to become an honest man, and to excell in vertue above the common sort: as they that are meanly borne, wrongfully do complaine, that it is the occasion of their casting away, for that no man in their youth taketh any care of them to see them well brought up, and taught that were meete. This man also is a good prooffe to confirme some mens opinions: That a rare and excellent wit untaught, doth bring forth many good and evill things together: as a fat foyle that lieth unmannured bringeth forth both herbes and weedes. For this *Martius* naturall wit and great heart did marvellously stirre up his courage to do and attempt notable acts. But on the other side for lacke of education, he was so cholericke and impatient, that he would yeeld to no living creature: which made him churlish, uncivill, and altogether unfit for any mans conversation. Yet men marvelling much at his constancy, that he was never overcome with pleasure, nor money, and how he would endure easily all manner of paines and travels: thereupon they well liked and commended his stoutnesse and temperancy. But for all that, they could not be acquainted with him, as one Citizen useth to be with another in the City: his behaviour was so unpleasant to them by reason of a certaine insolent and sterne manner he had, which because he was too Lordly, was disliked. And to say truly, the greatest benefit that Learning bringeth unto men, is this: that it teacheth men that be rude and rough of nature, by compasse and rule of reason, to be civill and courteous, and to like better the meane state, then the higher. Now in those dayes, valiantnesse was honoured in ROME, above all other vertues: which they call *virtus*, by the name of vertue it selfe, as including in that generall name, all other speciall vertues besides. So that *virtus* in the Latine, was as much as valiantnesse. But *Martius* being more inclined to the Warres, then any other Gentleman of his time, began from his childhood to give himselfe to handle Weapons, and daily did exercise himselfe therein: and he esteemed outward Armour to no purpose, unlesse one were naturally armed within. Moreover, he did so exercise his body to hardnesse and all kinde of activity,

The benefit of Learning.

What this word *Virtus* signifies.

[illegible]

seeing they were never a whit the better, nor more gently intreated, and that the Senate would give no eare to them, but made as though they had forgotten their former promise, and suffered them to be made Slaves and Bond-men to their Creditors; and besides, to be turned out of all that ever they had: they felt then even to stir rebellion and mutiny, and to stir up dangerous tumults within the City. The ROMANS Enemies hearing of this rebellion, did straight enter the Territories of ROME with a marvellous great Power, spoiling and burning all as they came. Whereupon the Senate immediately made open Proclamation by sound of Trumpet, That all those that were of lawfull age to carry Weapon, should come and enter their names into the Muster-masters Booke, to go to the Warres: but no man obeyed their commandement. Whereupon their chiefe Magistrates, and many of the Senate, began to be of divers opinions among themselves. For some thought it was reason, they should somewhat yeeld to the poore Peoples request, and that they should a little qualifie the severity of the Law. Other held hard against that opinion, and that was *Marius* for one. For he alledged that the Creditors losing their Money they had lent, was not the worst thing that was herein: but that the lenity that was favoured, was a beginning of disobedience, and that the proud attempt of the Commonalty, was to abolish Law, and to bring all to confusion. Therefore he said, if the Senate were wise, they should sometimes prevent and quench this ill favoured and worse meant beginning. The Senate met many daies in consultation about it: but in the end they concluded nothing. The poore common People seeing no redresse, gathered themselves one day together, and one encouraging another, they all forsooke the City, and encamped themselves upon a hill, called at that day the holy hill, along the River of Tiber, offering no creature any hurt or violence, or making any shew of actual rebellion, saving that they cried as they went up and downe, that the rich men had driven them out of the City, and that throughout all ITALY they might finde aire, water, and ground to bury them in. Moreover they said, to dwell at ROME was nothing else but to be flaine, or hurt with continuall Warres, and fighting for defence of the rich mens Goods. The Senate being afraid of their departure, did send unto them certaine of the pleasantest old men, and the most acceptable to the People among them. Of those *Minimus Agrippa* was he, who was sent for chiefe man of the Message from the Senate. He after many good perswasions and gentle requests made to the People, on the behalfe of the Senate, knit up his Oration in the end, with a notable tale, in this manner: That on a time all the Members of mans body did rebell against the belly, complaining of it, that it onely remained in the midst of the body, without doing any thing, neither did beare any labour to the maintenance of the rest: whereas all other parts and Members did labour painfully, and were very careful to satisfie the appetites and desires of the body. And so the belly, all this notwithstanding, laughed at their folly, and said: It is true, I first receive all meates that nourish mans body: but afterwards I send it againe to the nourishment of other parts of the same. Even so (quoth he) O you, my Masters, and Citizens of ROME, the reason is alike between the Senate and you. For matters being well digested, and their counsels thoroughly examined, touching the benefit of the Common-wealth, the Senators are cause of the common commodity that cometh unto every one of you. These perswasions pacified the People, conditionally, that the Senate would grant there should be yearly chosen five Magistrates, which they now call *Tribuni plebis*, whose Office should be to defend the poore People from violence and oppression. So *Junius Brutus*, and *Sicinius Velutus*, were the first Tribunes of the People that were chosen, who had onely bene the causers and procurers of this sedition. Hereupon the City being growne againe to good quiet and unity, the People immediately went to the Warres, shewing that they had a good will to do better then ever they did, and to be very willing to obey the Magistrates in that they would command, concerning the Warres. *Marius* also, though it liked him nothing to see the greatnesse of the People thus increased, considering it was to the prejudice and imbasing of the Nobility, and also saw that other noble *Patricians* were troubled as well as himselfe: he did perswade the *Patricians*, to shew themselves no lesse forward and willing to fight for their Country, then the common People were: and to let them know by their deeds and acts, that they did not so much passe the People in power and riches, as they did exceed them in true Nobility and valiantnesse. In the Country of the VOLSCES, against whom the ROMANS made Warre at that time, there was a principall City of most fame, that was called CORIOLES, before the which the Confull *Cominius* did lay siege. Wherefore all the other VOLSCES fearing lest that City should be taken by assault, they came from all parts of the Country to save it, intending to give the ROMANS battell before the City, and to give an onset on them in two severall places. The Confull *Cominius* understanding this, divided his Army also into two parts, and taking the one part with himselfe, he marched towards them that were drawing to the City out of the Country: and the other part of his Army he left in the Campe with *Titus Latinius* (one of the valiantest men the ROMANS had at that time) to resist those that would make any sallie out of the City upon them. So the CORIOLANS making small account of them that lay in Campe before the City, made a Sallie out upon them, in the which at the first the CORIOLANS had the better, and drove the ROMANS backe againe into the Trenches of their Camp. But *Marius* being there at that time running out of the Campe with a few men with him, he slew the first Enemies he met withall, and made the rest of them flay upon the fudden, crying out to the ROMANS that had turned their backs, and calling them againe to fight with a loud voice. For he was even such another, as *Cato* would have: Souldier and a Captaine to be, not onely terrible and fierce to lay about him, but to make the Enemy afraid with the sound of his voice, and grimmesse of his countenance. Then there flocked about him immediately, a great number of ROMANS: whereat the Enemies were so afraid, that they gave

nd. The property
of a Soldier

backe presently. But *Martius* not staying so, did chafe and follow them to their owne Gates, that fled for life. And there perceiving that the ROMANS retired backe, for the great number of Darts and Arrows which flew about their eares from the Walls of the City, and that there was not one man amongst them that durst venture himselfe to follow the flying Enemies into their City, for that it was full of men of Warre, very well armed and appointed, he did encourage his fellows with words and deeds, crying out to them, that fortune had opened the Gates of the City, more for the followers than the flyers. But all this notwithstanding, few had the hearts to follow him. Howbeit *Martius* being in the throng amongst the Enemies, thrust himselfe into the Gates of the City, and entered the same amongst them that fled, without that any one of them durst at the first turne their face upon him, or offer to stay him. But he looking about him, and seeing he was entred the City with very few men to helpe him, and perceiving he was environed by his Enemies that gathered round about him, did things as it is written, wonderfull and incredible, aswell for the force of his hand, as also for the agility of his body, and with a wonderfull courage and valiantnesse he made a lane through the midst of them, and overthrew also those he layed at: that some he made runne to the furthest part of the City, and other for feare he made yeeld themselves, and to let fall their weapons before him. By this meanes, *Martius* that was gotten out, had some leisure to bring the ROMANS with more safety into the City. The City being taken in this sort, the most part of the Souldiers began incontinently to spoile, to carry away, and to looke up the booty they had wonne. But *Martius* was marvellous angry with them, and cried out on them, that it was no time now to looke after spoile, and to runne fragling here and there to enrich themselves, whilst the other Confull and their fellow Citizens peradventure were fighting with their Enemies: and how that leaving the spoile, they should seeke to winde themselves out of danger and perill. Howbeit, cry and say to them what he could, very few of them would hearken to him. Wherefore taking those that willingly offered themselves to follow him, he went out of the City, and tooke his way toward that part, where he understood the rest of the Army was, exhorting and intreating them by the way that followed him, not to be faint-hearted; and oft holding up his hands to Heaven, he besought the gods to be gracious and favourable unto him, that he might come in time to the Battell, and in a good houre to hazard his life in defence of his Countrey-men. Now the ROMANS when they were put in battell ray, and ready to take their Targets on their armes, and to gird them upon their arming Coats, had a custome to make their Wills at that very instant, without any manner of writing, naming him onely whom they would make their Heire in the presence of three or foure Witnesses. *Martius* came juit to that reckoning, whilst the Souldiers were doing after that sort, and that the Enemies were approached so neare, as one tooke in view of the other. When they saw him at his first coming all bloody, and in a sweate, and but with a few men following him: some thereupon began to be afraid. But soone after, when they saw him runne with a lively cheere to the Confull, and to take him by the hand, declaring how he had taken the City of CORIOLES, and that they saw the Confull *Cominius* also kisse and embrace him: then there was not a man but tooke heart againe to him, and began to be of good courage, some hearing him report from point to point, the happy successe of this Exploit, and other also conjecturing it by seeing their gestures asfarre off. Then they all began to call upon the Confull to march forward, and to delay no longer, but to give charge upon the Enemy. *Martius* asked him how the order of their Enemies Battell was, and on which side they had placed their best fighting men. The Confull made him answer, that he thought the Bands which were in the vaward of their Battell, were those of the ANTIATES, whom they esteemed to be the warlikest men, and which for valiant courage would give no place, to any of the Host of their Enemies. Then prayed *Martius*, to be set directly against them. The Confull granted him, greatly praising his courage. Then *Martius*, when both Armies came almost to joyne, advanced himselfe a good space before his Company, and went so fiercely to give charge on the vaward that came right against him, that they could stand no longer in his hands: he made such a lane through them, and opened a passage into the Battell of the Enemies. But the two Wings of either side turned one to the other, to compasse him in betweene them: which the Confull *Cominius* perceiving, he sent thither straight of the best Souldiers he had about him. So the Battell was marvellous bloody about *Martius*, and in a very short space many were slaine in the place. But in the end the ROMANS were so strong, that they distressed the Enemies, and brake their array: and scattering them, made them flye. Then they prayed *Martius* that he would retire to the Campe, because they saw he was able to do no more, he was already so wearied with the great paine he had taken, and so faint with the great wounds he had upon him. But *Martius* answered them, that it was not for Conquerors to yeeld, nor to be faint-hearted: and thereupon began afresh to chafe those that fled, untill such time as the Army of the Enemies was utterly overthrowne, and numbers of them slaine and taken Prisoners. The next morning betimes, *Martius* went to the Confull, and the other ROMANS with him. There the Confull *Cominius* going up to his Chaire of State, in the presence of the whole Army, gave thanks to the gods for so great, glorious, and prosperous a Victory: then he spake to *Martius*, whose valiantnesse he commended beyond the Moone, both for that he himselfe saw him do with his eyes, as also for that *Martius* had reported unto him. So in the end he willed *Martius*, that he should choose out of all the Horses they had taken of their Enemies, and of all their Goods they had wonne (whereof there was great store) tenne of every sort which he liked best, before any distribution should be made to other. Besides this great honourable offer he had made him, he gave him in testimony that he had wonne that day

The City of
Corioles taken.

Souldiers Te-
staments.

By Coriolanus
means the
Volsces were
overcome in
battell.

The tenth
part of the E-
nemies goods
called Marti-
us rewarded
of his service,
by Cominius
the Confull.

day the price of prowesse above all other, a goodly Horse with a Capparison, and all Furniture to him: which the whole Army beholding, did marvellously praise and commend. But *Martius* stepping forth, told the Confull, he most thankfully accepted the gift of his Horse, and was a glad man besides, that his service had deserved his Generals commendation: and as for his other offer, which was rather a mercenary reward, then an honourable recompence, he would have none of it, but was contented to have his equall part with the other Souldiers. Onely this grace (said he) I crave and beseech you to grant me: Among the VOLSCES there is an old friend and Hoste of mine, an honest wealthy man, and now a Prisoner, who living before in great wealth in his owne Countrey, liveth now a poore prisoner, in the hands of his Enemies: and yet notwithstanding all this his misery and misfortune, it would do me great pleasure if I could save him from this one danger, to keep him from being sold as a Slave. The Souldiers hearing *Martius* words, made a marvellous great shout among them, and there were more that wondered at his great contentation and abstinence, when they saw so little covetousnesse in him, then they were that highly praised and extolled his valiantnesse. For even they themselves that did somewhat malice and envie his glory, to see him thus honoured and passingly praised, did thinke him so much the more worthy of an honourable recompence for his valiant service, as the more carelessly he refused the great offer made unto him for his profit: and they esteemed more the vertue that was in him, that made him refuse such rewards, then that which made them to be offered to him, as unto a worthy person. For it is farre more commendable, to use Riches well, then to be valiant: and yet it is better not to desire them then to use them well. After this shout and noise of the Assembly was somewhat appeased, the Confull *Cominius* began to speak in this sort. We cannot compell *Martius* to take these Gifts we offer him if he will not receive them, but we will give him such a reward for the noble service he hath done, as he cannot refuse. Therefore we do order and decree, that henceforth he be called *Coriolanus*, unlesse his valiant acts have wonne him that name before our nomination. And so ever since, he still bare the third name of *Coriolanus*. And thereby it appeareth, that the first name the ROMANS have, as *Caius*, was as our Christian name now. The second, as *Martius*, was the name of the House and Family they came of. The third, was some addition given, either for some act or notable service, or for some marke on their face, or of some shape of their body, or else for some speciall vertue they had. Even so did the GRECIANS in old time give additions to Princes, by reason of some notable act worthy memory. As when they have called some, *Soter* and *Callinicos*, as much to say as Saviour and Conqueror. Or else of some notable apparent marke on ones face, or on his body, they have called him *Phiscon* and *Grypos*: as ye would say, gorebelly, and hooke-nosed; or else for some vertue, as *Euergetes*, and *Philadelphes*, to wit, a Benefactor, and lover of his brethren. Or otherwise for ones great felicity, as *Eudemon*: as much to say, as fortunate. For so was the second of the * *Battes* surnamed. And some Kings have had surnames of jest and mockery. As one of the *Antigones* that was called *Dofon*, to say, the Giver: who was ever promising, and never giving. And one of the *Ptolomees* was called *Lamyros*: to say, conceitive. The ROMANS use more then any other Nation, to give names of mockery in this sort. As there was one *Metellus* surnamed *Diadematus*, the banded, because he carried a bande about his head of long time, by reason of a sore he had in his forehead. One other of his owne Family was called *Celer*, the quicke Flie, because a few daies after the death of his Father, he shewed the People the cruell fight of Fencers at unrebated Swords, which they found wonderfull for the shortnesse of time. Other had their Surnames derived of some accident at their birth: As to this day they call him *Proculcius*, that is borne, his Father being in some far voyage: and him *Posthumus*, that is borne after the death of his Father. And when of two Brethren twins, the one doth die, and the other surviveth: they call the survivor, *Vopiscus*. Sometimes also they give surnames derived of some marke or misfortune of the body: as *Sylla*, to say, crooked nosed: *Niger*, blacke: *Rufus*, red: *Cacius*, blinde: *Clandus*, lame. They did wisely in this thing to accustom men to thinke, that neither the losse of their fight, nor other such misfortunes as may chance to men, are any shame or disgrace unto them, but the manner was to answer boldly to such names, as if they were called by their proper names. Howbeit these matters would be better amplified in other Stories then this. Now when this Warre was ended, the flatterers of the People began to stir up sedition againe, without any new occasion, or just matter offered of complaint. For they did ground this second insurrection against the Nobility and *Patricians*, upon the Peoples misery and misfortune, that could not but fall out, by reason of the former discord and sedition betweene them and the Nobility. Because the most part of the arable Land within the Territory of ROME, was become heathy and barren for lack of ploughing, for that they had no time nor meane to cause Corne to be brought them out of other Countreys to sow, by reason of their Warres which made the extreme dearth they had among them. Now those busie prattlers that sought the Peoples good will by such flattering words, perceiving great scarcity of Corne to be within the City, and though there had been plenty enough, yet the common People had no money to buy it: they spread abroad false tales and rumours against the Nobility, that they in revenge of the People, had practised and procured the extreme dearth among them. Furthermore, in the midst of this stir, there came Ambassadors to ROME from the City of VELITRES, that offered up their City to the ROMANS, and prayed them they would send new Inhabitants to replenish the same: because the plague had bin so extreme among them, and had killed such a number of them, as there was not left alive the tenth person of the people that had bin there before. So the wife men of ROME began to thinke, that the necessity of the VELITRIANS fell out in a most happy hour, & how by this occasion it was very meet in so great a scarcity of victuals,

Valiancy re-
warded with
honour in the
Field.
Martius noble
answer and
refusal.

Martius surna-
med *Coriolanus*
by the Con-
full.
How the Ro-
mans came to
have three
names.
Why the Gre-
cians gave
Kings sur-
names.

* These were
the Princes
that built the
City of Cy-
rene.
Names of
mockery a-
mong the
Romans.

Sedition at
Rome by rea-
son of famine.

Volscires made a Colony to Rome. Two praefices to remove the sedition at Rome. Sicinius and Brutus Tribunes of the People, against both thole devices.

Coriolanus offendeth the People.

Coriolanus invadeth the Antiates, and bringeth rich spoiles home.

The manner of suing for office at Rome.

Whereupon this meane of suing was so devised.

Offices given then by dolours, without favour or corruption.

Banquets and money given only to the Antians, the first time with money corrupted the sentence of the Judges, and voices of the People.

to disburden ROME of a great number of Citizens : and by this meane as well to take away this new sedition, and utterly to rid it out of the City, as also to cleare the same of many mutinous and seditious persons, being the superfluous ill humours that grievously fed this disease. Hereupon the Consuls prick out all thole by a Bill, whom they intended to send to VALITRES, to go dwell there as in forme of a Colony : and they leaved out all the rest that remained in the City of ROME, a great number to go against the VOLSCES, hoping by the meane of foraigne Warre, to pacifie their sedition at home. Moreover they imagined, when the poore with the rich, and the meane fort with the Nobility, should by this device be abroad in the Warres, and in one Campe, and in one Service, and in one like danger : that then they would be more quiet and loving together. But Sicinius and Brutus, two seditious Tribunes, spake against either of these devices, and cried out upon the Noblement, that under the gentle name of a Colony, they would cloake and cover the most cruell and unnatural fact as might be : because they sent their poore Citizens into a fore infected City and pestilent aire, full of dead bodies infected his People. This were (said they) even as much, as if the Senate should had so cruelly persecuted his People. This were (said they) even as much, as if the Senate should headlong cast downe the People into a most bottomlesse pit. And are not yet contented to have famished some of the poore Citizens heretofore to death, and to put other of them even to the mercy of the plague : but aresh they have procured a voluntary Warre, to the end they would leave behinde no kinde of misery and ill, wherewith the poore silly People should not be plagued, and onely because they are weary to serve the rich. The common People being set on a broile and bravery with these words, would not appeare when the Consuls called their names by a Bill, to prest them for the Warres, neither would they be sent out to this new Colony : infomuch as the Senate knew not well what to say or to do in the matter. *Martius* then, who was now grown to great credit, and a stout man besides, and of great reputation with the noblest men of ROME, rose up, and openly spake against these flattering Tribunes. And for the replenishing of the City of VALITRES, he did compell those that were chosen to go thither, and to depart the City, upon great penalties to him that should disobey : but to the Warres, the People by no meanes would be brought or contrained. So *Martius* taking his friends and followers with him, and such as he could by faire words in that to go with him, did runne certaine forreys into the Dominion of the ANTIANES, where he met with great plenty of Corne, and had a marvellous great spoile, as well of Cattell as of men he had taken Prisoners, whom he brought away with him, and reserved nothing for himselfe. Afterwards, having brought backe againe all his men that went out with him, safe and sound to ROME, and every man rich and laden with spoile : then the home-tarriers and house-doves that kept ROME still, began to repent them that it was not their hap to go with him, and so envied both them that had sped so well in this journey, and also of malice to *Martius*, they spited to see his credit and estimation increase still more and more, because they accounted him to be a great hinderer of the People. Shortly after this, *Martius* stood for the Consulship : and the common People favoured his sute, thinking it would be a shame to them to deny and refuse the chieftest Noblemen of bloud, and most worthy person of ROME, and specially him that had done so great service and good to the Common-wealth. For the custome of ROME was at that time, that such as did sue for any Office, should for certaine dayes before be in the Market-place, onely with a poore Gowne on their backs, and without any Coate underneath, to pray the Citizens to remember them at the day of election : which was thus devised, either to move the People the more, by requesting them in such meane Apparell, or else because they might shew them their wounds they had gotten in the Warres in the service of the Common-wealth, as manifest markes and testimonies of their valiantnesse. Now it is not to be thought, that the suters went thus loose in a simple Gowne in the Market-place, without any Coate under it, for feare, and suspicion of the common People : for Offices of dignity in the City were not then given by favour or corruption. It was but of late time, and long after this, that buying and selling fell out in election of Officers, and that the voyces of the Electors were bought for money. But after corruption had once gotten way into the election of Offices, it hath run from man to man, even to the very sentence of Judges, and also among Captaines in the Warres : so as in the end, that onely turned Common-wealths into Kingdoms, by making Armes subject to Money. Therefore methinks he had reason that said : He that first made Banquets, and gave Money to the common People, was the first that tooke away Authority, and destroyed Common-wealths. But this Pestilence crept in by little and little, and did secretly winne ground still, continuing a long time in ROME, before it was openly knowne and discovered. For no man can tell who was the first man that bought the Peoples voyces for Money, nor that corrupted the sentence of the Judges. Howbeit at ATHENS some hold opinion, that *Antisthenes*, the Sonne of *Anthemion*, was the first that fed the Judges with Money, about the end of the Warres of PELOPONNESUS, being accused of Treason for yielding up the Fort of PYLE at that time, when the golden and unfoiled age remained yet whole in judgement at ROME. Now *Martius* following this custome, shewed many wounds and cuts upon his body, which he had received in seventene yeares service at the Warres, and in many sundry Battels, being ever the foremost man that did set out feete to fight. So that there was not a man among the People, but was ashamed of himselfe, to refuse so valiant a man : and one of them said to another, we must needs chooſe him Consull, there is no remedy. But when the day of election was come, and that *Martius* came to the Market-place with great pompe, accompanied with all the Senate and the whole Nobility of the City about him, who fought to make him Consull, with the greatest instance and intreaty they could, or ever attempted for any man or matter : then the love and good will of the common People

turned

turned straight to an hate and envie toward him, fearing to put this Office of Sovereigne Authority into his hands, being a man somewhat partiall towards the Nobility, and of great credit and Authority amongst the *Patricians*, and as one they might doubt would take away altogether the liberty from the People. Whereupon for these considerations, they refused *Martius* in the end, and made two other that were Suters, Consuls. The Senate being marvellously offended with the People, did account the shame of this refusal, rather to redound to themselves then to *Martius* : but *Martius* tooke it in far worse part then the Senate, and was out of all patience. For he was a man too full of passion and choler, and too much given over to selfe-will and opinion, as one of a high minde and great courage, that lacked the gravity and affability that is gotten with judgement of Learning and reason, which onely is to be looked for in a Governour of State : and that remembered not how wilfulnesse is the thing of the World, which a Governour of a Common-wealth for pleasing should shunne, being that which *Plato* called Solitarinesse. As in the end, all men that are wilfully given to a selfe-opinion and obstinate minde, and who will never yeeld to others reason, but to their owne, neede have patience, which luffy blouds make but a mocke at. So *Martius* being a stout man of nature, that never yeelded in any respect, as one thinking that to overcome alwaies, and to have the upper hand in all matters, was a token of magnanimity, and of no base and faint courage, which spitteth out anger from the most weake and passioned part of the heart, much like the matter of an imposthume : went home to his house, full fraught with spite and malice against the People, being accompanied with all the lustiest young Gentlemen, whose mindes were nobly bent, as those that came of noble race, and commonly used for to follow and honor him. But then specially they flockt about him, and kept him company to his much harme, for they did but kindle and inflame his choler more and more, being sorry with him for the injury the People offered him, because he was their Capitaine and Leader to the Warres, that taught them all Martiall Discipline, and stirred up in them a noble emulation of honor and valiantnesse, and yet without envie, praising them that deserved best. In the meane season, there came great plenty of Corne to ROME, that had beene bought, part in ITALY, and part was sent out of SICILE, as given by *Gelon* the Tyrant of SYRACUSA : so that many stode in great hope, that the dearth of Victuals being holpen, the civill diffention would also cease. The Senate fate in Councell upon it immediately, the common People stode also about the Palace where the Councell was kept, gazing what resolution would fall out : perswading themselves that the Corne they had bought should be sold good cheape, and that which was given should be divided by the poll, without paying any penny, and the rather, because certaine of the Senators amongst them did so wish and perswade the same. But *Martius* standing upon his feete, did somewhat sharply take up those who went about to gratifie the People therein : and called them People-pleasers, and Traytors to the Nobility. Moreover he said, they nourished against themselves, the naughty seede and cockle of "infoleny and sedition, which had beene sowed and scattered abroad amongst the People, which they "should have cut off, if they had beene wise, in their growth : and not (to their owne destruction) "have suffered the People, to establish a Magistrate for themselves, of so great Power and Authority, as that man had, to whom they had granted it. Who was also to be feared, because he obtained what he would, and did nothing but what he listed, neither passed for any obedience to the Consuls, but lived in all liberty, acknowledging no superiour to command him, saving the onely heads and authors of their faction, whom he called his Magistrates. Therefore said he, they that gave counsell, and perswaded that the Corne should be given out to the common People gratis, as they used to do in the Cities of GRECE, where the People had more absolute Power, did but only "nourish their disobedience, which would breake out in the end, to the utter ruine and overthrow of the whole State. For they will not think it is done in recompence of their service past, sithence they know well enough they have so oft refused to go to the Warres, when they were commanded : neither for their mutinies when they went with us, whereby they have rebelled and forsaken their Country : neither for their accusations which their flatterers have preferred unto them, and they have received, and made good against the Senate : but they will rather judge, we give and grant them this, as abasing our selves, and standing in feare of them, and glad to flatter them every way. By this meane their disobedience will still grow worse and worse : and they will never leave to practise new sedition and uprores. Therefore it were a great folly for us, methinks, to do it : yea, shall I say more ? we should if we were wise, take from them their Tribuneship, which most manifestly is the embasing of the Consulship, and the cause of the division of the City. The state whereof as it standeth, is not now as it was wont to be, but cometh difmembred in two factions, "which maintaines alwaies civill diffention and discord betweene us, and will never suffer us againe to be united into one body. *Martius* dilating the matter with many such like reasons, wonne all the young men, and almost all the rich men to his opinion : infomuch as they rang it out, that he was the onely man, and alone in the City, who stood out against the People, and never flattered them. There were onely a few old men that spake against him, fearing lest some mischief might fall out upon it, as indeed there followed no great good afterward. For the Tribunes of the People being present at this consultation of the Senate, when they saw that the opinion of *Martius* was confirmed with the more voyces, they left the Senate, and went downe to the People, crying out for helpe, and that they would assemble to save their Tribunes. Hereupon the People ranne on head in tumult together, before whom the words that *Martius* spake in the Senate were openly reported : which the People so stomacked, that even in that fury they were ready to flie upon the whole Senate.

See the fickle minds of common People.

The fruits of self-will and obstinacy.

Great store of Corn brought to Rome.

Coriolanus Oration against the infoleny of the People.

Sedition at Rome for Coriolanus.

But

But the Tribunes laid all the fault and burthen wholly upon *Martius*, and sent their Serjeants forthwith to arrest him, presently to appeare in person before the People, to answer the words he had spoken in the Senate. *Martius* stoutly withstood these Officers that came to arrest him. Then the Tribunes in their owne persons, accompanied with the *Ædiles*, went to fetch him by force, and so laid violent hands upon him. Howbeit the noble *Patricians* gathering together about him, made the Tribunes give back, and laid fore upon the *Ædiles*: so for that time, the night parted them, and the tumult appeased. The next morning betimes, the Consuls seeing the People in an uprore, running to the Market-place out of all parts of the City, they were afraid lest all the City would together by the eares: wherefore assembling the Senate in all haste, they declared how it stood thereupon, to appease the fury of the People, with some gentle words, or gratefull Decrees in their favour: and moreover, like wise men they should consider, it was now no time to stand at defence and in contention, nor yet to fight for honour against the Commonalty, they being fallen to so great an extremity, and offering such imminent danger. Wherefore they were to consider temperately of things, and to deliver some present and gentle pacification. The most part of the Senators that were present at this Councell, thought this opinion best, and gave their contents unto it. Whereupon the Consuls rising out of Councell, went to speake unto the People as gently as they could, and they did pacifie their fury and anger, purging the Senate of all the unjust accusations laid upon them, and used great modesty in periwading them, and also in reproving the faults they had committed. And as for the rest, that touched the sale of Corne, they promised there should be no disliking offered them in the price. So the most part of the People being pacified, and appearing so plainly by the great silence that was among them, as yeelding to the Consuls, and liking well of their words: the Tribunes then of the People rose out of their leates, and said: Forasmuch as the Senate yeelded unto reason, the People also for their part, as became them, did likewise give place unto them: but notwithstanding, they would that *Martius* should come in person to answer to the Articles they had devised. First, whether he had not solicited and procured the Senate to change the present state of the Common-weale, and to take the Sovereigne Authority out of the Peoples hands. Next, when he was sent for by Authority of their Officers, why he did contemptuously resist and disobey. Lastly, seeing he had driven and beaten the *Ædiles* into the Market-place before all the World: if in doing this, he had not done as much as in him lay, to raise Civill Warres, and to set one Citizen against another. All this was spoken to one of these two ends, either that *Martius* against his nature should be constrained to humble himselfe, and to abase his haughty and fierce minde: or else if he continued still in his stoutnesse, he should incur the Peoples displeasure and ill will so farre, that he should never possibly winne them againe. Which they hoped would rather fall out so, then otherwise: as indeed they guessed unhappily, considering *Martius* nature and disposition. So *Martius* came and presented himselfe to answer their Accusations against him, and the People held their peace, and gave attentive eare, to heare what he would say. But where they thought to have heard very humble and lowly words come from him, he began not onely to use his wonted boldnesse of speaking (which of it selfe was very rough and unpleasant, and did more aggravate his accusation, then purge his innocency) but also gave himselfe in his words to thunder, and looke therewithall so grimly, as though he made no reckoning of the matter. This stirred coales among the People, who were in wonderfull fury at it, and their hate and malice grew so toward him, that they could hold no longer, beare, nor indure his bravery and carelesse boldnesse. Whereupon *Sicinius*, the cruellest and stoutest of the Tribunes, after he had whispered a little with his companions, did openly pronounce in the face of all the People, *Martius* as condemned by the Tribunes to die. Then presently he commanded the *Ædiles* to apprehend him, and carry him straight to the Rock Tarpeian, and to cast him headlong downe the same. When the *Ædiles* came to lay hands upon *Martius* to do that they were commanded, divers of the People themselves thought it too cruell and violent a deede. The Noblemen being much troubled to see so much force and rigour used, began to crie aloud; Helpe *Martius*: so those that laid hands on him being rapulsed, they compassed him in round among themselves, and some of them holding up their hands to the People, besought them not to handle him thus cruelly. But neither their words nor crying out could ought prevaile, the tumult and hurly burly was so great, untill such time as the Tribunes owne friends and kinsmen weighing with themselves the impossibility to convey *Martius* to execution, without great slaughter and murder of the Nobility: did perswade and advise not to proceede in so violent and extraordinary a sort, as to put such a man to death, without lawfull processe in Law, but that they should referre the sentence of his death, to the free voyce of the People. Then *Sicinius* bethinking himselfe a little, did aske the *Patricians* for what cause they tooke *Martius* out of the Officers hands that went to do execution? The *Patricians* answered him againe, why they would of themselves so cruelly and wickedly put to death, so noble and valiant a Roman as *Martius* was, and that without Law and Justice? Well then, said *Sicinius*, if that be the matter, let there be no quarrell or dissention against the People: for they do grant to your demand, that his Cause should be heard according to the Law. Therefore, said he to *Martius*, we do will and charge you to appeare before the People, the third day of our next sitting and assembly here, to make your purgation for such Articles as shall be objected against you, that by free voyce the People may give sentence upon you as shall please them. The Noblemen were glad then of the adjournment, and were much pleased they had gotten *Martius* out of their danger. In the meane space, before the third day of their next Session came about, the same being kept every ninth day continually at Rome, whereupon they call it now in Latine, *Nundina*: here

Articles against *Coriolanus*.

Coriolanus stoutly in defence of himselfe.

obtaine the Tribune, pronounced sentence of death upon *Martius*.

Coriolanus hath begg'd him to answer the People.

there fell out Warre against the *ANTIATES*, which gave some hope to the Nobility, that this adjournment would come to little effect, thinking that this Warre would hold them so long, as that the fury of the People against him would be well swaged, or utterly forgotten, by reason of the trouble of the Warres. But contrary to expectation, the peace was concluded presently with the *ANTIATES*, and the People returned againe to Rome. Then the *Patricians* assembled oftentimes together, to consult how they might stand to *Martius*, and keepe the Tribunes from occasion to cause the People to mutiny againe, and rise against the Nobility. And there *Appius Claudius* (one that was taken ever as an heave enemy to the People) did avow and protest, that they would utterly abase the Authority of the Senate, and destroy the Common-weale, if they would suffer the common People to have Authority by voyces to give judgement against the Nobility. On the other side againe, the most ancient Senators, and such as were given to favour the common People, said: That when the People should see they had Authority of life and death in their hands, they would not be so cruell and fierce, but gentle and civil. More also, that it was not for contempt of Nobility or the Senate, that they sought to have the Authority of Justice in their hands, as a preeminence and prerogative of honour: but because they feared, that themselves should be contemned and hated of the Nobility: So as they were perswaded, that so soone as they gave them Authority to judge by voyces, they would leave all envie and malice to condemne any. *Martius* seeing the Senate in great doubt how to resolve, partly for the love and good will the Nobility did beare him, and partly for the feare they stood in of the People: asked aloud of the Tribunes, what matter they would burden them with? The Tribunes answered him, that they would shew how he did aspire to be King, and would prove that all his actions tended to usurpe tyrannicall power over Rome. *Martius* with that, rising up on his feete, said: That thereupon he did willingly offer himselfe to the People, to be tried upon that Accusation: and that if it were proved by him, he had so much as once thought of any such matter, that he would then refuse no kinde of punishment they would offer him: Conditionally (quoth he) that you charge me with nothing else beside, and that ye do not also abuse the Senate. They promised they would not. Under these Conditions the Judgement was agreed upon, and the People assembled. And first of all the Tribunes would in any case (whatsoever became of it) that the People should proceede to give their voyces by Tribes, and not by hundreds: for by this meanes the multitude of the poore needy People (and all such rabble as had nothing to lose, and had lesse regard of honesty before their eyes) came to be of greater force (because their voyces were numbered by the polle) then the noble honest Citizens, whose Persons and Purse did dutifully serve the Common-weale in their Warres. And then when the Tribunes saw they could not prove he went about to make himselfe King, they began to broach afresh the former words that *Martius* had spoken in the Senate, in hindering the distribution of the Corne at meane price unto the common People, and perswading also to take the Office of Tribuneship from them. And for the third, they charged him anew, that he had not made the common distribution of the Spoile he had gotten in the invading the Territories of the *ANTIATES*: but had of his owne Authority divided it among them, who were with him in that journey. But this matter was most strange of all to *Martius*, looking least to have bene burdened with that, as with any matter of offence. Whereupon being burdened on the sudden, and having no ready excuse to make even at that instant: he began to fall a praising of the Souldiers that had served with him in that journey. But those that were not with him, being the greater number, cried out so loud, and made such a noise that he could not be heard. To conclude, when they came to tell the voyces of the Tribes, there were three voyces odde, which condemned him to be banished for ever. After declaration of the Sentence, the People made such joy, as they never rejoyced more for any Battell they had wonne upon their Enemies, they were so brave and lively, and went home so joyously from the Assembly, for triumph of this sentence. The Senate againe in contrary manner were as sadde and heave, repenting themselves beyond measure, that they had not rather determined to have done and suffered any thing whatsoever, before the common People should so arrogantly and outrageously have abused their Authority. There needed no difference of Garments I warrant you, nor outward shewes to know a *Plebeian* from a *Patrician*, for they were easily discerned by their looks. For he that was on the Peoples side, looked cheerfully on the matter: but he that was sadde, and hung downe his head, he was sure of the Noblemens side. Saving *Martius* alone, who neither in his countenance nor in his gate, did ever shew himselfe abashed, or once let fall his great courage: but he onely of all other Gentlemen that were angry at his fortune, did outwardly shew no manner of passion, nor care at all of himselfe. Not that he did patiently beare and temper his evil hap, in respect of any reason he had, or by his quiet condition: but because he was so carried away with the vehemency of anger, and desire of revenge, that he had no sense nor feeling of the hard state he was in, which the common People judge not to be sorrow, although indeede it be the very same. For when sorrow (as you would say) is set on fire, then it is converted into spite and malice, and driveth away for that time all faintnesse of heart and naturall feare. And this is the cause why the cholerick man is so altered and mad in his actions, as a man set on fire with a burning ague: for when a mans heart is troubled within, his pulse will beate marvellously strongly. Now that *Martius* was even in that taking, it appeared true soone after by his doings. For when he was come home to his house againe, and had taken his leave of his Mother and Wife, finding them weeping and shrieking out for sorrow, and had also comforted and perswaded them to be content with his chance: he went immediately to the Gate of the City, accom-

Coriolanus accused that he sought to be King.

Coriolanus banished for ever.

Coriolanus constant minde in adversity.

The force of anger.

Coriolanus chosen General of the Volces with Tullus Aufidius against the Romans.

Coriolanus invades the Territories of the Romans.

A fine device to make the Commonalty suspect the Nobility. Great heart-burning betwixt the Nobility and the People.

Lavinium built by Evander.

the ROMANES will be the last that will end it. Incontinently upon the returne of the VOLSCES Ambassadors, and delivery of the ROMANES answer, *Tullus* caused an Assembly generall to be made of the VOLSCES, and concluded to make Warre upon the ROMANES. This done, *Tullus* did counsell them to take *Martius* into their service, and not to mistrust him for the remembrance of any thing past, but boldly to trust him in any matter to come: for he would do them more service in fighting for them, then ever he did them displeasure in fighting against them. So *Martius* was called forth, who spake so excellently in the presence of them all, that he was thought no lesse eloquent in tongue, then warlike in shew: and declared himselfe both expert in Warres, and wise with valiantnelte. Thus he was joyned in Commiſſion with *Tullus* as General of the VOLSCES, having absolute Authority betwene them to follow and pursue the Warres. But *Martius* tearing left tract of time to bring this Army together with all the Munition and Furniture of the VOLSCES, would robbe him of the meane he had to execute his purpose and intent, lett order with the Rulers and chiefe of the City, to assemble the rest of their power, and to prepare all necessary provision for the Campe. Then he with the lightest Souldiers he had, and that were willing to follow him, stole away upon the sudden, and marched with all speed, and entered the Territories of ROME, before the ROMANES heard any newes of his coming. Inſomuch as the VOLSCES found such spoile in the fields, as they had more then they could spend in their Campe, and were weary to drive and carry away that they had. Howbeit the game of the spoile, and the hurt they did to the ROMANES in this invasion, was the least part of his intent: for his chieftest purpose was, to increase the malice and diffention betwene the Nobility and the Commonalty: and to draw that on, he was very carefull to keepe the Nobles Lands and Goods safe from harme and burning, but spoiled all the whole Countrey besides, and would suffer no man to take or hurt any thing of the Noblemens. This made greater furre and broyle betwene the Nobility and the People, then was herore. For the Noblemen fell out with the People, because they had so unjustly punished a man of so great valour and power. The People on the other side, accused the Nobility, how they had procured *Martius* to make these Warres to be revenged of them: because it pleased them to see their Goods burnt and spoiled before their eyes, whilst themselves were well at ease, and did behold the Peoples losses and misfortunes, knowing their owne Goods safe and out of danger: and how the Warre was not made against the Noblemen, that had the Enemy abroad, to keepe that they had in safety. Now *Martius* having done his first exploit, (which made the VOLSCES bolder, and lesse fearfull of the ROMANES) brought home all the Army againe, without losse of any man. After their whole Army (which was marvellous great, and very forward to service) was assembled in one Campe, they agreed to leave part of it for Garrison in the Countrey about, and the other part should go on, and make the Warre upon the ROMANES. So *Martius* bade *Tullus* chiole, and take which of the two charges he liked best. *Tullus* made him answer, he knew by experience that *Martius* was no lesse valiant then himselfe, and how he ever had better fortune and good hap in all Battels, then himselfe had. Therefore he thought it best for him to have the leading of those that would make the Warres abroad, and himselfe would keepe home, to provide for the safety of the Cities of his Countrey, and to furnish the Campe also of all necessary Provision abroad. So *Martius* being stronger then before, went first of all unto the City of CERCEES, inhabited by the ROMANES, who willingly yielded themselves, and therefore had no hurt. From thence he entered the Countrey of the LATINES, imagining the ROMANES would fight with him there to defend the LATINES, who were their confederates, and had many times sent unto the ROMANES for their aide. But on the one side, the People of ROME were very ill willing to go: and on the other side, the Consuls being upon going out of their Office, would not hazard themselves for so small a time: so that the Ambassadors of the LATINES returned home againe, and did no good. Then *Martius* did besiege their Cities, and having taken by force the Towne of the TOLERINIANS, VICANIANS, PEDANIANS, and the BOLANIANS, who made resistance, he lacked all their Goods, and tooke them prisoners. Such as did yield themselves willingly unto him, he was as carefull as possible might be, to defend them from hurt: and because they should receive no damage by his will, he removed his Campe as far from their Confines as he could. Afterwards, he tooke the City of BOLES by assault, being about an hundred furlong from ROME, where he had a marvellous great spoile, and put every man to the sword that was able to carry Weapon. The other VOLSCES that were appointed to remaine in Garrison for defence of their Countrey, hearing this good newes, would tarry no longer at home, but armed themselves, and ranne to *Martius* Campe, saying they did acknowledge no other Capitaine but him. Hereupon his fame ranne through all ITALY, and every one praised him for a valiant Capitaine, for that by change of one man for another, such and so strange events fell out in the State. In this while, all went still to wracke at ROME. For to come into the field to fight with the Enemy, they could not abide to heare of it, they were one so much against another, and full of sedition words, the Nobility against the People, and the People against the Nobility. Untill they had intelligence at the length, that the Enemies had laid siege to the City of LAVINIUM, in the which were all the Temples and Images of their gods their Protectors, and from whence came first their ancient Originall, for that *Æneas* at his first arrivall into ITALY did build that City. Then fell there out a marvellous sudden change of minde among the People, and farre more strange and contrary in the Nobility. For the People thought it good to repeale the condemnation and exile of *Martius*. The Senate assembled upon it, would in no case yeeld to that: who either did it of a felie-will to be contrary to the Peoples desire: or because *Martius* should not returne

throw

thorow the grace and favour of the People. Or else, because they were thoroughly angry and offended with him, that he would set upon the whole, being offended but by a few, and in his doings would shew himselfe an open Enemy besides unto his Countrey: notwithstanding the most part of them tooke the wrong they had done him, in marvellous ill part, and as if the injury had beene done unto themselves. Report being made of the Senates resolution, the People found themselves in a straight: for they could authorize and confirme nothing by their voyces, unlesse it had beene first propounded and ordained by the Senate. But *Martius* hearing this stirre about him, was in a greater rage with them then before: inſomuch as he raised his Siege incontinently before the City of LAVINIUM, and going towards ROME, lodged his Campe within forty furlong of the City, at the Ditches called *Cluſilia*. His incamping so neere ROME, did put all the whole City in a wonderful feare: howbeit for the present time it appeared the fedition and diffention betwixt the Nobility and the People. For there was no Conſull, Senator, nor Magistrate, that durst once contrary the opinion of the People, for the calling home againe of *Martius*. When they saw the Women in a marvellous feare, running up and downe the City: the Temples of the gods full of old People, weeping bitterly in their Prayers to the gods: and finally, not a man either wife or hardy to provide for their safety: then they were all of opinion, that the People had reason to call home *Martius* againe, to reconcile themselves to him, and that the Senate on the contrary part, were in marvellous great fault, to be angry and in choler with him, when it stoodd them upon, rather to have gone out and intreated him. So they all agreed together to send Ambassadors unto him, to let him understand how his Countrymen did call him home againe, and restored him to all his Goods, and besought him to deliver them from this Warre. The Ambassadors that were sent, were *Martius* familiar friends and acquaintance, who looked at the least for a courteous welcome of him, as of their familiar friend and Kinsman. Howbeit they found nothing lesse: for at their coming they were brought through the Campe, to the place where he was set in his Chaire of State, with a marvellous and unſpeakable Majesty, having the chieftest men of the VOLSCES about him: so he commanded them to declare openly the cause of their coming. Which they delivered in the most humble and lowly words they possibly could devise, and with all modest countenance and behaviour agreeable to the same. When they had done their Message: for the injury they had done him, he answered them very hotly, and in great choler: but as General of the VOLSCES, he willed them to restore unto the VOLSCES, all their Lands and Cities they had taken from them in former Warres: and moreover, that they should give them the like honour and freedome of ROME, as they had before given to the LATINES. For otherwise they had no other meane to end this Warre, if they did not grant these honest and just Conditions of Peace. Thereupon he gave them thirty dayes respite to make him answer. So the Ambassadors returned straight to ROME, and *Martius* forthwith departed with his Army out of the Territories of the ROMANES. This was the first matter wherewith the VOLSCES (that most envied *Martius* Glory and Authority) did charge *Martius* with. Among those, *Tullus* was chiefe: who though he had received no private injury or displeasure of *Martius*, yet the common fault and imperfection of mans Nature wrought in him, and it grieved him to see his owne Reputation blemished through *Martius* great Fame and Honour, and so himselfe to be lesse esteemed of the VOLSCES then he was before. This fell out the more, because every man honoured *Martius*, and thought he onely could do all, and that all other Governours and Captaines must be content with such Credit and Authority as he would please to countenance them with. From hence they derived all their first Accusations and secret murmurings against *Martius*. For private Captaines conspiring against him, were very angry with him: and gave it out, that the removing of the Campe was a manifest Treason, not of the Towns, nor Forts, nor of Armes, but of Time and Occasion, which was a losse of great importance, because it was that which in reason might both loose and binde all; and preserve the whole. Now *Martius* having given the ROMANES thirty dayes respite for their Answer, and specially because the Warres have not accustomed to make any great changes in lesse space of time then that, he thought it good yet, not to lye alleepe and idle all the while, but went and destroyed the Lands of the Enemies Allies, and tooke seven great Cities of theirs well inhabited, and the ROMANES durst not once put themselves into the field, to come to their aide and helpe, they were so faint-hearted, so mistrustfull, and loth besides to make Warres. Inſomuch as they properly resembled the bodies paralytick and loosed of their limbes and members, as those which through the Palsey have lost all their sense and feeling. Wherefore, the time of Peace expired, *Martius* being returned into the Dominions of the ROMANES againe with all his Army, they sent another Ambassade unto him, to pray Peace, and the remove of the VOLSCES out of their Countrey: that afterwards they might with better leisure fall to such Agreements together, as should be thought most meete and necessary. For the ROMANES were no men that would ever yeelde for feare. But if he thought the VOLSCES had any ground to demand reasonable Articles and Conditions, all that they would reasonably aske should be granted unto by the ROMANES, who of themselves would willingly yeeld to reason, conditionally, that they did lay downe Armes. *Martius* to that answered: that as General of the VOLSCES he would reply nothing unto it: but yet as a ROMAN Citizen, he would counsell them to let fall their pride, and to be conformable to reason, if they were wise: and that they should returne againe within three dayes, delivering up the Articles agreed upon, which he had first delivered them. Otherwise, that he would no more give them assurance or safe conduct to returne againe into his Campe, with such vaine and frivolous Messages.

S

When

The Romans send Ambassadors to Coriolanus to create of Peace.

The first occasion of the Volces envie to Coriolanus.

Another Ambassade sent to Coriolanus.

The Priests
and Soothsay-
ers sent to Co-
riolanus.

When the Ambassadors were returned to Rome, and had reported *Martius* Answer to the Senate: their City being in extreme danger, and as it were in a terrible storme or tempest, they threw out (as the common Proverbe saith) their holy Anker. For then they appointed all the Bishops, Priests, Ministers of the gods, and keepers of holy things, and all the Augures or Sooth-sayers, which foretold things to come by observation of the flying of Birds (which is an old ancient kinde of prophesying and divination amongst the ROMANES) to go to *Martius* appaelled, as when they do their Sacrifices: and first to intreat him to leave off Warre, and then that he would speake to his Countrey-men, and conclude Peace with the VOLSCES. *Martius* suffered them to come into his Campe, but yet he granted them nothing the more, neither did he entertaine them or speake more courteously to them, then he did the first time that they came unto him, saying onely that he willed them to take the one of the two: either to accept Peace under the first Conditions offered, or else to receive Warre. When all this goodly rabble of superstitious Priests were returned, it was determined in Councell, that none should go out of the Gates of the City, and that they should watch and warde upon the Walls to repulse their Enemies: if they came to assault them: referring themselves and all their hope, to time and Fortunes uncertaine favour, not knowing otherwise how to remedy the danger. Now all the City was full of tumult, feare, and marvellous doubt what would happen, untill at the length there fell out such a like matter, as *Homer* oft times said they would least have thought of. For in great matters, that happen feldome, *Homer* saith, and crieth out in this sort:

*The goddesse Pallas she, With her faire glistering eyes,
Did put into his minde such thoughts, and made him so devise.*

And in another place:

*But sure some god hath tane out of the Peoples minde,
Both Wit and understanding eke, and have therewith assign'd.
Some other simple spirit, instead thereof to vide,
That so they might their doings all, for lacke of wit misguide.*

And in another place:

*The People of themselves did either it consider,
Or else some god instructed them, and so they joynd together.*

Many reckon not of *Homer*, as referring matters unpossible, and fables of no likelihood or truth, unto mans Reason, Free-will, or Judgement, which indeed is not his meaning. But things true and likely, he maketh to depend of our owne Free-will and Reason. For he oft speaketh these words:

I have thought it in my noble heart.

And in another place:

*Achilles angry was, and sorry for to heare
Him so to say, his heavie breast was fraught With pensive feare.*

And in another place:

*Bellerophon (she) could not move With her faire tongue,
So honest and so vertuous, he was the rest among.*

But in wondrous and extraordinary things, which are done by secret inspirations and motions, he doth not say that God taketh away from man his choice and freedome of will, but that he doth move it: neither that he doth worke desire in us, but objecteth to our mindes certaine imaginations whereby we are led to desire, and thereby doth not make this our action forced, but openeth the way to our Will, and addeth thereto courage, and hope of successe. For either we must say, that the gods meddle not with the Causes and beginnings of our actions: or else what other meanes have they to helpe and further men? It is apparent that they handle not our bodies, nor move not our feete and hands, when there is occasion to use them: but that part of our minde from which these motions proceed, is induced thereto, or carried away by such Objects and Reasons, as God offereth unto it. Now the ROMANE Ladies and Gentlewomen did visit all the Temples and gods of the fame, to make their Prayers unto them: but the greatest Ladies (and more part of them) were continually about the Altar of *Jupiter Capitolin*, among which Troupe by name, was *Valeria*, *Publicolaes* owne Sister. The selfe-same *Publicola*, who did such notable service to the ROMANES, both in Peace and Warres, and was dead also certaine yeares before, as we have declared in his Life. His Sister *Valeria* was greatly honoured and revered among all the ROMANES: and did so modestly and wisely behave her selfe, that she did not shame nor dishonour the House she came of. So she suddenly fell into such a fancy, as we have rehearsed before, and had (by some god as I thinke) taken hold of a noble device. Whereupon the rose, and the other Ladies with her, and they all together went straight to the House of *Volumentia*, *Martius* Mother: and coming in to her, found her, and *Martius* Wife her Daughter in Law, set together, and having her Husband *Martius* young Children in her lappe. Now all the Traine of these Ladies, sitting in a ring round about her, *Valeria* first began to speake in this sort unto her: "We Ladies, are come to visit you Ladies (my Lady *Volumentia* and *Virgilia*) by no direction from the Senate, nor commandement of other Magistrate, but through the inspiration (as I take it) of some god above: who having taken compassion and pity of our Prayers, hath moved us to come unto you, to intreat you in a matter, as well beneficiall for us, as also for the whole Citizens in general, but to your selves in speciall (if it please you to credit me) and shall redound to your more fame and glory, then the Daughters of the *SABYNS* obtained in former age, when they procured loving Peace, instead of hatefull Warre, betweene their Fathers and their Husbands. Come

Valeria, *Publicolaes* Sister.

Volumentia, *Martius* Mother.
The words of
Valeria unto
Volumentia and
Virgilia.

"Come on good Ladies, and let us go all together unto *Martius*, to intreat him to take pity upon us, and also to report the truth unto him, how much you are bound unto the Citizens: who notwithstanding they have sustained great hurt and losses by him, yet they have not hitherto sought revenge upon your persons by any discourteous usage, neither ever conceived any such thought or intent against you, but to deliver you safe into his hands, though thereby they look for no better grace or clemency from him. When *Valeria* had spoken this unto them, all the other Ladies, together with one voice confirmed that she had said. Then *Volumentia* in this sort did answer her: "My good Ladies, we are partakers with you of the common misery and calamity of our Countrey, and yet our griefe exceedeth yours the more, by reason of our particular misfortune, to feele the losse of my Sonne *Martius* former valiancy and glory, and to see his person environed now with our Enemies in Armes, rather to see him forth-coming and safe kept, then of any love to defend his person. But yet the greatest griefe of our heaped mishaps is, to see our poore Countrey brought to such extremity, that all the hope of the safety and preservation thereof, is now unfortunately cast upon us simple Women: because we know not what account he will make of us, since he hath cast from him all care of his naturall Countrey and Common-weale, which heretofore he hath holden more deare and precious, then either his Mother, Wife or Children. Notwithstanding, if ye thinke we can do good, we will willingly do what you will have us; bring us to him we pray you. For if we cannot prevaille, we may yet die at his feete, as humble Suters for the safety of our Countrey. Her Answer ended, she tooke her Daughter in Law, and *Martius* Children with her, and being accompanied with all the other ROMANE Ladies, they went in troope together unto the VOLSCES Campe: whom when they saw, they of themselves did both pity and reverence her, and there was not a man among them that once durst say a word unto her. Now was *Martius* set then in his Chaire of State, with all the Honours of a Generall, and when he had spied the Women coming afar off, he marvelled what the matter meant: but afterwards knowing his Wife which came foremost, he determined at the first to persist in his obdurate and inflexible rankor. But overcome in the end with naturall affection, and being altogether altered to see them, his heart would not serve him to tarry their coming to his Chaire, but coming downe in haste, he went to meete them, and first he kissed his Mother, and imbraced her a pretty while, then his Wife and little Children. And Nature so wrought with him, that the teares fell from his eyes, and he could not keepe himselfe from making much of them, but yielded to the affection of his blood, as if he had bene violently carried with the fury of a most swift running streame. After he had thus lovingly received them, and perceiving that his Mother *Volumentia* would begin to speake to him, he called the chiefe of the Councell of the VOLSCES to heare what she would say. Then she spake in this sort: "If we held our peace (my Son) and determined not to speake, the state of our poore Bodies, and present sight of our Rayment, would easily bewray to thee what life we have led at home, since thy exile and abode abroad, but thinke now with thy selfe, how much more unfortunate then all the Women living, we are come hither, considering that the sight which should be most pleasant to all other to behold, spightfull Fortune had made most fearful to us: making my selfe to see my Sonne, and my Daughter here her Husband, besieging the Walls of his native Countrey: so as that which is the onely comfort to all other in their adversity and misery, to pray unto the gods, and to call to them for aide, is the onely thing which plungeth us into most deepe perplexity. For we cannot (alas) together pray, both for victory to our Countrey, and for safety of thy life also: but a world of grievous curses, yea more then any mortall Enemy can heape upon us, are forcibly wrapt up in our Prayers. For the bitter sop of most hard choice is offered thy Wife and Children, to forgo one of the two: either to lose the Person of thy selfe, or the Nurse of their native Countrey. For my selfe (my Sonne) I am determined not to tarry till Fortune in my life time do make an end of this Warre. For if I cannot perswade thee, rather to do good unto both Parties, then to overthrow and destroy the one, preferring Love and Nature before the Malice and Calamity of Warres, thou shalt see, my Sonne, and trust unto it, thou shalt no sooner march forward to assault thy Countrey, but thy foote shall treade upon thy Mothers Wombe, that brought thee first into this World. And I may not defer to see the day, either that my Sonne be led Prisoner in triumph by his naturall Countrey-men, or that he himselfe do triumph of them, and of his naturall Countrey. For if it were so, that my request tended to save thy Countrey, in destroying the VOLSCES, I must confesse, thou wouldest hardly and doubtfully resolve on that. For as to destroy thy naturall Countrey, it is altogether unmeet and unlawfull, so were it not just, and lesse honourable, to betray those that put their trust in thee. But my onely demand consisteth, to make a Goale-delivery of all evils, which delivereth equal benefit and safety, both to the one and the other, but most honourable for the VOLSCES. For it shall appeare, that having victory in their hands, they have of speciall favour granted us singular graces, Peace and Amity, albeit themselves have no lesse part of both then we. Of which good, if so it came to passe, thy selfe is the onely Author, and so hast thou the onely honour. But if it faile, and fall out contrary, thy selfe alone deservedly shalt carry the shamefull reproach and burthen of either party. So, though the end of Warre be uncertaine, yet this notwithstanding is most certaine, that if it be thy chance to conquer, this benefit shalt thou reape of thy goodly Conquest, to be chronicled the plague and destroyer of thy Countrey. And if Fortune overthrow thee, then the World will say, that through desire to revenge thy private injuries, thou hast for ever undone thy good friends, who did most lovingly and courteously receive thee. *Martius* gave good care unto his Mothers words, without interrupting her Speech at all, and after she had said what she would, he held his peace a pretty while, and answered

The answer of
Volumentia to
the ROMANE
Ladies.

The Oration
of *Volumentia*
unto her Sonne
Coriolanus.

Coriolanus com-
pasion of his
Mother.

Coriolanus
withdraweth
his Army
from Rome.

The Temple
of Fortune
built for the
Women.

The Image of
Fortune spake
to the Ladies
at Rome.
Of the wear-
ing and voy-
ces of Images.

Of the omni-
pency of
God.

answered not a word. Hereupon she began againe to speake unto him, and said: "My Sonne, why doest thou not answer me? doest thou thinke it good altogether to give place unto thy choler and desire of revenge, and thinkest thou it not honesty for thee to grant thy Mothers request, in so weighty a cause? doest thou take it honourable for a Nobleman, to remember the wrongs and injuries done him, and doest not in like case thinke it an honest Nobleman's part, to be thankfull for the goodnesse that Parents do shew to their Children, acknowledging the duty and reverence they ought to beare unto them? No man living is more bound to shew himselfe thankfull in all parts and respects then thy selfe: who so univerally shewest all ingratitude. Moreover (my Sonne) thou hast sorely taken of thy Countrey, exacting grievous payments upon them, in revenge of the injuries offered thee; besides, thou hast not hitherto shewed thy poore Mother any courtelie. And therefore it is not onely honest, but due unto me, that without compulsion I should obtaine my fo just and reasonable request of thee. But since by reason I cannot perswade thee to it, to what purpose do I defer my last hope? And with these words, her selfe, his Wife and Children, fell downe upon their knees before him: *Martius* seeing that, could refraine no longer, but went straight and lit her up, crying out, Oh Mother, what have you done to me? And holding her hard by the right hand, Oh Mother, said he, you have wonne a happy victory for your Countrey, but mortall and unhappy for your Sonne: for I see my selfe vanquished by you alone. These words being spoken openly, he spake a little apart with his Mother and Wife, and then let them returne againe to *Rome*, for so they did request him; and so remaining in Campe that night, the next morning he dislodged, and marched homeward into the *Volscs* Countrey againe, who were not all of one minde, nor all alike contented. For some misliked him and that he had done: other being well pleased that Peace should be made, said: that neither the one nor the other, deserved blame nor reproach. Other though they misliked that was done, did not thinke him an ill man for that he did, but said, he was not to be blamed, though he yielded to such a forcible extremity. Howbeit no man contraried his departure, but all obeyed his commandment, more for respect of his worthinesse and valiancy then for feare of his Authority. Now the Citizens of *Rome* plainly shewed, in what feare and danger their City stood of this Warre, when they were delivered. For so soone as the Watch upon the Walls of the City perceived the *Volscs* Campe to remove, there was not a Temple in the City but was presently set open, and full of men wearing Garlands of Flowers upon their heads, sacrificing to the gods, as they were wont to do upon the news of some great obtained victory. And this common joy was yet more manifestly shewed, by the honourable courtiesies the whole Senate and People did bestow on their Ladies. For they were all thoroughly perswaded, and did certainly believe, that the Ladies onely were cause of the saving of the City, and delivering themselves from the instant danger of the Warre. Whereupon the Senate ordained, that the Magistrates to gratifie and honour these Ladies, should grant them all that they would require. And they onely requested that they would build a Temple of *Fortune* for the Women, unto the building whereof they offered themselves to defray the whole charge of the Sacrifices, and other Ceremonies belonging to the service of the gods. Nevertheless, the Senate commending their good will and forwardnesse, ordained that the Temple and Image should be made at the common charge of the City. Nowwithstanding that, the Ladies gathered Money among them, and made with the same a second Image of *Fortune*, which the *Romans* say did speake as they offered her up in the Temple, and did set her in her place: and they affirme, that she spake these words: Ladies, ye have devoutly offered me up. Moreover, that she spake that twice together, making us to believe things that never were, and are not to be credited: For to see Images that seeme to sweate or weepe, or to put forth any humour red or bloudy, it is not a thing impossible. For Woode and Stone do commonly receive certaine moysture, whereof are ingendred humours, which do yeeld of themselves, or do take of the aire, many sorts and kinde of spots and colours: by which signes and tokens it is not amisse, methinke, that the gods sometimes do warne men of things to come. And it is possible also, that these Images and Statues do sometimes put forth sounds like unto sighs or mourning, when in the midst or bottome of the same, there is made some violent separation, or breacking asunder of things, blowne or devised therein: but that a body which hath neither life nor soule, should have any direct or exquisite words formed in it by expresse voice, that is altogether impossible: For the soule, nor God himselfe can distinctly speake without a body, having necessary Organs and Instruments meete for the parts of the same, to forme and utter distinct words. But where Stories many times do force us to believe a thing reported to be true, by many grave testimonies: there we must say, that it is some passion contrary to our five naturall senses, which being begotten in the imaginative part or understanding, draweth an opinion unto it selfe, even as we doe in our sleeping. For many times we thinke we heare that we do not heare, and we imagine we see that we see not. Yet notwithstanding, such as are godly bent, and zealously given to thinke on heavenly things, so as they can no way be drawne from believing that which is spoken of them, they have this reason to ground the foundation of their belief upon; that is, the Omnipotency of God, which is wonderfull, and hath no manner of resemblance or likeness of proportion unto ours, but is altogether contrary, as touching our nature, our moving, our art, and our force: and therefore if he do any thing impossible to us, or do bring forth and devise things above mans common reach and understanding, we must not therefore thinke it impossible at all. For if in other things he is far contrary to us, much more in his Workes and secret Operations, he far passeth all the rest: but the most part of Gods doings, as *Heraclitus* saith, for lacke of faith, are hidden and unknowne unto us. Now when *Martius* was returned againe into the City of *Antium* from

from his voyage, *Tullus* that hated and could no longer abide him for the feare he had of his Authority, sought divers meanes to make him away, thinking if he let slipt that present time, he should never recover the like and fit occasion againe. Wherefore *Tullus* having procured many other of his confederacy, required *Martius* might be deposed from his Estate, to render up account to the *Volscs* of his Charge and Government. *Martius* fearing to become a private man againe under *Tullus* being Generall (whose Authority was greater otherwife, then any other among all the *Volscs*) answered: He was willing to give up his charge, and would resigne it into the hands of the Lords of the *Volscs*, if they did all command him, as by all their commandement he received it. And moreover, that he would not refuse even at that present to give up an account unto the People, if they would tarry the hearing of it. The People hereupon called a common Councell, in which Assembly there were certaine Orators appointed, that stirred up the common People against him: and when they had told their tales, *Martius* rose up to make them answer. Now, notwithstanding the mutinous People made a marvellous great noise, yet when they saw him, for the reverence they bare unto his valiantnesse, they quieted themselves, and gave him audience to alledge with leisure what he could for his purgation. Moreover, the honestest men of the *Antiates*, and who most rejoiced in Peace, shewed by their countenance that they would heare him willingly. And judge also according to their conscience. Whereupon *Tullus* fearing that if he did let him speake, he would prove his innocency to the People, because amongst other things he had an eloquent tongue; besides that the first good service he had done to the People of the *Volscs*, did winne him more favour, then these last Accusations could purchase him displeasure: and furthermore, the offence they laid to his charge, was a testimony of the good will they ought him; for they would never have thought he had done them wrong for that they tooke not the City of *Rome*, if they had not bene very neare taking of it, by means of his approach and conduction. For these causes *Tullus* thought he might no longer delay his pretence and enterprise, neither to tarry for the mutining and rising of the common People against him: wherefore, those that were of the conspiracy, began to cry out that he was not to be heard, and that they would not suffer a Traytour to usurpe tyrannicall power over the Tribe of the *Volscs*, who would not yeeld up his State and Authority. And in saying these words, they all fell upon him, and killed him in the Market-place, none of the People once offering to rescue him. Howbeit it is a cleare case, that this murder was not generally consented unto, of the most part of the *Volscs*: for men came out of all parts to honour his body, and did honourably bury him, setting up his Tombe with great store of Armour and spoiles, as the Tombe of a worthy person and great Captaine. The *Romans* understanding of his death, shewed no other honour or malice, saving that they granted the Ladies their request they made: that they might mourne tenne Moneths for him, and that was the full time they used to weare blackes for the death of their Fathers, Brethren, or Husbands, according to *Numa Pompilius* order, who established the same, as we have enlarged more amply in the description of his Life. Now *Martius* being dead, the whole State of the *Volscs* heartily wished him alive againe. For, first of all they fell out with the *Aequis* (who were their friends and Confederates) touching preheminance and place: and this quarrell grew on so farre betweene them, that frays and murders fell out upon it one with another. After that the *Romans* overcame them in Battell, in which *Tullus* was slaine in the Field, and the flower of all their force was put to the Sword: so that they were compelled to accept most shamefull Conditions of Peace, in yeelding themselves subject unto the Conquerors, and promising to be obedient at their commandement.

The end of Caius Martius Coriolanus Life.

Tullus Aufidius
seeketh to kill
Coriolanus.

Coriolanus
murdered in
the City of
Antium.
Coriolanus Fun-
erals.

The time of
mourning ap-
pointed by
Numa.

Tullus Aufidius
slaine in Bat-
tell.

THE COMPARISON OF ALCIBIADES with MARTIUS CORIOLANUS.



The acts done
by both.

NOW that we have written all the Deedes of worthy memory, done by either of them both, we may presently discern, that in matters of Warre the one hath not greatly exceeded the other. For both of them in their charge, were alike hardy and valiant for their persons, as also wife and politick in the Warres: unlesse they will say, that *Alcibiades* was the better Captaine, as he that had foughten more Battels with his Enemies, both by Sea and Land, then ever *Coriolanus* had done, and had alwaies the Victory of his Enemies. For otherwise, in this they were much alike: that where they were both present and had charge and power to command, all things prospered notably, and with good successe on the part they were of; and also when they tooke the contrary side, they made the first have the worst every way. Now for matters of Government, the Noblemen and honest Citizens did hate *Alcibiades* manner of rule in the Common-weale, as of a man most dissolute, and given to flattery: because he ever studied by all device he could, to curry favour with the common People. So did the ROMANES malice also *Coriolanus* Government, for that it was too arrogant, proud, and tyrannicall: whereby neither the one nor the other was to be commended. Notwithstanding he is lesse to be blamed, that seeketh to please and gratifie his common People, then he that despieth and disdaineth them; and therefore offereth them wrong and injury, because he would not seeme to flatter them, to winne the more Authority. For as it is an evil thing to flatter the common People to winne credit: even so is it besides dishonesty, and injustice also, to attaine to credit and authority, for one to make himselfe terrible to the People, by offering them wrong and violence. It is true that *Martius* was ever counted an honest natured man, plaine, and simple, without art or cunning: but *Alcibiades* meere contrary; for he was fine, subtil, and deceitfull. And the greatest fault they ever burdened *Alcibiades* for, was his malice and deceit, wherewith he abused the Ambassadors of the LACEDÆMONIANS, and that he was a lett that Peace was not concluded, as *Thucydides* reporteth. Now, though by this act he suddenly brought the City of ATHENS into Warres, yet he brought it thereby to be of greater power, and more fearfull to the Enemies, by making alliance with the MANTINIANS and the ARGIVES, who by *Alcibiades* practise entred into League with the ATHENIANS. And *Martius*, as *Dionysius* the Historiographer writeth: did by craft and deceit bring the ROMANES into Warres against the VOLSCES, causing the VOLSCES maliciously and wrongfully to be suspected, that went to Rome to see the Games plaid. But the cause why he did it, made the fact so much more foule and wicked: for it was not done for any civill dissention, nor for any jealousie and contention in matters of Government as *Alcibiades* did: but onely following his cholerick moode, that would be pleased with nothing, as *Dion* said, he would needs trouble and turmoyle the most part of ITALY; and so being angry with his Country, he destroyed many other Townes and Cities that could not helpe it, nor do withall. This is true also, that *Alcibiades* spite and malice did worke great mischief and misery to his Country: but when he saw they repented them of the injury they had done him, he came to himselfe, and did withdraw his Army. Another time also, when they had banished *Alcibiades*, he would not yet suffer

suffer the Captaines of the ATHENIANS to runne into great errors, neither would he see them cast away, by following ill counsell which they tooke, neither would he forsake them in any danger they put themselves into. But he did the very same that *Aristides* had done in old time unto *Themistocles*, for which he was then, and is yet so greatly praised. For he went unto the Captaines that had charge then of the Army of the ATHENIANS, although they were not his friends, and told them wherein they did amisse, and what they had further to do. Where *Martius* to the contrary, did first great hurt unto the whole City of ROME, though all in ROME had not generally offended him: yea, and when the best and chiefeest part of the City were grieved for his sake, and were very fory and angry for the injury done him. Furthermore, the ROMANES fought to appease one onely displeasure and despiht they had done him, by many Ambassadors, Petitions and requests they made; whereunto he never yeelded, untill his Mother, Wife, and Children came, his heart was so hardened. And hereby it appeared he was entred into this cruell Warre (when he would hearken to no peace) of an intent utterly to destroy and spoile his Country, and not as though he meant to recover it, or to returne thither againe. Here was indeed the difference betweene them: that spials being laid by the LACEDÆMONIANS to kill *Alcibiades*, for the malice they did beare him, as also for that they were afraid of him, he was compelled to returne home againe to ATHENS. Where *Martius* contrariwise, having bene so honourably received and entertained by the VOLSCES, he could not with honesty forsake them, considering that they had done him that honour, as to chooße him their Generall, and trusted him so farre, as they put all their whole Army and Power into his hands: and not as the other, whom the LACEDÆMONIANS rather abused then used him, suffering him to go up and downe their City (and afterwards in the midst of their Campe) without honour or place at all. So that in the end *Alcibiades* was compelled to put himselfe into the hands of *Tisaphernes*: unlesse that they will say that he went thither of purpose to him, with intent to save the City of ATHENS from utter destruction, for the desire he had to returne home againe. Moreover, we reade of *Alcibiades*, that he was a great taker, and would be corrupted with Money: and when he had it, he would most licentiously and dishonestly spend it. Where *Martius* in contrary manner would not so much as accept Gifts lawfully offered him by his Captaines, to honour him for his valiantnesse. And the cause why the People did beare him such ill will, for the controvercie they had with the Nobility about clearing of Debts, grew: for that they knew well enough it was not for any gain or benefit he had gotten thereby, so much as it was for spite and displeasure he thought to do them. *Anipater* in a Letter of his, writing of the death of *Aristotle* the Philosopher, doth not without cause commend the singular gifts that were in *Alcibiades*, and this especially, that he passed all other for winning mens good wills. Whereas *Martius* noble acts and vertues, wanting that affability, became hatefull, even to those that received benefit by them, who could not abide his severity and selfe-will: which causeth desolation (as *Plato* saith) and men to be ill-followed, or altogether forsaken. Contrariwise, seeing *Alcibiades* had a trimme entertainment, and a very good grace with him, and could fashion himselfe in all Companies, it was no marvell if his well doing were gloriously commended, and himselfe much honoured and beloved of the People, considering that some faults he did, were oftentimes taken for matters of sport, and toys of pleasure. And this was the cause, that though many times he did great hurt to the Common-wealth, yet they did oft make him their Generall, and trusted him with the charge of the whole City. Where *Martius* suing for an Office of honour, that was due to him, for the sundry good services he had done to the State, was notwithstanding repulsed, and put by. Thus do we see, that they to whom the one did hurt, had no power to hate him: and the other that honoured his vertue, had no liking to love his person. *Martius* also did never any great exploit, being Generall of his Countrymen, but when he was Generall of their Enemies against his naturall Country: whereas *Alcibiades*, being both a private person, and a Generall, did notable service unto the ATHENIANS. By reason whereof, *Alcibiades* wheresoever he was present, had the upper hand ever of his Accusers, even as he would himselfe, and their Accusations tooke no place against him: unlesse it were in his absence. Where *Martius* being present, was condemned by the ROMANES: and in his person murdered and slain by the VOLSCES. But here I cannot say they have done well, nor justly, albeit himselfe gave them some colour to do it, when he openly denied the ROMANE Ambassadors Peace, which after he privately granted, at the request of women. So by this deede of his, he tooke not away the enmity that was betweene both People: but leaving Warre still betweene them, he made the VOLSCES (of whom he was Generall) to lose the opportunity of noble victory. Where indeed he should (if he had done as he ought) have withdrawne his Army with their counsell and consent, that had reposed so great affiance in him, in making him their Generall: if he had made that account of them, as their good will towards him did in duty binde him. Or else, if he did not care for the VOLSCES in the enterprise of this Warre, but had onely procured it of intent to be revenged, and afterwards to leave it off when his anger was blowne over: yet he had no reason for the love of his Mother to pardon his Country, but rather he should in pardoning his Country, have spared his Mother, because his Mother and Wife were Members of the Body of his Country and City, which he did besiege. For in that he uncourteously rejected all the publike Petitions, requests of Ambassadors, intreaties of the Bishops and Priests, to gratifie onely the request of his Mother,

Alcibiades and
Coriolanus love
unto their
Country.

Alcibiades and
Coriolanus love
unto their
Country.

with

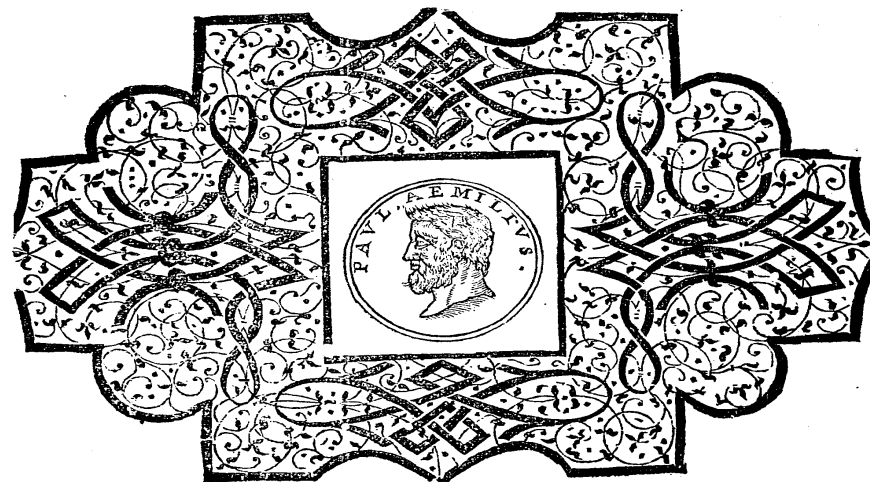
with his departure: that was no act so much to honour his Mother with, as to dishonour his Country by, the which was preserved for the pity and intercession of a Woman, and not for the love of it selfe, as if it had not bene worthy of it. And so was this departure a grace (to say truly) very odious and cruell, and deserved no thanks of either party, to him that did it. For he withdrew his Army, not at the request of the ROMANS, against whom he made Warre: nor with their consent, at whose charge the Warre was made. And of all his misfortune and ill happe, the austerity of his nature, and his haughty obtinate minde, was the onely cause: the which of it selfe being hatefull to the World, when it is joynd with ambition, it groweth then much more churlish, fierce and intolerable. For men that have that fault in nature, are not affable to the People, seeming thereby as though they made no estimation or regard of the People: and yet on the other side, if the People should not give them honour and reverence, they would straight take it in scorne, and little care for the matter. For so did *Metellus*, *Aristides* and *Epaminondas*, all used this manner: not to seeke the good will of the common People by flattery and dissimulation: which was indeede, because they despised that which the People could give or take away. Yet would they not be offended with their Citizens, when they were amerced, and set at any fines, or that they banished them, or gave them any other repulse: but they loved them as well as they did before, so soone as they knewed any token of repentance, and that they were sory for the wrong they had done them, and were easily made friends againe with them, after they were restored from their banishment. For he that disdaineth to make much of the People, and to have their favour, should much more scorne to seeke to be revenged when he is repulsed. For, to take a repulse and deniall of honour so inwardly to the heart, cometh of no other cause, but that he did too earnestly desire it. Therefore *Alcibiades* did not dissemble at all, that he was not very glad to see himselfe honoured, and sory to be rejected and denied any honour: but also he sought all the meanes he could to make himselfe beloved of those amongst whom he lived. Whereas *Martius* stoutnesse and haughty stomacke, did stay him from making much of those that might advance and honour him: and yet this ambition made him gnaw himselfe for spite and anger, when he saw he was despised. And this is all that reasonably may be reproved in him: for otherwise he lacked no good commendable vertues and qualities. For his temperance, and cleane hands from taking of Bribes and Money, he may be compared with the most perfect, vertuous, and honest men of all GREECE: but not with *Alcibiades*, who was undoubtedly alwaies too licentious and loosely given, and had too small regard of the duty of Honesty.

Coriolanus notable abstinence from Bribes.



THE

THE LIFE OF PAULUS ÆMYLIUS.



Ann. Mund.
3760.

Ant. Christ.
188.



WHEN I first began to write these Lives, my intent was to profit other: but since continuing and going on, I have much profited my selfe by looking into these Histories, as if I looked into a glasse, to frame and fashion my life to the mould and patterne of these vertuous Noblemen. For running over their manners in this sort, and seeking also to describe their Lives: methinks I am still conversant and familiar with them, and do as it were lodge them with me, one after another. And when I come to peruse their Histories, and to weigh the vertues and qualities they have had, and what singularity each of them possessed: and to chuse and cull out the chiefe things of note in them, and their best speeches and doings most worthy of memory: then I cry out:

O gods, can there be more passing pleasure in the world?

Or is there any thing of more force, to teach man civill manners, and a ruled life, or to reforme the vice in man? *Democritus* the Philosopher writeth, that we should pray we might ever see happie Images and Signes in the aire, and that the good which is meete and proper to our nature, may rather come to us, then that is evill and unfortunate: presupposing a false opinion and Doctrine in Philosophy, which allureth men to infinite superstitions: That there are good and badde Images flying in the aire, which give a good or ill impression unto men, and incline men to vice, or to vertue. But as for me, by continuall reading of ancient Histories, and gathering these Lives together which now I leave before you, and by keeping alwaies in minde the acts of the most noble, vertuous, and best given men of former age, and worthy memory: I do teach and prepare my selfe to shake off and banish from me all lewd and dishonest conditions, if by chance the company and conversation of them whose company I keepe, and must of necessity haunt, do acquaint me with some unhappy or ungracious touch. This is easie unto me, that do dispose my minde, being quiet and not troubled with any passion, unto the deepe consideration of so many noble examples. As I do present unto you now in this Volume, the Lives of *Timoleon* the CORINTHIAN, and of *Paulus Æmylius* the ROMANE, who had not onely a good and upright minde with them, but were also fortunate and happy, in all the matters they both did take in hand. So as you shall hardly judge, when you have read over their Lives, whether wisdom or good fortune brought them to achieve to such honourable Acts and Exploits as they did. Many (and the most part of Historiographers) do write, that the House and Family of the *Æmylians* in ROME, was alwaies of the most ancient of the Nobility, which they call *Patricians*. Some Writers affirme also, that the first of that House that gave Name to all the Posterity after, was *Marcus*, the Sonne of *Pythagoras* the wife, whom King *Numa* for the sweetnesse and pleasant grace of his tongue, furnished *Marcus Æmylius*: *Pythagoras* Sonne and

The House of the *Æmylians* came of *Pythagoras* Sonne and

Lucius Paulus
Æmylius
Consult flaine
at the Battell
of Cannes.

Æmylius the
Daughter of
Lucius Æmy-
lius married to
Scipio the
Great.

The vertues of
Paulus Æmy-
lius.

Paulus Æmy-
lius made great
use of Astro-
logy.

The Philoso-
phers opinion
of Religion.

Paulus diligenc-
tly in the Com-
mon-wealth
even in trifles.

The Disci-
pline of Warre.

Paulus Æmy-
lius Prætor
of Rome
in the year
of the Punic
warre.

Scipio the
Great and
Paulus Æmy-
lius were the
sons of
Lucius Æmy-
lius, by his
first wife.

and those specially affirme it, that say King *Numa* was *Pythagoras* Scholar. Howsoever it was, the most part of this Family that obtained Honour and Estimation for their Vertue, were ever fortunate also in all their doings, saving onely *Lucius Paulus* onely, who died in the Battell of *CANNES*. But his misfortune doth beare manifest testimony of his wisdom and valiancy together. For he was forced to fight against his will, when he saw he could not bridle the rashnesse of his fellow Confull that would needes joyne Battell; and to do as he did, saving that he fled not as the other, who being the first procurer of the Battell, was the first that ranne away: where he to the contrary, to his power did what he could to lett him, and did stick by it, and fought it valiantly to the last gaspe. This *Æmylius* left a Daughter behinde him called *Æmylia*, which was married unto *Scipio* the Great: and a Sonne, *Paulus Æmylius*, being the same man whose Life we presently treat of. His youth fortunately fell out in a flourishing time of glory and honour, through the sundry Vertues of many great and noble Persons living in those dayes, among whom he made his name famous also: and it was not by that ordinary art and course, which the best esteemed young men of that age did take and follow. For he did not use to plead private mens Causes in Law, neither would creepe into mens favour by fawning upon any of them: though he saw it a common practise, and policy of men, to seeke the Peoples favour and good wills by such meanes. Moreover, he refused not that common course which other tooke, for that it was contrary to his nature, or that he could not frame with either of both, if he had bene so disposed: but he rather sought to winne reputation by his honesty, his valiantnesse, and upright dealing, as chooseth that the better way then either of the other two, inasmuch as in marvellous short time he passed all those that were of his age. The first Office of Honour he sued for, was the Office of *Ædylis*, in which suite he was preferred before twelve other that sued for the selfe-same Office: who were men of no small quality, for they all came afterwards to be Consuls. After this, he was chosen to be one of the number of the Priests, whom the *ROMANES* call *Augures*: who have the charge of all the Divinations and Sooth-sayings, in telling of things to come by flying of Birds, and signes in the aire. He was so carefull, and tooke such paines to understand how the *ROMANES* did use the same, and with such diligence fought the observation of the ancient Religion of the *ROMANES* in all holy matters: that where that Priesthood was before esteemed but a Title of Honour, and desired for the name onely, he brought it to passe, that it was the most honourable Science, and best reputed of in *ROME*: wherein he confirmed the Philosophers opinion, that Religion is the knowledge how to serve God. For when he did any thing belonging to his Office of Priesthood, he did it with great experience, judgement and diligence, leaving all other thoughts, and without omitting any ancient Ceremony, or adding to any new, contending oftentimes with his companions, in things which seemed light, and of small moment: declaring unto them, that though we do presume the gods are easie to be pacified, and that they readily pardon all faults and scapes committed by negligence, yet if it were no more but for respect of Common-wealths sake, they should not slightly nor carelessly disseble or passe over faults committed in those matters: For no man (saith he) at the first that committeth any fault, doth alone trouble the state of the Common-wealth: but withall, we must thinke he leaveth the grounds of Civill Government, that is not as carefull to keepe the Institutions of small matters, as also of the great. So was he also a severe Captaine, and strict observer of all Marriall Discipline, not seeking to winne the Souldiers love by flattery, when he was Generall in the Field, as many did in that time: neither corrupting them for a second charge, by shewing himselfe gentle and courteous in the first, unto those that served under him: but himselfe did orderly shew them the very Rules and Precepts of the Discipline of Warres, even as a Priest that should expresse the names and Ceremonies of some holy Sacrifice, wherein were danger to omit any part or parcell. Howbeit, being terrible to execute the Law of Armes upon rebellious and disobedient Souldiers, he kept up thereby the state of the Common-wealth the better: judging to overcome the Enemy by force, was but an accellary as a man may terme it, in respect of well training and ordering his Citizens by good Discipline. While the *ROMANES* were in Warres against King *Antiochus* surnamed the Great, in the South parts, all the chiefest Captaines of *ROME* being employed that wayes, there fell out another in the necke of that, in the West parts towards *SPAIN*, where they were up in Armes. Thither they sent *Æmylius* Prætor, not with five Axes as the other Prætors had borne before them, but with twelve: so that under the name of Prætor, he had the Authority and Dignity of a Confull. He twice overcame the barbarous People in maine Battell, and slew thirty thousand of them, and got this Victory through his great skill and wisdom, in chusing the advantage of place and time, to fight with his Ennemies, even as the passed over a River: which easily gave his Souldiers the Victory. Moreover, he tooke there two hundred and fifty Cities, all which did open, and gladly receive him in. So, leaving all that Country quiet and in good peace, and having received their Fealty by Oath made betwene his hands, he returned againe to *ROME*, not enriched the value of a Drachma more then before. For then he tooke little regard to his expences, he spent so frankly, neither was his Purse his Master, though his Revenue was not great to beare it out, as it appeared to the World after his death, for all that he had was little enough to satisfy his Wives Joynter. His first Wife was *Pappia*, the Daughter of a Noble Confull *Pappus Maffo*, and after they had lived a long time together, he was divorced from her, notwithstanding he had goodly Children by her. For by her he had that famous *Scipio* the second, and *Lucius Æmylius*. The just cause of the Divorce betwene them, appeared not to us in writing: but methinks the Tale that is told concerning the separation of a certaine Marriage is true: That a certaine *ROMANE* having forsaken his Wife, her friends fell out with him, and asked him, What

fault

fault dost thou finde in her? is she not honest of her body? is she not faire? doth she not bring thee goodly Children? But he putting forth his foote, shewed them his Shooe, and answered them: is not this a goodly Shooe? is not it finely made? and is it not new? yet I dare say there is never a one of you can tell where it wringeth me. For to say truly, great and open faults are commonly occasions to make Husbands put away their Wives: but yet oftentimes household words runne so betwene them (proceeding of crooked Conditions, or of diversity of Natures, which strangers are not privie unto) that in proceffe of time they do beget such a strange alteration of love and mindes in them, as one House can no longer hold them. So *Æmylius*, having put away *Pappia* his first Wife, he married another that brought him two Sonnes, which he brought up with himselfe in his House, and gave his two first Sonnes (to wit, *Scipio* the second, and *Fabius Maximus*) in adoption to two of the Noblest and richest Families of the City of *ROME*. The elder of the twaine, unto *Fabius Maximus*, he that was five times Confull, and the younger unto the House of the *Cornelijs*, whom the Sonne of the great *Scipio* the *AFRICAN* did adopt, being his Cousin-germaine, and named him *Scipio*. Concerning his Daughters, the Sonne of *Cato* married the one, and *Ælius Tubero* the other, who was a marvellous honest man, and did more nobly maintaine himselfe in his poverty, then any other *ROMANE*: for they were sixteen persons all of one name, and of the House of the *Ælijs*, very neere akinne one to the other, who had all but one little House in the City, and a small Farme in the Country, wherewith they entertained themselves, and lived all together in one House, with their Wives, and many little Children. Amongst their Wives, one of them was the Daughter of *Paulus Æmylius*, after he had bene twice Confull, and had triumphed twice, not being ashamed of her Husbands poverty, but wondring at his Vertue that made him poore. Whereas Brethren and Kinsmen, as the World goeth now, if they dwell not far asunder, and in other Countries, not one neere another, and that Rivers part them not, or Walls divide their Lands, leaving great waistes betwene them: they are never quiet, but still in quarrell one with another. Goodly examples doth this Story lay before the wife, and well advised Readers, to learne thereby how to frame their life, and wisely to behave themselves. Now *Æmylius* being chosen Confull, went to make Warre with the *LIGURIANS*, who dwelled in the *ALPES*, and which otherwise are called *LIGUSTINES*. These are very valiant and warlike men, and were very good Souldiers at that time, by reason of their continuall Warres against the *ROMANES*, whose neere neighbours they were. For they dwelt in the furthest part of *ITALY*, that bordereth upon the great *ALPES*, and the row of *ALPES*, whereof the foote joyneth to the *THUSCAN* Sea, and pointeth towards *AFRICK*, and are mingled with the *GAULES* and *SPANIARDS*, neighbours unto the Sea Coast: who scouring all the *Mediterranean* Sea at that time, unto the straight of *Hercules* pillars, did with their little light Pinnaces of Pirates, lett all the Traffique and entercourse of Merchandize. *Æmylius* being gone to seeke them in their Countrey, they tarried his coming with an Army of forty thousand men: nevertheless, though he had but eight thousand men in all, and that they were five to one of his, yet he gave the onset upon them, and overthrew them, and drave them into their Cities. Then he sent to offer them peace, for the *ROMANES* would not altogether destroy the *LIGURIANS*, because their Countrey was as a Rampier or Bulwarke against the invasion of the *GAULES*, who lay lurking for opportunity and occasion to invade *ITALY*: whereupon these *LIGURIANS* yielded themselves unto him, and put all their Forts and Ships into his hands. *Æmylius* delivered unto them their Holds againe, without other hurt done unto them, saving that he razed the Walls of their Fortifications; howbeit he tooke all their Ships from them, leaving them little Boats of three Oares onely, and no greater; and set all the Prisoners at liberty they had taken, both by Sea and by Land, as well *ROMANES* as other, which were a marvellous number. These were all the notable acts he did worthy memory, in the first yeare of his Confullship. Afterwards he oftentimes shewed himselfe very desirous to be Confull againe, and did put forth himselfe to sue for it: but when he was denied it, he never after made sute for it againe, but gave himselfe onely to study Divine things, and to see his Children virtuously brought up, not onely in the *ROMANE* Tongue which himselfe was taught, but also a little more curiously in the *GREEKE* Tongue. For he did not onely retaine *Gramarians*, *Rhetoricians*, and *Logicians*, but also Painters, Gravers of Images, Riders of Horses, and Hunts of *GREECE* about his Children: and he himselfe also (if no matters of Common-wealth troubled him) was ever with them in the Schoole when they were at their Books, and also when they otherwise did exercise themselves. For he loved his Children as much or more then any other *ROMANE*. Now concerning the state of the Common-wealth, the *ROMANES* were at Warres with King *Perseus*, and they much blamed the Captaines they had sent thither before, for that for lacke of skill and courage, they had so cowardly behaved themselves, as their Ennemies laughed them to scorne: and they received more hurt of them, then they did unto the King. For not long before, they had driven King *Antiochus* beyond Mount *Taurus*, and made him forsake the rest of *ASIA*, and had shut him up within the Borders of *SYRIA*, who was glad that he had bought that Countrey with fifteen thousand Talents, which he paid for a Fine. A little before also, they had overcome *Philip* King of *MACEDON* in the *THESSALY*, and had delivered the *GRECIANS* from the bondage of the *MACEDONIANS*. And moreover, having overcome *Hannibal* (unto whom no Prince nor King that ever was in the World was comparable, either for his power or valiantnesse) they thought this too great a dishonour to them, that this Warre they had against King *Perseus*, should hold so long of even hand with them, as if he had been an Enemy equall with the People of *ROME*: considering also that they fought not against them, but with the refuse and scattered People of the overthrowne Army his Father had lost before, and

A pretty Tale
of a *Romane*
that forsooke
his Wife.

The vertue of
Ælius Tubero
his poverty
and quiet life.

Innatuality
amongst kin-
red infamous.

Æmylius Con-
tull.

Æmylius over-
cometh the
Ligurians.

The cowardli-
nesse of the
Romanes in
Spain.

The accession of Antigonus King of Macedonia.

Antigonus Do- son King of Macedonia. Philip King of Macedonia was overcome in Battell by Titus Quintus Flaminus, at the City of Coteusa. Philips second preparation for Warre in Macedonia.

Thilips Army.

The death of King Philip

Perseus ex- treme covetous.

King Perseus marche Warre with the Romans. Publius Licinius Con- tinued overcome by a Julius.

Hestilius Consul repulsed out of Macedonia.

Designe the Consul over- coming upon the River of Danubius.

and knew not that *Philip* had left his Army stronger, and more expert by reason of his overthrow, then it was before: as I will briefly rehearse the Story from the beginning. *Antigonus*, who was of the greatest power of all the Captaines and Successors of *Alexander the Great*, having obtained for himselfe and his Posterity the Title of a King, had a Sonne called *Demetrius*, of whom came *Antigonus* the second, that was furnished *Gonatos*, whose Sonne was also called *Demetrius*, that reigned no long time, but died, and left a young Sonne called *Philip*. By reason whereof, the Princes and Nobility of *MACEDON*, fearing that the Realme should be left without Heire, they preferred one *Antigonus*, cousin to the last deceased King, and made him marry the Mother of *Philip* the lesse, giving him the name at the first of the Kings Protector onely, and Lieutenant Generall of his Majesty. But after, when they had found he was a good and wise Prince, and a good Husband for the Realme, they then gave him the absolute name of a King, and furnished him *Dofon*, to say, the Giver: for he promised much and gave little. After him reigned *Philip*, who in his greene youth gave more hope of himselfe, then any other of the Kings before: insomuch as they thought that one day he would restore *MACEDON* her ancient Fame and Glory, and that he alone would plucke downe the pride and power of the *ROMANES*, who rose against all the World. But after that he had lost a great Battell, and was overthrowne by *Titus Quintus Flaminus* neare unto the City of *SCOTUSA*, then he began to quake for feare, and to leave all to the mercy of the *ROMANES*; thinking he escaped good cheape, for any light Ransome or Tribute the *ROMANES* should impose upon him. Yet afterwards coming to understand himselfe, he grew to disdain it much, thinking that to raigne through the favour of the *ROMANES*, was but to make himselfe a Slave, to seeke to live in pleasure at his ease, and not for a valiant and noble Prince borne. Whereupon he set all his minde to study the Discipline of Warres, and made his preparation as wisely and closely as possibly he could. For dy the Discipline of Warres, and standing upon any High-ways, without any fortification at all, and in manner desolate without People, to the end there might appeare no occasion of doubt or mistrust in him: and in the meane time, in the high Countries of his Realme far from great beaten wayes, he levied a great number of men of Warre, and replenished his Townes and strong Holds that lay scattering abroad, with Armour and Weapon, Money and Men, Providing for Warre, which he kept as secretly as he could. For he had Provision of Armour in his Armoury, to arme thirty thousand men, and eight million bushels of Corne safely lockt up in his Forts and stronger places, and ready Money, as much as would serve to entertaine tenne thousand strangers in pay, to defend his Countrey for the space of tenne yeares. But before he could bring that to passe he had purposed, he died for grieve and sorrow, after he knew he had unjustly put *Demetrius* the best of his Sonnes to death, upon the false accusation of the worst, that was *Perseus*: who as he did inherit the Kingdome of his Father by succession, so did he also inherit his Fathers malice against the *ROMANES*. But he had no shoulders to beare so heavey a burden, and especially being as he was, a man of so vile and wicked nature: for among many lewd and naughty conditions he had, he was extreme covetous and miserabell. They say also, that he was not legitimate, because *Philip* Wife had taken him from *Gnathania* (a Taylors Wife borne at *AGGOS*) immediately after he was borne, and did adopt the Child to be hers. And some thinke that this was the chiefeest cause why he practised to put *Demetrius* to death, fearing lest his lawfull Sonne would seeke occasion to prove him a Bastard. Notwithstanding, simple though he was, and of vile and base nature, he found the strength of his Kingdome so great, that he was contented to take upon him to make Warre against the *ROMANES*, which he maintained a long time, and fought against their Consuls, that were their Generals, and repulsed great Armies of theirs both by Sea and Land, and overcame some. As *Publius Licinius* among other, the first that invaded *MACEDON*, was overthrowne by him in a Battell of Horsemen, where he slew at that one time two thousand five hundred good men of his, and tooke six hundred Prisoners. And their Army by Sea, riding at anker before the City of *OREUM*, he did suddenly set upon, and tooke twenty great Ships of burden, and all that was in them, and sunke the rest, which were all laden with Corne: and tooke of all sorts besides about 54. Foyts and Gallies of fifty Oares apiece. The second Consull and Generall he fought withall, was *Hestilius*, whom he repulsed, attempting by force to invade *MACEDON* by way of the City of *ELUMIA*. Another time againe, when he entred in by Reach upon the Coast of *THESSALY*, he offered him Battell, but the other durst not abide it. And as though this War troubled him nothing at all, and that he had cared little for the *ROMANES*, he went and fought a Battell in the meane time with the *DARDANIANS*, where he slew ten thousand of those barbarous People, and brought away a marvellous spoile. Moreover he procured the Nation of the *GAULES* dwelling upon the River of *Danubius*, which they call *Bastarna* (men very warlike, and excellent good Horsemen) and did practise with the *ILLYRIANS* also by means of their King *Gentius*, to make them joyne with him in this Warre: so that there ran a rumour, that for Money he had gotten those *GAULES* to come downe into *ITALY*, from the high Countrey of *GAULE* all along the Adriack Sea. The *ROMANES* being advertised of these news, thought the time served not now to dispose their Offices in Warres any more by grace and favour unto those that sued for them: but contrariwise, they should call some Nobleman that were very skilfull and a wise Captaine, and could discreetly governe and performe things of great charge: as *Paulus Æmylius*, a man well stepped on in yeares, being threecore yeares old, and yet of good power, by reason of the lusty young men his Sons, and Sons in Law, besides a great number of his friends and Kinsfolke. So all that bare great authority, did all together with one consent counsell him to obey the People, which called him to the Consullship. At the beginning indeede he delayed the People much that came to importune him, and utterly denied them: saying:

saying, he was no meete man neither to desire, nor yet to take upon him any charge. Howbeit in the end, seeing the people did urge it upon him, by knocking continually at his gates, and calling him aloud in the streets, willing him to come into the Market-place, and perceiving they were angry with him, because he refused it, he was content to be perswaded. And when he stood among them that sued for the Consullship, the people thought straight that he stood not there so much for desire of the Office, as for that he put them in hope of assured victory, and happy successe of this begun Warre: so great was their love towards him, and the good hope they had of him, that they chose him Consull againe the second time. Wherefore so soone as he was chosen, they would not proceed to drawing of Lots according to their custome, which of the two Consuls should happen to go into *MACEDON*: but presently with a full and whole consent of them all, they gave him the whole charge of the Warres of *MACEDON*. So being Consull now, and appointed to make Warre upon King *Perseus*, all the people did honourably accompany him home unto his house: where a little Girle (a Daughter of his) called *Tertia*, being yet an infant, came weeping unto her Father. He making much of her, asked her why she wept: The poore Girle answered, colling him about the necke, and kissing him; Alas Father, wote you what? our *Perseus* is dead. She meant it by a little Whelp so called, which was her play-fellow. In good houre my Girle, said he, I like the signe well. Thus did *Cicero* the Orator report of it in his booke of Divinations. The *ROMANES*, had a custome at that time, that such as were elected Consuls (after that they were openly proclaimed) should make an Oration of thanks unto the people, for the honour and favour they had shewed him. The people then (according to the custome) being gathered together to heare *Æmylius* speake, he made this Oration unto them: "That the first time he sued to be Consull, was in respect of himselfe, standing at that time in need of such honour: now he offered himselfe the second time unto it, for the good love he bare unto them, who stood in need of a Generall; wherefore he thought himselfe nothing bound nor beholding unto them now. And if they did thinke also this Warre might be better followed by any other then by himselfe, he would presently with all his heart resigne the place. Furthermore, if they had any trust or confidence in him, that they thought him a man sufficient to discharge it: then that they would not speake nor meddle in any matter that concerned his duty, and the Office of a Generall, saving onely, that they would be diligent (without any words) to doe whatsoever he commanded, and should be necessary for the Warre and service they tooke in hand. For if every man would be a Commander, as they had bene heretofore, of those by whom they should be commanded; then the world would more laugh them to scorne in this service, then ever before had bene accustomed. These words made the *ROMANES* very obedient to him, and perceiving good hope to come, being all of them very glad that they had refused those ambitious flatterers that sued for the charge, and had given it unto a man, that durst boldly and frankly tell them the troth. Marke how the *ROMANES* by yeelding unto reason and vertue, came to command all other, and to make themselves the mightiest people of the world. Now that *Paulus Æmylius* setting forward to this Warre, had wind at will, and faire passage to bring him to his journeyes end, I impute it to good fortune, that so quickly and safely conveyed him to his Campe. But for the rest of his exploits he did in all his Warre, part of them being performed by his owne hardinesse, other by his wisedome and good counsell, other by the diligence of his friends in serving him with good will, other by his owne resolute constancy and courage in extremest danger, and last, by his marvellous skill in determining at an instant what was to be done, I cannot attribute any notable act or worthy service unto this his good fortune they talke of so much, as they may doe in other Captaines doings: unlesse they will say peradventure, that *Perseus* covetousnesse and misery was *Æmylius* good fortune: for his miserable feare of spending Money, was the onely cause and destruction of the whole Realme of *MACEDON*, which was in good state and hope of continuing in prosperity. For there came down into the Countrey of *MACEDON* at King *Perseus* request, ten thousand Bastarnæ a Horse-backe, and as many Footmen to them, who alwayes joyned with them in battell, all mercenary Souldiers, depending upon pay and entertainment of Warres, as men that could not plow, nor sow, nor trafficke merchandizes by sea, nor skill of grazing to gain their living with: and to be short, that had no other occupation or merchandize, but to serve in the Warres, and to overcome those with whom they fought. Furthermore, when they came to incamp and lodge in the *MEDICA*, neare to the *MACEDONIANS*, who saw them so goodly great men, and so well trained and exercised in handling all kinde of Weapons, so brave and lusty in words and threats against their Enemies: they began to pluck up their hearts, and to looke bigge, imagining that the *ROMANES* would never abide them, but would be afraid to looke them in the face, and onely to see their march, it was so terrible and fearefull. But *Perseus* after he had encouraged his men in this sort, and had put them in such a hope and jollity, when this barbarous supply came to aske him a thousand Crownes in hand for every Captaine, he was so damped and troubled withall in his minde, calling up the summe it came to, that his only covetousnesse and misery made him returne them backe, and refuse their service: not as one that meant to fight with the *ROMANES*, but rather to spare his Treasure, and to be a husband for them, as if he should have given up a straight account unto them of his charges in this Warre, against whom he made it. And notwithstanding also his Enemies did teach him what he had to doe, considering that besides all other their warlike furniture and munition, they had no lesse then a hundred thousand fighting men lying in Campe together, ready to execute the Consuls commandment: yet he taking upon him to resist so puissant an Army, and to maintaine the Warres, which forced his Enemies to be at extreme charge in entertaining such multitudes of men, more then needed: hardly would depart with his Gold and Sil-

Æmylius chosen Consull the second time, took charge of the Warres of Macedonia.

Good lucke pronounced by Tertia a little Girle.

Paulus Æmylius Oration of thanks to the Romanes when he was Consull, observing the custome.

See what fruit Souldiers reap by obedience and reason.

Perseus covetousnesse and misery, was the destruction of himselfe, and his Realme of Macedonia. Bastarnæ, a mercenary people.

Note what became of Perseus husbandry.

Æmylius Army against Perseus, was a hundred thousand men.

Gentius King of the Thyrans, aided Perseus.

Perseus double dealing with King Gentius.

King Gentius overcome by Lucius Ancius Prætor. Perseus lay at the foot of the mount Olympus with 4000 Horsemen, and 40000 Footmen.

Æmylius admonition to his Souldiers.

Paulus Æmylius would have the Watch to have no Spears nor Pikes.

The Original or Springs.

Fountaines compared to Womens breasts.

ver, but kept it safe locked up in his Treasury, as if he had been afraid to touch it, and had been none of his. And he did not shew that he came of the noble race of the Kings of LYDIA and PHOENICIA, who gloried to be rich: but shewed how by inheritance of bloud he challenged some part of the vertue of *Philip*, and of *Alexander*, who both because they esteemed to buy Victory with Money, not Money with Victory, did many notable things, and thereby conquered the world. Hereof came the common saying in old time, that it was not *Philip*, but his Gold and Silver that won the Cities of GREECE. And *Alexander* when he went to conquer the INDIES, seeing the MACEDONIANS carry with them all the wealth of PERSIA, which made his Campe very heavy, and slow to march: he himselfe first of all set fire on his owne Carriage that conveyed all his necessities, and perswaded other to doe the like, that they might march more lightly and easily on the journey. But *Perseus* contrarily would not spend any part of his Goods to save himselfe, his Children and Realme, but rather yielded to be led Prisoner in Triumph with a great Ranfome, to shew the ROMANES how good a husband he had beene for them. For he did not onely send away the GAULES without giving them pay as he had promised, but moreover having perswaded *Gentius* King of ILLYRIA to take his part in these Warres, for the summe of three hundred Talents which he had promised to furnish him with: he caused the Money to be told, and put up in bags by those whom *Gentius* sent to receive it. Whereupon *Gentius* thinking himselfe sure of the Money promised, committed a fond and foule part: for he stayed the Ambassadors the ROMANES sent unto him, and committed them to prison. This part being come to *Perseus* eares, he thought now he needed not hire him with Money to be an Enemy to the ROMANES, considering he had waded so farre, as that he had already done, was as a manifest signe of his ill will towards them; and that it was too late to looke backe and repent him, now that his foule part had plunged him into certaine Warres, for an uncertaine hope. So did he abuse the unfortunate King, and defrauded him of the three hundred Talents he had promised him. And worse then this, shortly after he suffered *Lucius Ancius* the ROMANE Prætor, whom they sent against him with an Army, to plucke King *Gentius*, his Wife and Children out of his Kingdome, and to carry them Prisoners with him. Now when *Æmylius* was arrived in MACEDON, to make Warre against such an Enemy, he made no manner of reckoning of his person, but of the great preparation and power he had. For in one Campe he had foure thousand Horsemen, and no lesse then forty thousand Footmen, with the which Army he had planted himselfe along the sea side, by the foot of the Mount *Olympus*, in a place impossible to be approached: and there he had so well fortified all the straights and passages unto him with fortifications of wood, that he thought himselfe to lie safe out of all danger, and imagined to dally with *Æmylius*, and by tract of time to eat him out with charge. *Æmylius* in the meane season lay not idle, but occupied his wits thoroughly, and left no meanes unattempted, to put something in prooffe. And perceiving that his Souldiers by overmuch licentious liberty (wherein by sufferance they lived before) were angry with delaying and lying still, and that they did busily occupy themselves in the Generals office, saying this, and such a thing would be done that is not done: he tooke them up roundly, and commanded them they should meddle no more too curiously in matters that pertained not to them, and that they should take care for nothing else, but to see their Armour and Weapon ready to serve valiantly, and to use their Swords after the ROMANE fashion, when their Generall should appoint and command them. Wherefore, to make them more carefull to looke to themselves, he commanded those that watched, should have no Spears nor Pikes, because they should be more wakefull, having no long Weapon to resist the Enemy, if they were assaulted. The greatest trouble his Army had, was lacke of fresh Water, because the Water that ran to the Sea, was very little, and marvellous foule by the Sea side. But *Æmylius* considering they were at the foot of the Mount *Olympus* (which is of a marvellous height, and full of Wood withall) conjectured, seeing the Trees so fresh and green, that there should be some little pretty Springs among them, which ran under the ground. So he made them dig many holes and Wells along the Mountaine, which were straight filled with faire Water, being pent within ground before for lacke of breaking open the heads, which then ran downe in streames, and met together in sundry places. And yet some doe deny, that there is any meeting of Waters within the ground, from whence the Springs doe come: and they say, that running out of the earth as they doe, it is not for that the Water breaketh out by any violence, or openeth in any place, as meeting together in one place of long time: but that it ingendred and riseth at the same time and place where it runneth not, turning the substance into Water, which is a moist vapour, thickened and made cold by the coldnesse of the earth, and so becometh a streame and runneth downe. For (say they) as Womens breasts are not alwayes full of Milk (as Milk-pans are, that continually keep Milk) but doe of themselves convert the nutriment Women take into Milke, and after cometh forth at their nipples, even so the Springs and watery places of the earth, from whence the Fountaines come, have no meetings of hidden Waters, nor hollow places so capable readily to deliver Water from them, as one would draw it out of a Pumpe or Cisterne, from so many Brooks, and deep Rivers: but by their naturall coldnesse and moisture, they wax thicke, and put forth the vapour and aire so strong, that they turne it into Water. And this is the reason why the places where they dig and open the earth, doe put forth more abundance of Water by opening the ground: like as Womens breasts doe give more Milke when they are most drawn and sucked, because in a sort they doe better feed the vapour within them, and convert it thereby into a running humour. Where to the contrary, those parts of the earth that are not digged, nor have no vent outward, are the more unable, and lesse meete to ingender Water having

having not that provocation and course to runne, that causeth the bringing forth of moisture. Yet such as maintaine this opinion, doe give them occasion that love argument, to contrary them thus: Then we may say by like reason also, that in the bodies of beasts there is no bloud long before, and that it ingendred upon a fodaine, when they are hurt, by transferring of some spirit or flesh that readily changeth into some running liquor. And moreover, they are confuted by the common experience of those mine-men, that dig in the mines for mettall, or that undermine Castles to win them: who when they dig any great depth, doe many times meete in the bowels of the earth with running Rivers, the water whereof is not ingendred by little and little, as of necessity it should be, if it were true, that upon the present opening of the ground, the humour should immediately be created, but it falleth vehemently all at one time. And we see oftentimes, that in cutting thorow a Mountaine or Rocks, sodainely there runneth out a great quantity of water. And thus much for this matter. Now to returne to our History againe. *Æmylius* lay there a convenient time, and stirred not: and it is said there were never seen two so great Armies one so neare to the other, and to be so quiet. In the end, casting many things with himselfe, and devising sundry practises, he was informed of another way to enter into MACEDON, through the Countrey of PERRÆBIA, over against the Temple called *Pythion*, and the Rocks upon which it is built, where there lay no Garrison: which gave him better hope to passe that way, for that it was not kept, then that he feared the narrowesse and hardnesse of the way unto it. So he brake the matter of his counsel. Thereupon *Scipio* called *Nasica* (the Son adopted of that great *Scipio* the AFRICAN, who became afterwards a great man, and was President of the Senate or Coucell) was the first man that offered himselfe to lead them, whom it would please him to send to take that passage, and to assault their Enemies behinde. The second was *Fabius Maximus*, the eldest Son of *Æmylius*, who being but a very young man, rose notwithstanding, and offered himselfe very willingly. *Æmylius* was very glad of their offers, and gave them not so many men as *Polybius* writeth, but so many as *Nasica* himselfe declareth in a Letter of his he wrote to a King, where he reporteth all the story of this journey. There were Three thousand ITALIANS, leaved in ITALY, by the confederates of the ROMANES, who were not of the ROMANE Legions, and in the left wing about Five thousand. Besides those, *Nasica* took also One hundred and twenty men at Armes, and about Two hundred CRETANS and THRACIANS mingled together, of those *Harpalus* had sent thither. With this number *Nasica* departed from the Campe, and tooke his way toward the sea side, and lodged by the Temple of *Hercules*, as if he determined to doe this feate by sea, to environ the Campe of the Enemies behinde. But when the Souldiers had supped, and that it was darke night, he made the Captaines of every Band privy to his enterprize, and so marched all night a contrary way from the sea, untill at length they came under the Temple of *Pythion*, where he lodged to rest the Souldiers that were fore travelled all night. In this place, the mount *Olympus* is above ten furlongs high, as appeared in a place ingraven by him that measured it.

*Olympus mount is just, by measure made with line,
Twelve hundred seventy paces trod, as measure can assigne.
The measure being made, right o're against the place,
Whereas Apollos Temple stands, ybuilt with stately grace.
Even from the levell plot, of that same Countreys plaine,
Unto the top which all on high, doth on the hill remaine.
And so Xenagoras the Sonne of Eumelus,
In olden dayes by measure made, the same did finde for us:
And did engrave it here in Writing for to see,
Whenas he tooke his latest leave (Apollo god) of thee.*

Yet the Geomitricians say that there is no Mountaine higher, nor Sea deeper, then the length of ten furlongs: so that I thinke this *Xenagoras* (in my opinion) did not take his measure at adventure, and by guesse, but by true rules of the Art and instruments Geometrical. There *Nasica* rested all night. King *Perseus* perceiving in the meane time that *Æmylius* stirred not from the place where he lay, mistrusting nothing his practise, and the coming of *Nasica*, who was at hand: untill such time as a Traytor of CRETE (Healing from *Nasica*) did reveale unto him the pretended practise, as also the ROMANES compassing of him about: he wondred much at these newes, howbeit he removed not his Campe from the place he lay in, but dispatched one of his Captaines called *Milon*, with Ten thousand Strangers, and Two thousand MACEDONIANS: and straightly commanded him with all the possible speed he could, to get the top of the hill before them. *Polybius* saith, that the ROMANES came and gave them an alarm, when they were sleeping: But *Nasica* writeth, that there was a marvellous sharpe and terrible Battell on the top of the Mountaine: and said plainly, that a THRACIAN Souldier coming towards him, he threw his Dart at him, and hitting him right in the brest, slew him stark dead: and having repulsed their Enemies, *Milon* their Captaine shamefully running away in his Coat without Armour or Weapon, he followed him without any danger, and so went downe to the valley, with the safety of all his Company. This conflict fortuning thus, *Perseus* raised his Campe in great haste from the place where he was, and being disappointed of his hope, he retired in great feare, as one at his wits end, and not knowing how to determine. Yet was he constrained either to stay, and incampe before the City of PYDNE, there to take the hazard of Battell, or else to divide his Army into his Cities and strong holds, and to receive the Warres within his own Countrey, the which being once crept in, could never be driven out againe, without great murder and bloudshed. Hereupon his friends did counsell him, to

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Scipio Nasica, and Fabius Maximus, offer for themselves to take the Straights.

The height of the Mount Olympus.

Nasica won the Straights of Macedon.

chuse rather the fortune of battell: alledging unto him, that he was the stronger in men a great way, and that the MACEDONIANS would fight lustily with all the courage they could, considering that they fought for the safety of their Wives and Children, and also in the presence of their King, who should both see every mans doing, and fight himselfe in person also for them. The King moved by these persuasions, determined to venture the chance of battell. So he pitched his Campe and viewed the situation of the places all about, and devided the Companies amongst his Captaines, purposing to give a hot charge upon the Enemies when they should draw neare. The place and Countrey was such, as being all champion, there was a goodly valley to range a battell of Footmen in, and little pretty hills also one depending upon another, which were very commodious for Archers, naked men, and such as were lightly armed, to retire themselves being distressed, and also to environ their enemies behinde. There were two small Rivers also, *Æson* and *Lencus* that ran through the same, the which though they were not very deepe, being about the latter end of Summer, yet they would annoy the ROMANES notwithstanding. Now when *Æmylius* was joyned with *Nasica*, he marched on straight in battell ray towards his enemies. But perceiving alarre off their battell marched in very good order, and the great multitude of men placed in the same: he wondred to behold it, and suddenly stayed his Army, considering with himselfe what he had to doe. Then the young Captaines having charge under him, desirous to fight it out presently, went unto him to pray him to give the onset, but *Nasica* specially above the rest, having good hope in the former good lucke he had at his first encounter. *Æmylius* smiling, answered him: So would I doe if I were as young as thou; But the sundry Victories I have wonne heretofore, having taught me by experience the faults the vanquished doe commit, doe forbid me to goe so hotly to worke (before my Souldiers have rested, which did returne but now) to assault an Army set in such order of battell. When he had answered him thus, he commanded the first Bands that were now in view of the Enemies, should embattle themselves, shewing a countenance to the Enemy as though they would fight; and that those in the reuerd should lodge in the meane time, and fortifie the Campe: So, bringing the foremost men to be hindmost, by changing from man to man, before the Enemies were aware of it; he had broken his battell by little and little, and lodged his men, fortified within the Campe without any tumult or noyse, and the enemies never perceiving it. But when night came, and every man had supped, as they were going to sleepe and take their rest; the Moone which was at the full, and of a great height, began to darken and to change into many sorts of colours, losing her light, untill such time as she vanished away, and was eclipsed altogether. Then the ROMANES began to make a noyse with Bassons and Pans, as their fashion is to doe in such a chance, thinking by this sound to call her againe, and to make her come to her light, lifting up many Torchcs lighted and firebrands into the aire. The MACEDONIANS on the other side did no such matter within the Campe, but were altogether stricken with an horrible feare: and there ranne a whispering rumour through the people, that this signe in the element signified the eclipse of the King. For *Æmylius* was not ignorant of the diversities of the eclipses, and he had heard say the cause is, by reason that the Moone making her ordinary course about the world (after certaine revolutions of time) doth come to enter into the round shadow of the earth, within the which she remaineth hidden, untill such time as having past the darke region of the shadow, she cometh afterwards to recover her light which she taketh of the Sunne. Nevertheless, he being a godly devout man, so soone as he perceived the Moone had recovered her former brightnesse againe, he sacrificed eleven Calves. And the next morning also by the breake of day, making sacrifice to *Hercules*, he could never have any signes or tokens that promised him good luck, in sacrificing twenty Oxen one after another: but at the one and twentieth he had signes that promised him victory, so he defended himselfe. Wherefore, after he had vowed a solemne sacrifice of an hundred Oxen to *Hercules*, and also Games of prizes at the Weapons, he commanded his Captaines to put their men in readinesse to fight: and so fought to win time, tarrying till the Sunne came about in the afternoone towards the West, to the end that the ROMANES which were turned towards the East, should not have it in their faces when they were fighting. In the meane time, he reposed himselfe in his Tent, which was all open behind towards the side that looked into the valley, where the Campe of his Enemies lay. When it grew towards night, to make the Enemies set upon his men, some say he used this policy. He made a Horse be driven towards them without a bridle, and certaine ROMANES followed him, as they would have taken him againe: and this was the cause of procuring the skirmish. Other say, that the THRACIANS serving under the charge of Captaine *Alexander*, did set upon certaine forragers of the ROMANES, that brought forrage into the Campe: out of the which, seven hundred of the LIGURIANS ranne suddenly to the rescue, and reliefe coming still from both Armies, at the last the maine battell followed after. Wherefore *Æmylius* like a wife Generall foreseeing by the danger of this skirmish, and the stirring of both Campes, what the fury of the battell would come to: came out of his Tent, and passing by the Bands did encourage them, and prayed them to sticke to it like men. In the meane time, *Nasica* thrusting himselfe into the place where the skirmish was hottest, perceived the Army of the Enemies marching in battell ready to joyn. The first that marched in the vaward were the THRACIANS, who seemed terrible to looke upon, as he writeth himselfe: for they were mighty made men, and carried marvellous bright Targets of Steele before them, their legges were armed with Greaves, and their thighs with Tases, their Coates were blacke, and marched shaking heavy Halberds upon their shoulders. Next unto these THRACIANS, there followed them all the other strangers and Souldiers whom the King had

Perseus pitched his Campe before the City of *Pydne*.

The River of *Æson* and *Lencus*.

Æmylius answer to *Scipio Nasica*, for giving charge upon the enemies. The skill and foresight of a wife Captaine.

The eclipse of the Moone. The superstitious of the *Romanes* when the Moone is eclipsed.

The cause of an eclipse of the Moone.

Æmylius policy to procure skirmish.

The Army of the *Macedonians* marching against the *Romanes* in battell.

had hired, diversly armed and set forth: for they were people of sundry Nations gathered together; among whom the *PAONIANS* were mingled. The third Squadron was of *MACEDONIANS*, and all of them chosen men, as well for the flower of their youth, as for the valliantnesse of their persons: and they were all in goodly gilt armours, and brave purple cassocks upon them, spicke and span new. And at their backs came after them, the old bands to shew themselves out of the Campe with Targets of Copper, that made all the Plaine to shine with the brightnesse of their Steele and Copper. And all the Hills and Mountaines thereabouts did ring againe like an Echo, with the cry and noyse of so many fighting men, one encouraging another. In this order they marched so fiercely with so great heart-burning, and such swiftnesse; that the first which were slaine at the encounter, fell dead two furlongs from the Campe of the ROMANES. The charge being given and the battell begonne, *Æmylius* galloping to the vaward of the Battell, perceived that the Captains of the MACEDONIANS which were in the first rankes, had already thrust their Pikes into the ROMANES Targets, so as they could not come neare them with their Swords: and that the other MACEDONIANS carrying their Targets behinde them, had now plucked them before them, and did bafe their Pikes all at one time, and made a violent thrust into the Targets of the ROMANES. Which when he had considered, and of what strength and force his wall and ranke of Targets was, one joyning so neere another, and what a terrour it was to see a front of a battell with so many armed Pikes and Steele heads: he was more afraid and amazed withall, then with any fight he ever saw before, nevertheless he could wisely dissemble it at that time. And so passing by the companies of his Horsemen, without either Caraces or Helmet upon his head, he shewed a noble cheerefull countenance unto them that fought. But on the contrary side, *Perseus* the King of *MACEDON*, as *Polybius* writeth, so soone as the battell was begun, withdrew himselfe, and got into the City of *PYDNE*, under pretence to goe to doe sacrifice unto *Hercules*: who doth not accept the faint sacrifice of Cowards, neither doth receive their Prayers, because they be unreasonable. For it is no reason, that he that shooteth not should hit the white: nor that he should win the victory, that bideth not the battell; neither that he should have any good, that doth nothing towards it: nor that a naughty man should be fortunate and prosper. The gods did favour *Æmylius* prayers, because he prayed for victory with his Sword in his hand, and fighting did call to them for aide. Howbeit there is one *Pofidonius* a Writer, who saith he was in that time, and moreover that he was at the Battell: and he hath written an History containing many Books of the Acts of King *Perseus*; where he saith, That it was not for faint heart, nor under colour to sacrifice unto *Hercules*, that *Perseus* went from the Battell, but because he had a stripe of an Horse on the thigh the day before: who though he could not very well helpe himselfe, and that all his friends sought to perswade him not to go to the Battell, yet he caused one of his Horses to be brought to him notwithstanding (which he commonly used to ride up and downe on) and taking his backe, rode into the Battell unarmed, where an infinite number of Darts were throwne at him from both sides. And among those, he had a blow with a Dart that hurt him somewhat, but it was overthwart, and not with the point, and did hit him on the left side glancing wife, with such a force, that it rent his coat, and rased his skin underneath, so as it left a marke behind a long time after: And this is all that *Pofidonius* writeth to defend and excuse *Perseus*. The ROMANES having their hands full, and being stayed by the battell of the MACEDONIANS that they could make no breach into them; there was a Captaine of the *PELIGNIANS* called *Salus*, who took the Ensigne of his Band, and cast it among the prease of his enemies. Then all the *PELIGNIANS* set upon them, with a marvellous force and fury in that place: for all ITALIANS thinke it too greete a shame and dishonour for Souldiers to lose or forsake their Ensigne. Thus was there marvellous force of both sides used in that place: for the *PELIGNIANS* proved to cut the MACEDONIANS Pikes with their Swords, or else to make them give backe with their great Targets, or to make a breach into them, and to take their Pikes with their hands. But the MACEDONIANS to the contrary holding their Pikes fast with both hands, ran them through that came neere unto them, so that neither Target nor Corset could hold out the force and violence of the push of their Pikes, inso much as they turned up the heeles of the *PELIGNIANS* and *THRACIANS*, who like desperate beafts without reason, thrusting in themselves among their enemies, ran wilfully upon their owne deaths, and their first ranke were slaine every man of them. Thereupon those that were behinde, gave backe a little, but fled not turning their backs, and only retired giving backe towards the Mountaine *Olocrus*. *Æmylius* seeing that (as *Pofidonius* writeth) rent his arming coate from his backe for anger, because that some of his men gave backe: other durst not front the battell of the MACEDONIANS, which was so strongly imbattelled on every side and so mured in with a wall of Pikes, presenting their armed heads on every side a man could come, that it was impossible to breake into them, no not so much as come neere them only. Yet notwithstanding, because the field was not altogether plaine and even, the battell that was large in the front, could not always keepe that wall, continuing their Targets close one to another, but they were driven of necessity to breake and open in many places, as it happeneth oft in great battells, according to the great force of the Souldiers: that in one place they thrust forward, and in another they give backe, and leave a hole. Wherefore *Æmylius* suddenly taking the vantage of this occasion, devided his men into small companies, and commanded them they should quickly thrust in between their enemies, and occupy the places they saw void in the front of their enemies, and that they should set on them in that sort, and not with one whole continual charge, but occupying them here and there with divers companies in sundry places. *Æmylius* gave this charge unto the private Captaines of every Band and their

The battell betwixt *Perseus* and *Æmylius*.

Perseus goeth out of the battell unto *Pydne*.

Victory won by labour not by sloth.

Salus a Captaine of the *Pelignians* took the Ensigne and threw it among the enemies.

The valiant-
ness of Mar-
cus Cato.

Æmylius vi-
ctory of Per-
seus.

The battell
fought and
wonne in one
houre.

The valiant-
ness of Scipio
the lesse.

Perseus fled
from Pydna to
Tella.

Lieutenants, and the Captaines also gave the like charge unto their Souldiers that could skilfully execute their commandement. For they went presently into those parts where they saw the places open, and being once entred in among them, some gave charge upon the flankes of the MACEDONIANS, where they were all naked and unarmed: other set upon them behind, so that the strength of all the corpses of the battell (which consisteth in keeping close together) being opened in this sort, was straight overthrowne. Furthermore, when they came to fight man for man, or a few against a few, the MACEDONIANS with their little short Swords, came to strike upon the great Shields of the ROMANES, which were very strong, and covered all their bodies downe to the foote. And they to the contrary, were driven of necessity to receive the blowes of the strong heavy swords of the ROMANES, upon their light weake Targets, so that what with their heavinesse, and vehement force wherewith the blowes lighted upon them, there was no Target nor Corset, but they passed it through, and ran them in: by reason whereof they could make no long resistance, whereupon they turned their backs and ran away. But when they came to the Squadron of the old beaten Souldiers of the MACEDONIANS, there was the cruellest fight and most desperate service, where they say that *Marcus Cato* (Sonne of great *Cato*, and Sonne in law of *Æmylius*) shewing all the valiantnesse in his person that a noble minde could possibly performe, lost his Sword which fell out of his hand. But he like a young man of noble courage, that had been valiantly brought up in all discipline, and knew how to follow the steps of his Father (the noblest person that ever man saw) was to shew then his valour and worthinesse, and thought it more honour for him there to die, then living to suffer his enemies to enjoy any spoile of his. So, by and by he ran into the ROMANE Army, to finde out some of his friends, whom he told what had befallen him, and prayed them to helpe him to recover his Sword; whereto they agreed. And being a good company of lusty valiant Souldiers together, they rushed straight among their enemies, at the place where he brought them, and so did set upon them with such force and fury, that they made a lane through the middelt of them, and with great slaughter and spilling of blood, even by plaine force, they cleared the way still before them. Now when the place was voided, they fought for the Sword, and in the end found it with great ado, amongst a heape of other Swords and dead bodies; whereto they joyced marvellously. Then singeing a long of victory, they went againe more fiercely then before to give a charge upon their enemies, who were not yet broken asunder: untill such time as at the length, the three thousand chosen MACEDONIANS fighting valiantly even to the last man, and never forsaking their ranks, were all slaine in the place. After whose overthrow, there was a great slaughter of other also that fled, so that all the valley and foote of the mountains thereabouts was covered with dead bodies. The next day after the battell, when the ROMANES did passe over the River *Leucus*, they found it running all bloody. For it is said there were slaine at this field of *Perseus* men above five and twenty thousand: and of the ROMANES side, as *Pofidonius* saith, not above sixscore; or as *Nasica* writeth, but fourscore onely. And for so great an overthrow, it is reported it was wonderfull quickly done and executed: for they began to fight about three of the clocke in the afternoone, and had wonne the victory before foure, and all the rest of the day they followed their enemies in chase, an hundred and twenty furlongs from the place where the battell was fought, so that it was very late, and farre forth night, before they returned againe into the Campe. So such as returned, were received with marvellous great joy of their Pages, that went out with Linkes and Torches lighted, to bring their Masters into their Tents, where their men had made great bonfires, and decked them up with Crownes and Garlands of Laurel, saving the Generals Tent onely; who was very heavy, for that of his two Sonnes he brought with him to the warres, the younger could not be found, which he loved best of the twaine, because he saw he was of a better nature then the rest of his brethren. For even then, being new crept out of the shell as it were, he was marvellous valiant and hardy, and desired honour wonderfully. Now *Æmylius* thought he had been cast away, fearing lest for lacke of experience in the warres, and through the rashnesse of his youth, he had put himselfe too farre in fight amongst the prease of the enemies. Hereupon the Campe heard straight what sorrow *Æmylius* was in, and how grievously he tooke it. The ROMANES being set at supper, rose from their meate, and with Torch-light some ran to *Æmylius* Tent, other went out of the Campe to seeke him among the dead bodies, if they might know him: so all the Campe was full of sorrow and mourning, the valleys and hills all about did ring againe with the cries of those that called *Scipio* aloud. For even from his childhood he had a naturall gift in him, of all the rare and singular parts required in a Captaine and wife Governour of the Common-weale, above all the young men of his time. At the last, when they were out of all hope of his coming againe, he happily returned from the chase of the enemies, with two or three of his familiars onely, all bloudied with new blood (like a swift running Greyhound fleshed with the blood of the Hare) having pursued very farre for joy of the victory. It is that *Scipio* which afterwards destroyed both the Cities of *CARTHAGE* and *NUMANTIUM*, who was the greatest man of war and valiantest Captain of the ROMANES in his time, and of the greatest authority and reputation among them. Thus fortune deferring till another time the execution of her spite, which she did bear to so noble an exploit, suffered *Æmylius* for that time, to take his full pleasure of that noble victory. And as for *Perseus*, he fled first from the City of *Pydna*, unto the City of *PELLA*, with his horsemen, which were in manner all saved. Whereupon the footmen that saved themselves by flying, meeting them by the way, called them Traitors, Cowards, and Villains, and worse then that, they turned them off their Horsebacks, and fought it out lustily with them. *Perseus* seeing that, and fearing lest this mutiny might turn to light

light on his neck, he turned his horse out of the High-way, and pulled off his Purple coat, and carried it before him, and took his Diadem in his hand, fearing to be known thereby, and that he might the more easily speak with his friends by the way, he lighted on foot, and led his Horse in his hand. But such as were about him, one made as though he would mend the latchet of his shoos, another seemed to water his Horse, another as though he would drink; so that one dragging after another in this sort, they all left him at the last, and ran their way, not fearing the enemies fury so much as their Kings cruelty: who being grieved with his misfortune, fought to lay the fault of the overthrow upon all other but himself. Now he being come into the City of *PELLA* by night, *Enllus* and *Endeus*, two of his Treasurers came unto him, and speaking boldly (but out of time) presumed to tell him the great fault he had committed, and to counsell him what he should doe. The King was so moved with their presumption, that with his owne hands he stabbed his Dagger in them both, and slew them outright. But after this fact, all his servants and friends refused him, and there only tarried with him but *Evander CRETAN*, *Archedamus ETOLIAN*, and *Nes BOEOTIAN*. And as for the meane Souldiers, there were none that followed him but the *CRETANS*, and yet it was not for the good will they did beare him, but for the love of his gold and silver; as Bees that keepe their hives for love of the Honey: for he carried with him a great Treasure, and gave them leave to spoile certaine Plate and vessels of gold and silver, to the value of fifty Talents. But first of all when he was come into the City of *AMPHIPOLIS*, and afterwards into the City of *ALEPSE*, and that the feare was well blowne over, he returned againe to his old humour which was borne and bred with him, and that was avarice and misery: for he complained unto those that were about him, that he had unwares given to the Souldiers of *CRETA*, his Plate and vessel of gold to be spoiled, being those which in old time belonged unto *Alexander the Great*: and prayed them with teares in his eyes that had the Plate, they would be contented to change it for ready Money. Now such as knew his nature, found straight this was but a fraud and a *CRETAN* lye, to deceive the *CRETANS* with: but those that trusted him, and did restore againe the Plate they had, did lose it every jot, for he never payed them penny for it. So he got of his friends the value of thirty Talents, which his enemies soon after did take from him. And with that summe he went into the Isle of *SAMOTHRACIA*, where he tooke the sanctuary and priviledge of the Temple of *Castor* and *Pollux*. They say, that the MACEDONIANS of long continuance did naturally love their Kings: but then seeing all their hope and expectation broken, their hearts failed them, and broke withall. For they all came and submitted themselves to *Æmylius*, and made him Lord of the whole Realme of *MACEDON*, in two dayes: and this doth seem to confirm their words, who impute all *Æmylius* doings unto his good fortune. And surely, the marvellous fortune he happened on in the City *AMPHIPOLIS*, doth confirme it much, which a man cannot ascribe otherwise, but to the speciall grace of the gods. For one day beginning to doe sacrifice, lightning fell from Heaven, and set all the wood on fire upon the Altar, and sanctified the sacrifice. But yet the miracle of his fanie is more to be wondred at. For four daies after *Perseus* had lost the battell, and that the City of *PELLA* was taken, as the people of *ROME* were at the Lifts or shew-place, seeing Horses run for Games: suddenly there arose a rumour at the entering into the Lifts where the Games were, that *Æmylius* had wonne a great battell of King *Perseus*, and had conquered all *MACEDON*. This newes was rife straight in every mans mouth, and there followed upon it a marvellous joy and great cheere in every corner, with shouts and clapping of hands, that continued all the day through the City of *ROME*. Afterwards they made diligent enquiry, how this rumour first came up, but no certaine authour could be knowne, and every man said they heard it spoken: so as in the end it came to nothing, and passed away in that sort for a time. But shortly after, there came Letters, and certaine newes, that made them wonder more then before, from whence the messenger came that reported the first newes of it, which could be deviled by no naturall meanes, and yet proved true afterwards. We doe reade also of a battell that was fought in *ITALY*, neare unto the River of *SAGRA*, whereof newes was brought the very same day unto *PAULOPONNESUS*. And of another also in like manner that was fought in *ASIA* against the *MEDES*, before the City of *MYCALA*: the newes whereof came the same day unto the Campe of the *GRECIANS*, lying before the City of *PLATOES*. And in that great journey where the ROMANES overthrow the *Tarquins*, and the Army of the *LATINES*: immediately after the battell was wonne, they saw two goodly young men come newly from the Campe, who brought newes of the victory to *ROME*, and they judged they were *Castor* and *Pollux*. The first man that spake to them in the market-place before the Fountaine, where they watered their Horses being all of a white foame, told them, that he wondered how they could so quickly bring these newes. And they laughing came to him, and tooke him softly by the beard with both their hands, and even in the market-place his haire being black before, was presently turned yellow. This miracle made them beleeve the report the man made, who ever after was called *Enobarbus*, as you would say, bearded as yellow as gold. Another like matter that happened in our time maketh all such newes credible: For when *Antonius* rebelled against the Emperour *Domitian*, the City of *ROME* was in a marvellous perplexity, because they looked for great warres towards *GERMANIE*. But in this feare there grew a sudden rumour of victory, and it went currantly through *ROME*, that *Antonius* himselfe was slaine, and all his Army overthrowne, and not a man left alive. This rumour was so rife, that many of the chieft men of *ROME* beleeved it, and did sacrifice thereupon unto their gods, giving them thanks for the victory. But when the matter came to sitting, who was the first authour of the rumour, no man could tell: for one put it over still to another, and it died so in the end amongst the people, as in a bottomlesse matter, for they

Time and du-
ty to be obser-
ved to the
Prince.
Death, the in-
dignation of
the Prince.
The covetous-
ness of the
Cretans.

Misers whine
for their goods

The Macedo-
nians submit
themselves to
Æmylius.

Wonders.

News brought
to Rome out of
Macedon in
four dayes, of
Æmylius vi-
ctory there:
and no man
knew how they
came.

Enobarbus,
why so called.

Cn. Octavius
Æmylius
Lieutenant by
sea.

The miserable
state *Perseus*
was brought
unto, by the
craft and sub-
tlety of a Gre-
tan.

King *Perseus*
yeeldeth him-
self in Samo-
thracia, unto
Cn. Octavius.

Perseus un-
principally beha-
viour unto
Æmylius.
Æmylius O-
ration unto
Perseus pri-
soners.

Æmylius O-
ration touch-
ing fortune
and her un-
constancy.

they could never bould out any certaine ground of it: but even as it came flying into ROME, so went it flying away againe, no man could tell how. Notwithstanding *Domitian* holding on his journey to make this Warre, met with Poets that brought him Letters of the certaine victory: and remembering the rumour of the victory that ran before in ROME, he found it true, that it was on the very same day the victory was gotten; and the distance between ROME and the place where the field was wonne, was above twenty thousand furlongs off. Every man in our time knoweth this to be true. But againe he was, for the reverence he did beare unto the gods *Cæsar* and *Pollux*: but he did besiege him in such fort, as he could not scape him, nor flie by sea out of the Island. Yet he had secretly practised with one *Oroandes* a CRETAN, that had a Brigantine, and was at a price with him for a sum of Mo-ney to convey him away by night: But the CRETAN served him a right CRETAN trick: For when he had taken aboard by night into his vessell, all the Kings treasure of gold and silver, he sent him word, that he should not faile the next night following, to come into the Peere by the Temple of *Ceres*, with his Wife, his Children and Servants, where indeed was no possibility to take shipping; but the next night following he hoisted saile, and got him away. It was a pittifull thing that *Perseus* was driven to doe and suffer at that time. For he came downe in the night by ropes, out of a little straight window upon the wals, and not only himself, but his Wife and little babes, who never knew before what flying and hardnesse meant. And yet he fetched a more grievous bitter sigh, when one told him on the Peere, that he saw *Oroandes* the CRETAN under saile in the maine seas. Then day beginning to breake, and seeing himselfe void of all hope, he ran with his Wife for life to the wall, to recover the sanctuary againe, before the ROMANES that saw him could overtake him. And as for his Children, he had given them himselfe into the hands of one *Ion*, whom before he had mar- vellously loved, and who did then traiterously betray him: for he delivered his Children unto the ROMANES. Which part was one of the chiefest causes that drave him (as a beast that will follow her little ones being taken from her) to yeeld himselfe into their hands that had his Children. Now he had a speciall confidence in *Scipio Nasica*, and therefore he asked for him when he came to yeeld himselfe: but it was answered him, that he was not there. Then he began to lament his hard and miserable fortune every way. And in the end, considering how necessity enforced him, he yeelded himselfe into the hands of *Cnens Octavius*; wherein he shewed plainly, that he had another vice in him more unmanly and vile, then avarice; that was, a faint heart, and feare to die. But hereby he deprived himselfe of others pity and compassion towards him, being that only thing which fortune cannot deny and take from the afflicted, and specially from them that have a noble heart. For he made request they would bring him unto the Generall *Æmylius*, who rose from his chaire when he saw him come, and went to meete him with his friends, the water standing in his eyes, to meete a great King, by fortune of warre and by the will of the gods, fallen into that most lamentable state. But he to the contrary, unmanly, and shamefully behaved himselfe. For he fell downe at his feete, and embraced his knees, and uttered such uncomely speech and vile requests, as *Æmylius* selfe could not abide to heare them: but knitting his browes against him, being heartily offended, he spake thus unto him: "Alas poore man, Why dost thou discharge fortune of this fault, where thou mightest justly charge and accuse her of thy discharge, doing things, for the which every one judgeth thou hast deserved thy present misery, and art unworthy also of thy former honour? Why dost thou "defame my victory, and blemish the glory of my doings, shewing thy selfe so base a man, as my "honour is not great to overcome so unworthy an enemy? The ROMANES have ever esteemed "magnanimity, even in their greatest enemies: but dastardlinesse, though it be fortunate, yet it is "hated of every body. Notwithstanding, he tooke him up; and taking him by the hand, gave him into the custody of *Ælius Tubero*. Then *Æmylius* went into his Tent; and carried his Sonnes and Sonnes in law with him, and other men of quality, and specially the younger fort. And being set downe, he continued a great space very pensive with himselfe, not speaking a word; infomuch that all the standers by wondered much at the matter. In the end he began to enter into discourse and talke of fortune, and the unconstancy of these worldly things, and said unto them: "Is there any man "living, my friends, who having fortune at will, should therefore boast and glory in the prosperity "of his doings, for that he had conquered a Country, City or Realme: and not rather to feare the "unconstancy of fortune? who laying before our eyes, and all those that professe armes at this pre- "sent, so notable an example of the common frailty of men, doth plainly teach us to thinke, that "there is nothing constant or perdurable in this world. For when is it that men may think them- "selves assured, considering that when they have overcome others, then are they driven to mistrust "fortune most, and to mingle feare and mistrust with joy of victory: if they will wisely consider the "common course of fatal destiny that altereth daily, sometime favouring one, otherwhile throwing "downe another? You see, that in an hours space we have trodden under our feete the house of "Alexander the Great: who hath been the mightiest and most redoubted Prince of the world. You "see a King that not long since was followed and accompanied, with many thousand Souldiers of "Horsemen and Footemen, brought at this present into such miserable extremity, that he is enforced "to receive his meate and drinke daily at the hands of his enemies. Should we have any better hope "then, that fortune will alwayes favour our doings, more then she doth now his at this present? "no out of doubt. Therefore digesting this matter well, you young men I say, be not too brag nor "foolish proud of this conquest and noble victory; but thinke what may happen hereafter, marking

"to what end fortune will turne the envy of this our present prosperity. Such were *Æmylius* words to these young men as it is reported, bridling by these and such like perfwasions, the lusty garrisons to refresh them; and went himselfe in person in the meane time to visit GRECE, making it an honourable progresse, and also a commendable. For as he passed through the Cities, he relieved the people, reformed the government of their State, and ever gave them some gift or present. Unto some he gave Corne, which King *Perseus* had gathered for the Warres: and unto other he gave Oyles, meeting with so great store of provision, that he rather lacked people to give it unto, to receive it at his hands, then wanting to give, there was so much. As he passed by the City of DEIPHES, he saw there a great Pillar, foure square, of white stone, which they had set up, to put King *Perseus* image of gold upon it. Whereupon he commanded them to set up his in that place, saying: It was reason the conquered should give place unto the Conquerours. And being in the City of OLYMPIA, visiting the Temple of *Jupiter Olympia*, he spake thus openly, which ever since hath been remembered: that *Phidias* had rightly made *Jupiter*, as *Homer* had described him. Afterwards when the ten Ambassadors were arrived that were sent from ROME to establish with him the Realm of MACEDON, he redelivered the MACEDONIANS their Country and Townes againe, to live at liberty, according to their Lawes, paying yearly to the ROMANES for Tribute, a hundred Talents: where before they were wont to pay unto their Kings ten times as much. And he made Playes and Games of all sorts, and did celebrate sumptuous Sacrifices unto the gods. He kept open Court to all comers, and made noble Feasts, and defrayed the whole charge thereof, with the Treasure King *Perseus* had gathered together, sparing for no cost. But through his care and foresight, there was a speciall good order taken, every man so courteously received and welcomed, and so orderly marshalled at the Table according to their estate and calling, that the GRECIANS wondred to see him so careful in matters of sport and pleasure: and that he tooke as great paines in his owne person, to see that small matters should be ordered as they ought, as he tooke regard for discharge of more weighty causes. But this was a marvellous pleasure to him, to see that among such sumptuous sights prepared to shew pleasure to the persons invited, no fight nor stately shew did so delight them, as to enjoy the sight and company of his person. So he told them, that seemed to wonder at his diligence and care in these matters: that to order a feast well, required as great judgment and discretion, as to set a battell: to make the one fearefull to the enemies, and the other acceptable to his friends. But men esteemed his bounty and magnanimity for his best vertue and quality. For he did not only refuse to see the Kings wonderfull treasure of Gold and Silver, but caused it to be told and delivered to the custody of the Treasurers, to carry to the coffers of store in ROME: and only suffered his Sonnes that were learned, to take the Bookes of the Kings Library. When he did reward the Souldiers for their valiant service in this Battell, he gave his Sonne in law *Ælius Tubero* a Cup, weighing five Talents. It is the same *Tubero* who told you of before, who lived with sixteen other of his Kin all in one house, and of the only revenue they had of a little Farme in the Country. Some say, that that Cup was the first piece of Plate that ever came into the house of the *Ælyans*; and yet it came for honour and reward of vertue: but before that time, neither themselves, nor their Wives, would ever have, or wear any Gold or Silver. After he had very well ordered and disposed all things, at the last he tooke leave of the GRECIANS, and counseled the MACEDONIANS to remember the liberty the ROMANES had given them, and that they should be careful to keepe it, by their good government and concord together. Then he departed from them, and tooke his journey towards the Countrey of EBYRUS, having received Commission from the Senate of ROME, to suffer his Souldiers who had done service in the Battell, and overthrow of King *Perseus*, to spoile all the Cities of that Countrey. Wherefore that he might surprisethem on a sudden, and that they should mistrust nothing, he sent to all the Cities that they should send him by a certaine day, ten of the chiefest men of every City. Who when they were come, he commanded them to goe and bring him by such a day, all the Gold and Silver they had within their Cities, as well in their private houses, as in their Temples and Churches, and gave unto every one of them a Capitaine and Garrison with them, as if it had beene only to have received and searched for the Gold and Silver he demanded. But when the day appointed was come, the Souldiers in divers places (and all at one time) set upon their enemies, and did rife and spoile them of that they had, and made them also pay ran- some every man: so as by this policie, they were taken and made slaves in one day, a hundred and fifty thousand persons, and threescore and ten Cities spoiled and sacked every one; and yet when they came to divide the spoile of this generall destruction of a whole Realme by the poll, it came not to every Souldiers part, above eleven silver Drachmes apiece: Which made every one to wonder greatly, and to feare also the terror of the Warres, to see the wealth and riches of so great a Realme, to mount to so little for every mans share. When *Æmylius* had done this fact against his owne nature, which was very gentle and courteous, he went unto the sea side to the City of ORICA, and there embarked with his Army bound for ITALY. Where when he was arrived, he went up the River of Tyber against the streame, in King *Perseus* chiefe Galley, which had sixteen oares on a side, richly set out with the Armour of the Prisoners, rich clothes of purple colour, and other such spoiles of the Enemies: so that the ROMANES running out of ROME in multitudes of people to see his Galley, and going side by side by her as they rowed softly, *Æmylius* tooke as great pleasure in it, as in any open Games or Feasts, or Triumph that had been shewed indeed. But when the Souldiers saw, that the Gold and Silver of King *Perseus* Treasure was not divided amongst them according

Æmylius ho-
nourable pro-
gresse in Greece.

Æmylius ser-
veth Macedon
at a stay.

Æmylius
words about
the care and
good order at
Rome.
Æmylius
abstinence.

Æmylius cruel
act in spoiling
of Epirus.

Æmylius took
ship at the City
of Orca, and
returned into
Italy.

The envy of
Servius Galba
unto Æmylius

Contention
about Æmyli-
us Triumph.

Servilius Ora-
tion for the
furtherance of
Æmylius
Triumph.

A notable de-
scription of
Æmylius
Triumph.

unto promise, and they had a great deale lesse then they looked for, they were marvellously offend-
ded, and inwardly grudged Æmylius in their hearts. Neverthelesse they durst not speake it openly,
but did accuse him, that he had bene too straight unto them in this warre: and therefore they did
shew no great desire nor forwardnesse, to procure him the honour of Triumph. Which *Servius*
Galba understanding, that had bene an old enemy of his, notwithstanding he had the charge of a
thousand men under him in this Warre: he like an envious viper told the people, that Æmylius had
not deserved the honour of Triumph, and sowed seditious words against him among the Souldiers,
to aggravate their ill will the more against him. Moreover he craved a day of the Tribunes of the
people, to have respite to bring forth such matter as they determined to object against him: saying,
the time then was farre spent, the Sunne being but foure houres high, and that it would require
longer time and leisure. The Tribunes made him answer, that he should speake then what he had to
say against him, or otherwise they would not grant him audience. Hereupon he began to make a
long Oration in the mount of the Capitoll, full of railing words, and spent all the rest of the day in that railing
Oration. Afterwards when night came on, the Tribunes brake up the Assembly, and the next mor-
ning the Souldiers being encouraged by *Galbaes* Oration, and having confedered together, did flock
about *Galba* in the mount of the Capitoll, where the Tribunes had given warning they would keepe
their assembly. Now being broad day, Æmylius Triumph was referred to the most number of
voices of the people, and the first Tribe flatly did deny his Triumph. The Senate, and the residue
of the people hearing that, were very sorry to see they did Æmylius so open wrong and injury.
The common people said nothing to it, but seemed to be very sorry, howbeit they sought no redresse.
The Lords of the Senate cried out upon them, and said, it was too much shame; and exhorted one
another to bridle the insolency and boldnesse of those Souldiers, who would grow in the end to such
tumult and disorder, that they would commit all mischief and wickednesse, if betimes they were not
looked to and prevented, seeing they did so openly stand against their Generall, seeking to deprive
him of the honour of his Triumph and victory. So they assembled a good company of them toge-
ther, and went up to the Capitoll, and prayed the Tribunes they would stay to take the voices of the
peoples, untill they had acquainted them with such needfull matter as they had to open unto them.
The Tribunes granted to it, and silence was made. Then *Marcus Servilius*, who had bene Consul,
and had fought three and twenty combats of life and death in his owne person, and had alwayes slaine
as many of his enemies as challenged him man for man; rose up, and spake in favour of Æmylius
in this matter: "I know now (said he) better then before, how noble and worthy a Captaine
" *Paulus Æmylius* is, who hath atchieved such glory and honourable victory, with so dishonour-
" rable and disobedient Souldiers. And I can but wonder that the people not long since rejoiced and
" made great account of the Victories and Triumphs won upon the *ILLYRIANS* and other Nations
" of *AFRICK*: and that now they should for spite envy his glory (doing what lyeth in them to hin-
" der) to bring a *MACE DONIAN* King alive in a Triumph, and to shew the glory and greatnesse of
" King *Philip* and *Alexander* the Great, subdued by the *ROMANES* force and power. What reason
" have ye, that not long since, upon a flying rumour that Æmylius had won the battell against *Per-*
" *seus*, you straight made sacrifice to the gods with great joy, praying them that you might be witnes-
" ses of the truth thereof: and now that the person himselfe whom ye made Generall is returned
" home, and doth deliver you most assured victory, you do frustrate the Gods most solemne thanks
" and honour due to them, and do deprive your selves also of your wonted glory in such a case: as if
" you were afraid to see the greatnesse of your prosperity, or that you meant to pardon a King, your
" slave and prisoner. And yet of the two, you have more reason to hinder the Triumph, as pitying the
" King, then envying your Captaine. But the malice of the wicked, through your patience is grown
" to such an insolent audacity and boldnesse, that we see men present here before us, which never went
" from the smoke of the chimney, nor carried away any blowes in the field, being crammed at
" home like Women and house-Doves; and yet they are so impudent and shamelesse, as they dare
" presume unreverently to your faces, to prate of the office and duty of a Generall of an Army, and
" of the desert of Triumph, before you I say, who by experience of many a fore cut and wound upon
" your bodies in the Warres, have learned to know a good and valiant Captaine, from a vile and
" cowardly person. And speaking these words, he cast open his Gowne, and shewed before them
" all the infinite scarres and cuts he had received upon his breast: and then turning him behind, shew-
" ed all such places as were not fit to be seene openly, and so turned himselfe againe to *Galba*, and
" said unto him: "Thou mockest me for that I shew thee: but I rejoyce before my Countrymen and
" Citizens, that for serving my Country night and day on horse-backe, I have these wounds upon
" me which thou seest. Now get thee about thy businesse and receive their voices; and I will come
" after, noting them that are naughty and unthankfull Citizens, who like to be soothed with flattery,
" and not stoutly commanded, as behoved a Generall in the Warre. These words so reined the hard-
" headed Souldiers with the curbe of reason, that all the other Tribes agreed in one, and granted
" Æmylius Triumph: the order and solemnity whereof was performed in this sort. First, the people
" having set up sundry scaffolds, as well in the Lifts and field called *Circos* by the *LATINES*, where
" the Games and common running of Horses and Chariots are made, as also about the market-place,
" and in other streets of the City, in the which the shew of the Triumph should passe: they all pre-
" sented themselves in their best Gownes to see the magnificence and state thereof. All the Temples
" of the gods also were set wide open, hanged full of Garlands of Flowers, and all perfumed within:
" and there were set through all the quarters of the City, numbers of Sergeants and other Officers
" holding

holding Tipstaves in their hands to order the stragling people, and to keepe them up in corners and
Lanes ends, that they should not pester the Streets, and hinder the Triumph. Furthermore the sight
of this Triumph was to continue three dayes, whereof the first was scant sufficient to see the passing
by of the Images, Tables, Pictures, and Statues of wonderfull bignesse, all won and gotten of their
Enemies, and drawn in the shew upon two hundred and fifty Chariots. The second day, there was car-
ried upon a number of Carts, all the fairest and richest Armour of the *MACE DONIANS*, as well of
Copper, as also of Iron and Steele, all glittering bright, being newly furbished, and artificially laid in or-
der (and yet in such sort, as if they had been cast in heapes one upon another, without taking any
care otherwise for the ordering and laying of them) faire Burganets upon Targets: Habergions, or
Brigantines and Corlets, upon Graves: round Targets of the *CRETANS*, and Javelins of the
THRACIANS, and Arrows amongst the armed Pikes: all this Armour and carriage, being bound
one to another so trimly (neither being too loose, nor too straight) that one hitting against ano-
ther, as they drew them upon the Carts through the City, they made such a sound and noise, as it
was fearful to heare it: so that the only sight of these spoiles of the captives being overcome, made
the sight so much more terrible to behold: after these Carts laden with Armour, there followed
three thousand Men, which carried the ready Money in seven hundred and fifty Vessels, which weighed
about three Talents apeece, and every one of them were carried by foure men: and there were other
that carried great Bolles of Silver, Cups and Goblets fashioned like pitchers, and other Pots to drinke
in, goodly to behold, as well for their bignesse, as for their great and singular imbofled workes about
them. The third day early in the morning the Trumpets began to sound and set forwards, sounding
no march nor sweet note, to beautifie the Triumph withall: but they blew out the brave alarum, the
sound at an assault, to give the Souldiers courage for to fight. After them followed sixscore goodly
fat Oxen, having all their hornes gult, and Garlands of Flowers and Nofegais about their heads,
and there went by them certaine young men, with aprons of needle-worke, girt about their middle,
who led them to the Sacrifice, and young boyes with them also, that carried goodly Basons of Gold
and Silver, to cast and sprinkle the blood of the Sacrifice about. And after these, followed those
that carried all Coynes of Gold devided by Basons and Vessels, and every one of them weighing three
Talents as they did before, that carried the great holy Cup, which Æmylius had caused to be made of
massie Gold, set full of precious Stones, weighing the weight of ten Talents, to make an Offering unto
the gods. And next unto them went other that carried Plate, made and wrought after antick fashion,
and notable Cups of the ancient Kings of *MACE DON*: as the Cup called *Antigonus*, and another
Selenus: and to be short, all the whole cubbord of Plate of Gold and Silver of King *Perseus*. And next
them came the Chariot of his Armour, in the which was all King *Perseus* harnesse, and his royall Band
(they call a *Diademe*) upon his Armour. And a little space between them, followed next the Kings Chil-
dren, whom they led Prisoners, with the traine of their School-masters and other Officers, and their
servants, weeping and lamenting: who held up their hands to the people that looked upon them, and
taught the Kings young Children to doe the like, to aske mercy and grace at the peoples hands. There
were three pretty little Children, two Sonnes and a Daughter amongst them, whose tender yeares and
lacke of understanding, made them (poore soules) they could not feelee their present misery; which made
the people so much the more to pity them, when they saw the poore little infants, that knew not the
change of their fortune: so that for the compassion they had of them, they almost let the Father
passe without looking upon him. Many peoples hearts did melt for very pity, that the teares ran
downe their cheekes, so as this sight brought both pleasure and sorrow together to the lookers on,
untill they were past and gone a good way out of sight. King *Perseus* the Father, followed after his
Children and their traine, and he was clothed in a blacke Gowne, wearing a pair of Slippers on his
feete after his country manner. He shewed by his countenance his troubled minde, oppress with
sorrow of his most miserable state and fortune. He was followed with his Kinsfolks, his familiar
friends, his Officers and household servants, their faces disfigured by blubbering, shewing to the
world by their lamenting teares, and sorrowfull eyes cast upon their unfortunate Master, how much
they sorrowed and bewailed his most hard and cruell fortune, little accounting of their owne misery.
The voice goeth, that *Perseus* sent unto Æmylius to intreat him, that he should not be led through
the City in the shew and sight of the Triumph. But Æmylius mocking (as he deserved) his cowardly
faint heart, answered: As for that, it was before, and is now in him, to doe if he will. Meaning to let
him understand thereby, that he might rather chuse to die, then living to receive such open shame.
Howbeit his heart would not serve him, he was so cowardly, and made so effeminate, by a certaine
vaine hope he knew not what, that he was contented to make one among his owne spoiles. After all
this, there followed four hundred princely Crownes of Gold, which the Cities and Townes of
GREECE had purposely sent by their Ambassadors unto Æmylius, to honour his Victory: and
next unto them, he came himselfe in his Chariot triumphing, which was passing sumptuously set forth
and adorned. It was a noble sight to behold: and yet the person of himselfe only was worth the
looking on, without all that great pomp and magnificence. For he was apparelled in a purple Gowne
branded with gold, and carried in his right hand a Laurell bough, as all his Army did besides: the
which being devided by Bands and Companies, followed the triumphing Chariot of their Captaine,
some of the Souldiers singing Songs of Victory, which the *ROMANES* use to sing in like Triumphs,
mingling them with merry pleasant toys, rejoycing at their Captaine. Other of them also did sing
Songs of Triumph, in the honour and praise of Æmylius noble Conquest and Victory. He was
openly praised, blessed and honoured of every body, and neither hated nor envied of honest men:
" saving

Perseus Chil-
dren.

King *Perseus*.

Æmylius
(corneth *Per-*
seus cowardly-
nesse.

Four hundred
Crownes of
Gold sent unto
Æmylius by:
the Cities of
Greece.

Æmylius ad-
versity.

Æmylius for-
titude in his
greatest adversity.

Æmylius
Oration in his
trouble for the
death of his
Children.

The death of
King Perseus.
A strange kind
of death.

The state of
Paulus Sonnet.

saving the ordinary use of some god, whose prosperity is always to lessen or cut off some part of mans exceeding prosperity and felicity, mingling with mans life the sense and feeling of good and evil together: because that no living person should passe all his time of life, without some adversity or misfortune, but that such (as Homer saith) should only think themselves happy, to whom fortune hath equally forted the good with the evill. And this I speak, because Æmylius had foure Sonnes, two of the which he gave in adoption unto the families of *Scipio* and of *Fabius*, as we have said before: and two other which he had by his second Wife, he brought up with him in his owne house, and were both yet very young: of the which the one died, being fourteen years of age five dayes before his Fathers Triumph: and the other died also three dayes after the pompe of Triumph at twelve years of age. When this sorrowfull chance had befallen him, every one in Rome did pity him in their hearts: but fortunes spite and cruelty did more grieve and feare them, to see her little regard towards him, to put into a house of Triumph (full of honour and glory, and of sacrifices and joy) such a pittifull mourning, and mingling of sorrowes and lamentations of death, amongst such Songs of Triumph and victory. Notwithstanding this, Æmylius taking things like a wise man, thought that he was not only to use constancy and magnanimity, against the Sword and Pike of the enemy: but alike also against all adversity and enmity of spitefull fortune. So he wisely weighed and considered his present misfortune, with his former prosperity: and finding his misfortune counterpoised with felicity, and his private griefes cut off with common joy, he gave no place to his sorrowes and mischances, neither blemished any way the dignity of his Triumph and victory. For when he had buried the eldest of his two last Sonnes, he left not to make his triumphant entry, as you have heard before. And his second Sonne also being deceased after his Triumph, he caused the people to assemble, and in face of the whole City he made an Oration, not like a discomfited man, but like one rather that did comfort his sorrowfull Countrymen for his mischance. He told them, "That concerning mens matters, never any thing did feare him: but for things above, he ever feared Fortune, mistrusting her change and inconstancy, and specially in the last Warre, doubting for so great prosperity as could be wished, to be payed home with an after intollerable adversity and sinister chance. For as I went (said he) I passed over the gulfe of the Adriaticke Sea, from BRINDES unto CORFU in one day: and from thence in five dayes after, I arrived in the City of DELPHES, where I did sacrifice unto Apollo. And within five other dayes, I arrived in my Campe, where I found mine Army in MACEDON. And after I had done the Sacrifice, and due Ceremonies for purifying of the same, I presently began to follow the purpose and cause of my coming: so as in fifteen dayes after I made an honourable end of all those Warres. But yet, mistrusting Fortune alwayes, seeing the prosperous course of my affaires, and considering that there were no other enemies, nor dangers I needed to feare: I feared sorely she would change at my returne, when I should be upon the Sea, bringing home so goodly and victorious an Army, with so many spoiles, and so many Princes and Kings taken prisoners. And yet when I was safely arrived in the Haven, and seeing all the City at my returne full of joy, and of feasts and Sacrifices, I still suspected Fortune, knowing her manner well enough, that the usefult not to gratifie men so frankly, nor to grant them so great things clearly, without some certaine sparke of envy waiting on them. Neither did my minde being still occupied in feare of some thing to happen to the Common-wealth, shake off this feare behind me: but that I saw this home-mishap and misery lighted upon me, enforcing me with mine owne hands in these holy dayes of my Triumph, to bury my two young Sonnes one after another, which I only brought up with me, for the succession of my Name and House. Wherefore me thinks now I may say, I am out of all danger, at the least touching my chiefest and greatest misfortune: and doe begin to stablish my selfe with this assured hope, that this good fortune henceforth shall remaine with us evermore, without feare of other unlucky or sinister chance. For she hath sufficiently countervailed the favourable Victory she gave you, with the envious mishap wherewith she hath plagued both me and mine: shewing the Conquerer and Triumpher, as noble an example of mans misery and weakness, as the party conquered, that had been led in Triumph: saving that *Perseus* yet conquered as he is, hath this comfort left him, to see his Children living; and that the Conquerour Æmylius hath lost his. And this was the summe of Æmylius notable Oration he made unto the people of Rome, proceeding of a noble and honourable disposed minde. And though it pitied him in his heart to see the strange chance of King *Perseus* fortune, and that he heartily desired to helpe him, and to doe him good: yet he could never obtaine other grace for him, but onely to remove him from the common prison (which the ROMANES call *Carcer*) into a more cleanly and sweeter house: where being straightly guarded and looked unto, he killed himselfe by abstinence from meate, as the most part of Historiographers doe write. Yet some Writers tell a marvellous strange tale, and manner of his death. For they say the Souldiers that guarded him, kept him from sleepe, watching him straightly when sleepe tooke him, and would not suffer him to shut his eye-lids (onely upon a malice they did beare him, because they could not otherwise hurt him) keeping him awake by force, not suffering him to take rest: untill such time as nature being forced to give over, he gave up the ghost. Two of his Sonnes died also: but the third called *Alexander*, became an excellent Turner and Joyner, and was learned, and could speake the ROMANES tongue very well, and did write it so trimly, that afterwards he was Chancellour to the Magistrates of Rome, and did wisely and discreetly behave himselfe in his Office. Furthermore they doe adde to this goodly conquest of the Realme of MACEDON, that Æmylius conquered another speciall good thing, that made him marvellously well liked of the common people: that is, that he brought so much Gold and Silver unto the Treasury store of Rome,

as the common People needed never after to make contribution for any thing, untill the very time and yeare that *Hircius* and *Pansa* were Consuls, which was about the beginning of the first Warres of *Augustus* and *Antonius*. And yet Æmylius had one singular good gift in him: that though the People did greatly love and honour him, yet he ever tooke part with the Senate and Nobility, and did never by word or deed any thing in favour of the People, to flatter or please them, but in matters concerning Government, he did ever leane to the Nobility and good men. And this did *Appius* afterwards cast in his Sonnes teeth, *Scipio Africanus*. For both of them being two of the chiefest men of their time, and contending together for the Office of Censor: *Appius* had about him to favour his sute, all the Senate and Nobility, as of ancient time the Family of the *Appians* had ever held on their part. And *Scipio Africanus*, though he was a great man of himselfe, yet he was at all times favoured and beloved of the common People. Whereupon when *Appius* saw him come into the Market-place, followed with men of small quality and base condition, that had been Slaves before, but otherwise could skilfully handle such practises, bring the People together, and by opportunity of cries and loud voyces (if need were) obtaine what they would in the Assemblies of the City: he spake out aloud, and said: O *Paulus Æmylius*, now hast thou good cause to sigh and mourne in thy grave where thou liest (if the dead do know what we do here on Earth) to see Æmylius a common Serjeant, and *Licinius* a prating Fellow, how they bring thy Sonne unto the Dignity of a Censor. And as for *Scipio*, he was alwayes beloved of the common People, because he did favour them in all things. But Æmylius also, although he tooke ever the Noblemens part, he was not therefore the lesse beloved of the common People then those that alwayes flattered them, doing all things as the People would, to please them: which the common People did witnesse, as well by other Honours and Offices they offered him, as in the Dignity of the Censor which they gave him. For it was the holiest Office of all other at that time, and of greatest Power and Authority, specially for inquiry and reformation of every mans life and manners. For he that was Censor, had Authority to put any Senator off the Councell, and so degrade him, if he did not worthily behave himselfe according to his Place and Calling: and might name and declare any one of the Senate, whom he thought to be most honest, and fittest for the place againe. Moreover, they might by their Authority, take from licentious young men, their Horse which was kept at the charge of the Common-wealth. Furthermore, they be the Sessors of the People, and the Muster-masters, keeping Bookes of the number of persons at every mustering. So there appeared numbered in the Register-booke Æmylius made then of them, three hundred seven and thirty thousand, foure hundred and two and fifty men, and *Marcus Æmylius Lepidus* named President of the Senate, who had that honour foure times before, and did put off the Councell three Senators, that were but meane men. And the like meane and moderation he and his companion *Martius Philippus* kept; upon view and Muster taken of the ROMANES Horsemen. And after he had ordered and disposed the greatest matters of his Charge and Office, he fell sicke of a Disease that at the beginning seemed very dangerous, but in the end there was no other danger, saving that it was a lingering Disease, and hard to cure. So, following the counsell of Physicians, who willed him to go to a City in ITALY called VELIA, he tooke Sea and went thither, and continued there a long time, dwelling in pleasant houses upon the Sea side, quietly and out of all noise. But during this time of his absence, the ROMANES wished for him many a time and often. And when they were gathered together in the Theaters, to see the Playes and Sports, they cried out divers times for him: whereby they shewed that they had a great desire to see him againe. Time being come about, when they used to make a solemne yearly Sacrifice, and Æmylius finding himselfe also in very good perfect health; he returned againe to Rome, where he made Sacrifice with the other Priests, all the People of Rome gathered about him, rejoycing much to see him. The next day after, he made another particular Sacrifice, to give thanks unto the gods for recovery of his health. After the Sacrifice was ended, he went home to his house, and fate him downe to dinner: he suddenly fell into a raving (without any perleverance of sickness spied in him before, or any change or alteration in him) and his wits went from him, in such sort, that he died within three daies after, lacking no necessary thing that an earthly man could have, to make him happy in this World. For he was even honoured at his Funerals, and his vertue was adorned with many goodly glorious Ornaments, neither of Gold, Silver, nor Ivory, nor with other such sumptuousnesse or magnificence of Apparell, but with the love and good will of the People, all of them confessing his vertue and well-doing: and this did not onely his naturall Countrymen performe in memory of him, but his very Enemies also. For all those that met in Rome by chance at that time, that were either come out of SPAIN, from GENOA, or out of MACEDON, all those that were young and strong, did willingly put themselves under the Coffin where his Body lay, to helpe to carry him: and the old men followed his Body to accompany the same, calling Æmylius the Benefactor, Saviour, and Father of their Country. For he did not onely treat them gently, and graciously, whom he had subdued: but all his life time he was ever ready to pleasure them: and to set forwards their Causes, even as they had bene his Confederates, very Friends, and neare Kinsmen. The Inventory of all his Goods after his death, did scant amount unto the summe of three hundred threescore and tenne thousand Silver Drachmas, which his two Sonnes did inherit. But *Scipio* being the younger, left all his right unto his elder Brother *Fabius*, because he was adopted into a very rich House, which was the House of the great *Scipio Africanus*. Such they say was *Paulus Æmylius* Conditions and Life.

The end of Paulus Æmylius Life.

By Æmylius
Victory, the
People payed
no more Sub-
sidie.

Æmylius cho-
sen Censor.

The Office
and authority
of the Censor.

Æmylius sick-
nesse.

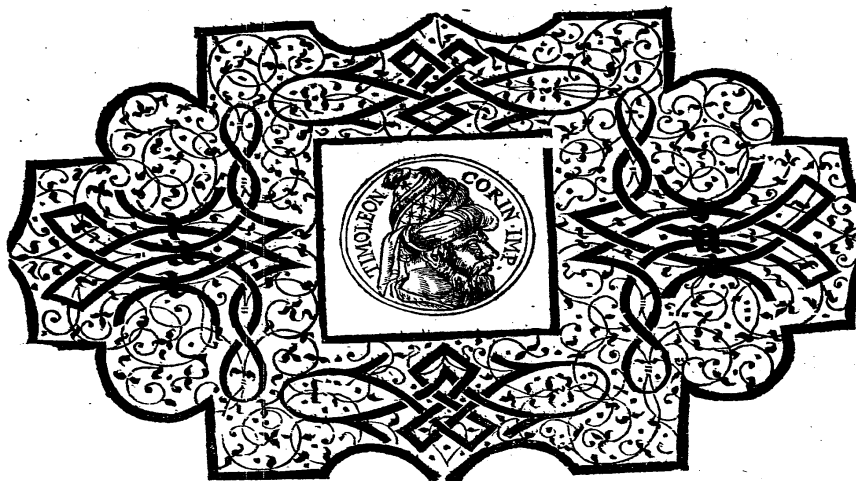
Æmylius re-
moved from
Rome, and
dwelt in the
City of Velia.

The death of
Æmylius in
Rome.

Æmylius Fu-
nerals.

Æmylius
Goods what
they came to.

THE LIFE OF TIMOLEON.



Ann. Mund.
3607.

Ant. Christ.
341.

The state of
the Syracusans
before Timoleon
comes.



Before *Timoleon* was sent into *SICILE*, thus stood the state of the *SYRACUSANS*. After that *Dion* had driven out the Tyrant *Dionysius*, he himselfe after was slaine immediately by Treason; and those that aided him to restore the *SYRACUSANS* to their liberty, fell out, and were at dissention among themselves. By reason whereof, the City of *SYRACUSA* changing continually new Tyrants, was so troubled and turmoyled with all sorts of evils, that it was left in manner desolate, and without Inhabitants. The rest of *SICILE* in like case was utterly destroyed, and no Cities in manner left standing, by reason of the long Warres: and those few that remained, were most inhabited of foraigne Souldiers and strangers (a company of loose men gathered together that tooke pay of no Prince nor City) all the Dominions of the same being easily usurped, and as easie to change their Lord. Infomuch, *Dionysius* the Tyrant, ten years after *Dion* had driven him out of *SICILE*, having gathered a certaine number of Souldiers together againe, and through their helpe driven out *Nisem*, that reigned at that time in *SYRACUSA*: he recovered the Realme againe, and made himselfe King. So, if he was strangely expelled by a small power out of the greatest Kingdome that ever was in the World: likewise he more strangely recovered it againe, being banished and very poore, making himselfe King over them, who before had driven him out. Thus were the Inhabitants of the City compelled to serve this Tyrant: who besides that of his owne nature was neither courteous nor civill, he was now growne to be far more dogged and cruell, by reason of the extreme misery and misfortune he had endured. But the noblest Citizens repaired unto *Ictes*, who at that time as Lord ruled the City of the *LEONTINES*, and they chose him for their Generall in these Warres: not for that he was any thing better then the open Tyrants, but because they had no other to repaire unto at that time: and they trusted him best; for that he was borne (as themselves) within the City of *SYRACUSA*, and because also he had men of Warre about him, to make head against the Tyrant. But in the meane time, the *CARTHAGINIANS* came downe into *SICILE* with a great Army, and invaded the Countrey. The *SYRACUSANS* being afraid of them, determined to send Ambassadors into *GREECE* to pray aide of them against the barbarous People; having better hope unto the *CORINTHIANS*, to pray aide of them against the barbarous People; having better hope of them, then of any other of the *GRECIANS*. And that not altogether because they were lineally descended from them, and that they had received in times past many pleasures at their hands: but also for that they knew that *CORINTH* was a City, that in all ages and times did ever love Liberty and hate Tyrants, and that had alwaies made their greatest Warres, not for ambition of Kingdomes, nor of covetous desires to conquer and rule, but only to defend and maintaine the Liberty of the *GRECIANS*. But *Ictes* in another contrary sort, tooke upon him to be Generall, with

Ictes, Tyrant
of the Leontines

with a minde to make himselfe King of *SYRACUSA*. For he had secretly practised with the *CARTHAGINIANS*, and openly notwithstanding, in words he commended the counsell and determination of the *SYRACUSANS*, and sent Ambassadors from himselfe also with theirs, unto *PELOPONNESUS*: not that he was desirous any aide should come from them to *SYRACUSA*, but because he hoped if the *CORINTHIANS* refused to send them aide (as it was very likely they would, for the Warres and troubles that were in *GREECE*) that he might more easily turne all over to the *CARTHAGINIANS*, and use them as his friends, to aide him against the *SYRACUSANS*, or the Tyrant *Dionysius*. And that this was his full purpose and intent, it appeared plainly foone after. Now when their Ambassadors arrived at *CORINTH*, and had delivered their Message, the *CORINTHIANS*, who had ever bene carefull to defend such Cities as had fought unto them; and specially *SYRACUSA*: very willingly determined in Councell to send them aide, and the rather for that they were in good peace at that time, having Wars with none of the *GRECIANS*. So their only stay rested upon choosing of a Generall to leade their Army. Now as the Magistrates and Governours of the City were naming such Citizens, as willingly offered their service, desirous to advance themselves, there stept up a meane Commoner who named *Timoleon*, *Timodemus* Sonne, a man that until that time was never called on for service, neither looked for any such preferment. And truly it is to be thought it was the secret working of the gods, that directed the thought of this meane Commoner to name *Timoleon*: whose election Fortune favoured very much, and ioyned to his valiantnesse and vertues marvellous good successe in all his doings afterwards. This *Timoleon* was borne of Noble Parents both by Father and Mother: his Father was called *Timodemus*, and his Mother *Demareta*. He was naturally inclined to love his Countrey and Common-weale: and was alwaies gentle and courteous to all men, faving that he mortally hated Tyrants and wicked men: Furthermore Nature had framed his body apt for Warres and for paines: he was wise in his greenest youth, in all things he tooke in hand, and in his age he shewed himselfe very valiant. He had an elder Brother called *Timophanes*, who was nothing like to him in condition: for he was a rash haire-brained man, and had a greedy desire to raigne, being put into his head by a company of meane men, that bare him in hand they were his friends, and by certaine Souldiers gathered together, which he had alwaies about him. And because he was very hot and forward in Warres, his Citizens tooke him for a notable Captaine, and a man of good service, and therefore oftentimes they gave him charge of men. And therein *Timoleon* did helpe him much to hide the faults he committed, or at the least made them seeme lesse, and lighter then they were, still increasing that small good gift that Nature brought forth in him. As in a Battell the *CORINTHIANS* had against the *ARGIVES* and the *CLEONIANS*, *Timoleon* served as a private Souldier amongst the Footmen: and *Timophanes* his Brother, having charge of the Horsemen, was in great danger to be cast away, if present helpe had not bene. For his Horse being hurt, threw him on the ground in the midst of his Enemies: whereupon part of those that were about him, were afraid and disperised themselves here and there; and those that remained with him, being few in number, and having many Enemies to fight withall, did hardly withstand their force and charge. But his Brother *Timoleon* seeing him in such instant danger as far off, ran with all speed possible to helpe him, and clapping his Target before his Brother *Timophanes*, that lay on the ground, receiving many wounds on his body with Sword and Arrows, with great difficulty he repulsed the Enemies, and saved his owne and his Brothers life. Now the *CORINTHIANS* fearing the like matter to come that before had happened unto them, which was, to lose their City through default of their friends helpe, they resolved in Councell, to entertaine in pay continually foure hundred Souldiers that were strangers, whom they assigned over to *Timophanes* charge: who, abandoning all honesty and regard of the trust reposed in him, did presently practise all the waies he could to make himselfe Lord of the City: and having put divers of the chiefe Citizens to death without order of Law, in the end he openly proclaimed himself King *Timoleon* being very sorry for this, and thinking his Brothers wickednesse would be the very highway to his fall and destruction, sought first to winne him with all the good words and perswasions he could, to leave his ambitious desire to reigne, and to seeke to save (as neare as might be) his hard dealing with the Citizens. *Timophanes* set light by his Brothers perswasions, and would give no care unto them. Thereupon *Timoleon* then went to one *Eschilus* his friend, and Brother unto *Timophanes* Wife, and to one *Satyrus* a Soothsayer (as *Theopompus* the Historiographer calleth him, and *Ephorus* calleth him *Orthagoras*) with whom he came againe another time unto his Brother; and they three coming to him, instantly befought him to believe good counsell, and to leave the Kingdome. *Timophanes* at the first did but laugh them to scorne, and sported at their perswasions: but afterwards he waxed hot, and grew into great choler with them. *Timoleon* seeing that, went a little aside, and covering his face fell a weeping: and in the meane season, the other two drawing out their Swords, slew *Timophanes* in the place. This murder was straight blowne abroad through the City; and the better sort did greatly commend the noble minde and hate *Timoleon* bare against the Tyrant: considering that he being of a gentle nature, and loving to his Kinne, did notwithstanding regard the benefit of his Countrey, before the naturall affection of his Brother, and preferred Duty and Justice, before Nature and Kinred. For, before he had saved his Brothers life, fighting for the defence of his Countrey: and now in seeking to make himselfe King and to rule the same, he made him to be slaine. Such then as disliked popular Government and liberty, and alwaies followed the Nobility, they set a good face on the matter, as though they had bene glad of the Tyrants death: yet still reproving *Timoleon* for the horrible murder he had committed against his Brother, declaring how detestable it was both to the gods and men; they so handled him, that it grieved him to the heart he had done it.

By what voice
Timoleon came
to be Generall.

Timoleons Parentage
and manners.

Timophanes Timoleons
Brother, what he
was.

Timoleon saved
his Brothers
life.

The *Corinthians*
entertained
four hundred
strangers, and
made *Timophanes*
Capitaine
of them to
keepe their
City.
Timophanes cruelty
and usurpation
of the
Kingdome.

Timophanes
slaine by his
Brothers
procurement.

Our acts must
be honest and
constant.

Phocias say-
ing.

Aristides grave-
ly saying.

Timoleon clo-
sen General
to go into Si-
cile.

Isetes Tyrant
of Leontines
a Traytor.

A signe hap-
pened to Ti-
moleon.

Timoleon took
his rowards
Sicile.
A burning
Torch appea-
red in the
Element unto
Timoleon.

But when it was told him that his Mother tooke it marvellous ill, and that she pronounced horrible Curfes against him, and gave out terrible words of him; he went unto her in hope to comfort her: howbeit he could never abide to see him, but alwaies shut her doore against him. Then he being wounded to the heart with sorrow, tooke a conceit suddenly, to kill himselfe by abstaining from meate: but his friends would never forsake him in this despaire, and urged him so far by intreaty and perswasion, that they compelled him to eate. Thereupon he resolved thenceforth to give himselfe over to a solitary life in the Countrey, secluding himselfe from all company and dealings: so as at the beginning, he did not onely refuse to repaire unto the City, and all accesse of company, but wandering up and downe in most solitary places, consumed himselfe and his time with melancholy. And thus we see, that counsels and judgements are lightly carried away (by praise or dispraise) if they be not shored up with rule of Reason and Philosophy, and rest confounded in themselves. And therefore it is very requisite and necessary, that not onely the act be good and honest of it selfe, but that the resolution thereof be also constant, and not subject unto change: to the end we may do all things conside- rately; lest we be like unto hickorous mouthed men, who as they desire meanes with a greedy appe- tite, and after are soone weary, disliking the same: even so do we suddenly repent our actions ground- ed upon a weakie imagination, of the honesty that moved us thereunto. For repentance maketh the act naught which before was good. But determination, grounded upon certaine knowledge and truth of reason, doth never change, although the matter enterprised, have not alwayes happy successe. And therefore Phocias the ATHENIAN having resisted (as much as in him lay) certaine things which the Generall Leosthenes did, and which contrary to his minde tooke good effect: and percei- ving the ATHENIANS did open Sacrifice unto the gods, to give them thanks for the fame, and much rejoyce at the Victory they had obtained: I would have rejoyced too (said he) if I had done this: but so would I not for any thing, but I had given the counsell. And after that sort, but more sharply, did Aristides LOCRIAN (a very friend and companion of Platoes) answer Dionysius the elder, Tyrant of SYRACUSA: who asked his good will to marry one of his Daughters. I had ra- ther see my Daughter dead (said he) then married unto a Tyrant. And within a certaine time after, the Tyrant put all his Sonnes to death: and then he asked him in derision to grieve him the more, if he were still of his former opinion, for the marrying of his Daughter. I am very fory (said he) with all my heart for that which thou hast done: but yet I do not repent me of that I have said. That peradventure proceeded of a more perfect verue. But to returne againe unto Timoleon: Whether that inward sorrow stricke him to the heart for the death of his Brother Timophanes, or that shame did so abash him, as he durst not abide his Mother, twenty yeares after he did never any notable or famous act. And therefore, when he was named to be Generall of the aide that should be sent into SICILE, the People having willingly chosen and accepted of him: Teleclides, who was chiefe Go- vernour at that time in the City of CORINTH, standing upon his feete before the People, spake unto Timoleon, and did exhort him to behave himselfe like an honest man, and valiant Captaine in this charge. For, said he, if that you handle your selfe well, we will thinke you have killed a Ty- rant: but if you order your selfe otherwise then well, we will judge you have killed your Brother. Now Timoleon being busie in leavying of men, and preparing himselfe, Letters came to the CO- RINTHIANS from Isetes, whereby plainly appeared, that Isetes had carried two faces in one hoodie, and that he was become a Traytor. For he had no sooner dispatched his Ambassadors unto them, but he straight tooke the CARTHAGINIANS part, and dealt openly for them, intending to drive out Dionysius, and to make himselfe King of SYRACUSA. But fearing lest the CO- RINTHIANS would send aide before he had wrought his feate, he wrote againe unto the CO- RINTHIANS, sending them word; that they should not neede now to put themselves to any charge or dan- ger for coming into SICILE, and specially, because the CARTHAGINIANS were very angry, and did also lye in waite in the way as they should come, with a great Fleete of Shippes to meete with their Army: and that for himselfe, because he saw they tarried long, he had made league and amity with them, against the Tyrant Dionysius. When they had read his Letters, if any of the CO- RINTHIANS were before but coldly affected to this journey, choler did then so warm them against Isetes, that they frankly granted Timoleon what he would aske, and did helpe to furnish him to set him out. When the Shippes were ready rigged, and that the Souldiers were furnished of all things necessary for their departure, the Nunnes of the goddesse Proserpina, said they saw a Vision in their Dreame, and that the goddesse Ceres and Proserpina did appeare unto them, apparelled like Travellers to take a journey: and told them, that they would go with Timoleon into SICILE. Upon this Speech onely, the CORINTHIANS rigged a Galley, they called, the Galley of Ceres and Proserpina: and Ti- moleon himselfe before he would take the Seas, went into the City of DELFIS, where he made Sa- crifice unto Apollo. And as he entred into the Sanctuary where the Answers of the Oracle were made, there happened a wonderfull signe unto him. For amongst the Vowes and Offerings that are hang- ed up upon the Walls of the Sanctuary, there fell a Band directly upon Timoleons head, imbrodered all about with Crownes of Victory: so that it seemed Apollo sent him already crowned, before he had set out one foote towards the journey. He tooke Ship, and sailed with seven Gallies of CORINTH, two of CORPHUE, and ten the LEUCADIANS did set out. When he was launched out into the maine Sea, having a franke gale of winde and large, he thought in the night that the Element did open, and that out of the same there came a marvellous great bright light over his Ship; and it was much like to a Torch burning, when they shew the Ceremonies of the holy Mysteries. This Torch did ac- company and guide them all their Voyage, and in the end it vanished away, and seemed to fall downe upon

upon the Coast of ITALY, where the Ship-masters had determined to arrive. The wise mens opi- nions being asked what this might signifie, they answered: That this wonderfull sight did betoken the Dreame the Nunnes of the goddesse Ceres dreamed, and that the goddesse favouring his Jour- ney, had shewed them the way, by sending of this Light from Heaven: because that the Isle of SI- CILE is consecrated unto the goddesse Proserpina; and specially for that they report her ravishment was in that Isle, and that the whole Realme was assigned unto her for her Joynter, at the day of her Marriage. Thus did this Celestiall Signe of the gods both encourage those that went this Journey, and deliver them also assured hope, who sailed with all speede possible they could, untill such time as having crossed the Seas, they arrived upon the Coast of ITALY. But when they came thither, the newes they understood from SICILE, put Timoleon in great perplexity, and did marvellously dis- courage the Souldiers he brought with him: for Isetes having overthrowne the Battell of the Tyrant Dionysius, and possessed the greatest part of the City of SYRACUSA, he did besiege him within the Castle, and within that part of the City which is called the Isle, where he had pent him up, and in- closed him in with Walls round about. And in the meane time he had prayed the CARTHAGI- NIANS, that they would be careful to keepe Timoleon from landing in SICILE, to the end that by preventing that aide, they might easily divide SICILE betweene them, and no man to lett them. The CARTHAGINIANS following his request, sent twenty of their Gallies unto RHEGIO, amongst which Isetes Ambassadors were sent unto Timoleon, with testimony of his doings: for they were faire flattering words to cloake his wicked intent he purposed. For they willed Timoleon that he should go himselfe alone (if he thought good) unto Isetes, to counsell him, and to accom- pany him in all his doings, which were now so far on wards in good towardnesse, as he had almost ended them all. Furthermore, they did also perswade him, that he should fend backe his Shippes and Souldiers to CORINTH againe, considering that the Warre was now brought to good passe, and that the CARTHAGINIANS would in no case that his men should passe into SICILE, and that they were determined to fight with them, if they made any force to enter. So the CO- RINTHIANS at their arrivall into the City of RHEGIO, finding there these Ambassadors, and see- ing the Fleete of the CARTHAGINIANS Shippes, which did ride at Anker not farre off from them: it spited them on the one side, to see they were thus mocked and abused by Isetes. For every one of them were marvellous angry with him, and were greatly afeard also for the poore SICILI- ANS, whom too plainly they saw left a prey unto Isetes for reward of his Treason, and to the CARTHAGINIANS for recompence of the tyranny which they suffered him to establish. So, on the other side, they thought it impossible to conquer the Shippes of the CARTHAGINIANS, which did lye in waite for them, and so neare unto them, considering they were twice as many in number as they: and as hard for them to subdue the Army also that was in the hands of Isetes in SICILE, considering that they were not come to him, but onely for the maintenance of the Warres. Notwithstanding Timoleon spake very courteously unto those Ambassadors, and Captaines of the CARTHAGINIANS Shippes, letting them understand that he would do as much as they would have him: and to say truly, if he would have done otherwise, he could have wonne nothing by it. Nevertheless he desired for his discharge, they would say that openly, in the presence of the People of RHEGIO (being a City of GREECE, friend and common to both parties) which they had spoken to him in secret: and that done, he would depart incontinently, alleging that it floodie him very much upon for the safety of his discharge, and that they themselves also should more faith- fully keepe that they had promised unto him touching the SYRACUSANS, when they had agreed upon it, and promised it beforeall the People of RHEGIO, who should be witnesse of it. Now all this was but a fetch and policy delivered by him, to shadow his departure, which the Captaines and Governours of RHEGIO did favour, and seemed to helpe him in: because they wished SI- CILE should fall into the hands of the CORINTHIANS, and feared much to have the barbarous People for their Neighbours. For this cause they commanded a generall Assembly of all the People, during which time, they caused the Gates of the City to be shut: giving it out, that it was because the Citizens should not go about any other matters in the meane time. Then when all the People were assembled, they began to make long Orations without concluding any matter: the one lea- ving alwayes to the other a like matter to talke of, to the end they might winnetime, untill the Gallies of the CORINTHIANS were departed. And staying the CARTHAGINIANS also in this Assembly, they mistrusted nothing, because they saw Timoleon present: who made a coun- tenance, as though he would rise to say something. But in the meane time, some one did secretly advertise Timoleon, that the other Gallies were under Sayle and gone away, and that there was but one Galley left, which tarried for him in the Haven. Thereupon he suddenly stole away through the preafe, with the helpe of the RHEGIANS, being about the Chaire where the Ora- tions were made: and trudging quickly to the Haven, he embarked incontinently, and hoised Saile also. And when he had overtaken his Fleete, they went all safe together to land at the City of TAUROMENION, which is in SICILE: there they were very well received by Andromachus, who long time before had sent for them, for he governed this City as if he had beene Lord thereof. He was the Father of Timaeus the Historiographer, and honestest man of all those that did beare rule at that time in SICILE. For he did rule his Citizens in all Justice and Equity, and did alwayes shew himselfe an open Enemy to Tyrants. And following his affection therein, he lent his City at that time unto Timoleon, to gather People together, and perswaded his Citizens to enter into league with the CORINTHIANS, and to aide them, to deliver SICILE from bondage, and to restore

Isetes belie-
geth Dionysius.

Isetes sendeth
Ambassadors
unto Timoleon.

Timoleon creat-
eth then the
Carthaginians.

Rhegio a City
of Greece.

Timoleon land-
eth at Tau-
romenion in Si-
cile.
Andromachus
the Father of
Timaeus the
Historiogra-
pher, Gover-
nour of the
City of Tau-
romenion.

Diogenes saying to *Dionysius* the Tyrant. againe: Dost thou thinke I pity thee? nay it spitteth me rather, to see such a Slave as thou (worthy to die in the wicked state of a Tyrant like thy Father) to live in such security and idle life, as thou leadeft amongst us. When I came to compare these words of *Diogenes*, with *Philistus* words the Historiographer, bewailing the hard fortune of the Daughters of the *LEPTINES*, saying that they were brought from the top of all worldly felicity, honour and goods (whereof tyrannicall state aboundeth) unto a base, private and humble life: methinks they are the proper lamentations of a woman, that sorroweth for the losse of her Boxes of painting Colours, or for her Purple Gownes, or for other such pretty fine trims of Gold, as women use to weare. So, methinks these things I have intermingled concerning *Dionysius*, are not impertinent to the description of our Lives, neither are they troublesome or unprofitable to the hearers, unlesse they have other hasty businesse to lett or trouble them. But now if the Tyrant *Dionysius* wretched state seeme strange, *Timoleons* prosperity then was no lesse wonderfull. For within fifty dayes after he had set foote in *SICILE*, he had the Castle of *SYRACUSA* in his possession, and sent *Dionysius* as an exile to *CORINTH*. This did set the *CORINTHIANS* in such a jollity, that they sent him a supply of two thousand Footmen, and two hundred Horsemen, which were appointed to land in *ITALY*, in the Countrey of the *THURIANS*. And perceiving that they could not possibly go from thence into *SICILE*, because the *CARTHAGINIANS* kept the Seas with a great many of Ships, and that thereby they were compelled to stay for better opportunity: in the meane time they bestowed their leisure in doing a notable good act. For the *THURIANS* being in Wars at that time with the *BRUTIANS*, they did put their City into their hands, which they kept very faithfully and friendly, as it had been their owne native Countrey. *Ictes* all this while did besiege the Castle of *SYRACUSA*, preventing all he could possible, that there should come no Corne by Sea unto the *CORINTHIANS* that kept within the Castle: and he had hired two strange Souldiers, which he sent unto the City of *ADRANUS*, to kill *Timoleon* by Treason, who kept no guard about his person, and continued amongst the *ADRANITANS*, mistrusting nothing in the World, for the trust and confidence he had in the safeguard of the god of the *ADRANITANS*. These Souldiers being sent to do this murder, were by chance informed that *Timoleon* should one day do Sacrifice unto this god. So upon this, they came into the Temple, having Daggers under their Gownes, and by little and little thrust in through the prease, that they got at the length hard to the Altar. But at the present time as one encouraged another to dispatch the matter, a third person they thought not of, gave one of the two a great cut in the head with his Sword, that he fell to the ground. The man that had hurt him thus, fled straight upon it, with his Sword drawne in his hand, and recovered the top of a high Rocke. The other Souldier that came with him, and that was not hurt, got hold of a corner of the Altar, and besought pardon of *Timoleon*, and told him he would discover the Treason practised against him. *Timoleon* thereupon pardoned him. Then he told him how his Companion that was slaine, and himselfe, were both hired, and sent to kill him. In the meane time, they brought him also that had taken the Rocke, who cried out aloud, He had done no more then he should do: for he had killed him that had slaine his owne Father before, in the City of *LEONTINES*. And to iustifie this to be true, certaine that stood by did affirme it was so indeed. Whereat they wondered greatly to consider the marvellous working of Fortune, how the doct bring one thing to passe by meanes of another, and gathereth all things together, how far asunder forever they be, and linketh them together, though they seeme to be cleane contrary one to another, with no manner of likeness or conjunction betwene them, making the end of the one, to be the beginning of another. The *CORINTHIANS* examining this matter thoroughly, gave him that slew the Souldier with his Sword, a Crowne of the value of tenne Minas, because that by meanes of his just anger, he had done good service to the god that had preserved *Timoleon*. And furthermore, this good happe did not onely serve the present turne, but was to good purpose ever after. For those that saw it, were put in better hope, and had thenceforth more care and regard unto *Timoleons* person, because he was a holy man, one that loved the gods, and that was purposely sent to deliver *SICILE* from captivity. But *Ictes* having missed his first purpose, and seeing numbers daily drawne to *Timoleons* devotion, he was made with himselfe, that having so great an Army of the *CARTHAGINIANS* at hand at his commandment, he tooke but a few of them to serve his turne, as if he had beene ashamed of his fact, and had used their friendship by stealth. So he sent thereupon for *Mago* their Generall, with all his Fleete. *Mago* at his request brought an huge Army to see to, of a hundred and fifty Saile, which occupied and covered all the Haven: and afterwards landed three-score thousand men, whom he lodged every man within the City of *SYRACUSA*. Then every man imagined the time was now come, which old men had threatned *SICILE* with many yeares before, and that continually: that one day it should be conquered, and inhabited by the barbarous People. For in all the Wars the *CARTHAGINIANS* ever had before in the Countrey of *SICILE*, they could never come to take the City of *SYRACUSA*: and then through *Ictes* Treason, who had received them, they were scene encamped there. On the other side, the *CORINTHIANS* that were within the Castle, found themselves in great distresse, because their Victuals waxed scant, and the Haven was so straightly kept. Moreover, they were driven to be armed continually to defend the Walls, which the Enemies battered, and assaulted in sundry places, with all kinds of Engines of battery, and sundry sorts of devised Instruments and inventions to take Cities: by reason whereof, they were compelled also to divide themselves into many Companies. Nevertheless, *Timoleon* without, gave them all he aide he could possible: sending them Corne from *CATANA*, in little Fisher-boates and small Crayers, which got into the Castle many times, but specially in stormy and fowle weather, passing

Timoleons prosperity.

Ictes hireth two Souldiers to kill *Timoleon* at *Adranus*.

The Treason discovered to *Timoleon* by one of the Souldiers.

The wonderfull worke of Fortune.

Ictes bringeth *Mago* a Carthaginian with a great Army to *Syracusa*.

passing by the Gallies of the barbarous People, that lay flattering one from another, dispersed abroad by tempest, and great billows of the Sea. But *Mago* and *Ictes* finding this, determined to go take the City of *CATANA*, from whence those of the Castle of *SYRACUSA* were called, and taking with them the best Souldiers of all their Army, they departed from *SYRACUSA*, and sailed towards *CATANA*. Now in the meane space, *Leon* *CORINTHIAN*, Captain of all those that were within the Castle, perceiving the Enemies within the City, kept but slender Warde, made a sudden Salley out upon them, and taking them unawares, slew a great number at the first Charge, and drave away the other. So by this occasion he wanne a quarter of the City, which they call *ACRADINA*, and was the best part of the City, that had received least hurt. For the City of *SYRACUSA* seemeth to be built of many Townes joyned together. So having found there great plenty of Corne, Gold and Sillyer, he would not forsake that Quarter no more, nor returne againe into the Castle: but fortifying with all diligence the compass and precinct of the same, and joyning it unto the Castle with certaine Fortifications he built up in haste, he determined to keepe both the one and the other. Now were *Mago* and *Ictes* very neare unto *CATANA*, when a Post overtook them, purposely sent from *SYRACUSA* unto them, who brought them newes, that the *ACRADINA* was taken. Whereat they both wondered, and returned backe againe with all speede possible (having failed of their purpose they pretended) to keepe that they had yet left in their hands. Now for that matter, it is yet a question, whether we should impute it unto wisdom and valiancy, or unto good fortune: but the thing I will tell you now, in my opinion, is altogether to be ascribed unto Fortune. And this it is: The two thousand Footmen and two hundred Horsemen of the *CORINTHIANS*, that remained in the City of the *THURIANS*, partly for feare of the Gallies of the *CARTHAGINIANS*, that lay in waite for them as they should passe, *Hanno* being their Admirall: and partly also for that the Sea was very rough and high many dayes together, and was alwayes in storme and tempest: in the end, they ventured to go through the Countrey of the *BRUTIANS*, and partly with their good will (but rather by force) they got through, and recovered the City of *RHEGIO*, the Sea being marvellous high and rough. *Hanno* the Admirall of the *CARTHAGINIANS*, looking no more then for their passage, thought with himselfe that he had devised a marvellous fine policy, to deceive the Enemies. Thereupon he willed all his men to put Garlands of Flowers of Triumph upon their heads, and therewithall also made them dress up, and set forth his Gallies, with Targets, Corslets, and Brigantines, after the *GREEKES* fashion. So in this bravery he returned backe againe, saying towards *SYRACUSA*, and came in with force of Oares, rowing under the Castles side of *SYRACUSA*, with great laughing and chapping of hands, crying out aloud to them that were in the Castle, that he had overthrowne their aide which came from *CORINTH*, as they thought to passe by the Coast of *ITALY* into *SICILE*, flattering himselfe, that this did much discourage those that were besieged. But whilst he sported thus with this fond device, the two thousand *CORINTHIANS* being arrived through the Countrey of the *CRUTIANS* in the City of *RHEGIO*, perceiving the Coast cleare, and that the passage by Sea was not kept, and that the raging Seas were by miracle (as it were) made of purpose calme for them: they tooke Sea forthwith in their Fisher-boats and Passengers as they found ready, in the which they went into *SICILE*, in such good safety, as they drew their Horse (holding them by the raines) alongst their Boats with them. When they were all passed over, *Timoleon* having received them, went immediately to take *MESSINA*, and marching thence in Battell ray, rooke his way towards *SYRACUSA*, trusting better to his good Fortune, then to his force he had: for his whole number in all were not above foure thousand fighting men. Notwithstanding, *Mago* hearing of his coming, quaked for feare, and doubted the more upon this occasion. About *SYRACUSA* are certaine Marshes, that receive great quantity of sweet fresh Water, as well of Fountaines and Springs, as also of little runnings, Brookes, Lakes and Rivers, which runne that wayes toward the Sea: and therefore there are great store of Eeles in that place, and the fishing is great there at all times, but specially for such as delight to take Eeles. Whereupon the *GREEKES* that tooke pay on both sides, when they had leisure, and that all was quiet betwene them, they intended fishing. Now, they being all Countrey men, and of one Language, had no private quarrell one with another: but when time was to fight, they did their duties, and in time of peace also frequented familiarly together, and one spake with another, and specially when they were buse fishing for Eeles: saying, that they marvelled at the situation of the goodly places thereabouts, and that they stood so pleasantly and commodious upon the Sea side. So one of the Souldiers that served under the *CORINTHIANS* chanced to say unto them: Is it possible that you that be *GREEKES* by borne, and have so goodly a City of your owne, and full of so many goodly Commodities: that ye will give it up unto these barbarous People, the *CARTHAGINIANS*, and most cruell murderers of the World? where you should rather wish that there were many *SICILES* betwixt them and *GREECE*. Have ye so little consideration or judgement to thinke, that they have assembled an Army out of all *AFRIQUE*, unto *Hercules* Pillars, and to the Sea *ATLANTIQUE*, to come hither to fight to stablsh *Ictes* tyranny? who, if he had beene a wise and skilfull Captaine, would not have cast out his Ancestors and Founders, to bring into his Countrey the ancient Enemies of the same: but might have received such Honour and Authority of the *CORINTHIANS* and *Timoleon*, as he could reasonably have desired, and that with all their favour and good will. The Souldiers that heard this Tale, reported it againe in their Campe: insomuch they made *Mago* suspect there was Treason in hand, and so sought some colour to be gone. But hereupon, notwithstanding that *Ictes* prayed him all he could to tarry, declaring unto him how much they

Leon Captain of the *Corinthians* within the Castle. *Leon* wanne *Acradina*.

Contention of Fortune and valiancy.

The stratagem of *Hanno* the Admirall of the *Carthaginians*.

The order of the Carthaginian Army.

Timoleon giveth Charge upon the Carthaginians as they came over the River of Crimæus. The service of the armed Carts.

Timoleons marvellous bigge voyce.

Timoleons order and fight.

A marvellous tempest of thunder, lightning, raime, winde and haile, fell in the Carthaginians faces as they fought.

And it is but lately taken up, that they have used branches of Pine Apple-trees in the ISTMIAN Games. When *Timoleon* had thus encouraged his men, as you have heard before: he first of all tooke of this Smalage, and made himselfe a Garland, and put it on his head: and after him the Captaine of this Smalage, and made himselfe the like, and made themselves the like. The Souldiers in like manner at the very same time, perceived two Eagles flying towards them: the one of them holding a Snake in her talens, which she pierced through and through, and the other as she flew, gave a terrible cry. So they shewed them both unto the Souldiers, who did then all together with one voyce call upon the gods for helpe. Now this fortun'd about the beginning of Sommer, and towards the latter end of May, the Sunne drawing towards the solstice of Sommer: when there arose a great mist out of the River, that covered all the Fields over, so as they could not see the Enemies Campe, but onely heard a marvellous confused noise of mens voyces, as it had come from a great Army: and rising up to the top of the hill, they laid their Targets downe on the ground to take a little breath: and the Sunne having drawne and sucked up all the moist vapours of the mist unto the top of the hills, the aire began to be so thicke, that the tops of the mountaines were all covered over with clouds: and contrarily, the Valley underneath was all cleare and faire, that they might easily see the River of CRIMÆUS, and the Enemies also, how they passed it over in this fort. First, they had put their Carts of Warre foremost, which were very hotly armed and well appointed. Next unto them there followed ten thousand Footmen, armed with white Targets upon their armes: whom they seeing afar off so well appointed, they conjectured by their stately march and goodly order, that they were the CARTHAGINIANS themselves. After them, divers other Nations followed confusedly one with another, and so they thronged over with great disorder. There *Timoleon* considering the River gave him opportunity to take them before they were halfe past over, and to set upon what number he would: after he had shewed his men with his finger, how the Battell of their Enemies was divided in two parts by meanes of the River, some of them being already passed over, and the other to passe: he commanded *Demaratus* with his Horsemen to give a Charge on the Voward, to keepe them from putting themselves in order of Battell. And himselfe coming downe the hill also with all his Footmen into the Valley, he gave to the SICILIANS the two Wings of his Battell, mingling with them some strangers that served under him: and placed with himselfe in the midst, the SYRACUSANS with all the choice and best liked strangers. So he tarried not long to joyne, when he saw the small good his Horsemen did. For he perceived they could not come to give a lusty Charge upon the Battell of the CARTHAGINIANS, because they were paled in with these armed Carts, that ran here and there before them: whereupon they were compelled to wheele about continually (unless they would have put themselves in danger to have beene utterly overthrowne) and in their returns to give vent of charge, by turnes on their Enemies. Wherefore *Timoleon* taking his Target on his arme, cried out aloud to his Footmen, to follow him courageously, and to feare nothing. Those that heard his voyce, thought it more then the voyce of a man, whether the fury of his desire to fight did so fraine it beyond ordinary course, or that some god (as many thought it then) did stretch his voyce to cry out so loud and sensibly. His Souldiers answered him with the like voyce: and prayed him to lead them without longer delay. Then he made his Horsemen understand, that they should draw on the one side from the Carts, and that they should charge the CARTHAGINIANS on the Flankes: and after he did set the foremost ranke of his Battell, Target to Target against the Enemies, commanding the Trumpets withall to sound. Thus with great fury he went to give a Charge upon them, who valiantly received the first Charge, their bodies being armed with good iron Corselets, and their heads with faire Murrions of Copper, besides the great Targets they had also, which did easily receive the force of their Darts, and the thrust of the Pike. But when they came to handle their Swords, where agility was more requisite then force: a fearfull tempest of thunder, and flashing lightning withall, came from the Mountaines. After that came darke thicke clouds also (gathered together from the top of the Hills) and fell upon the Valley where the Battell was fought, with a marvellous extreme shower of raime, fierce violent windes, and haile withall. All this Tempest was upon the GÆCIANS backs, and full before the barbarous People, beating on their faces, and did blindfold their eyes, and continually tormented them with the raime that came full upon them with the winde, and the lightnings so oft flashing amongst them, that one understood not another of them. Which did marvellously trouble them, and specially those that were but fresh-water Souldiers, by reason of the terrible thunder-claps, and the noise the boisterous winde and haile made upon their Harnesse: for that made them they could not heare the order of their Captaines. Moreover, the dirt did as much annoy the CARTHAGINIANS, because they were not nimble in their Armour, but heavily armed, as we have told you: and besides that also, when the plaies of their Coates were through wet with water, they did loade and hinder them so much the more, that they could not fight with any ease. This stode the GÆCIANS to great purpose, to throw them downe the easier. Thus when they were tumbling in the dirt with their heave Armour, up they could rise no more. Furthermore, the River of CRIMÆUS being risen high through the great rage of waters, and also for the multitude of People that passed over it, did overflow the Valley all about: which being full of Ditches, many Caves, and hollow places, it was straight all drowned over, and filled with many running streams, that ranne overthwart the Field, without any certaine channell. The CARTHAGINIANS being compassed all about with these waters, they could hardly get the way out of it. So as in the end they being overcome with the storme that still did beate upon them, and the GÆCIANS having slaine of their men at the first onset, to the number of foure hundred of their choicest men, who

who made the first front of their battell: all the rest of their Army turned their backs immediately and fled for life. Inasmuch as some of them being followed very neere, were put to the sword in the midst of the Valley: other, holding one another hard by the armes together, in the midst of the River as they passed over, were carried downe the streame and drowned with the swiftnesse and violence of the River. But the greatest number thinking by footmanhip to recover the hills thereabouts, were overtaken by them that were light armed, and put to the sword every man. They say, that of ten thousand which were slaine in this Battell, three thousand of them were naturall Citizens of CARTHAGE, which was a very sorrowfull and grievous losse to the City: for they were of the noblest, the richest, the lustiest and valiantest men of all CARTHAGE. For there is no Chronicle that mentioneth any former Warres at any time before, where there died so many of CARTHAGE at one Field and Battell, as were slaine at that present time. For before that time, they did alwayes entertaine the FYBIANS, the SPANIARDS, and the NOMADES in all their Warres: so as when they lost any Battell, the losse lighted not on them, but the strangers paid for it. The men of account also that were slaine, were easily knowne by their spoiles. For they that spoiled them, stood not trifling about getting of Copper and Iron together, because they found Gold and Silver enough. For the Battell being won, the GÆCIANS passed over the River, and tooke the Campe of the barbarous people, with all their carriages and baggage. And as for the Prisoners, the Souldiers stole many of them away, and sent them going: but of them that came to light in the common divison of the spoile, they were about five thousand men, and two hundred Carts of Warre that were taken besides. Oh, it was a noble sight to behold the Tent of *Timoleon* the Generall, how they environed it all about with heapes of spoiles of every sort: among which there were a thousand brave Corselets guilt and graven with marvellous curious workes, and they brought thither with them also ten thousand Targets. So the Conquerours being but a small number, to take the spoile of a multitude that were slaine, they filled their Purfes even to the top. Yet were they three dayes about it, and in the end, the third day after the Battell, they set up a marke or token of their Victory. Then *Timoleon* sent unto CORINTH, with the newes of this overthrow, the fairest Armour that were gotten in the spoile: because he would make his Countrey and native City spoken of and commended through the world, above all the other Cities of GRECE. For that at CORINTH onely, their chiefe Temples were set forth and adorned, not with spoiles of the GÆCIANS, nor Offerings gotten by spilling the blood of their owne Nation and Countrey (which to say truly, are unpleasant memories,) but with the spoiles taken from the barbarous people their Enemies, with inscriptions witnessing the valencie and justice of those also, who by Victory had obtained them. That is to wit, that the CORINTHIANS and their Captaine *Timoleon* (having delivered the GÆCIANS dwelling in SICILE, from the bondage of the CARTHAGINIANS) had given those Offerings unto the gods, to give thanks for their Victory. That done, *Timoleon* leaving the strangers he had in pay, in their Countrey subject to the CARTHAGINIANS, to spoile and destroy it, he returned with the rest of his Army unto SYRACUSA: where at his first coming home, he banished the thousand Souldiers that had forsaken him in his journey, with expresse charge that they should depart the City before Sun set. So these thousand cowardly and mutinous Souldiers passed over into ITALY, where, under promise of the contrary, they were all unfortunately slaine by the BRUTIANS: such was the justice of the gods to pay the iust reward of their Treason. Afterwards, *Mamercus* the Tyrant of CATANA, and *Ictes* (whether it was for the envy they did beare to *Timoleons* famous deedes, or for that they were afraid of him) perceiving Tyrants could looke for no peace at his hands: they made league with the CARTHAGINIANS, and wrote unto them that they should send another Army and Captaine suddenly, if they would not utterly be driven out of SICILE. The CARTHAGINIANS sent *Gisco* thither with three score and ten saile, who at his first coming tooke a certaine number of GÆCIAN Souldiers into pay, which were the first the CARTHAGINIANS ever retained in their service, for they never gave them pay until that present time, when they thought them to be men invincible, and the best Souldiers of the world. Moreover the inhabitants of the territory of MESSINA, having made a secret conspiracy among themselves, did slay foure hundred men that *Timoleon* had sent unto them: and in the territories subject unto the CARTHAGINIANS, neare unto the place they called HERES, there was another ambush laid for *Enthimus* LEUCADIAN, so as himselfe and all his Souldiers were cut in pieces. Howbeit the losse of them made *Timoleons* doings notwithstanding more fortunate: for they were even those that had forcibly entred the Temple of *Apollo* in the City of DELPHES, with *Philodemus* the PHOCIAN and with *Onomarchus*, who were partakers of their sacrilege. Moreover, they were loose people and abjects, that were abhorred of every body, who vagabondlike wandred up and downe the Countrey of PELOPONNESUS, when *Timoleon* for lack of other was glad to take them up. And when they came into SICILE, they alwayes overcame in all Battels they fought, whilst they were in his company. But in the end, when the fury of Warres was pacified, *Timoleon* sending them about some speciall service to the aide of some of his, they were call away every man of them: and not all together, but at divers times. So as it seemed that Gods justice, in favour of *Timoleon*, did separate them from the rest, when he was determined to plague them for their wicked deserts, fearing lest good men should suffer hurt by punishing of the evil. And so was the grace and good will of the gods wonderfull towards *Timoleon*, not onely in matters against him, but in those things that prospered well with him. Notwithstanding, the common people of SYRACUSA tooke the jesting words and writings of the Tyrants against them, in marvellous evil part. For *Mamercus* amongst other, thinking well of himselfe, because he could make Verses and Tragedies,

Timoleons Victory of the Carthaginians

Timoleon banished the thousand traitorous Souldiers out of Sicile.

Gisco sent from Carthage with 70 saile into Sicile.

Messina riseth against *Timoleon*.

*With Bucklers pot-hid like, which of no value were,
 We have these greatly Targets won, so richly trimmed here,
 And gorgeously with gold, and eke with Ivorie,
 With purple colours finely wrought, and deckt with Ebonie.*

*Timoleons de-
vice to draw
Lots to pacifie
the strife.*

Timolcon taketh **Isctes**, and **Eupolemus** his Son alive, and did put them to death.

**Ictes Wives
and Children
put to death.**

The cruelty of
Ietes towards
Dion and his
Mamercus over-
come in battell
Abolus fl.
Timolcon ma-
keth peace
with the Car-
thaginians.
Lycus fl.

Catana yielded
up unto Time-
leon.
Happen the Ty-
rant of Messina

Hippen put to
death.

The Women of Corinth Were come out of their Countrey.

Thus we see, that men doe rather suffer hurt, then put up injurious words; and do pardon their Enemies, though they revenge by deedes, becaufe they can doe no lesse. But as for injurious words they seeme to proceede of a deadly hate, and of a cankred malice. Furthermore, when *Timoleon* was returned againe to SYRACUSA, the SYRACUSANS arraigned the Wives of *Iceetes*, and his Sonne, and their Daughters: who being arraigned, were also condemned to die by the judgement of the people. Of all the acts *Timoleon* did, this of all other (in my opinion) was the foulest deede: for if he had lifted, he might have saved the poore Women from death. But he pafsed not for them, and so left them to the wrath of the Citizens, who would be revenged of them, for the injuries that were done to *Dion*, after he had driven out the Tyrant *Dionysius*. For it was *Iceetes* that caused *Arate*, the Wife of *Dion*, to be cast into the Sea, his Sister *Arifismache*, and his Sonne that was yet a sucking childe, as we have written in another place in the Life of *Dion*. That done, he went to CATANA against *Mamercus*, who tarried for him by the River ABOLUS, where *Mamercus* was overthrowne in Battell, and above two thousand men slaine, the greatest part whereof were the CARTHAGINIANS, whom *Gisco* had sent for his reliefe. Afterwards he granted Peace to the CARTHAGINIANS, upon earnest suite made to him, with condition, that they should keepe on the other side of the River of LYCUS, and that it should be lawfull for any of the inhabitants there that would, to come and dwell in the territory of the SYRACUSANS, and to bring away with them their goods, their Wives and Children: and furthermore, that from thenceforth the CARTHAGINIANS should renounce all League, confederacy and alliance with the Tyrants. Whereupon *Mamercus* having no hope of good successe in his doings, he would goe into ITALY, to stirre up the LUCANIANS against *Timoleon* and the SYRACUSANS. But they that were in his company, returned back againe with their Gallies in the mid way: and when they were returned into SICILE, they delivered up the City of CATANA into the hands of *Timoleon*, so as *Mamercus* was constrained to save himselfe, and to flee into MESSINA, to *Hippion* the Tyrant thereof. But *Timoleon* followed him, and besieged the City both by sea and by land. Whereat *Hippion* quaked for feare, and thought to flee by taking of ship, but he was taken starting. And the MESSINIANS having him in their hands, made all the Children come from the Schoole to the Theater, to see one of the goodliest fights that they could devise: to wit, to see the Tyrant punished, who was openly whipped, and afterwards put to death. Now for *Mamercus*, he did yeeld himselfe unto *Timoleon*, to be judged by the SYRACUSANS, so that *Timoleon* might not be his accuser. So he was brought unto SYRACUSA, where he attempted to make an Oration to the People, which he had premeditated long before. But seeing that the People cried out and made a great noise, becaufe they would not heare him, and that there was no likelihood they would pardon

Msmereus the
Tyrant put to
death.

Timoleon quie-
teth all *Sicily*.

*Timoleon compared with the
famous men in Greece.*

Oh mighty gods of heaven, What Venus stately dame,
Or Cupid, (God) have thus yput, their hands unto this same?

And like as *Antimachus* verses, and *Dionysius* painting, both *COLOPHONIANS*, are full of finewes and strength, and yet at this present we see they are things greatly laboured and made with much paine: and that contrariwise in *Nichomachus* tables, and *Homers* verses, besides the passing workmanship and singular grace in them, a man findeth at the first sight, that they were easily made, and without great paine. Even so in like manner, whosoever will compare the painful bloudy Warres and Battels of *Epinionidas* and *Ageliasus*, with the Warres of *Timoleon*, in the which besides equity and iustice, there is also great ease and quietnesse: he shall finde, weighing things indifferently, that they have not beene Fortunes doings simply, but that they came of a most noble and fortunate courage. Yet he himselfe doth wisely impute it unto his good hap and favourable fortune. For in his Letters he wrote unto his familiar friends at *CORINTH*, and in some other Orations he made to the people of *SYRACUSA*, he spake it many times, that he thanked the almighty gods, that it had pleased them to save and deliver *SICILE* from bondage by his meanes and service, and to give him the honour and dignity of the name. And having builded a Temple in his house, he dedicated it unto Fortune, and furthermore did consecrate his whole house unto her. For he dwelt in a house the *SYRACUSANS* kept for him, and gave him in recompence of the good service he had done them in the Warres, with a marvellous faire pleasant house in the Countrey also, where he kept most when he was at leisure. For he never after returned unto *CORINTH* againe, but sent for his Wife and Children to come thither, and never dealt afterwards with those troubles that fell out amongst the *GRECIANS*, neither did make himselfe to be envied of the Citizens (a mischief that most Governours and Capitaines doe fall into through their unstable desire of honour and authority) but lived all the rest of his life after in *SICILE*, rejoicing for the great good he had done, and specially to see so many Cities and thousands of people happy by his meanes. But because it is an ordinary matter, and of necessity (as *Simonides* saith,) that not onely all Larkes have a tuft upon their heads, but also that in all Cities there are accusers, where the people rule: there were two of those at *SYRACUSA*, that continually made Orations to the people, who did accuse *Timoleon*, the one called *Laphysius*, and the other *Demanetus*. So this *Laphysius* appointing *Timoleon* a certaine day to come and answer to his accusation before the people, thinking to convince him: the Citizens began to mutinie, and would not in any case suffer the day of adjournment to take place. But *Timoleon* did pacifie them, declaring unto them that he had taken all the extreme paines and labour he had done, and had passed so many dangers, because every Citizen and inhabitant of *SYRACUSA*, might frankly use the liberty of their Laws. And another time *Demanetus*, in open assembly of the people, reproving many things *Timoleon* did when he was Generall: *Timoleon* answered never a word, but onely said unto the people, that he thanked the gods they had granted him the thing he had so requested of them in his prayers, which was, that he might once see the *SYRACUSANS* have full power and liberty to say what they would. Now *Timoleon* in all mens opinion, had done the noblest acts that ever *GRECIAN* Captain did in his time, and had alone deserved the fame and glory of all the noble exploits, which the Rhetoricians with all their eloquent Orations perwaded the *GRECIANS* unto, in the open assemblies, and common

le *Timoleon* attri-
bureth his
gco. l. successe
unto Fortune.

and Timoleon dwell-
eth still with
the *Syracusans*.

) *Simonides* say-
ing.

re Timoleons ac-
cusers.

W Timolcons great
e praise.

Feasts and Playes of GREECE, out of the which Fortune delivered him safe and sound before the trouble of the civill Warres, that followed soone after: and moreover he made a great proofe of his valiancy and knowledge in Warres, against the barbarous people and Tyrants, and had shewed himselfe also a just and mercifull man unto all his friends, and generally to all the GRECIANS. And furthermore, seeing he won the most part of all his Victories and Triumphs, without the shedding of any one teare of his men, or that any of them mourned by his meanes, and also rid all SICILE of all the miseries and calamities reigning at that time, in lesse then eight yeares space: he being now grown old, his sight first beginning a little to faile him, shortly after he lost it altogether. This hapned, not through any cause or occasion of sicknesse that came unto him, nor that Fortune had casually done him this injury: but it was in my opinion, a discafe inheritable to him by his Parents, which by time came to lay hold on him also. For the voice went, that many of his kin in like case had also lost their sight, which by little and little with age, was cleane taken from them. Howbeit *Athanas* the Historiographer writeth, that during the Warres he had against *Mamercus* and *Hippus*, as he was in his Campe at MYTILES, there came a white spot in his eyes, that dimmed his sight somewhat: so that every man perceived that he should lose his sight altogether. Notwithstanding that, he did not raise his siege, but continued his enterprife, untill he tooke both the Tyrants at last: and so soone as he returned to SYRACUSA againe, he did put himselfe out of his office of Generall, praying the Citizens to accept that he had already done, the rather because things were brought to so good passe, as they themselves could desire. Now, that he patiently tooke this misfortune to be blinde altogether, peradventure men may somewhat marvel at it: but this much more is to be wondred at, that the SYRACUSANS after he was blinde, did so much honour him, and acknowledge the good he had done them, that they went themselves to visit him oft, and brought strangers (that were travellers) to his house in the City, and also in the Countrey, to make them see their benefactor, rejoicing and thinking themselves happy, that he had chosen to end his life with them, and that for this cause he had despised the glorious returne that was prepared for him in GREECE, for the great and happy victories he had won in SICILE. But amongst many other things the SYRACUSANS did, and ordained to honour him with, this of all other me thinketh was the chiefe: that they made a perpetuall Law, so oft as they should have Warres against forreigne people, and not against their own Countrymen, that they should chuse a CORINTHIAN for their Generall. It was a goodly thing also to see how they did honour him in the assemblies of their Council. For if any trifling matter fell in question among them, they dispatched it of themselves: but if it were a thing that required great counsell and advice, they caused *Timoleon* to be sent for. So he was brought through the Market-place in his Litter, into the Theater, where all the assembly of the people was, and carried in even so in his Litter as he fate; and then the people did all salute him with one voice, and he them in like case. And after he had paused a while, to heare the praises and blessings the whole assembly gave him; they did propound the matter doubtfull to him, and he delivered his opinion upon the same: which being passed by the voices of the people, his servants carried him backe againe in his Litter through the Theater, and the Citizens did waite on him a little way with cries of joy, and clapping of hands: and that done, they did repaire to dispatch common causes by themselves, as they did before. So his old age being thus entertained with such honour, and with the love and good will of every man, as of a common Father to them all: in the end a sicknesse tooke him by the backe, whereof he died. So the SYRACUSANS had a certaine time appointed them to prepare for his Funerals, and their neighbours also thereabouts to come unto it. By reason whereof his Funerall was so much more honourably performed in all things, and specially for that the people, appointed the noblest young Gentlemen of the City to carry his Coffin upon their shoulders, richly furnished and set forth, whereon his body lay, and so did convey him through the place, where the Palace and Castle of the Tyrant *Dionysius* had beene, which then was razed to the ground. There accompanied his body also many thousands of people, all crowned with garlands of flowers, and apparelled in their best apparell; so as it seemed it had beene the procession of some solemne Feast, and all their words were praising and blessings of the dead, with teares running downe their cheekes, which was a good testimony of the entire good will and love they did beare him, and that they did not this as men that were glad to be discharged of the honour they did him, neither for that it was so ordained: but for the just sorrow and griefe they tooke for his death, and for very hearty good love they did beare him. And lastly, the Coffin being put upon the stack of wood where it should be burnt, *Demetrius* one of the Heralds that had the lowdest voice, proclaimed the Decree that was ordained by the people, the effect whereof was this: The people of SYRACUSA hath ordained, that this present body of *Timoleon* CORINTHIAN, the Sonne of *Timodemus*, should be buried at the charges of the Common-weale, unto the summe of two hundred Minas, and hath honoured his memory with Playes and games of Musick, with running of Horses, and with other exercises of the body, which shall be celebrated yearly on the day of his death for evermore: and this, because he did drive the Tyrants out of SICILE, for that he overcame the barbarous people, and because he replenished many great Cities with inhabitants againe which the Warres had left desolate and uninhabited; and lastly, for that he had restored the SICILIANS againe to their liberty, and to live after their owne Laws. And afterwards, his Tombe was built in the Market-place, about the which a certaine time after, they builded certaine Cloisters and Galleries to exercise the youth in, with exercise of their bodies; and the place so walled in, was called *Timoleonium*: and so long as they did observe the Lawes and civill policy he stablished amongst them, they lived long time in great and continuall prosperity.

The end of Timoleons Life.

THE

THE COMPARISON OF PAULUS ÆMYLIUS with TIMOLEON.



With these two men were such as the Historiographers have described them to be: it is certaine, that comparing one with the other, we shall finde no great oddes or difference betweene them. For first of all, the Warres they made, have beene against great and famous Enemies: the one against the MACEDONIANS, and the other against the CARTHAGINIANS, and both their Victories very notable. For the one of them conquered the Realme of MACEDON, which he tooke from the seventh King that reigned by succession from the Father to the Sonne, since the time of the great *Antigonus*: and the other drove all the Tyrants out of SICILE, and restored the whole Ile and Cities therein, unto their former liberty. Unlesse some will alledge perhaps that there was this difference betweene them, that *Æmylius* fought against King *Persius*, when he had all his power whole and entire, and had fought with the ROMANES many times before, and had the better of them in all conflicts: where *Timoleon* set upon *Dionysius*, when he was in greatest despaire, and in manner utterly cast away. On the contrary side, it may be objected for *Timoleon*, that he overcame many Tyrants, and a mighty great Army of the CARTHAGINIANS, with a very small number of men, and yet men of all sorts: not as *Æmylius* with a great Army of well trained and expert Souldiers in warres, but with men gathered together at adventure of all sorts, being mercenary hirelings, and men fighting for pay, loose people, and unruly in warres, that would doe but what they listed. For where the goodly deeds are like, and the meanes unequal; there we must confesse that the praise is due unto the Generall. Both the one and the other kept their hands cleane from corruption, in the charge which they tooke upon them. But it seemeth that *Æmylius* came so fashioned and prepared, by the good civil Law, and morall discipline of his Countrey: and that *Timoleon* came rawly thither, and afterwards fashioned himselfe to be that he was. And this is to be proved: for that all the ROMANES in that time were so civilly brought up, and exceeded all other in straight keeping the Lawes of their Countrey. Where to the contrary, there was not one of the Captaines of the GRECIANS that camethen, or were sent into SICILE, but fell straight to corruption, when he had put his foote into SICILE, *Dion* onely excepted: and yet they had a certaine suspicion of him, that he aspired to the Kingdome, and imagined in his head to stablish a certaine Empire at SYRACUSA, like unto that of LACEDÆMON. *Timoleon* the Historiographer writeth, that the SYRACUSANS sent *Gilippus* with shame backe againe into his Countrey, for his unsatiable greedy covetousnesse, and for his great thefts and bribes taken in his charge. Divers other have also written the great treasons and fallshoods *Pharax* SPARTAN, and *Calippus* ATHENIAN did commit, both of them seeking to make themselves Lords of SYRACUSA, and yet what men are they, and what meanes had they to have such a foolish vaine hope and fancie in their heads? considering that the one did follow and serve *Dionysius*, after he was driven out of SYRACUSA: and the other also, was but a private Captaine of a band of Footmen, of those that came with *Dion*. *Timoleon* in contrary manner was sent to be Generall of the SYRACUSANS, upon their great instance and suite. And he having no neede to seeke or hunt after it, but onely to keepe the power and authority they did willingly put into his hands: so soone as he had destroyed and overthrowne all such as would unjustly usurpe the Government, he did immediatly of his owne good will, frankly resigne up his Office and charge. And sure, so is this a notable thing to be commended, and esteemed in *Paulus Æmylius*: who having conquered so great and rich a Realme, he never increased his goods the value of one farthing, neither did see nor handle any Money at all, although he was very liberal, and gave largely unto others. I meane not in speaking this to appraide or detect *Timoleon*, for that he accepted a faire House the SYRACUSANS gave him in the City, and a goodly Mannor also in the Countrey: for

The comparison of *Timoleon* and *Paulus Æmylius* for the Warres.

The wonderfull continency of *Æmylius* from bribes.

Not to take Gifts, commended for a singular vertue.

Emilius constancy farre exceedeth *Timoleon*.

for in such cases there is no dishonesty in receiving, but yet it is greater honesty to refuse then to take. But that vertue is most rare and singular, where we see they will receive nor take nothing, though they have justly deserved it. And if it be so, that the body is stronger and better compounded, which best abideth change of parching heat, and nipping cold: and that the minde is much more stronger and stable, that swelleth not up with pride or prosperity, nor droopeth for sorrow in adversity. Then it appeareth that *Emilius* vertue was so much more perfect, in that he shewed himselfe of no lesse grave and constant a minde, in the patience he endured for his losse and sorrow hapened unto him, (losing at one time in manner both his children) then he had done before, in all his Brother, could with no reason suppress the griefe and sorrow he felt: but overcome with bitter griefe and repentance, continued the space of twenty yeares together, and never durst once shew his face againe in the Market-place, nor deale any more in matters of the Common-wealth. Truly, for a man to beware to doe evill, and to shun from evill, it is a very good and comely thing: so also to be sorry, and afraid of every reproach, and ill opinion of the world, it sheweth a simplicitie of nature, and a good and well disposed minde, but no manly courage.

THE LIFE OF PELOPIDAS.



Ann. Mund.
3580.

Ant. Christ.
368.

To be too bold and venturous is not good.



The answer of a Souldier to King *Antigonus*. Divers opinions of life and death.

CATO the elder, answered certaine on a time, that marvellously commended a bold, a venturous, and desperate man for the Warres: That there was great oddes, to esteeme manhood so much, and life so little. And surely it was wisely spoken of him. The report goeth, that King *Antigonus* gave pay to a Souldier among other, that was very hardy and venturous, but he had a naughty sickly body. The King asked him one day, What he ayled to be so pale and evill coloured? The Souldier told him, he had a secret Disease upon him, that he might not tell him with reverence. The King hearing him say so, commanded his Physicians and Surgeons to looke to him, and if he were curable, that they should heale him with all possible speede: and so they did. After the Souldier had his health againe, he would venture no more so desperately in the Warres, as he did before. Insomuch as King *Antigonus* selfe perceiving his slacknesse in drawing backe, rebuked him, and said unto him: That he wondred to see so great a change and alteration in him. The Souldier never shrinking at the matter, told him the truth plainly: Your selfe, and it please your Majesty, is cause of my cowardinesse now, by healing of my Disease, that made my life loathsome to me. Much like were a SYBARITANS words, touching the life and manner of the LACEDÆMONIANS: That it was no marvell they had such a desire to die in the Warres, seeing they did it to rid themselves of their troubles, and most miserable and straight life. But we must not wonder though the SYBARITANS, being womanish men, altogether given to pleasure, did so thinke: that those men hated their lives, who feared not death, for the desire they had

had to doe good, and good will they had to doe their duty. Which was contrary in the LACEDÆMONIANS: for they were of opinion, that to live and die willingly, was a vertue: as these funeral Verbes doe witness:

*The dead which here doe rest, did not in life esteeme,
That life or death were (of themselves) or good or bad to deeme,
But even as life did end, or death was brought to passe,
So life or death, was good or bad: this their opinion was.*

And indeed to flie death is no shame, so it proceed not of a cowardly heart: neither to desire death is commendable, if it be with hate and contempt of life. This is the reason why *Homer* saith, the valiantest men are ever best armed, when they come to battell. The Law-makers among the GREECIANS, doe ever punish him that casts away his Target, but never him that casteth away his Sword, or Lance. For every man must first thinke to defend himselfe, before he seeke to hurt his Enemy, and specially such as have the whole state of a Realme in their hands, and be Generals of the field. For if the comparison be true, that *Iphicrates* the ATHENIAN Captaine made, that in an Army of men, the Light-horsemen resemble the hands, the men of Armes the feete, the battell of footmen the stomach and brest, the Captaine, the head of a mans body: it seemeth then that the venturous Captaine putting himselfe in danger without cause, is not onely carelesse of his owne life, but also of all theirs whose lives depend upon his safety. And contrarily, he being careful of his owne person, cannot but be careful of his Souldiers that serve under him. Therefore *Callicratidas* a LACEDÆMONIAN Captaine, and a worthy man otherwise, did unwisely answer a Soothsayer that bad him take heed to himselfe; for the signes and tokens of the Sacrifices did threaten his death. *SPARTA*, said he, standeth not upon one man alone. It is true, that to fight by Sea or by Land, man for man, *Callicratidas* was but one man of himselfe: but as Captaine or Lieutenant General, he had the whole power and force of the Army in his person: For he was not a man alone, when so many mens lives were lost with him. Now old *Antigonus* was of a contrary minde: for he being ready to give battell by Sea, about the Isle of *ANDROS*, made a better answer to one that said unto him; his Enemies had more Shippes then himselfe. For how many Shippes then dost thou reckon, my selfe, said he? Therein he did wisely to make great account of the worthinesse of a Generall, specially when it is joyned with hardnesse and experience: For the chieffest point of service, is to save him that saveth all other. For when *Chares* on a time shewed the ATHENIANS openly, the sundry wounds and cuts he had received upon his body, and his Target also thrust through with many Pikes: *Timotheus* straight said unto him: *Chares*, I am not of thy minde. For when I did besiege the City of *SAMOS*, I was ashamed to see a Dart throwne from the walles, light hard by me, for that I shewed my selfe a rash young man, and more venturous then became a Generall of so great an Army. For when it standeth much upon the whole Army, and that it is necessary the Generall thereof doe put himselfe in danger: then he should put himselfe forward, and occupy both hands and body without respect, not regarding their words that say, A good and wise Captaine should die for age, or at the least, old. But where there is a small honour to be wonne by very good successe, and contrariwise much losse and destruction by great misfortune: no man of wisdom or judgement would with a Generall to fight as a private Souldier, to hazard the losse of a Generall. I thought good therefore to make this Preface before the Lives of *Pelopidas* and of *Marcellus*, both which were worthy men, and died otherwise then they should. For they were both valiant Souldiers in the field, and did both of them honour their Countrey with famous Victories, and specially against great and dreadfull Enemies. For the one was the first (as they say) that overthrew *Hannibal*, who was never overcome by any before. And the other also overcame the LACEDÆMONIANS in battell, that ruled all GREECE at that time both by Sea and by Land. Yet they both carelessly lost their lives, by venturing too boldly, when their Countrey stood in greatest need of such men and Captaines as they were. This is the cause why we following the resemblance that was betwene them, have compared their Lives together. *Pelopidas*, the Sonne of *Hippoclus*, came of one of the noblest houses of the City of *THEBES*, as *Epaminondas* did. He being brought up in great wealth, his Father left him Heir of all his Lands and Goods, being but a young man. So he straight shewed himselfe willing to doe good, with his Money, to those that needed helpe, and were worthy: to let the world see, that his Money was not his Master. For as *Aristotle* saith of these rich men, the most part of them doe not use their Goods for extreme covetousnesse: other againe doe abuse them, as being given to overmuch pleasures. So rich men become slaves all their life time, some to pleasure, other to profit. Now, all *Pelopidas* other friends would be beholding to him, and take very thankfully his courtesie and liberality towards them: but *Epaminondas* could never be brought to take any thing at his hands. Howbeit *Pelopidas* selfe followed *Epaminondas* manner: for he took a pride and pleasure to go simply apparelled, to fare meanely, to labour willingly, and to make Warres openly as he did. He was even such another, as *Euripides* the Poet described *Capaneus* to be, when he said of him:

*He rich and wealthy was, yet was he therewithall
No night that purchas'd worldly hate, nor insolent at all.*

For he would have been ashamed, that the poorest man of the City of *THEBES*, should have worne meaner apparell upon his backe then himselfe. As for *Epaminondas*, his poverty was not dainty to him, because his Parents were ever poore, and yet for all that he passed it over more easily by study of Philosophy, which he gave himselfe unto, and for that from his youth he liked to leade a

Why the GREECIANS do punish him that casteth away his Target.

Iphicrates comparison of an Army of men.

A Lieutenant of an Army must be careful to save himselfe.

Timotheus saying.

Pelopidas and *Marcellus* lost both their lives by too much venturing. *Pelopidas* stock and liberality.

Aristotle saying of rich men.

Spare

Pelopidas com-
meth unto
Thebes disgui-
fed in clownes
apparell.

Philidas Secre-
tary to the
Tyrants.

Pelopidas dan-
ger.

brake out to foule words, and lastly his Wife fell a cursing of him, and prayed the gods he might have ill lucke in his journey, and those that sent him. *Chlidon* having spent the most part of the day chiding and brawling with his Wife about the Bridle, and furthermore misliking the tokens of his Wives cursing and banning of him: he determined not to go afoote out of the doores on that errand, and so went about some other businesse. Thus had this noble enterprife in manner beene altogether dashed before it was fully begun. Now those that were in *Pelopidas* company, changed apparell with the countrey men, because they would not be knowne, and did devide themselves for that they would not come into the City all together, but at divers gates, being day light. At that time it was a marvellous winde and great snow, and the weather was so boisterous, that every man got him within doores: which fell out happily for the conspirators, that they were not knowne when they came into the City. So their friends and confederates within the City, received them as they came, and brought them to *Charons* house; where were assembled together, with those that were banished, eight and forty persons onely. Now for the Tyrants, thus stood the matter with them. *Philidas* their Secretary was of the conspiracy, as we have told you before, and he knew all the practise. Wherefore he had long before solemnly bidden *Archias* and his company, to supper to his house, that very night, to be merry together, and had promised to entertaine them with Women to accompany them withall: of purpose, that when they had in their full cups, and were in the midst of all their pleasure, the conspirators might then use them as they would. So they being set at table, before they were sped of their cups, one came to them, and told them truly of the Treason (not the particularities, neither as a thing certaine, but of a rumour onely that ran abroad in the Towne: that the banished men were hidden in *Charons* house. *Philidas* would have passed the matter over. Howbeit *Archias* would needs send one of his Guard straight for *Charon*, to command him to come to him presently. It was within night, and *Pelopidas* and his company prepared themselves to worke their feate, being armed every man, and their Swords in their hands, when upon a sodaine they heard one knocke at the gate. And one of the house running straight to the gate, came backe againe afraid, to tell them that it was one of *Archias* Guard that came for *Charon*, to come immediately to the Governours. Then were they in doubt that their practise was discovered, and that they were all cast away, before they could make any proofe of their valiantnesse: notwithstanding, they were all of opinion, that *Charon* should obey the message, and that he should present himselfe before the Governours, to take away all suspicion from them. *Charon* of himselfe was a stout man, very constant and resolute in danger for his owne person: yet it grieved him much at that time, for feare the confederates should suspect him he had bewrailed them, if so many honest Citizens whom he had lent his house unto, should unfortunately miscarry. Therefore before he went out of his house, he went into his Wives chamber, to fetch his Sonne, that was a goodly boy, but strong as any boy of his age could be: so he brought him to *Pelopidas*, and prayed him, if he understood he had betrayed them any way, or otherwise had sought their hurt, they should then use his Sonne as an enemy, without any compassion towards him. When the confederates saw the good zeale and true noble minde of *Charon*, they all fell a weeping, and were angry with him, that he should thinke any of them so faint hearted or timorous, for any danger could come to them, that they should suspect or accuse him for any thing: and therewithall they prayed him, not to leave the Boy with them, but rather to convey him into some place out of the Tyrants danger, where he might be brought up, that one day he might be revenged of the wrong and injury they had done to them, and to their Countrey. *Charon* answered them, he would not take him away, and that he saw no life nor health more happy for him, then to die with his Father without infamy, and with so many honest men his friends. So after he had besought the gods to prosper them, and had encouraged and embraced every one of the confederators one after another: he went to the Governours, and studied by the way so to frame his words and countenance, as though he should seeme to thinke of any thing else, then of that he purposed to doe. When he came to *Philidas* doore that made the feast, *Archias* and *Philidas* himselfe came unto him, and asked him; *Charon*, What are they (said they) that are come into the City, and hidden in some house, with certaine Citizens, that doe accompany them? *Charon* was somewhat abashed at the first, and asked them againe: What men be they? Who are they that hide them in the City? But when he perceived that *Archias* could tell nothing of certainty, then he thought straight that some man had informed them that was not privie to the practise, but had heard something of it. Thereupon he willed them to take heed it was no false alarme, to make them afraid: nevertheless (said he) I will enquire further of it; for at all adventure it is good to be circumspect in such a case to be sure. *Philidas* answered him, he said truly: and so he brought *Archias* backe againe into the Hall, where he made him drinke deeper then before, still entertaining the company with hope of the Womens coming. *Charon* returning home againe, found all the confederates ready to attempt their enterprife, not as men that reckoned of their lives, nor that had hope to prevale: but as those that were determined to die valiantly, and to sell their lives dearly. Now he truly told unto *Pelopidas* onely, what was said unto him: and the rest, he told that *Archias* had sent for him, to speake with him of other matters. The storme of the former danger was scant blowne over, but Fortune sent them another: for immediately upon talke had with *Charon* at the first, came a Messenger from *ATHENS*, that brought a Letter to the same *Archias*, written by the Bishop of *ATHENS* at that time, called *Archias*, also as himselfe, and was his old host and friend: wherein he wrote not of simple conjecture, nor furnished suspicion, but the plaine conspiracie in every degree, as afterwards

wards it fell out. So the Messenger was brought to Archias that was drunke, and delivering him the Letter, he said unto him; Sir, he that sendeth you this Letter, straightly charged me to tell you, that you should presently reade the contents thereof, because it is a matter of great importance.

Archias laughing said unto him; Weighty matters to morrow. So he tooke the Letter and put it up, and then fell againe to his tale he had begun with Philidas. But ever after, the GRECIANS, made this a common Proverbe among them, Weighty matters to morrow. Now when the conspirators spied their time to go about their businesse, they divided themselves in two companies: Pelopidas and Damocleidas went with one company, to set upon Leontidas and Hypates, because they dwelt neare together: Charon and Melon with the rest went against Archias and Philip, because disguised in womens apparell they had put upon their privy coates, and wearing garlands of Pine apple and Firre trees on their heads, they covered all their faces. So when they came to shew themselves at the Hall doore where the banquet was made, they that were in the Hall at the first sight, thinking they had bene the Women they looked for, began to shout and made great noise for joy. But when the conspirators cast their eyes round about the Hall to know those that were at the Table, they drew out their Swords, and set upon Archias and Philip overthrowing the Table: then they shewed themselves what they were. Then Philidas bad his guests he had bidden to the banquet with them, that they should not stir, for they should have no hurt: so some of them fate still, but the greatest number of them would needs from the boord, to defend their Governours. Howbeit because they were drunke that they knew not what they did, they were soone slaine with them. Now Pelopidas enterprife was not so easie: For they went against Leontidas, that was a sober discreet man, and withall hardy of his hands: and they found he was gone to bed, his doores were shut up, and they knocked long before any man came to the doore. At the length one of his men that heard them rap so hard, with much ado came to open the doore: but he had no sooner thrust backe the bolt of the doore, and began to open it, but they pushed it from them with such a force upon him altogether, that they laid him on the ground, and went straight to his Masters chamber. Leontidas hearing the noise of them that ran up to him in such haste, presently mistrusted the matter: and leaping out of his bed, rooke his Sword in his hand, but did forget to put out the Lampes that burned in his chamber all night; for if they had bene out, they might easily have hurt one another in the darke. But the Lampes giving cleare light in the chamber, he went to the chamber doore, and gave Cephisodorus the first man that pressed to enter upon him, such a blow with his Sword, that he dropped downe dead at his feet. Having slaine the first man, he dealt with the second that came after him, and that was Pelopidas. The fight went hard betweene them two, both for that the chamber doore was very straight, as also for that Cephisodorus body lying on the ground, did choke the coming in at the chamber. Notwithstanding, Pelopidas overcame him in the end, and slew him: and went from thence with his company straight to Hypates house, where they got in, as they did unto Leontidas house before. But Hypates knew presently what it was, and thought to save himselfe in his neighbours houses. Howbeit the conspirators followed him so hard, that they cut him off before he could recover their houses. Then they gathered to him, and joyned with Melons company, and sent immediately with all possible speede to ATHENS, to the banished THEBANS there, and cryed through the City, Liberty, liberty, arming those Citizens that came to them with the armour and spoiles of their Enemies, that were hanged in common vaults, and Armourers shops about Charons house, which they brake open, or caused to be opened by force. On the other side, Epaminondas and Gorgidas, came to joine with them, with a company of young men and honest old men well appointed, whom they had gathered together. Hereupon the whole City was straight in an uprore and tumult, and every house was full of lights, one running to another to know what the matter was. Nevertheless the people did not yet assemble together, but every one being amazed, musing at this sturre, not understanding the troth, stayed till day came on, that they might call a Councell. But truly herein me thinks the Captaines of the Garrison of the LACEDÆMONIANS were greatly in fault, that they did not stir betimes, and set upon them incontinently: considering there was fifteene hundred Soldiers, besides a great number of Citizens that would have come, one after another to take their parts. But the great noise they heard made them afraid, and to see lights in every mans house, and the people running up and downe the streetes in great multitudes too and fro: whereupon they stirred not, but onely kept them within the Castle of CADMEA. The next morning by breake of day, came the other banished THEBANS from ATHENS, very well armed, and all the people of THEBS drew together in Councell. Thither did Epaminondas and Gorgidas bring Pelopidas and his consorts, and presented them before the people, compassed about with Priests and the possessed of the City, offering them Crownes to put upon their heads, and they prayed the assembly of the Citizens, that they would helpe their gods and their Country. All the people that were present when they saw them, arose up and stood on their feete, and with great shouts and clapping of hands received them, as their favours, that had delivered their Country from bondage, and restored them againe to Liberty: and thereupon before them all, even in the Market-place, by the whole voice and consent of the people, they chose Pelopidas, Melon and Charon, Governours and Capitaines of BOEOTIA. Pelopidas then immediately made them besiege the Castle of Cadmea about, with trenches and force of Wood, doing all he could possiblie to win it, and to expulse the LACEDÆMONIANS, before any supply or aide came to them from SPARTA. So he did, and prevented it so suddenly, that the Garrison being departed out of the Castle by composition, as they returned

Weighty matters to morrow
Proverbs.

Pelopidas kil.
leth the Tyrant

g The Liberty of
d the *Thebanes*
restored.

Pelopidas received the Castle of *Cadmea* by composition.

towards LACEDÆMONIA, they found *Cleombrotus* King of SPARTA in the Countrey of MEGARA, coming towards them with a great Army to helpe them. Afterwards, of the three Captaines which had charge of their Garrison that lay at THEBES, the SPARTANS condemned two of them to death: *Hermippidas* and *Arcissus* were presently executed: and the third Captaine, *Dyscorides*, they set so grievous a Fine on his head, that he went out of PELOPONNESUS. This enterprife being attempted, and executed with the like valiantnesse, and the same danger and trouble, that *Thraſibulus* practise was, when he delivered ATHENS from the slavery of the thirty Governours and Tyrants; and having the like fortune and happy end, the GRECIANS termed it Cofin-german to *Thraſibulus* act. And indeed it was a hard matter to finde two other such, besides them two, that with so few men overcame their Enemies, being many mo in number then themselves, or that with so small helpe did overcome those that were of so great force, or that performed their enterprife with their onely valiance and wisdom, and were cause besides of so great blessing and benefit to their Countrey, as *Pelopidas* and *Thraſibulus* attempt was. But the great change and alteration of the State afterwards, did make their acts farre more noble and famous. For the Warre that overthrew the majesty of SPARTA, and that tooke away all the Seigniorie and rule of the LACEDÆMONIANS both by sea and by land, beganne the very same night, when *Pelopidas* himselfe making the twelfth person, and entering into a private house, taking neither City nor Cattle, nor strong hold (to tell truly by figurative speech) did breake and cut in sunder, the linkes and chaines that linked straight together, and strengthened the LACEDÆMONIANS whole Empire and Monarchie over all GREECE: who untill that present time were thought so strong, as no possibility could breake or sunder them. Now the LACEDÆMONIANS fortuning afterwards to invade the Countrey of BOEOTIA with a mighty Army, the ATHENIANS trembling for feare of their great power, did utterly leave to protect them, and renounced the League and alliance they had made before with them. And moreover they did straightly prosecute Law against those, that were accused to take part with the BOEOTIANS: whereof some of them were put to death, other were banished from ATHENS, and the rest condemned in great summes of Money. To be short, every man said the THEBANES were but vndone, considering they had no helpe, and were beloved besides of none. At that present time it fell out *Pelopidas* and *Gorgidas* were Generals over all BOEOTIA for that year, who devising to throw a bone betwixt the ATHENIANS and the LACEDÆMONIANS againe, to make them square, they used this policie. There was a Captaine of the LACEDÆMONIANS called *Sphodrias*, a valiant man, but else of small capacity, and vainely given, having a certaine fond ambition and humour, perswading himselfe he had done some notable good service in his time. This *Sphodrias* was left in the City of THEBES, with a great band of Souldiers to receive and favour all the BOEOTIANS that had a minde to revolt from the THEBANES. *Pelopidas* of himselfe sent a Merchant (a very friend of his) unto *Sphodrias* with a great summe of Money from him, and certaine perswasions withall, which prevailed more then the Money, wishing him to attempt some greater matter, and to seeke to winne the haven of PIRÆA: a thing soone wonne, if he came to assault it on the sodaine; and the rather, for that the ATHENIANS mistrust nothing, neither keepe watch nor ward there. Moreover that he might assure himselfe, nothing could be better welcome to the Lords of LACEDÆMONIA, then to make them Lords of the City of ATHENS also. And againe that the THEBANES being at deadly feud with the ATHENIANS, for that they had betrayed and forsaken them in their neede, would not aide nor succour them in any respect. *Sphodrias* giving too light eare to this vaine perswasion, tooke the Souldiers he had with him, and marching away by night entred the Realme of ATTICA, and went on to the City of ELEUSIN: but when he came thither, his Souldiers were afraid, and would goe no further. So his purpose being discovered, he was forced to returne backe to THEBES, having raised such a Warre to the LACEDÆMONIANS, as fell out to be of no small importance to them, nor easie to be pacified. For after that time, the ATHENIANS fought League and amity againe with the THEBANES, and did aide them very lovingly: and moreover, putting themselves to sea, they sailed up and downe, procuring and drawing to their League all such as were willing to rebell against the LACEDÆMONIANS: and the THEBANES besides, had many pretty skirmishes with the LACEDÆMONIANS in the meane time, in their owne Countrey of BOEOTIA. It is true they came to no great Battels, but yet it was such a great learning and continuall training of them in martiall discipline, as the THEBANES still increased in courage and valiantnesse, and waxed stronger and better Souldiers: for by those skirmishes they grew not only expert Souldiers, but waxed more skillfull in using their weapons, then before. As we read, that *Antalcidas* a SPARTAN said one day to King *Agessilaus*, coming home fore hurt from BOEOTIA: Surely the THEBANES have given you a worthy reward, for teaching them to be Souldiers against their wils. But to say truly, *Agessilaus* was not their Master to teach them to make Warres, but they were the good and wise Leaders of the THEBANES, who like good woodmen in chusing their Game, could skillfully chuse both time and place to give their Enemies Battell, and make them retire againe with safety, after they had bene fleshed, giving them a little tast of the fruits and commodity of Victory: but among them, *Pelopidas* was he that deserved most honour. For since the first time they gave him charge of men of Warre, they never failed, but chose him continually every yeare, either Captaine of the Holy Band, or Governour of BOEOTIA so long as he lived: so that *Pelopidas* only did the most things in this Warre. The LACEDÆMONIANS were overthrowne in sundry journies, that they were distressed by the Cities of PLATES, and of THE-

Pelopidas overthrew the Seigniorie of the Lacedæmonians.

Pelopidas policie to make the Athenians fall out with the Lacedæmonians.

The Thebans exercise in armes.

Antalcidas saying to King *Agessilaus*.

PIES, where *Phaydas* himselfe (that had before taken the Castle of CADMEA) was slaine among other. Another great Power of theirs also, was overthrowne here to the City of TEGYRA, where *Panthoidas* Governour of the same, was also slaine. Now all these Victories, though they much encouraged the hearts of the Conquerours, and made them hardy: yet did they not thereby altogether conquer the mindes of the vanquished. For the LACEDÆMONIANS were not overcome in any pitched Field, nor set Battell, where they had their whole Army together: but they were light Rodes, and Skirmishes properly laid of purpose, where sometime flying, sometime driving them againe, they bickered very oft, and put them to the worst. But the Battell of TEGYRA, which was but a flourish and prooffe to the Journey of LEUCTRES, wanne *Pelopidas* great honour: for he had no companion to challenge any part of his Glory and Victory, neither did he leave his Enemies any lawfull excuse, to shadow or cover their overthrow. For he spied all occasion he might possibly: how to take the City of ORCHOMENE, that tooke part with the LACEDÆMONIANS; and had received two Ensignes of Footmen of theirs to keepe it. *Pelopidas* being advertised one day, that the Garison of ORCHOMENE was gone abroad to make a rode into the Countrey of the LOCRIDES, hoping he should finde ORCHOMENE without Garrison, he marched thither with his holy Band, and certaine number of Horsemen. But when he drew neare the City, he had intelligence there was another Garison coming from SPARTA to supply the place of the Garison that was abroad: whereupon he returned backe againe by the City of TEGYRA, for he could have passed no other way, but to have turned downe by the foote of the Mountaine. For all the Valley that lay betwene both, was drowned with overflowing of the River of MELAS, which even from his very head carrieth ever such a breadth with it, as it maketh the Marishes navigable, so as it is unpassable for any shallow it hath. Not far from these Marishes standeth the Temple of *Apollo* TEGIRIAN, where was an Oracle in old time, but left off at this day, and had never long continuance, but onely untill the time of the Warres of the MEDES, when *Echuerates* was Master and chiefe Priest there. And some hold opinion, that *Apollo* was borne there: for they call the next Mountaine to it DELOS, at the foote whereof the Marishes of the River of MELOS do end, and behinde the Temple are two goodly Springs, from whence cometh great abundance of good sweet water: whereof the one of them is called to this day the Palme, and the other the Olive. And some say also, that the goddesse *Larona* was not brought to bed betwene two Trees, but betwene these two Springs. For Mount PTOUM to bed betwene it hard by it also, from whence the wilde Bore came of a sudden that flied her. And the Tale that is told of the Serpent *Pytho*, and of the Giant *Tytius*, do both confirme it, that *Apollo* was borne in the same place. I passe over many other conjectures confirming the same, for that we do not believe in our Countrey, that *Apollo* is among the number of those, who from mortall men have been translated to immortall gods, as are *Hercules* and *Bacchus*, that through the excellency of their vertue, did put off Mortality, and tooke immortality upon them: but we rather take him for one of those that never had beginning nor generation, at the least if those things be to be credited, which so many grave and ancient Writers have left in writing to us, touching so great and holy things. The THEBANES returning backe from ORCHOMENE, and the LACEDÆMONIANS on the other side returning also from LOCRIDE both at one time, they fortified both Armies to meete about the City of TEGYRA. Now so soone as the THEBANES had discovered the LACEDÆMONIANS passing the straight, one of them ran suddenly to *Pelopidas*, and told him: Sir, we are fallen into the hands of the LACEDÆMONIANS. Nay, are not they rather fallen into ours, answered *Pelopidas* againe? With these words he commanded his Horsemen that was in the Rereward, to come before, and set upon them: and himselfe in the meane time put his Footmen immediately into a pretty Squadron close together, being in all not above three hundred men, hoping when he should come to give charge with his Battell, he should make a lane through the Enemies, though they were the greater number. For the LACEDÆMONIANS divided themselves in two Companies, and every Company, as *Ephorus* writeth, had five hundred men: and as *Callisthenes* said, seven hundred. *Polybius* and divers other Authours say, they were nine hundred men. So *Theopompus* and *Gorgoleon*, the Captaines of the LACEDÆMONIANS, luttily marched against the THEBANES: and it fell out so, that the first Charge was given, where the Chieftaines or Generals were of either side, with great fury on either part, so as both the Generals of the LACEDÆMONIANS which set upon *Pelopidas* together, were slaine. They being slaine, and all that were about them being either hurt or killed in the Field: the rest of the Army was so amazed, that they divided in two, and made a lane on either side, for the THEBANES to passe through them if they would. But when they saw *Pelopidas* meant not to take the passage they offered him, and that he came on still with his men to set upon those that were yet in Battell ray, and slew all them that stood before him: then they turned taile, and tooke them to their legs. Howbeit the THEBANES did not chase them far, fearing the ORCHOMENIANS who were not far from them, and the new Garison besides, that were come from LACEDÆMON not long before. And this was the cause they were content that they had overcome them by force, and had passed through their Army in despite of them, and broken and overthrowne them. So when he had set up markes of Triumph, and spoiled their slaine Enemies, they returned home againe, glad men for their obtained Victory. For in all the Warres the LACEDÆMONIANS ever made, as well with the GRECIANS as with the barbarous People also, there was never Chronicle mentioned at any time, that their Enemies being so few, did overcome them: that were so many, nor that they were overcome also by any number equal in Battell. Whereupon they grew lo courageous and terrible, that no man durst once abide them: for

The Victory of the Thebans against the Lacedæmonians.

Pelopidas Victory of the Lacedæmonians at the Battell of Tegyra.

Melus fl.

Larona brought to bed between two Springs called the Palme and the Olive.

Pelopidas Victory.

What Enemies
are most terrible
and to be
feared. Second.
The first in
situation of
the holy Band.

for their onely Fame did so terrifie their Enemies that came to fight against them, that they thought with no equal force so able to performe as much as they had done. But this Battell of TEGYRA was the first that made both them and the other GRECIANS know, that it was not the River of EUROTAS alone, nor the Valley that lieth betwene the Rivers of CNACTION, and of BABYCE, that breedeth the valiant and hardy fighting men: but that it is in all places else, where they learne, yea men reborn of dishonour and vile things, and to venture their lives for honest causes, fearing more dishonourable reproach, then honourable danger. These are the People most to be feared, and are most terrible also to their Enemies. And for the holy Band we mentioned before, it is said Gorgidas was the first creator of the same. They were three hundred chosen men entertained by the State, and they alwaies kept within the Castle of CADMEA, and the Band was called the Fownes Band; for at that time, and specially in that part of GREECE, they called the Castles and great Holds in Cities, the Townes. Other say it was a Band of Footmen that were in love one with another. And therefore Pammoneus pleasant words are noted, saying, that Nestor could not skill to set an Army in Battell ray, seeing he gave the GRECIANS the counsell, in the Iliades of Homer, that they should set them in Battell ray, every Countrey and Tribe by themselves.

*This by affections, force and links of kindly love:
The one might alwaies helpe at hand, that other do bebove.*

Men loving
together, fight
deperately a-
gainst their
Enemies.

For, said he, one friend should rather be set by another that loves together: because in danger, men commonly do little regard their Countreymen, or such as are of their Tribe. But men that do love one another, can never be broken nor overcome: for the passion of love that entertaineth each others affection, for affections fake, doth keepe them from forsaking one another. And those that are beloved, being ashamed to do any vile and dishonest thing before those that love them, for very love will stick one by another to the death. And sure the reason is good, if it be true that lovers do indeede more regard them they love, though they be asient, then other that be present. As appeared by the example of him, that being stricken downe to the ground, his Enemy lifting up his sword to kill him, he prayed him he would give him his death wound before, lest his friend that loved him, seeing a wound on his backe, should be ashamed of him. It is reported also, that Iolane being beloved of Hercules, did helpe and accompany him in all his Labours and Quarrels. Whereupon Aristote writeth, that unto his time; such as loved heartily together, became sworne Brethren one to another, upon Iolane's Tombe. And therefore methinks it is likely, that this Band was first called the holy Band, by the selfe same reason that Plato calleth a lover; a divine friend by Gods appointment. It is written also, that this Band was never broken, nor overthrowne before the Battell of CHERONIA. After that Battell, Philip taking view of the flaine bodies, he stayed in that place where the foure hundred men of that Band lay dead on the ground, one hard by another, and all of them flaine and thrust through with Pikes on their breasts, whereat he wondered much: and being told him that it was the Lovers Band, he fell a weeping for pity, saying: Wo be to them that thinke these men did, or suffered any evill or dishonest thing. And to be short, the misfortune of Laius, that was flaine by his owne Brother OEdipus, was not the first originall cause of this custome, that the THEBANES began to be in love one with another, as the Poets write: but they were their first Law-makers, who perceiving them to be a stout and fierce Nation on nature, they fought even from their youth to make them gentle and civill, and therefore in all their actions both of sport and earnest, they continually acquainted them with playing of the Flute, being highly esteemed of them in those dayes. They brought in the use also to make love in the midst of all their youthfull Sports and Exercises of their bodies, to frame the young mens manners, and to bring them to a civill life. And therefore they had reason that gave the goddesse Harmonia to the THEBANES, for Defendor and Patroneesse of their City, who was begotten (as they say) betwene Mars and Venus. For that giveth us to understand, that where force and warlike courage is joyned with grace, to winne and perswade, all things by this union and accord are brought to a goodly, profitable, and most perfect Government. Now, to returne againe to the matter of this holy Band of the THEBANES, Gorgidas dividing it in the former Rankes, and placing it all along the Front of the Battell of the Footmen, it did not appeare what they were able to do of themselves, for that he brought them not all into one Body: so as thereby they might see what service the whole Company could do being together, considering that it was divided and mingled amongst many other, that were a great deale of lesse value then themselves. But Pelopidas that had made good proofe of their valiantnesse before, when they fought about him of themselves, without others by them, at TEGYRA: would never after divide nor separate them one from the other, but keeping them together as one entire Body that had all his Members, he would alwaies begin with them to give a Charge in his most dangerous Battells. For, as we see in running of Coaches at Games, that Horses being tied all together in a Front, do runne faster and stronger then they do when they are loose, and put to it alone: and not for that they being many together, do breake through the aire better, but for that the contention and envie betwene them to over-runne one another, doth indeede set their hearts and stomachs on fire. Even so he thought, that valiant men giving one another a desire and envie to do well, should have the more courage, and would be of greater force, when they fought one in anothers fight. But the LACEDÆMONIANS afterwards being at peace and league with all the other GRECIANS, proclaimed open Warres against the THEBANES onely: and King Cleombrotus went to invade them with an Army of tenne thousand Footmen, and a thousand Horsemen. Whereupon the THEBANES were not onely in the like danger they stood in before

Cleombrotus
King of the
Lacedæmonians.

before to lose their liberty, but the LACEDÆMONIANS did openly threaten they would utterly destroy them for ever: so that all the Countrey of BOEOTIA stood in greater feare then ever they did before. And one day as Pelopidas went out of his House to go to the Warres, his Wife bringing him to the doores to take her leave of him, weeping, she prayed him heartily to looke well to himselfe. But he answered her againe: My good Wife, it is for private Souldiers to be carefull of themselves, but not for Capitaines: for they must have an eye to save others lives. And when he came to the Campe, he found the Capitaines and the Lieutenants of the Army, in sundry opinions: and he was the first that agreed with Epaminondas opinion, who thought it best they should give Battell to the Enemies. Pelopidas at that time was neither Governour of BOEOTIA, nor Generall of the Army, but onely Capitaine of the holy Band: notwithstanding they had great affiance in him, and gave him great Authority in Councell concerning their affaires: such as became a man that had made so good testimony of his naturall love and affection to his Countrey, as he had done. Now being determined in Councell, that they should give the Enemy Battell, they all mustered together in the Valley of LEUCTRES, where he had a Vision in his Dreame, that troubled him very much. In that Valley there are the Tombes of the Daughters of one Scedafus, which by reason of the place, they call the LEUCTRIDES, for that they were buried there, after they had beene defiled and ravished by certaine Guests of the SPARTANS that lay in their House, travelling that way. This act being so horrible and wicked, the poore Father of these defiled Virgins, could neither have justice nor revenge of the LACEDÆMONIANS, and therefore after he had banned and cursed the LACEDÆMONIANS with most horrible and execrable railings and curses as might be possible, he killed himselfe upon the Graves of his Daughters. The LACEDÆMONIANS had many sundry Oracles, Prophecies, and Signes of the gods to warne them, to take heed of the wrath of the LEUCTRIDES: howbeit every man understood not the signification of this Prophecy, but were deceived by the equivocation of the name. For therewas a little Towne in the Countrey of LACONIA, standing upon the Sea side, called LEUCTRUM: and in ARCADIA also by the City of MEGALIPOLIS, there was another Towne called by the same name. This misfortune chanced long before the Battell of LEUCTRES: but then Pelopidas dreaming in his Tent, thought he saw in a Vision the Daughters of Scedafus weeping about their Graves, and cursing the LACEDÆMONIANS: and that he saw their Father also, commanding him to sacrifice a red Maiden to his Daughters, if they would obtaine the Victory. This commandment at the first, seemed very cruell and wicked: whereupon when he arose, he went to the Prognosticators, and Generals of the Army, and told them his Dreame. So some of them said, this was no matter to be lightly passed over, but to be considered of, alledging many examples in the like cases. As of Menecius the Sonne of Creon in old time, and of Macareus the Daughter of Hercules. And yet of latter memory, the wife Pherecydes, whom the LACEDÆMONIANS slew, and whose skin their Kings do keepe at this day, by commandment of an Oracle. And Leonidas, who following a Prophecy of the gods, did as it were sacrifice himselfe, for the safety of GREECE. And furthermore, the young boyes which Themistocles did sacrifice to Bacchus Omestes (to say, eating raw flesh) before the Battell of SALAMINA. And all these Sacrifices were acceptable to the gods, as the Victories following did plainly shew. In contrary manner also King Agessilaus, coming from those very places, from whence King Agamemnon came in the time of the Warres of TROYA, and going also against the same Enemies, dreamed one night in the City of AULIDE, he saw the goddesse Diana, asking him his Daughter for Sacrifice. But he tenderly loving her, would by no means performe it: and thereupon was compelled to breake off his Journey before he had executed his Enterprize, and departed with small honour. Other to the contrary stode to it stoutly, and said, it was not to be done. For, so cruell, abominable, and brutish a Sacrifice, could not be acceptable to any of the gods, nor to any god, better or mightier then ours: considering that they be no impressions in the aire, nor Giants that rule the World, but the one onely mighty and eternall God, Father of gods and men. And to believe that either gods or demi-gods do delight in murder, or shedding of mans blood, it is a meere mockery and folly. But admit it were so, they were no more to be regarded therein, then those that have no power at all: for it is a manifest token of a wicked spirit, when they have such damnable and horrible desires in them, and specially if they abide still with them. Now the Generals and Heads of the Army of the THEBANES being of sundry dry opinions, and Pelopidas being more afraid then before, by reason of their disagreement: a young Mare-colt, or Filly, breaking by chance from other Mares, running and flinging through the Campe, came to stay right against them. Then every man began to looke upon her, and to marke what a faire Filly it was, and red coloured every where, and what a pride she tooke with her selfe to heare her owne neighing. Theocritus then the Soothsayer being amongst them, did behold her, and knew straight what the Filly meant, and so cried out forthwith: O happy Pelopidas, loe here is the Sacrifice thou lookest for, seeke no other Virgin for thy Sacrifice, but take this that God himselfe doth fend thee. When Theocritus had said so, they tooke the Filly, and laid her upon the Tombe of Scedafus Daughters, and put Garlands of Flowers about her, as they handled other Sacrifices: and then after the Prayers made to the gods, they did sacrifice her with great joy, and told Pelopidas Vision in his Dreame the night before through all the Campe, and the Sacrifice they had made also according to the signification thereof. Moreover when they came to joyned Battell, Epaminondas being Generall, drew all his Army on the left hand, because he would bring the right Wing of the Enemies Army (where they had placed the naturall SPARTANS) further from the other GRECIANS their Friends and Allies, that were set in the other Wing of their Battell: that

Pelopidas
Princely Answer.

See what
Plagues follow
where justice is denied.

Pelopidas
Dreame and
Vision in the
Fields of Leu-
ctres.

Agessilaus
Dreame.

Godly sayings
concerning
God.

Gods providence and sudden aide.

The Filly
slaine and
sacrificed.

The Battell at Leuctres. The cause of the overthrow of the Lacedæmonians.

Pelopidas and Epaminondas Victory at the Battell of Leuctres.

Pelopidas and Epaminondas journey into Peloponnesus, being both Governours of Boeotia.

A penall Law at Thebes, for resigning up of Offices at the yeeres end.

Pelopidas and Epaminondas went over the River of Eurotas with 70 thousand men.

The Ingratitude of the Thebans towards Pelopidas and Epaminondas. The Law Exaction.

that he coming with his whole Power together to give a Charge upon *Cleombrotus* their King (being in a corner by himselfe) might be distressed or overthrowne. The Enemies finding *Pelopidas* intent, began to change their order, and having men enough, meant to thrust out their right Wing at length to compasse in *Epaminondas*. But *Pelopidas* in the meane time suddenly prevented them, and running in great fury with his Squadron of three hundred men, he set upon *Cleombrotus* before he could disorder his men to put forth the right Wing, and joyne them together againe. And so he found the LACEDÆMONIANS not yet settled in their Ranks, and brake them in this disorder, thrusting one in anothers place to put themselves againe in order: notwithstanding the LACEDÆMONIANS of all other men were the only Captains and most expert Souldiers in Martiall Discipline, as men so trained and practised, that no sudden altering, of forme or order in their Ranks, could either trouble or disorder them. For they were men so trained, that they could turne head or side upon any sudden occasion offered, and could fight and order themselves in Battell every way alike. So *Epaminondas* going to give the onset upon them alone, with the whole force of his Battell together, not tarrying for others: and *Pelopidas* also with an incredible courage and readinesse, presenting himselfe in Battell before them, did put them into such a terrible feare, that they cleane forgot their skill in fighting, and their wanted courage failed them. For they cowardly turned their backs, and there were moe LACEDÆMONIANS slaine at that day, then ever were before in any former Battell. *Pelopidas* therefore, being neither Governour of BOEOTIA, nor Generall of all the Army, but only Captaine of the holy Band: did notwithstanding winne as much Honour and Glory of this Victory, as *Epaminondas*, that was Governour of BOEOTIA, and Generall of all the Army. Indeed afterwards they were both Governours of BOEOTIA together, when they invaded the Countrey of PELOPONNESUS: where they made most part of the Cities and People rebell against the LACEDÆMONIANS, and take their part; as the ELIANS, the ARGIVES, and all ARCADIA, and the best part of LACONIA selfe: notwithstanding it was in the heart of Winter, and in the shortest dayes of the yeare, and towards the latter end also of the last Moneth of their yeeres Authority and Rule, having not many dayes to continue in Office, being forced to leave their Authority, upon paine of death if they did refuse, unto other Officers new chosen, the beginning of the next Moneth following. Whereupon their other companions, and Governours also of the Countrey of BOEOTIA, what for feare to incur the danger of the Law, as also to avoid the trouble to lye in Campe in the sharpest of Winter: they did urge and perswade them to bring the Army backe againe into their Countrey. But *Pelopidas* was the first that yeelded to *Epaminondas* opinion, and wanne the other THEBANES also to consent unto it, to be contented to be led by them, to give assault to the City selfe of SPARTA. So, through their perswasions they passed over the River of EUROtas, and tooke many little Townes of the LACEDÆMONIANS, and waisted and destroyed all the Countrey to the Sea side, leading under their Enignes an Army of threescore and ten thousand fighting men, and all GRECIANS, the THEBANES not making up the twelfth part of them. Now, the honour and great reputation of these two persons, *Epaminondas* and *Pelopidas*, brought their friends and confederates, that they followed them, without any resolution of Councill or publick order, and never opened their mouths against them, but willingly marched under their conduction. And in my opinion, truly methinks it is the first and chiefe point in the Law of Nature, that he that is weake, not able to defend himselfe, should leane to one that is strong, and able to defend both. Even much like to fresh-water Souldiers, and raw Sea-men, that lying at Sea in calme weather, and in safe Harbour, are as lusty and bragge with the Masters and Boate-Swaines as may be: but let a little storme of weather come upon them suddenly, and that they be in any danger, then they looke on the Masters, hoping for no life but at their hands. And even in like manner the ELIANS and ARGIVES, who though in all Assemblies of Councill they would ever jarre and strive with the THEBANES, for Honour and Superiority in the Army: yet when any Battell came to be fought, wherein they saw there was danger, then their Peacocks bravery was gone, and they were glad to obey their Generals commandment. In this Journey they brought all the Cities of the Province of ARCADIA to be in League with them, and tooke all the Countrey of MESSENIA from the LACEDÆMONIANS, which they peaceably enjoyed: and called home againe all the ancient Inhabitants of the same, and restored them to their Countrey, and replenished the City of ITHOME. Then returning afterwards into their Countrey by the City of CENCHREES, they overthrow the ATHENIANS that came to trouble them, in entering into the Straight of PELOPONNESUS, supposing to have stopped their passage. Thus was the valiantnesse of these two worthy men greatly commended and honoured of every body, for so many notable Exploits and Victories as they had wonne, and their marvellous good success, greatly wondered at. But as their Glory and renowne increased abroad, so did their Countreymens malice and envie increase against them at home: who had prepared such a welcome home for them, as was so bad and vile for so honourable Service as they had done. For *Epaminondas* and *Pelopidas* both, at their returne were accused of Treason. For there was a speciall Law at THEBANES, that commanded all such as should happen to be Governours of BOEOTIA, to resigne their Office immediately to the new Officers elect, at the beginning of the first Moneth of the yeare, which in BOEOTIA they call BOUCATION: and they had kept it foure whole Moneths above their terme appointed, in which time they had done all that we have spoken of before, as well in the Province of MESSENIA and of ARCADIA, as also in the Countrey of LACONIA. *Pelopidas* was the first of the two that was called in by Proceffe, therefore he stood in the greater danger: howbeit

howbeit in the end, they were both discharged againe. As for *Epaminondas*, he tooke his Accusation and the attempt of his Enemies (whereby they sought to have cast them both away) quietly enough: judging, that patience to those that deale in State and Government, is a great shew of force and magnanimity. But *Pelopidas* being of a hotter nature, and more cholerick, and set on besides by some of his friends, did take this occasion to be revenged. *Meneclidas* the Orator was one of those that came into *Charons* house with *Pelopidas* and *Melon*: but notwithstanding the THEBANES did nothing honour him, as they did the rest. He taking this ill at their hands, being marvellous eloquent of speech, but viciously given otherwaies, and a man of a vile and mischievous nature: did fondly abuse his Eloquence, fallily accusing those that were his betters, in honesty and credit. And not being contented with this first accusation, he practised so commonly, that he put *Epaminondas* one yeare from being Governour of BOEOTIA, which he sued for: and moreover, he was ever against him in all matters of State he tooke in hand. But he could never bring *Pelopidas* out of favour with the People: and therefore he sought to make debate betwixt him and *Charon*. For it is the common trick of all spitefull persons, who when they cannot be thought so honest as those whom they envie, to go about to prove that they are not so honest and meete men, as those whom they prefer and commend. So, in all his Orations he made to the People, he continually extolled and commended *Charons* noble Acts and Victories, and specially that Victory above other, which the THEBANES won before the Journey of LEUCTRES, in a Skirmish of Horsemen, that was before the City of PLATEES; he having charge of the same: of the which he would leave his memory. *Androcles* a CYZICENIAN and Painter, was at a price with the THEBANES to paint them some other Battell in a Table, and he did draw this Worke in the City selfe of THEBANES: but as he was in hand withall, the rebellion of the THEBANES fell out against the LACEDÆMONIANS, and Warre followed on the necke of that, whereupon the Painter forsooke THEBANES, leaving his Worke in a manner done and perfect. The THEBANES kept this Table by them, and this *Meneclidas* moved the People they would hang it up in some Temple of publick place, with an Inscription upon it, saying thus: This was *Charons* Victory; of purpose to deface and obscure the Glory of *Pelopidas* and of *Epaminondas*. Too vaine and fond was his ambition, to set before so many noble Battels and Victories, one simple overthrow of *Charon*, in the which *Gerandas*, one of the meanest Gentlemen of all SPARTA was slaine, and forty other with him: and this was all he did. *Pelopidas* milked *Meneclidas* motion, maintaining that it was directly against the Lawes of THEBANES, which did expressly forbid, that no private person should be honoured with the Title of common Victory, but willed the Glory thereof should be attributed to all the People generally. Indeed *Pelopidas* in his Orations did greatly praise and commend *Charon*, notwithstanding he made open prooffe, how *Meneclidas* was an envious and spitefull detractor, and a naughty wicked man, oftentimes asking the THEBANES, if they themselves were worthy of no honour? so as in the end he caused *Meneclidas* to be condemned in a great summe of Money. But he finding himselfe unable to pay it, being so great a summe, practised afterwards to alter the whole State and Government. I thought good to dilate this at large, because methinks it doth somewhat declare *Pelopidas* nature and manners, what they were. Now about that time *Alexander* the Tyrant of PHERES, was at open Warres with many People of THESSALY, and did use all the Tyrant of PHERES, to pray them to send them a Captaine with an Army to aide them. Then *Pelopidas* seeing *Epaminondas* occupied about the Warres of PELOPONNESUS, did offer himselfe to the THESSALIAN Ambassadors, being loth to drowne his experience and sufficiency in Wars, with unprofitable and tedious idlenesse, knowing that in those parts where *Epaminondas* lay, there needed no other Captaine. Now when he came with his Army into THESSALY, the City of LARISSA yeelded presently unto him: where the Tyrant *Alexander* came to meete with him, and to pray him to treat a Peace betwixt him and the THESSALIANS. *Pelopidas*, attempting to bring it to passe, seeking instead of a Tyrant to make him a gentle, just, and lawfull, Governour of THESSALY. But when he saw no perswasions could take place with the Tyrant, and that he grew more stubborn and untractable, and would not heare reason: and moreover, that he heard many grievous complaints of his great cruelties, and how they accused him to be a marvellous dissolute and unruly person in all his doings, and extremely covetous besides: then he began to speake roundly to him, and to handle them roughly. But the Tyrant thereupon stole away secretly from him, and fled with his Guard and Souldiers about him. So *Pelopidas* leaving the THESSALIANS out of all feare and danger of the Tyrant, and furthermore in good peace and amity one with the other, he went into MACEDON: where *Ptolemy* made Warre at that time with *Alexander*, being King of MACEDON, they both having sent for him to heare and determine the quarrell betwixt them, and also to helpe him that had the right, against him that did the wrong. So when he came thither, he pacified them both, and restored the banished men of either side, to their Lands and Goods againe. For assurance of Peace, he tooke the Kings Brother in Hostage, whose name was *Philip*, and thirty other Children of the Noblest mens Sonnes of MACEDON, whom he brought away with him to THEBANES, to let the GRECIANS see, that the Reputation of the THEBANES Power stretched far, and the Renowne also of their manner of Government and Justice. It is the same *Philip*, that made Warre afterwards with the GRECIANS, to take their Liberty from them, howbeit being but a Boy at that time, he was brought up at THEBANES in *Pammenes* house. And this is the cause, why some thought *Philip* did follow *Epaminondas* manner: and

Epaminondas patience.

Pelopidas condemneth *Meneclidas* a seditious Orator and accuser.

The practice of spitefull men.

Our forefathers did paint and set forth their Battels.

Alexander the Tyrant of Pheres.

Larissa a City.

Philip of Macedon delivered for Hostage to *Pelopidas*.

and it might be peradventure, he did learne of him to be quick and ready in the Warres, which was indeed but a piece of *Epaminondas* vertue. But as for the continency, justice, magnanimity, and clemency, which were the speciall points that made *Epaminondas* of great fame: *Philip* could neither by nature, education, or study, ever attaine unto. The *THESSALIANS* having sent afterwards to *THEBES*, to complaine of *Alexander* the Tyrant of *PHERES*, that did againe molest and trouble the free Cities of *THESSALY*, *Pelopidas* was sent thither Ambassadour with *Ismenias*, carrying no Power with him from *THEBES*, little thinking he should have needed to have made Warres: whereupon he was compelled to take men of the Country selfe, upon the instant necessity offered. At the very same time also, all *MACEDON* was up in Armes: for *Ptolemy* had slaine the King, and usurped the Kingdome, and the servants and friends of the dead King called upon *Pelopidas* for aide, who desiring to come even upon the fact, and having brought no men of Warre out of his owne Country with him, did presently leavie certaine men where he was, and so marched forward with them against *Ptolemy*. Now *Ptolemy* when both their Powers met, did corrupt the Souldiers *Pelopidas* had brought, with Money to take his part. But notwithstanding this policy he had practised, yet he was afraid of the Name onely, and greatnesse of *Pelopidas* Reputation: wherefore he went unto *Pelopidas*, as to a better man then himselfe, and making marvellous much of him, and intreating of him, he made promise, and bound it by Oath, that he would keepe the Realme for the Brethren of the dead King, and that he would take all those for his friends or Enemies, whom the *THEBANS* did either love or hate. As for assurance of his promise, he gave him his Sonne *Philoxenus* in hostage, and fifty other of his friends, all the which *Pelopidas* sent unto *THEBES*. But in the meane time, being marvellously offended with the Treason of the Souldiers against him, understanding the most part of their Goods, their Wives and Children, were in the City of *PHARSALA*, he thought if he could winne that, it were a marvellous good way for him to be revenged of the treachery of the Souldiers against him: whereupon he leaved certaine *THESSALIANS*, and went to chery of the Souldiers come thither, but *Alexander* the Tyrant arrived also with his Army. *Pelopidas* supposing he had come to justifie himselfe, clearing the complaints of the *THESSALIANS* made against him: went to him, though he knew him to be a very wicked man, and one that delighted in murder and shedding of blood. Nevertheless, he hoped he durst not have attempted any thing against him, for the Authority and Seigniorie sake of *THEBES*, by whom he was sent thither, as also for his owne Reputation. But the Tyrant seeing him slenderly accompanied, and without Traine of Souldiers, tooke him Prisoner, and wanne the City of *PHARSALA* at that present time. But this act of his put his Subjects in a great feare, who seeing him commit so shamefull a deed against all equity, did thinke straight he meant to spare no man, but would use men, and all things else that came in his hands, like a desperate man, and one that reckoned himselfe cast away. But when the *THEBANS* understood this newes, they were marvellous fory, and straight sent an Army thither, appointing other Captaines then *Epaminondas*: because then they had some misliking of him. *Alexander* the Tyrant having brought *Pelopidas* in the meane time to *PHERES*, did suffer any man that would at the first to come to see him, and speake with him: supposing his imprisonment had killed his heart, and had made him very humble. But when he was told the contrary, how *Pelopidas* did comfort the Citizens of *PHERES*, and willed them to be of good cheare, telling them the houre was now come, that the Tyrant should smart for all the mischiefes he had done: and that he sent him word to his face, he had no reason to hang and put his poore Citizens daily to death as he did, with sundry kindes of cruell torments, who had in nothing offended him; and did let him alone, knowing that if ever he got out of his hands, he would be revenged of him. The Tyrant wondering at this great stomach of *Pelopidas* being told what he said, answered him againe: *Mary*, said he, because thou shouldst die the sooner, being more odious to the gods and men, then yet thou art. After this answer, the Tyrant would never suffer any man to come and speake with him againe. But *Thebe*, that was the Daughter of the Tyrant *Jason* deceased, and Wife at that time of *Alexander* the Tyrant, hearing report of *Pelopidas* noble minde and courage by his Keepers: she had a marvellous desire to see him, and to speake with him. But when she came to see him, like a Woman she could not at the first disferne the greatnesse of his noble heart, and excellent hidden vertue, finding him in such misery: yet conjecturing by exterior shew, noting his simple Apparell, his haire and beard growne very long, and how poorely he was served, and worfe entertained: she thought with her selfe his case was to be pitied, and that he was in no fate meete for the glory of his Name; wherewith she fell a weeping for compassion. *Pelopidas*, that knew not what she was, began to muse at the first; but when it was told him she was *Jason's* Daughter, then he courteously saluted her for her Father *Jason's* sake, who while he lived was his very good friend. So *Thebe* said unto him: My Lord *Pelopidas*, I pity thy poore Lady and Wife. Truly so do I pity thee, quoth *Pelopidas* againe to her: that thou being no Prisoner, canst abide such a wicked *Alexander*. This answer tickled *Thebe* at the heart, who with great impatience did beare the cruelty, violence, and villany of the Tyrant her Husband: that besides all other infamous acts of his detestable life, committed Sodomy with her youngest Brother. So she oft visiting *Pelopidas*, and boldly making her moane to him, telling him closely all the injuries her Husband offered her: through *Pelopidas* talke with her, by little and little she grew to abhor him, and to conceive a hate in heart against him, desiring revenge on him. But now the Captaines of the *THEBANS* that were sent to deliver *Pelopidas*, being entred into *THESSALY* with their Army: whether it was through default of ignorance, or their mishap: they

Pelopidas taken Prisoner by the Tyrant *Alexander* at *Pharsala*.

Pelopidas flourishing.

Thebe the Wife of *Alexander* the Tyrant.

returned home with shame, and did nothing. Whereupon the *THEBANS* at their returne home condemned them every man in the summe of tenne thousand Drachmes, and sent *Epaminondas* thither againe with another Army: at whose coming, all the *THESSALY* rose incontinently for the reputation of so great a Captaine. And his fortune was so good, that he had in a manner utterly overthrowne the whole State of the Tyrant: his friends and Captaines were so much afraid, and his Subjects on the other side so well disposed to rebell, and marvellous glad for the hope they had, quickly to see the Tyrant have his deserved hire, for all his former wicked deeds he had committed. Notwithstanding, *Epaminondas* preferring the delivery and safety of *Pelopidas*, before the consideration of his owne Honour and Glory, and fearing lest *Alexander* seeing himselfe in danger to be turned out of all he had, falling into despair like a bedlem Beast, would bende all his desperation and fury against *Pelopidas*: he drew these Warres out in length, compassing him round about, but not fiercely setting upon him, with colour to prepare his way the better by delaying still, thereby to soften the cruell minde of this Tyrant, going on in this gentle sort; and partly to cut his combe and extreme pride, but specially to preserve *Pelopidas* from the danger and cruelty of his beastly rage. For he knew right well he was a cruell man, and one that never regarded reason, nor justice in any fort, considering how he made some men to be buried alive, and others to be put in the skins of Beares and wilde Bores, and then to set Hounds upon them to teare them in pieces, or else himselfe for his pastime would kill them, with shooting or throwing of Darts at them. And in the Cities of *MELIBEA* and of *SCOTUSA*, both of them being in league and friendship with him, he spying time one day when the Citizens were assembled in Councell together, suddenly compassed them in with his Guard and Souldiers, and put them every one to the Sword, even the little Children. And he consecrated the Dart also wherewith he had slaine his owne Uncle *Polyphron*, and having put Garlands upon it, he did sacrifice to it, as to a god, and called it *Tychon*, as one would say, happy killer. And another time being in a Theater, where the Tragedie of *Tronides* in *Euripides* was played, he went out of the Theater, and sent word to the Players notwithstanding, that they should go on with their Play, as if he had beene still among them: saying that he came not away for any misliking he had of them or of the Play, but because he was ashamed his People should see him weepe, to see the miseries of *Hecuba* and *Andromacha* played; and that they never saw him pity the death of any one man, of so many of the Citizens as he had caused to be slaine. The guilty conscience therefore of this cruell and Heathen Tyrant, did make him tremble at the onely name and reputation of *Epaminondas*: and as the common Proverbe saith:

*He let his wings downe fall, not much unlike the Cocke,
Which doth refuse the pit prepar'd, and list not bide the stocke,*

So he sent straight unto *Epaminondas* to excuse himselfe. But *Epaminondas* would in no wise suffer the *THEBANS*, through his meanes, to make League with such an Helhound: onely he yeilded to abstinence of Armes for thirty dayes, upon delivery of *Pelopidas* and *Ismenias* into his hands, whom he straight returned unto *THEBES*. Now the *THEBANS* being adverted that the *LACEDÆMONIANS* and the *ATHENIANS* did send Ambassadors to *Artaxerxes* the mighty King of *PERSIA*, to make League with him: they sent to him *Pelopidas* for them also, being wisely considered of them to send a man of such Fame and Reputation. For *Pelopidas* passing first through Countries subject to the King of *PERSIA*, his Fame was such where he came, that the Peoples talke was onely of him. For the report of the famous Battels he had wonne of the *LACEDÆMONIANS*, was not onely carried into the next Regions and Countreys of *ASIA*: but since the first news of the Journey of *LEUCTRES* was brought thither, *Pelopidas* having after that wonne Victory upon Victory, his estimation grew so great, as it was blowne abroad through the World, even to the highest and furthest parts of the East Countreys. And when he came to the King of *PERSIAES* Court, the Princes, great Lords, and Captaines of *PERSIA* that saw him, had him in great admiration, saying: Lo this is he that conquered the *LACEDÆMONIANS*, and tooke all their Seigniorie and Authority from them, both by Sea and by Land, and drave the *SPARTANS* beyond the River of *EUROTAS*, and from Mount *TAUGETUM*, who not long before made Warres with the great King of *PERSIA*, being led under their King *Agessilans*, even in the midst of *ASIA*, for the Realms of *SUSE*, and of *ECBATANE*. So King *Artaxerxes* selfe was very glad of his coming, and praised him above them all, and made his estimation greater then it was before, by his great and honourable entertaining of him, meaning thereby to returne the honour to himselfe againe: because men should thinke that the most famous men of the World came to honour him, and to see his Court, as esteeming both him and his greatnesse, the onely happinesse of the World. But when he had seene his face, and heard him speake, and perceived that his words were much greater then the *ATHENIANS*, and plainer then the *LACEDÆMONIANS*: he then was further in love with him then before, and without disguising, he did honour and favour him above all the other Ambassadors, who found that he made more estimation of him, then of them all. Notwithstanding, he seemed to beare greater good will unto *Antalcidas* *LACEDÆMONIAN*, then to any other of the *GRECIANS*: for that one day being at the Table, he tooke a Garland of Flowers from his owne head, and washed it in perfuming water, and sent it unto him. Indeed he did not use *Pelopidas* with that open familiarity, yet did he send him the goodliest and richest Presents he could devise, and granted him besides all his requests he made unto him: which were, that all the People of *GREECE* should be free: that the City and Countrey of *MESSINA* should be inhabited againe: and that the Citizens of *THEBES* by their Successors should be taken, as ancient friends and Allies of the Kings of *PERSIA*. So when he had received these Answers, he returned home againe, and would by no means accept any

Epaminondas sent into *Thebes* with an Army.

The brutish cruelty of *Alexander* the Tyrant.

Epaminondas delivered *Pelopidas* out of prison. *Artaxerxes* King of *Persia*. *Pelopidas* sent Ambassadour to the King of *Persia*.

Pelopidas greatly honoured of the King of *Persia*.

Pelopidas refused the great gifts of King Artaxerxes. Timagoras Ambassador for the Athenians, put to death for taking great gifts of the King of Persia.

Pelopidas second Journey against the Tyrant Alexander of Thebes. The Eclipse of the Sun made the Thebans afraid.

Battell given by the People of Thebes, unto the Tyrant Alexander.

of the great Presents the King had offered him : which caused the other Ambassadors of the GREEKIAN to be so ill welcome home to their Cities. For among other, *Timagoras* was accused to the ATHENIANS, and condemned to die, and was executed : which it they did in respect of the great Presents he had taken of the King, truly they had reason, and it was worthily done of them. For he tooke not onely Gold and Silver enough, as much as they would give him : but received a very rich Bed also, and PERSIAN Chamberlaines to make and dresse it up, as if no GREEKIAN Servants of his could have served that turne. Moreover, he received fourscore milke Kine to the Paile, and Neateheards to keepe them, having neede of Cowes Milke belike, to heale a Discaie that fell upon him : and would needs be carried in a Litter upon mens armes from the Kings Court, unto the *Mæm-diterræneum* Sea, the King rewarded them for their paines that carried him, with foure Talents. Yet it seemed the Gifts he tooke did not offend the ATHENIANS so much, considering that *Epicrates* (a Drudge or Tankerd-bearer) did not onely confesse before the People, how he had taken Gifts of the King of PERSIA : but said furthermore, that he would have a Law made, that they might re- and meane Citizens, and send them Ambassadors unto the King of PERSIA, that they might re- turne home rich men with Gifts. The People laughed to heare him, but yet were they very angry the THEBANS had obtained all that they had demanded : and considering that *Pelopidas* continu- the THEBANS did more prevaile and take better effect, then all the Orations the other could make, and specially to a Prince that fought alwaies to entertaine those GREEKIAN, which were of greatest force and power in the Warres. This Ambassage did greatly increate every mans love and good will unto *Pelopidas*, because of the replenishing againe of MESSINA with Inhabitants, and infranchizing and setting at liberty of all the other GREEKIAN. But the Tyrant *Alexander* of PHERES, returning againe to his old accustomed cruelty, and having destroyed many Cities of THESSALY, and placed his Garrisons through all the Countrey of the PHTIOTES, ACHAI- ANS, and MAGNESIANS : the Cities being advertised of *Pelopidas* returne againe to THEBES, they sent Ambassadors immediately to THEBES, to pray them to send them an Army, and namely they sent Ambassadors to deliver them from the miserable bondage of the Tyrant. The THEBANS willingly granted them, and put all things in readinesse very suddenly. But *Pelopidas* be- ing ready to set forward in his journey, there fell a sudden Eclipse of the Sunne, so as at noone day it was very darke in THEBES. *Pelopidas* seeing every man afraid of this Eclipse above, he would not compell the People to depart with this feare, nor with so ill hope to hazard the losse of seven thou- sand THEBANS, being all billed to go this Journey : but notwithstanding, he put himselfe alone into the THESSALIANS hands, with three hundred Horsemen of strangers that were glad to serve with him, with whom he tooke his Journey against the Soothsayers mindes, and against the good will of all his Citizens, who thought this Eclipse did threaten the death of some great person like him- selfe. But *Pelopidas* though he needed no spur to be revenged upon the Tyrant *Alexander*, being by nature hot, and desirous of himselfe to revenge the spight and villany he had offered him : yet he had a further hope to finde the Tyrants house divided against himselfe, by the former talke he had with his Wife *Thebe*, in time of his imprisonment there. Nevertheless, the Fame and Reputation of the Journey undertaken, did wonderfully increate his noble courage, and the rather because he was de- siderous (all he could) the GREEKIAN should see, that at the very same time when the LACEDÆ- MONIANS did send Governours and Captaines to *Dionysius* the Tyrant of SICILE, to serve and aide him, and that the ATHENIANS as hirelings tooke pay of the Tyrant *Alexander* of PHERES, in whose honour they had set up a Statue of Braffe in their City, as unto their Saviour : the THEBANS onely at the selfe-same time tooke Armes against them, to deliver those whom the Tyrants oppressed, and fought to roote out all tyrannicall Government over the GREEKIAN. So when he came to the City of PHARSALE, and had gathered his Army together, he went presently to the Field to meete with the Tyrant. *Alexander* perceiving *Pelopidas* had very few THEBANS about him, and that he had twice so many THESSALIANS with him; then the other had : he went unto the Temple of THE TIS, to meete with *Pelopidas*. There one telling *Pelopidas*, that *Alexander* was coming against him with a great Power, *Pelopidas* answered him straight, All the better, we shall kill the more. Now in the midst of the Valley, there are certaine round Hills of a pretty height, which they commonly call the Dogs head : they both strived which of their Footmen should first get those Hills. *Pelopidas* having a great number of Horsemen, and good men at Armes in the Field, sent them before to give charge upon the Enemies, that pressed to winne the vantage of the place : and having overthrowne them, they followed the chafe all the Valley over. But in the meane time *Alexander* having his Footmen by, marched forwards and got the Hills, because the THESSALIANS that were further off, came too late : notwithstanding when they came to the Hills, they fought for- cibly to climbe them up, being very high and steepe : but *Alexander* coming downe the Hill, gave charge upon them to their disadvantage, and slew the first that gave the attempt to get up against the Hill : and the residue being fore hurt, retired againe without their purpose. *Pelopidas* seeing that, founded the Retreat for the Horsemen that followed the chafe, to repaire to the Standard, and com- manded them they should set upon the Footmen of the Enemies that were in Battell ray : and he him- selfe ranne to helpe those that fought to winne the Hills. So he tooke his Target on his arme, and passing through the Rereward, he got to the foremost Ranks : to whom, the sight of his person did so redouble their force and courage, that the Enemies themselves thought it had beene a fresh supply of new mens hearts, and other bodies then theirs with whom they had fought before, that came thus lustily

lustily to set againe upon them. And yet they did abide two or three onsets. Howbeit in the end, perceiving those men did still more fiercely force to get up the Hill, and moreover, how their Horse- men were come in from the chafe : they gave way, and left them the place, retiring back by little and little. Then *Pelopidas* having wonne the Hills, stayed on the top of them, viewing the Army of his Enemies, which were not yet returned from their flying, but waved up and downe in great dis- order. And there he looked all about, to see if he could spie out *Alexander* : and at the length he found him out amongst others, in the right Wing of his Battell, setting his men againe in order, and encouraging of them. After he had set eye on him, it was no holding of him backe, his heart so rose against him upon sight of him, that giving place to wrath, he neither regarded his person, nor the intent of his Journey, but returning far before his men, he cryed with a loud voyce to the Tyrant, and challenged the Combate of him. The Tyrant would not abide him, nor come out to fight with him, but fled, and hid himselfe amongst his Souldiers. But for his Souldiers, the first that thought to set upon *Pelopidas*, was slaine by him, and many left dead in the Field. The residue standing stoutly to it, and close together, did passe his Curaces through with their long Pikes, and thrust him into the breast. The THESSALIANS seeing him thus sore handled and distressed, for pity sake came running from the top of those Hills, to the place where *Pelopidas* was, to helpe him. But even as they came, he fell downe dead before them. Then did they together with their Horsemen so fiercely set upon them, that they made the whole Battell of the Enemies to flie : and following them in chafe a great way from that place, they covered the Valley with dead bodies, for they slew above three thousand men. It is no marvell, if the THEBANS that were at *Pelopidas* death, tooke it very heavily, and lamented bitterly : calling him their Father, their Saviour and Master, as one that had taught them the worthiest things that might be learned of any. But the THESSALIANS, and other friends and Confederates also of the City of THEBES, besides their exceeding in setting out their common Proclamations and Edicts in praise of his memory, and doing him all the honour that could be due to the most rare and excellent person that ever was : they did yet more shew their love and affection towards him, by their passing great sorrow and mourning they made for him. For it is said, that they that were at the Battell, did not put off their Armour, nor unbridle their Horses, nor would dresse their wounds, hearing tell of his death, before they went first and saw his body, not yet cold with fighting, laying great heapes of the Enemies Spoiles about it, as if he could have told what they had done ; nor before they had clipped off their owne haire, and the haire of their Horses, in token of sorrow. And many of them also, when they were come into their Tents and Pavillions, would neither have fire, eate, nor drinke : and all in the Campe were full of sorrow and mourning, as if they had not wonne a notable Victory, but had beene overthrowne and made subject by the Tyrant. Afterwards when the newes of his death was spread through all the Countrey, the Magi- strates of every City through which *Pelopidas* body was conveyed, went to receive it very honoura- bly, accompanied with all the young men, the Priests and children carrying Tokens and Crownes of Triumph, and other Ornaments of Gold ; and when his Funerall day was come, and that his body should be carried to be buried, the oldest and the noblest persons of the THESSALIANS went unto the THEBANS, and prayed them that they might have the burying of him : and one among them being the mouth of the rest spake in this manner to the THEBANS. " My Lords of THEBES, " our good beloved Friends and Confederates, we onely crave this good turne at your hands, where- " in you shall much honour us, and in our great calamity somewhat also comfort us. For we shall " never more accompany *Pelopidas* alive, nor requite his honourable deserts to us, that he shall ever " know them. But if it please you to let us handle his body with our hands, and that we may bury " him, and set forth his Obsequies, we will imagine then at the least, that you do thinke that which " we our selves do certainly believe : That we THESSALIANS, not you THEBANS, have re- " ceived the greater losse of both. For you have lost indeed a worthy Captaine, and we have not " only received the like losse with you, but the hope also of recovering of our Liberty. For how dare " we againe send to you for another Captaine, when we cannot redeliver you *Pelopidas* ? The THE- " BANS hearing their Petition, granted their desire : and in mine opinion, no Funerals could be done with greater Pompe and Honour, then the THESSALIANS performed his, being men that reckon not Dignity, Magnificence, and Pompe, to consist in Ornaments of Ivory, nor of Purple : as *Phi- listus* doth set it out, who praisth to the Moone the burying of *Dionysius* the Tyrant of SYRACUSA, which was the end of his Tyranny, as a sumptuous conclusion of a stately Tragedy. And *Alexander* himselfe did mourne for his death, shewing that deformity in stead of their former beauty. But all such things are done onely by force and compulsion, upon the Lords commandments, which do but raise up envie against their memory for whom they are done, and hatred of them that are against their wills constrained to do the thing they disliked : and are no just proofes of honour nor good will, but rather vaine shews of barbarous pompe and pride in him, that disposeth his Authority and plenty of Goods, in trifling toys not to be desired. Where contrariwise it plainly appeareth, that a private man dying in a foraigne Countrey, by reason should be accounted most happy of all other creatures, that having neither his Wife, Kinne, nor his Children by him, he should be conveyed to his Funerals, pinest- accompanied with such multitudes of crowned People and number of Cities, envying one another, who should most honour the Funerals, as being unrequited, and fast of all compelled. For saith *Esope*, The death of a happy man is not grievous, but most blessed, seeing it bringeth all good mens doings

Pelopidas slaine.

The great lamentation and mourning for *Pelopidas* death.

The Oration of the Thebans to the Thebans.

The strange manner of sorrow of *Alexander* the Great, for the death of *Ephesion*.

Pelopidas hap- pinest.

Esope saying of the happiness of the dead.

Death a blef-
sed thing.

The Thebanes
revenged Pelo-
pidas death.

Alexander the
Tyrant of
Thebes flaine
by his Wife.

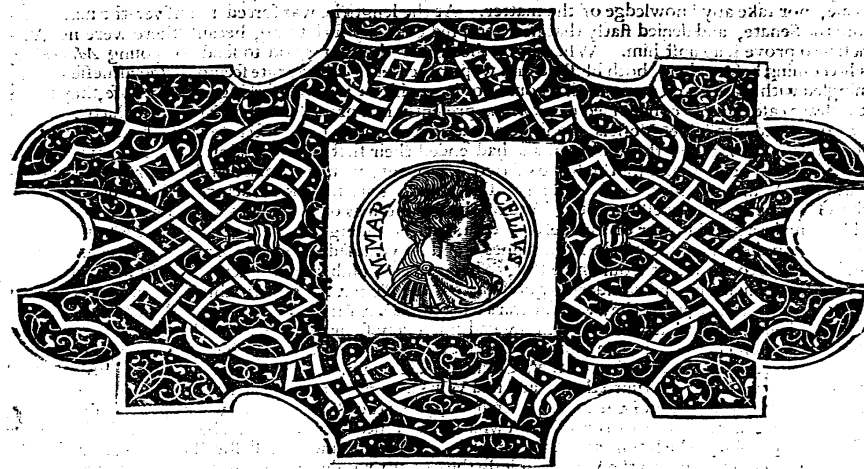
doings to happineffe, and leaveth Fortune to her fickle change, and sporting pleasure. But in my judgement a LACEDÆMONIAN spake better, when he said to *Diagorus* an old man, that had him-
felfe in old time gotten victory in the Games Olympicall, and had seene besides his owne Children,
and his Childrens Children (both Sonnes and Daughters) crowned with Victories also in the selfe-
same Games: O *Diagorus*, die presently, else thou shalt never come to Heaven. But these Victo-
ries of the Olympicall and Pythian Games, whosoever should put them all together, are not to be
compared with one of the Battels onely, that *Pelopidas* had fought and wonne: having spent the most
part of his time in great Calling and Dignity, and lastly ended the same, being Governour of BOE-
OTIA the third time (which was the highest Office of State in all his Countrey) when he had de-
stroyed the Tyrants that kept the THEBANES in bondage, and was also flaine himfelfe, valiantly
fighting for the recovery of the THESSALIANS Liberty. But as *Pelopidas* death was grievous to
the THEBANES Friends and Confederates: so fell it out very profitable for them. For the THE-
BANES hearing of *Pelopidas* death, did not delay revenge, but sent an Army forthwith of seven
thousand Footmen, and seven hundred Horsemen, under the conduct of *Malcitas* and of *Diagiton*.
They finding *Alexanders* Army overthrowne, and that he had lost the most part of his strength, did
compell him to give up the THESSALIANS Townes he kept by force against them, and to set the
MAGNETIANS, the PHTIOTES, and the ACHATANS at liberty, withdrawing his Garisons
he had placed in their strong Holds: and therewithall to sweare, that from thenceforth he would
march under the THEBANES, against any Enemy they should leade him, or command him to go
against. So the THEBANES were pacified upon these Conditions. Now will I tell you how the
gods plagued him soone after for *Pelopidas* death, who (as we have told you before) had prettily in-
structed *Thebe* his Wife, that she should not feare the outward appearance nor power of his Tyranny,
although she were environed with Souldiers of banished men, whom the Tyrant entertained to guard
his person. Her selfe on the other side, fearing his fallhood, as also hating his cruelty, conspired
her Husbonds death with her three Brethren, *Tiphonius*, *Pytholamus*, and *Lycophron*, and executed her
Conspiracy after this sort. The Tyrants Palace where he lay, was straightly guarded every where
with Souldiers, who nightly watched his person: but their Bed-chamber which they commonly used
to lye in, was in the top of all his Palace, where they kept a Dogge tied at the Chamber doore, to
give warning, which was a terrible Dogge, and knew none but the Tyrant and his Wife, and his Kee-
per that gave him meate. Now when *Thebe* purposed to worke her feate, she locked up her three
Brethren a whole day neare unto their Bed-chamber. So when night was come, and being bed time,
she went her selfe alone according to her manner, into *Alexanders* Chamber: and finding him asleep,
she stole out straight againe, and bade the Keeper of the Dogge to carry the Dogge away, for her
Husband was disposed to take rest, and would have no noise. There was no way to get up to this
Chamber but by a Ladder, which she let downe: and fearing lest her Brethren should make a noise,
she had covered the Ladder-staves with wooll before she let it fall downe. When she had gotten them
up with their Swords, and had set them before the doore, she went first her selfe into the Chamber,
and tooke away the Tyrants Sword that hung at his Beds head, and shewed it them as a token given
them that he was asleepe. When it came to the pinch to do the deede, these young men were afraid,
and their hearts began to faile them. But she tooke on with them, and called them cowardly Boyes,
that would not stand to it when it came to the point; and withall sware in her rage, that she would
go wake the Tyrant, and open all the Treason to him. So partly for shame, and partly for feare,
she compelled them to come in, and to step to the Bed, her selfe holding a Lampe to light them. Then
one of them tooke him by the feete, and bound them hard: another caught him by the haire of his
head, and pulled him backward: and the third thrust him through with his Sword. So by chance he
died sooner then he should have done, and otherwise then his wicked life deserved, for the manner
of his death. So *Alexander* was the first Tyrant that was ever flaine by the Treason of
his Wife, whose body was most villanously and despitfully used after his
death. For when the Townesmen of PHERES had drawne him
through the City in the mire and dirt, they cast
him out at the length to the Dogges
to devoure.

The end of Pelopidas Life.

Alexander the
Tyrant of
Pheres was the
first Tyrant
that was flaine
by his Wife.

THE LIFE OF

MARCELLUS.



Ann. Mund.
3736.

Ant. Christ.
212.



Marcus Claudius that was five times Consul at ROME, was the Sonne *Marcellus* Kin-
(as they say) of another *Marcus*: and as *Polidonius* writeth, he was red.
the first of his House surnamed *Marcellus*, as who would say, a martiall
and warlike man by nature. For he was cunning at Weapons, skilfull in
Warres, strong and luffy of body, hardy, and naturally given to fight.
Yet was he no quarreller, nor shewed his great courage, but in Warres
against the Enemy: otherwise he was very gentle, and faire conditioned.
He loved Learning, and delighted in the Greeke Tongue, and much esteem-
ed them that could speake it. For he himfelfe was so troubled in mat-
ters of State, that he could not study and follow it, as he desired to have
done. For if God (as *Homer* saith) did ever make men

To use their youth in Warres, and Battels fierce and fell,
Till crooked age came creeping on, such feates for to expell.

They were the noblest and chiefeest men of ROME at that time. For in their youth, they fought with
the CARTHAGINIANS in SICILE: in their middle age, against the GAULES, to keepe them
from the winning of all ITALY: and againe in their old age, against *Hannibal* and the CARTH-
AGINIANS. For their age was no priviledge for them to be dispensed with, in the service of their
Warres, as it was else for common Citizens: but they were both for their Nobility, as also for their
valiantnesse and experience in Warres, driven to take charge of the Armies delivered them by the Se-
nate and People. Now for *Marcellus*, there was no Battell could make him give ground being pra-
ctised in all Fights: but yet he was more valiant in private Combate man for man, then in any other
Fight. Therefore he never refused Enemy that did challenge him, but slew all those in the Field that
called him to combate. In SICILE he saved his Brother *Octavius* life, being overthrowne in a Skir-
mish: for with his Shield he covered his Brothers body, and slew them that came to kill him. These
valiant parts of him, being but a young man, were rewarded by the Generals under whom he served,
with many Crownes, and warlike honours, usually bestowed upon valiant Souldiers. *Marcellus* in-
creasing still his valiantnesse and good service, was by the People chosen *Aedylis*, as of the number
of those that were the worthiest men, and most honourable: and the Priests did create him *Augure*,
which is a kinde of Priesthood at ROME, having Authority by Law, to consider and observe the fly-
ing of Birds, to divine and prognosticate things thereupon. But in the yeare of his Office of *Ae-
dile*, he was forced against his will to accuse *Capitolinus*, his Brother in Office with him. For he be-
ing a rash and dissolute man of life, fell in dishonest love with his Collegues Sonne *Marcellus*, that
bare his owne name: who being a goodly young Gentleman, and newly come to mans state, was as
well thought of, and taken of every man for his manhood and good qualities, as any way for his
beauty

The Romanes
troubled with
Warres.

Marcellus saved
his Brother *O-
ctavius*.

Marcellus cho-
sen *Aedilis* and
Augure.

Marcellus accu-
sed *Capitolinus*.

THE

beauty and personage. The first time *Capitolinus* moved this dishonesty to him, he did of himselfe repulse his shamelesse offer, without any other privacy: but when he saw he came againe to tempt him the second time, he straight revealed it to his Father. *Marcellus* his Father being marvellously offended withall (as he had good cause) went and accused *Capitolinus* before the Senate. *Capitolinus* at the first, laid in many exceptions and feigned excuses, to keepe him from appearing, and in the end he appealed to the Tribunes of the People: but they declared plainly they would not receive his Appeal, nor take any knowledge of the matter. At the length he was forced to answer the matter before the Senate, and denied flatly that he attempted ever any such thing, because there were no Witnesses to prove it against him. Whereupon the Senate thought good to send for young *Marcellus*, who coming before them, both blushed and wept together. The Senate seeing shamefastnesse in him, mingled with teares, and a malice that could not be pacified: without seeking other proofe, they tooke it a cleare case, and so condemned *Capitolinus* presently in a great summe of Money, which *Marcellus* converted into Silver Vessels, to serve at Sacrifices, and so did consecrate them to the service of the gods. Now when the ROMANES had ended their first Warre against the CARTHAGINIANS, which held them fully the space of two and twenty yeares: immediately after that, they began a new Warre against the GAULES. For the INSUBRIANS, being a People derived from the GAULES, and dwelling at the foote of the Mountaines of the ALPES on ITALY side, being able to make a good Power of themselves, did notwithstanding pray aide of the other GAULES inhabiting on the other side of the Mountaines: and they called the GESSATES, mercenary People and hirelings to them that would give Pay, to bring great numbers with them. Truly methinks it was a marvellous matter, and wonderfull good hap for the ROMANES, that this War of the GAULES came not upon them, while they were at wars with the CARTHAGINIANS: and that the GAULES also had lien quiet all that while (as if they had purposely tworne to set upon the Conquerors) expecting still an end betwene them, and then to set upon the Conquerors, when they had nothing to say to any other. Yet the situation of their Countrey did trouble the ROMANES much, because they were so neare Neighbours unto them, and had Wars as it were at their owne doores. And so did the ancient reputation of the GAULES somewhat appaule the ROMANES, whom, as it should seeme, they did feare more then any other Nation whatsoever: because ROME had beene taken before by the GAULES. Since which time a Law was made, that Priests and Ecclesiasticall persons should be dispenced with from going to the Wars, unlesse the GAULES did rise against them. The preparation they made for this Warre at that time, did plainly shew the feare they had then of the GAULES. For it is thought, that never before nor since, there were so many naturall ROMANES assembled together in Field, as were then at that present. Moreover, the new-come cruelty they used in their Sacrifices, doth record this to be true. For before they never used any strange manner in their Sacrifice, or barbarous fashion, but were favourable in their opinions about the Ceremonies of Religion, and agreeable to the GRECIANS touching the service of the gods. But then they were compelled to obey certaine Oracles and ancient Prophecies they found written in *Sibyls* Bookes: and they buried two GRECIANS alive in the Oxe-Market, a Man and a Woman, and likewise two GAULES, a Man and a Woman. Unto them they do yet continue certaine secret Anniversaries in November, that are not to be seene of every body. The ROMANES in their first Battels of this Warre, were often overcome, and did overcome: but these Battels, were to little purpose for ending of the Wars. In the yeare that *C. Quintus Flaminius*, and *P. Furius Philo* were Consuls, and sent with great Armies to make Warre upon the INSUBRIANS, People subject to the State of MILLANE, newes were brought to ROME, there was a River seene in the Countrey of ROMANIA, red as bloud, and three Moones also at the very same time in the City of RIMINI. Furthermore, the Priests and Sooth-sayers that had observed and considered the tokens and significations of Birds on that day, when these two were chosen Consuls: they told plainly there was error in their election, and that they were directly chosen against all signes and tokens of the Birds. Thereupon the Senate wrote immediately to the Campe to them, and willed them to come home to depose themselves of their Consulship, before they did attempt any thing as Consuls against the Enemies. The Consull *Flaminius* received the Letters in time: but because he was ready to give Battell, he would not open them, before he had first overthrowne his Enemies, and spoiled their Countrey, as indeed he did. But when he was come backe to ROME againe, and had brought marvellous great Spoiles with him, the People for all that would not go out to meet him, because he did not presently obey the Letters they wrote unto him, nor returned upon it as they commanded him, but contemptuously, without any regard of their pleasure, followed his owne fantasie: whereupon they had almost flatly denied him the honour of Triumph. For his Triumph was no sooner ended, but they compelled him to give over his Consulship, and made him a private man with his companion. The ROMANES therein were so religiously bent, as they would all things should be referred unto the gods good grace and pleasure, and would suffer none to contemne the observations and prognosticating of the Sooth-sayers, nor their ancient uses and customes, for any prosperity and felicity that could happen. For they thought it more necessary and profitable, for benefit of the Common-weale, that the Senate and Magistrates should reverence the Ceremonies and Service of the gods, then that they should overcome their Enemies in Battell. As for example, *Tiberius Sympronius*, a man as much honoured and esteemed of the ROMANES for his justice and valiantnesse, as any other of his time, being one yeare Consull, did nominate and elect two other for Consuls the yeare following, *Scipio Nasica*, and *Caius Marcius*. These two being entred into their Consulship, and sent from ROME also to their severall Provinces appointed them by lot: *Sempronius* by

The ROMANES had Warre with the CARTHAGINIANS: two yeares together. The Warres of the GAULES. Gessates mercenary Gaules.

A Law to exempt Ecclesiasticall persons from the Wars. The ROMANES did feare the Warres of the GAULES. Men and Women buried alive.

Flaminius and *P. Furius* Consuls. News brought to ROME, of strange things seene in ROMANIA.

Flaminius overcome the GAULES in Battell.

The great Religion of the ROMANES.

by chance took certain little Bookes in his hand, where were briefly written the rules appertaining to the Ceremonies of publike sacrifice: and reading in them, he found a certaine ordinance he never heard before. And this it was: That if a Magistrate were set in any Tent or hired House without the City, to behold and observe the Prognostications of Birds, and that upon any sodain occasion he were driven to come againe into the City, before the Birds had given any certaine signes: the second time when he returned againe to end his observations, there was no remedy, but he must leave his Tent or first hired House, and take another, and begin new observations againe. *Tiberius* utterly ignorant of this ordinance before, had kept his observations twice in one self House, and had chosen there *Nasica* and *Martius*, Consuls to succeed him. But when he knew he had offended, he told the Senate of it: who would not let slip so little a fault, but wrote to the new Consuls, and they straight left their Provinces, and returned againe to ROME, willingly resigning up their Offices. That was a pretty while after. Again also, about the very present time we write of now, there were two Priests of Noble Houses (and Noble persons also) the one called *Cornelius*, and the other *Cetheus*, both which were degraded of their Priesthood, because they had not given the intrails of the sacrificed Beast in order as they should have done. *Quintus Sulpitius* in like manner, was degraded of his Bishoprick, because his Miter which the FLAMINIUS do weare, fell off his Head in his sacrificing. *Minnius* being Dictator also, and having chosen *Caius Flaminius* Generall of the Horsemen: because they heard the noise of a Rat at the Election of *Flaminius*, they were both put out of their authority and other chosen in their place. Now, though they were thus precise even in trifles, it was not by reason of any superstition mingled with their Religion: but because they would not break any jot of the Ancient Institutions and Ceremonies of their Countrey. But to our story againe. *Flaminius* being deprived of his Consulship, *Marcellus* was created Consull in his place, by the regents at that time called *Interreges*, *Marcellus* being instituted in his Office, chose *Cneus Cornelius* for his companion: and they say, that the GAULES being inclined to peace, and the Senate of ROME, also willing to harken to peace, *Marcellus* did stir up the People, and made them desire war. Notwithstanding, they concluded peace at that time: but the GAULES GESSATES immediately after renewed the Wars againe. For there came over the mountaines of the ALPES, thirty thousand of them, and they joyned with the INSUBRIANS, which were many more in number then themselves. Now, they being in a marvellous jollity, went incontinently to lay siege to the City of ACERRES, that standeth upon the River of Po: and during the siege, King *Britomarus* taking Ten thousand GESSATES with him, went and destroyed all the Countrey above the Po. *Marcellus* hearing that, left with his companion *Cneus Cornelius*, all the Armed Footmen, and the third part of the Horsemen, in his Camp by ACERRES: and he himselfe with the residue of the Horsemen, and six hundred Footmen light Armed, marched towards the Enemy, travelling night and day, until he met with Ten thousand GESSATES, neare unto a village of GAULE on this side the mountaines, called CLASTIDIUM, which was subject not long before to the ROMANES. So he had no leasure to take rest, nor to refresh his men a little: for the Barbarous People knew straight he was come, and took him for no better then by and by overcome, because he had so few Footmen. And for his Horsemen the GAULES made no reckoning of them: for besides themselves are very good men at Armes, and excell all other in that fight, yet were their number of Horsemen far above *Marcellus*. Therefore they straight marched towards him in a marvellous fury, and with thundring shouts, as if they would have devoured them at their coming, *Britomarus* their King advanced himselfe before all his company. *Marcellus* fearing to be compassed in behinde, being so small a number: he put out the wings of his Horsemen as much as he could, to have the Countrey at large, so that his two wings were very slender, until he came neere his Enemies. And being ready to gallop towards the Enemy, it fortuneed his Horse being afraid with the noise of his Enemies, turned about, and carried *Marcellus* back againe in spite of his teeth. But he fearing the ROMANES superstition, in taking this for an evil, token, and that they would take a conceit upon the same: blucking the bridle with his left hand, turned his Horse head again upon the Enemy, and then he worshipped the Sun, as though he had not turned his Horse by chance, but purposely for that cause. For it is the ROMANES manner to turne about so, when they do honour their gods. So when they began to joynne Battell he made a vow to *Jupiter Feretrian*, to offer him up the goodliest spoiles of the Enemies, if he did overcome. The King of the GAULES seeing him at that instant, imagined by the marks and tokens he saw, that he should be the Generall of his Enemies: So he set spurs to his Horse, and galloped towards him from all his company, giving him defiance, and challenged him, shaking his staffe in his hand. He was the goodliest person and strongest man of all the GAULES, and his Armour was all gilt and silvered, and so set forth with sundry workes and Colours, that it shined as the Sun. *Marcellus* on the other side having viewed all the Army of his Enemies throughout, and perceiving none so richly Armed as the King, thought straight it was against him, that he had made his Prayer and vow to *Jupiter*. Then he put his Horse in full carriere against him, and came with such a force and fury to him, that he pierced his Armour with his staffe, and overthrowne him, but yet he killed him not dead: whereupon he so dauidely redoubled two or three strokes besides upon him, and so slew him right out. Then he lighted from his Horse, and taking the dead Kings Armour in his hand, he lift up his eyes to heaven, and said: O *Jupiter Feretrian*, thou that dost from heaven behold and direct all martiall feates and Captaines deeds: thy self I call to witnesse, that I am the third ROMANE Captaine, that being Generall of the Army, have slaine with my own hands, The King and Generall of the Enemies: and I promise here to thee, to offer thee up the richest spoiles of mine Enemies, so thy

An ordinance for publike sacrifice.

Marcellus and *Cneus Cornelius* Consuls.

The GAULES Gessates make war with ROME, and came over the ALPES. *Acerres*, a City upon the River of Po.

Clastidium, a Village on this side the mountaines.

The manner of the ROMANES when they worship.

The combat on Horseback bewixt *Britomarus* King of the GAULES, and *Marcellus*. *Marcellus* slue King *Britomarus* at *Clastidium*. *Marcellus* Prayer unto *Jupiter Feretrian*.

The Gauls
overcome by
Marcellus.

Marcellus was
the City of
Milaene.

Marcellus Tri-
umph.

Marcellus offer-
ing up of his
rich spoiles.
The three per-
sons that offer-
ed up Spolia O-
pima in Rome:
Romulus, Cossus,
Marcellus. Iup-
iter Feretrius
why so called.

Spolia Opima
what they be.

* That is a-
bout thirty
Crowns.

Marcellus sent
into Sicile
with an Army.

gohhead will vouchsafe to grant us the like good fortune in all this Warre besides. His prayer ended, the men of Armes of the ROMANES ranne in among the Horsemen and Footemen of the GAULES, one being unperturbed from another: and Fortune did so favour them, that they won a passing Victory, in such a strange and wonderfull manner, as was incredible. For it was never seene before nor since, that so few Horsemen did overthrow so great a number of men of Armes and Footmen ranged together. Now when Marcellus had slaine the greater number of them, and had gotten their spoiles and all their baggage, he returned againe to his Companion Cnem Cornelius, whom he found making Warres unfortunately with the GAULES, before the greatest and most populous City they had, called MILLAINE, which the GAULES on this side the Mountaines take for their chiefe City, and from whence all other had their first originall. Whereupon they did all their possible endeavour to defend it, and did as straightly besiege the Confull Cornelius, as he did them. Now when Marcellus was come to the Campe againe, the GESSATES understanding that their King Britomarus was slaine in battell, returned back againe into their country, and the City of MILLAINE was taken. After that all the other Cities thereabouts yielded of themselves, without force of siege, and the GAULES wholly submitted themselves and all that they had to the mercy of the ROMANES, who granted them Peace upon easie conditions. For these famous Victories, the Senate of ROME gave all the honour of Triumph unto Marcellus onely, and that was as wonderfull and worthy a sight, as any that ever past before him: what for the infinite spoiles, and the number of great men taken Prisoners, as also for the exceeding sumptuousnesse and stately shew thereof. But the goodliest sight of all for the rarenesse, was to behold Marcellus selfe, carrying on his shoulders the whole spoile of the barbarous King, to offer up to Iupiter Feretrius. For he had cut downe a goodly young Oke of the Mountaine, straight, and shot up very long, which he had trimmed up in forme of Triumph, hanging all the armed pieces he had wonne of the King, very orderly round about it. Then when all the shew of his Triumph was past, he himselfe tooke the Oke upon his shoulders, and got up upon his Triumphant Chariot, and so marched thorow the City, carrying these signes thereupon: which was the noblest sight, and honourablest shew of the whole Triumph. His Army followed after the Chariot, singing Verses and Songs of Victory, in praise of the gods and their Captaine: and when he had passed through the whole City, and was come to the Temple of Iupiter called Feretrius, there he set up this young Oke and token of Triumph. This Marcellus is the third and last ROMANE Captaine, to whom happened this honour in our age. For the first man that ever offered up to Iupiter the spoiles of the Generall of their Enemies, was King Romulus, who won the like spoiles of Acran King of the CENINIANS. The second was Cornelius Cossus, who slew Tolumnius Generall of the TUSCANS. And the third was Marcellus, who slew with his owne hands Britomarus King of the GAULES: and after him, no man ever since could obtaine the like good fortune. The god to whom these manner of spoiles are consecrated thus, is called Iupiter Feretrius, so termed as some write, because they do carry this token of Triumph to him, following the derivation of this Greek word, Ferin, which signifieth to carry: for in those former times, many Greeke words were mingled with the Latine. Other affirme it is one of the surnames of Iupiter, signifying as much as lightning: for Ferire in the Latine tongue signifieth to strike. And some say also, in Wars it is properly to hurt or kill with his owne hands: for the ROMANES do use at this day when they give a charge upon their Enemies in battell, or that they have them in chase flying, to cry, encouraging one another, Feri, Feri, which is as much as, kill, kill. And the spoiles taken from the Enemies also, are generally called Spolia: but those which Lieutenants generally, or Generals, do take from the Generals of their Enemies, when they have slaine them, they are called particularly, Spolia opima. Yet some hold opinion that King Numa Pompilius mentioning the rich spoiles, or Spolia Opima, in his Commentaries, speaketh of the first, the second, and the third: and commandeth that the first spoiles which are wonne, should be consecrated to Iupiter Feretrius: the second unto Mars: and the third unto Quirinus. And that they should give to him that had wonne the first spoiles, three hundred * Asles, the second, two hundred: and the third a hundred. But notwithstanding, the best opinion, and usuall taking of Spolia Opima, referreth them to be the first spoiles wonne in a foughten field, and those which the Lieutenant of an Army, or a Generall doth take from the Generall of the Enemies, after he hath slain him with his owne hands. And thus much for the declaration of this matter. Furthermore, the ROMANES were so joyfull of this Victory, and of their good successe in this warre, that they caused a massie cup of Gold to be made of the spoil they had gotten, weighing a hundred Pound weight, which they sent to offer up in the Temple of Apollo Pythias, in the City of DELPHES in token of thanks: and they made liberall division besides of the spoiles unto their friends and confederates, and sent a great part of it unto Hieron King of SYRACUSA, who was their confederate. Not long after Hannibal being entred ITALY. Marcellus was sent with an Army by sea, into SICILE. And after the great overthrow was given at the battell of CANNES, wherein there died so many thousand ROMANES, and that very few of them saved themselves by flying into the City of CANNUSIUM: they looked that Hannibal having overcome the flower of all the ROMANES youth, and their greatest force, would not fail to come straight to ROME. Wherefore Marcellus first sent fifteene hundred of his men by sea, to helpe to defend ROME: and having afterwards received commandement from the Senate, he came to CANNUSIUM, where he took such as were fled thither for succour after the battell, and so brought them out of the field, to defend the Country. Now the ROMANES having lost the most part of all their best Captaines, in

divers

divers sundry Battels before: of all those that remained, Fabius Maximus was the only able and reputed man for commendation of his honesty and wisdom, yet they misliked of him notwithstanding, for a timorous man, and of no courage, as a man too full of doubts and considerations; and loth to put any thing in hazard: saying, he was a good Captaine to defend, but not to offend the Enemy. Whereupon they thought good to joyne Marcellus lively youth and courage, with Fabius feminine feare and wisdom: and therefore some years they chose them both Consuls together, or else they sent one of them as Confull, and the other as Proconfull, each in his turre, to the Countrey where they had Warres. And for prooffe hereof Posidonius writeth, that the ROMANES at that time called Fabius Maximus their Target, and Marcellus their Sword. Therefore Hannibal himselfe said, he feared Fabius Maximus as his Governour, and Marcellus as his Enemy: because the one kept him from hurting of others, and the other did hurt to himselfe. Immediately after this great Victory at CANNES, Hannibals Souldiers became so bold, so carelesse and disordered, that they kept the Field without feare of any thing, and dispersed themselves far from their Camp: wherefore Marcellus setting upon those straglers, he slew them every man, and so by little and little did still lessen the power and strength of his Enemy. Afterwards he aided the Cities of BIZANTIUM and of NOLA, and stablished the true devotion and love of the BYZANTINES towards the ROMANES: from thence he went to NOLA, and found great sedition there betwixt the Senate and the People, because the Senate could not keepe the People in obedience, but they would needs take Hannibals part. The Cause of the Peoples stubbornnesse grew, by occasion of a Gentleman of the City called Bandius, a noble Gentleman to the People, and a valiant man of his hands. This Bandius having fought valiantly at the Battell of CANNES, after he had slaine many a CARTHAGINIAN, was himselfe in the end stricken downe, and found lying among the dead bodies, fore wounded and mangled: whereupon Hannibal greatly commending his valiantnesse, did not only let him goe without Ransome, but also gave him rich Gifts, and made him his Host and Friend. Hereupon Bandius at his coming home, to requite Hannibals honour and courtesie, became one of those that most favoured Hannibal, and most perswaded the people of NOLA to take his part. Notwithstanding this, Marcellus thinking it too great a sinne against the gods, to put a man to death that had made so great prooffe of his valiantnesse, and had served with the ROMANES in their greatest Warres and extremest danger, and who besides the goodnesse of his nature, had a marvellous gift also to winne mens good wils by his great courtesie: when this Bandius came one day to doe his duty to him, Marcellus of purpose asked him what he was, though he had knowne him long before, onely to take occasion to talke with him. The other answered him, his Name was Lucius Bandius. Then Marcellus seeming to be marvellous glad, and to wonder at him said: And art thou that Bandius they speake so much of at ROME, whom they say did so notable service in person at the Battell of CANNES, and never forsooke Paulus Emylius the Confull, but received so many wounds upon his body in defence of him? Bandius answered, that he was the man, and therewith shewed him many wounds he had upon his body. Marcellus then replied: Alas, thou that carrest such notable marks of thy unfeigned love toward us, what didst thou meane, that thou camest not straight againe unto us? art thou perswaded we are so miserable and unthankfull, that we will not worthily reward the vertue and valiantnesse of our friends, whom our Enemies selves do honour? After Marcellus had used this courteous speech unto him, and had embraced him, he gave him a goodly Horse for service in the Warres, and five hundred Drachmes of silver besides. So after that time, Bandius did ever take Marcellus part, and alwayes followed him, being very faithfull to him, and shewed himselfe very severe and earnest to accuse them that tooke Hannibals part in the City: which were many in number, and had conspired among themselves, that the first time the ROMANES should goe into the Field to skirmish with the Enemies, they would shut the gates after them, and take the spoile of all their Carriages. Marcellus being informed of this Treason, did set his Men in battell ray within the City, hard by the gates, and behind them he placed all the Sumpters and Carriage in good order: besides that, he made proclamation by Trumpet, that no Citizen upon paine of death should approach the Walles. This occasion drew Hannibal to come hard to the City, seeing no watch upon the Walles, and made him the bolder to come in disorder, imagining there had been some Mutiny or sedition within, between the Noble men and the People. But in the meane time, Marcellus set open the gate being hard by, and sallying out upon the sodaine with the best men of Armes he had, he gave a charge upon Hannibal in the vaward. Immediately after came out his Footmen at another gate, running straight upon Hannibal, with a wonderfull cry and shour: so as Hannibal to withstand them, was driven to divide his men into two Companies. But as he was dividing of them, sodainly a third gate opened upon them, from whence all the residue of the ROMANES issued out, who set upon the CARTHAGINIANS on every side, they being marvellously amazed to be so sodainly set on, which they looked not for: so having their hands full with those that came first upon them, being scant able to defend themselves against them, and seeing this new and last charge also, they were forced to retire. This was the first time, that ever Hannibals Souldiers began to give place to the ROMANES, who drave them back unto their Campe, and slew a great number of them, and did hurt divers of them besides. For some write there were slaine of the CARTHAGINIANS at that conflict, above five thousand, and of the ROMANES there died not past five hundred men. But Titus Livius doth not set out the overthrow so great, and yet confesseth that Marcellus wan great honour by it, and that it made the ROMANES marvellous valiant againe, after so many and sundry Battels as they had lost one after another: for then

Posidonius
words of Fab-
ius and Mar-
cellus.

Lucius Bandius
of Nola, a valiant
man.

Marcellus gen-
tlesse.

Reward made
Bandius a true
subject.

Marcellus
Victory of
Hannibal at
Nola.

Marcellus pro-
confull.

Certaine Span-
iards and Nu-
midians revol-
ted from Han-
nibal.

Marcellus the
third time
Confull sent
into Sicily.

The severity
of the Romans
to cowardly
soldiers.

Cowards de-
serted of the
Romans.

Hippocrates
Generall of
the Syracusans.

then they were perswaded that they fought not with an Enemy altogether invincible, but that he might sometime also, as well as themselves, receive both losse and hurt. Therefore, one of the Consuls dying about that time, the people caused *Marcellus* to be sent for, and placed him in his roome: and in spite of the Senate they deferred all deputation untill his returne from the Campe. *Marcellus* came no sooner to Rome, but he was chosen Confull in the dead mans roome, by all the voices of the People. Notwithstanding, when they went to choose him, it thundered marvellously: which the Priests and Augures tooke for an ill token, but yet they durst not openly speake against his election, because they feared the People. Howbeit *Marcellus* of himselfe did willingly give up his Consulship, and yet was it no exception to him for his service in the Warres; for they created him Proconfull, and sent him againe to the Campe at NOIA, where he did severely punish such as tooke *Hannibals* part: who being advertised thereof, came thither with all possible speede to helpe them: and even at his first coming he offered *Marcellus* Battell, which he refused at that time. Nevertheless he tooke his time, when *Hannibal* had sent the best part of his Army to forage, as meaning to fight no more Battels: and then he set upon him, having given his Footmen long Pikes, such as they use in fight upon the Sea, and taught them also, how to hurt the Enemy a-farre off, keeping them still in their hands. But the CARTHAGINIANS having no skill of their Pikes, and fighting with short Javelins in their hands, did strike downe right blowes: which was the cause, that they being set upon by the ROMANES, were driven to turne their backs, and flie before them. So there were five thousand of the CARTHAGINIANS left dead in the field, foure Elephants slaine, and two taken alive: and furthermore, three dayes after the Battell, there came three hundred Horsemen, some of them SPANIARDS, and other NUMIDIANS, that submitted themselves to the ROMANES. Never came there such a misfortune before to *Hannibal*: who had of long time kept together in love and amity, an Army assembled of sundry barbarous Nations and people. Howbeit these three hundred continued ever after faithfull to the end, both to *Marcellus*, and to all other Lieutenants and Generals of the ROMANES. Shortly after, *Marcellus* being againe chosen Confull the third time, went into SICILE. For *Hannibals* prosperous successe and Victories, had so encouraged the CATHAGINIANS, as they fought againe to conquer this Island: and specially because that after the death of *Hieronymus* the Tyrant, there rose some tumult at SYRACUSA. Upon which occasion the ROMANES had sent an Army thither before, and a Prator called *Appius*: at whose hands *Marcellus* having received the Army, a great number of the ROMANES became humble suiters to him, to pray him to aide them in their calamity, which was this: Of those that escaped from the Battell of CANNES, some saved themselves by flying, other were taken Prisoners, of which there was such a number, as it appeared that Rome had not people enough left onely to keepe the wallies. Nevertheless those few that remained, their hearts were so great, that they would never redeeme the Prisoners, which *Hannibal* was contented to deliver them upon small ranfome, but made a Decree they should not be redeemed: and so suffered some of them to be killed, others to be sold for slaves out of ITALY. And moreover, those that saved themselves by flying, they sent straight into SICILE: commanding they should not set a foote againe in ITALY, whilest they had Wars with *Hannibal*. These were the men that came altogether, and fell downe at *Marcellus* feet, so soone as he arrived in SICILE, and humbly besought him, to appoint them to serve under some Ensigne, that they might fight to doe their Country honour and service: promising him with teares running downe their cheekes, that their faithfull service then should witness for them, that the overthrow they had at CANNES, fell upon them rather by misfortune, then through lack of courage. Whereupon *Marcellus* having compassion on them, wrote to the Senate in their favour, and prayed them that they would grant him licence to supply the bands of his Army, as they diminished, with those poore ROMANES his Countrymen. Many reasons passed too and fro, against this sute: nevertheless it was concluded in the end by the Senate, that the Common-wealth made no reckoning of the service of faint-hearted men like Women: wherefore if *Marcellus* thought good of their service, yet it should not be lawfull for him to give them any Crownes or rewards of Honour, for any notable service soever they did, as all Generals are wont to give to honest men that serve valiantly. This Order of the Senate milked *Marcellus* very much, who at his returne home out of SICILE, made his complaint in open Senate, and told them they did him manifest wrong, to deny him that favour, that having done the Common-wealth such faithfull service divers times, as he had done, he might not restore so many poore ROMANES to their Honour againe. Now when *Marcellus* was in SICILE, he received great hurts and injuries by *Hippocrates* Generall of the SYRACUSANS: who, to pleasure the CARTHAGINIANS, and by their meanes to make himselfe chiefe Lord of SYRACUSA, did put many ROMANE Citizens to death. Whereupon *Marcellus* went and laid siege to the City of the LEONTINES, and when he had taken it by assault, he hurt never a Townsman, nor naturall Citizen of the same: but such Traitors as he found there, who had fled from his Campe, and yielded to the Enemies, them he caused to be whipped, and then hanged. But notwithstanding, *Hippocrates* had caused it to be bruited at SYRACUSA, that *Marcellus* had put all the LEONTINES to the sword, not sparing little Children: and afterwards *Hippocrates* coming thither on the sodaine, in the feare and garboile of this false brute, he easily tooke the City. *Marcellus* hearing *Hippocrates* had taken SYRACUSA, left forthwith the LEONTINES, and went with his whole Army and camped hard by SYRACUSA: and sent his Ambassadors to tell the SYRACUSANS truly, what he had done in the City of the LEONTINES, and quite contrary to that they were

Marcellus be-
sieged Syra-
cusa.

Archimedes a
notable Ma-
thematician.

Architas and
Eudoxus, fa-
mous Mathe-
maticians.

Why Plato re-
proved Eudox-
us and Architas.

Archimedes
with an En-
gine drew one
of the greatest
hulkes *Hieron*
the King had,
ashore.

The wonder-
full force of
Archimedes
Engines, at
Marcellus siege
of Syracusa.

were informed of. Howbeit that prevailed not, for they beleevd not *Marcellus*, because *Hippocrates* being the stronger, had won the City. Whereupon he began then to approach the Wallies, and to assault in every quarter, as well by Sea as by Land. *Appius* tooke charge of them that gave assault by Land. *Marcellus* himselfe with three score Gallies of five Oares at every banke, well armed, and full of all sorts of Artillery and Fire-works, did assault by Sea, and rowed hard to the Wall, having made a great Engine, and device of Battery, upon eight Gallies chained together, to batter the Wall: trusting in the great multitude of his Engines of Battery, and to all such necessary provision as he had for Warres, as also in his owne reputation. But *Archimedes* made light account of all his devices, as indeed they were nothing comparable to the Engines himselfe had invented: and yet were not his owne such, as himselfe did reckon of, to shew singularity of worke and device. For those he had made, were but his recreations of Geometry, and things done to passe the time with, at the request of King *Hieron*: who had prayed him to call to minde a little his Geometrical speculation, and to apply it to things corporall and sensible, and to make the reason of it demonstrative and plaine, to the understanding of the common people by experiment; and to the benefit and commodity of use. For this inventive art to frame Instruments and Engines, (which are called mechanicall, or organically, so highly commended and esteemed of all sorts of people) were first set forth by *Architas* and by *Eudoxus*, partly to beautifie a little the science of Geometry by this finesse; and partly to prove and confirme by material examples and sensible instruments, certaine Geometrical conclusions, whereof a man cannot finde out the conceivable demonstrations, by enforced reasons and proofes. As that conclusion which instructeth one to search out two lines meane proportionall, which cannot be proved by reason demonstrative: and yet notwithstanding is a principle and an accepted ground, for many things which are contained in the art of portraiture. Both of them have fashioned it to the workmanship of certaine Instruments, called Mesolabes or Mesographes; which serve to finde these meane lines proportionall, by drawing certaine curve lines, and overthrow and oblique sections. But after that, *Plato* was offended with them, and maintained against them, that they did utterly corrupt and disgrace the worthinesse and excellency of Geometry, making it to descend from things not comprehensible, and without body, unto things sensible and materiall, and to bring it to a palpable substance, where the vile and base handy-work of man is to be employed: since that time I say, handy craft, or the art of Engines, came to be separated from Geometry; and being long time disposed by the Philosophers, it came to be one of the warlike arts. But *Archimedes* having told King *Hieron*, his Kinsman and very Friend, that it was possible to remove as great a weight as he would, with as little strength as he listed to put to it: and boasting himselfe thus (as they report of him) and trusting to the force of his reasons, wherewith he proved this conclusion, that if there were another Globe of earth, he was able to remove this of ours, and passe it over to the other: King *Hieron* wondering to heare him, required him to put this device in execution, and to make him see by experience, some great and heavy weight removed by little force. So *Archimedes* caught hold with a Hooke of one of the greatest Carefts or Hulkes of the King, (that to draw it to the shore out of the water, required a marvellous number of people to goe about it, and was hardly to be done so) and put a great number of men more into her, then her ordinary burthen: and he himselfe sitting alone at his ease a-farre off, without any straining at all, drawing the end of an Engine with many wheelles and pulleys, faire and softly with his hand, made it come as gently and smoothly to him, as it had floated in the Sea. The King wondering to see that fight, and knowing by proofe the greatnesse of his art: he prayed him to make him some Engines, both to assault and defend in all manner of sieges and assaults. So *Archimedes* made him many Engines, but King *Hieron* never occupied any of them, because he reigned the most part of his time in peace, without any Warres. But this provision and munition of Engines, served the SYRACUSANS turne marvellously at that time: and not only the provision of the Engines ready made, but also the Engineer and Work-master himselfe that had invented them. Now the SYRACUSANS seeing themselves assaulted by the ROMANES both by Sea and by Land, were marvellously perplexed, and could not tell what to say, they were so afraid: imagining it was impossible for them to withstand so great an Army. But when *Archimedes* fell to handle his Engines, and to set them at Liberty, there flew in the aire infinite kinds of shot, and marvellous great stones, with an incredible noise and force on the sodaine, upon the Footmen that came to assault the City by Land, bearing downe and tearing in pieces all those which came against them, or in what place soever they lighted, no earthly body being able to resist the violence of so heavy a weight: so that all their ranks were marvellously disordered. And as for the Gallies that gave assault by Sea, some were sunke with long pieces of Timber like unto the Yards of Shippes, whereto they fasten their sayles, which were sodainly blowne over the Walls with force of these Engines into their Gallies, and so sunke them by their over great weight. Other being hoisted up by the Prooes with hands of Iron, and Hooks made like Cranes bils, plunged their Poopes into the Sea. Other being taken up with certaine Engines fastened within, one contrary to the other, made them turne in the aire like a Whirlegig, and so cast them upon the Rocks by the Town walls, and splitted them all to fitters, to the great spoile and murder of the Persons that were within them. And sometimes the Ships and Gallies were lift cleane out of the Water, that it was a fearefull thing to see them hang and turne in the aire as they did: untill that casting their Men within them over the Hatches, some here, some there, by this terrible turning, they came in the end to be empty, and to breake against the Wallies, or else to fall into the Sea againe, when their Engines left their hold.

Marcellus
Sambuca.

hold. Now for *Marcellus* Engine, which he brought against the Walles, upon a Bridge made of Gallies joyned together: that was called *Sambuca*, by reason of the fashion it had like to an instrument of musick of the same name, which is a Harpe. The same being yet a good pretty way off from the Walles, there fell a great stone upon it sent from the Walles, weighing ten Talents: then a second after that, and a third one after that, the which falling all into this Engine with such a thunder and terrible tempest, brake the foundation of the Engine, and tore all the Bridge of the Gallies joyned together in pieces, that sustained it. So that *Marcellus* being amazed withall, not knowing well what it meant, was glad to retire quickly, and sent to make his Trumpet found the retreat to those that gave assault by Land. Hereupon they fate in counsell to determine what was to be done, and they resolved, that the next morning before day they should approach the Walles if it were possible: because that *Archimedes* Engines, which were very strong and hard wound up, should by this meanes fend all the force and fury of their stones and shot over their heads, and that neare hand also he could doe no good with them, for that they had not the scope of their levell and carriage they should have. But *Archimedes* had prevented this device by long preparation before, having made provision of Engines for farre and neare, the levell and carriage whereof was proportioned for all distances: their shot short, their Arrowes not very long, many holes and arches in the Walles one hard by another, where there were store of Crosbowes to kill neare at hand, set in such places, as the Enemies could not see them without. Wherefore, when the *ROMANS* thought to approach, thinking they had bene safe and clofe, and no man saw them: it amazed them all when they were received againe with infinite shot, and stricken to the ground with stones that fell upon their heads like lead: (for there was no part of all the Walles, from whence they had not the like shot.) Whereupon they were forced againe to retire from the Walles. And yet when they were further off from them, the Arrowes, stones, and other kinde of shot, that flew in every place among them, killed a great number of them, scattered farre from thence: so that many of them were slaine and sore wounded, and divers of their Shippes splitted, and they not once able to be revenged, nor to hurt their Enemies, because *Archimedes* had placed his Engines very closely behind the Walles, and not upon the Walles in sight of the Enemy. So that it appeared the gods fought against the *ROMANS*, they were so slaine and wounded, and yet they could not tell how, nor by whom. Notwithstanding, *Marcellus* escaped with life, safe from hurt, and mocking his Workmaisters and Engineeres he had in his Campe, he said unto them: What shall we not leave to make Warres with this Briarian Engineer and Geometrician here? who sitting still upon the Wharfe in sporting manner hath with shame overthrowne our Navy, and exceeded all the fabulous hundred hands of the Giants, discharging at one instant so many shot among us? For indeed, all the residue of the *SYRACUSANS*, were as the body and members of *Archimedes* preparation: and he himselfe was the only creature that moved and did all, all Weapons else being quiet, and his Engines onely occupied, to assault and defend. At the length *Marcellus* seeing his men thus afraid, as if they did but see the end of a Rope, or any piece of Timber upon the Wall, they ranne away, crying out, that *Archimedes* was letting loose some of his Engines upon them: he would no more approach the Walles, nor give assault, determining to see if he could win it by long siege. Notwithstanding, *Archimedes* had such a great minde, and was so profoundly learned, having hidden in him the onely treasure and secrets of Geometrical inventions, as he would never set forth any Booke how to make all these warlike Engines, which wan him at that time the fame and glory, not of mans knowledge, but rather of divine wisdom. But he esteeming all kinde of handicraft and invention to make Engines, and generally all manner of Sciences bringing common commodity by the use of them, to be but vile, beggery, and mercenary droffe: employed his wit and study only to write things, the beauty and subtilty whereof, were not mingled any thing at all with necessity. For all that he hath written, are Geometrical propositions, which are without comparison of any other writings whatsoever: because the subject whereof they treat, doth appear by demonstration, the matter giving them the grace and the greatnesse, and the demonstration proving it so exquisitely, with wonderfull reason and facility, as it is not repugnable. For in all Geometry are not to be found more profound and difficult matters written, in more plaine and simple termes, and by more easie principles, then those which he hath invented. Now some doe impute this, to the sharpnesse of his wit and understanding, which was a naturall gift in him: other doe referre it to the extreme paines he tooke, which made these things come so easily from him, that they seemed as if they had bene no trouble to him at all. For no man living of himselfe can devise the demonstration of his Propositions, what paines soever he take to seeke it: and yet straight so soone as he cometh to declare and open it, every man then imagineth with himselfe he could have found it out well enough, he can then so plainly make demonstration of the thing he meaneth to shew. And therefore that methinks is like enough to be true, which they write of him: that he was so ravished and drunke with the sweete enticements of this Syren, which as it were lay continually with him, as he forgot his meate and drinke, and was carelesse otherwise of himselfe, that oftentimes his servants got him against his will to the Baths, to wash and annoint him: and yet being there, he would ever be drawing out of the Geometrical figures, even in the very imbers of the chimney. And while they were annointing of him with Oyles and sweete savours, with his finger he did draw lines upon his naked body: so far was he taken from himselfe, and brought into an extasie or trance, with the delight he had in the study of Geometry, being ravished with the love of the Muses. But among many notable things he devised, it appeareth, that

Marcellus wounded at Archimedes Engines.

Archimedes profoundly learned.

Archimedes Syren.

that they most esteemed the demonstration of the proportion between the Cylinder (to wit, the round column) and the sphere or globe contained in the same: for he prayed his Kinsmen and Friends, that after his death they would put a Cylinder upon his Tombe, containing a massie sphere, with an inscription of the proportion, whereof the continent exceedeth the thing contained. So *Archimedes* being as you have heard, did as much as lay in him, both to save himselfe and *SYRACUSA* from taking. But now againe to *Marcellus*. *Marcellus* during the siege at *SYRACUSA*, wan the City of *MEGARE* in *SICILE*, one of the ancientest Cities in all the Island: and he tooke besides, the Campe of *Hippocrates*, lying by *ACILES*, where he slew above 8000 men, surprising them upon the sodaine, even as they were preparing to lodge, and to fortifie their Campe. Then he overcame a great part of the Champion Countrey of *SICILE*, and made the Cities to rebell that tooke the *CARTHAGINIANS* part: and in all the Battels he fought, he ever overcame them that durst bid him Battell. It chanced afterwards, that he tooke a *LACEDÆMONIAN* Captaine prisoner, called *Danippus*: even as he came out of *SYRACUSA* by Sea. The *SYRACUSANS* desirous to redeeme him, sent to him to pray he might be ransomed. They made many parlies about his ransome, and drew out this practise to divers meetings: untill *Marcellus* had taken good markes of a certaine Tower, that had no great watch set upon it, and into the which he might secretly convey a certaine number of men, the Wall of the City in that place being no very hard thing to scale. Therefore when he had given a good guesse by estimation at the height of that Tower, by often approaching to it, having parlied many a time hard by it: he provided skaling Ladders, andooke the opportunity of a Feast which the *SYRACUSANS* solemnized in the honour of *Diana*, on which day they gave themselves to all feasting, sporting and playes. So he tooke not only the Tower, but filled all the Walles round about with armed men before day, and brake open the maine gate and entry of the City called *Hexapile*. And as the *SYRACUSANS* began to stirre, perceiving the *ROMANS* on the Walles, *Marcellus* made his men sound their Trumpets on every side. Whereupon the *SYRACUSANS* were so afraid and amazed, that they began to fly, thinking all the City besides had bene taken, where indeed the greatest and strongest part of the City called *ACRADINA*, was not yet touched: because it is walled in round about, and separated from the rest of the City, which is divided into two other parts, the one called the new City, and the other *Fortune*. The two parts whereof being won, *Marcellus* by the breake of the day forced in by the gate or entry of the *Hexapile*. And when his Captaines told him he was happy, to win so goodly a City so easily: they say that he (looking about him, and considering the greatnesse and stateliness of the same) wept for very pity, foreseeing whereto it should come, thinking with himselfe what a sudden change it should have, when his Army came to spoile and sacke the same. For there was not a Captaine that durst deny the Souldiers when they demanded the spoile, and yet were there many that would needs have it burnt and rased to the ground. But *Marcellus* would not agree to that in any case; and besides, it was fore against his minde to grant them the spoile of the goods and slaves: straightly commanding them notwithstanding, not to lay hands on any free-man, and not to kill, hurt, nor to make any *SYRACUSAN* slave. Wherein, though he shewed great favour and mercy, yet it grieved him to see so famous a City, brought to that miserable state: and in the midst of all the joy he had for his Victory, he could not refrain from weeping for pity, to see so rich and wealthy a City, in the turning of a hand, spoiled and brought to nought. For it is said, that the riches and goods taken away at the sacke of *SYRACUSA*, were nothing inferior to the spoiles of *CARTHAGE*, which was also sacked not long after that: for the other part of the City of *SYRACUSA* called *ACRADINA*, was soone after also taken by treason, and spoiled against the Captaines wils, saving the Kings Treasure, which was reserved to be carried to the common Treasure of *ROME*. *SYRACUSA* being taken, nothing grieved *Marcellus* more, then the losse of *Archimedes*: who being in his study when the City was taken, busily seeking out by himselfe the demonstration of some Geometrical proposition which he had drawne in figure, and so earnestly occupied therein, as he never saw nor heard any noise of Enemies that ranne up and downe the City, and much lesse knew it was taken: he wondered when he saw a Souldier by him, that bade him goe with him to *Marcellus*. Notwithstanding, he spake to the Souldier, and bade him tarry untill he had done his conclusion, and brought it to demonstration: but the Souldier being angry with his answer, drew out his Sword and killed him. Other say, that the *ROMANE* Souldier when he came, offered the Swords point to him to kill him: and that *Archimedes* when he saw him, prayed him to hold his hand a little, that he might not leave the matter he looked for imperfect, without demonstration. But the Souldier making no reckoning of his speculation, killed him presently. It is reported a third way also, saying, that certaine Souldiers met him in the streets going to *Marcellus*, carrying certaine Mathematicall instruments in a little pretty coffer, as Dials for the Sunne, Spheres and Angles, where-with they measure the greatnesse of the body of the Sunne by view: and they supposing he had carried some Gold or Silver, or other precious Jewels in that little coffer, slew him for it. But it is most true, that *Marcellus* was marvellous sory for his death, and ever after hated the villaine that slew him, as a cursed and execrable person: and how he made also marvellous much afterwards of *Archimedes* Kinsmen for his sake. The *ROMANS* were esteemed of at that time by all Nations, for marvellous expert Souldiers, and taken for very valiant and dangerous men to be dealt with: but they never shewed any example of their clemencie and courtesie, and left of all of any civill manner to any strangers, untill *Marcellus* taught the way, whose acts did shew the *GRECIANS* then, that the *ROMANS* were more gracious and mercifull then they. For he did so courteously

Archimedes demonstration of the Cylinder.

Marcellus Victories in Sicile.

Danippus a Lacedæmonian Captaine taken prisoner.

Marcellus walled in Hexapile.

Acradina.

Marcellus gentle.

Rich spoiles at Syracusa.

Archimedes Mathematician slain in his study.

Divers opinions of Archimedes death.

Marcellus civill manner.

Engyum a City
in Sicile.

Nicias craft.

Marcellus the
first that
brought in
fineness and
curious Ta-
bles; and
Pictures into
Rome, of the
spoiles of Syra-
cula.

ously intreate those that had to doe with him, and shewed such favour to private persons, and also to whole Cities: that if there were any cruelty shewed in the Cities of ENNA, or at MEGARES, or against the SYRACUSANS, it was rather through their owne fault and folly that were hurt, then theirs that did them the hurt. And for prooffe hereof, I will recite you one example only among many. There is a City in SICILE called ENGyum, it is no great thing, but a very ancient City of Name, by reason of the trafficke thither, for that there are certaine goddesses to be seene, whom they worship, called the Mothers. Some say the CRETANS were the first builders and founders of the Temple there, where you shall see Spears and Helms of Copper, and upon them are graven the Name of *Meriones*: and upon others, *Ulysses* Name also, which are consecrated to these goddesses. This City stood altogether at the devotion of the CARTHAGINIANS: and *Nicias* being the chiefeest man of the same, was all he might against it, and perswaded them openly in all their counsels to take part with the ROMANES, proving it by many reasons, that his Enemies counselling the contrary, were unprofitable members of the Common-wealth. Whereupon *Nicias* Enemies fearing his greatnesse and authority, they did conspire among themselves to apprehend him, and to deliver him to the CARTHAGINIANS. But *Nicias* hearing of such a matter, and finding that they lay in waite to take him, used this policy to prevent their treason. He gave out openly very ill speeches against the goddesses, and did many things in derogation of their honour: and said the sight of them (which was a matter of great credit) was but a device, and that there was no credit to be given to them. These words tickled his Enemies, imagining that the common people would lay the mischief they pretended against him, to himselfe, as the only causer of his owne hurt. So they having appointed a day to apprehend him, by chance a common Councell was kept that day they had determined of: where *Nicias* speaking to the people about matters of counsell, in the midst of his Oration he fell to the ground, to the great wonder of the whole assembly, as every man may conjecture. Howbeit, never a man stirred, and a pretty while after he began to lift up his head a little, and to looke gaitly about him, with a faint trembling voice, which he still gathered higher and lower by little and little, untill he saw all the people wondrously afraid and amazed, that not one of them durst speake. Then throwing his Gowne from him, and renting his Coate, he got upon his feete halfe naked, and ran towards the gate of the Theater, crying out that the goddesses Mothers did torment him: and not a man durst once come neare him, nor offer to stop him, they were so superstitious and foolishly afraid of the goddesses, imagining it was some divine punishment. But by this meanes he easily got to the gates of the City, and fled from them all, and he was never seene after that time, to doe or speake like a mad man in any thing. His Wife that was made privie to his device, and furthered his intent, went first and fell downe on her knees before the goddesses mothers in the Temple, as she had heartily prayed unto them: and faining afterwards she would goe seeke her Husband, that ran up and downe the fields like a mad man, she went out of the City with her little Children, and no body troubled her. Thus did they escape without danger, and went unto *Marcellus* to SYRACUSA. The ENGIENIANS afterwards played such insolent parts, that *Marcellus* in the end went thither, and caused them all to be taken and bound, as though he would have put them to execution. But *Nicias* came to him with teares in his eyes, and embracing his knees, and kissing his hands, besought him to take pity upon his poore Citizens, beginning first with those that were his greatest Enemies. This good nature of *Nicias* so pacified *Marcellus* wrath, that he pardoned them all, and did no hurt to the City, and gave *Nicias* certaine Land, besides many other rich gifts he bestowed upon him. Thus it is reported in the History of *Pisidianus* the Philosopher. Now *Marcellus* being sent for home by the ROMANES, because they had Warres in their owne Countrey, and even at ROME gates: he departed out of SICILE returning towards ROME, and carried the goodliest Tables, Pictures, and Statues, and other such Ornaments as were in SYRACUSA, meaning first to beautifie his Triumph with them, and to leave them afterwards for an Ornament to ROME, which before that time, never knew what such curious works meant. For, this finenesse, and curious Tables and imagery, never came into ROME before, but was thoroughly set out with Armour and Weapons of barbarous people, and with bloody spoiles, and was also crowned with monuments of Victories and Triumphs of divers Enemies, which were no pleasant, but rather fearfull sights to looke upon, farre unfit for feminine eyes. But even as *Epaminondas* called the plaine of BOEOTIA, *Mars* his scaffold, where he kept his Games; and *Xenophon* also called the City of EPHEBUS, the Armourers shop: even so me thinks (as *Pandarus* said) they might rightly have termed ROME, the Temple of *Mars* fighting. And this was the peoples good wils much more to *Marcellus*, because he did so passingly set forth ROME with such excellent fine toys of GREECE. But *Fabius Maximus* on the other side, was better beloved of the old men; because he brought no such toys with him from the City of TARENTUM, when he wan it. Indeed he brought away Gold and ready Coine, and much other goods that were profitable; but for Images and Tables, he left them standing in their places, speaking a thing of great note. Let us leave the TARENTINES their gods offended with them. And furthermore the Noblemen were angry with *Marcellus*, saying, that by this act he had purchased ROME great malice and hate. First, because he did not only leade men Prisoners in his Triumph, but the gods also: and secondly, because he had filled the people full of prittle prattle, and idle curiosity, spending the whole day in gazing, and wondering at the excellency of the Workmen, and of the Works; where before they would fall to their labour, or else they went to the Warres, not being acquainted with curiosity, nor idle life, as *Enripides* said, speaking of *Hercules*:

In

In wicked practises he simple was to see,
But he exceld in vertuous deeds, and feates that worthy be.

Notwithstanding, *Marcellus* did glory among the GRECIANS themselves: saying that he had taught the ROMANES to esteeme the wonderfull works of GREECE, which they knew not before. But at his returne out of SICILE, his Enemies procured, that his honour of Triumph was denied him. So *Marcellus* knowing that he had yet left somewhat to doe in SICILE, and that the Warre was not altogether ended, and fearing besides left a third Triumph would make him too much envied: he was contented with good will to have the honour of the great Triumph in the Mountaine of ALBA only: and of the little Triumph, in the City of ROME. This manner of little Triumph is called in Greek *Evan*, and the ROMANES call it *Ovatio*. And this difference there is betweene them: that in the *Ovatio* Triumph, the party to whom it is granted, doth not enter into the City upon a triumphing Chariot drawne with foure Horses, nor doth carry any Lawrell upon his head in token of Triumph, nor hath any Trumpets or hornes blown before him, but doth march on foote with a paire of slippers on his feete, having Flutes and Howbowes playing before him, and wearing a Garland of Firre-tree upon his head: so as this manner of entry is nothing warlike, and is rather a pleasant then fearfull sight. Whereby it plainly appeareth, that these two kinds of entries they granted to the Captaines, returning from the Warres with Victory, were distinguished in the old time, rather by the manner, then by the greatnesse of their doings. For such as had overcome their Enemies by great slaughter and bloody Battels, they did make their entry with pompe of Triumph, that was altogether martiall and terrible, followed with their Souldiers armed, and crowned with Lawrell Garlands, as their custome was in mustering their Campe in the Warres. But they on the contrary side, that without any exploit of armes returned home with Victory, either by peaceable meanes, or by force of their eloquence; the Law granted them the honour of *Ovatio* Triumph, which was quier, and full of all joy and mirth. For the Flute is an instrument of pleasure belonging to Peace, and the Firre-tree is a tree consecrated to *Venus*, which goddess, above all gods and goddesses doth most detest Warres. This second kinde of entry was called *Ovatio*, not as many GRECIANS have taken it, coming of this word *Evan*, which is a voice and Song of joy, although they did use also to accompany the Captaines making their entry in this sort, crying, and singing *Evan*: but there were certaine GRECIANS that would have fetched the derivation of this word, from an old common custome they had: and were of opinion besides, that part of this honour did appertaine to god *Bacchus*, whose surname we call *Evinus*, and sometimes *Triambus*; Howbeit this is not the true derivation of the name, but after this sort. At the great Triumph and entry made, the Captaine or Generall that triumpheth as a Conquerour, did offer the Sacrifice (by the old Orders and ancient Customes of ROME) one or divers Oxen: where at the second Triumph called the *Ovatio*, he only sacrificed a Mutton, which the ROMANES call in their tongue *Ovem*, and thereof it was called *Ovatio*. And here by the way is to be noted, the difference betwixt the Law-maker of the ROMANE Laws and customes, and the Law-maker of the LACEDÆMONIANS: how each of them was contrary to the other, in appointing the sacrifices for Victory. For at SPARTA, the Captaine or Generall that had done his feat by policy or friendship, the Sacrifice he did offer up to the gods, was an Oxe: and he that by force, and bloody Battell had obtained Victory, only offered up a Cock for sacrifice. For though they were very good Souldiers, yet they thought better of his service, that by his wisdom and wise perswasions obtained Victory, then of his, that wan it by valiantnesse and force of armes. Thus you may see which of these two Law-makers had best reason by his Ordinances. But now to *Marcellus* againe. He being chosen Consul the fourth time, his Enemies and evill willers did stirre up the SYRACUSANS against him, and perswaded them to complaine to the Senate of him, that he had cruelly and uncourteously used them, contrary to the ancient League and alliances made long before with the ROMANES. *Marcellus* being sacrificing one day in the Capitoll, while the Senate were set in counsell, the SYRACUSANS Deputies came before them, and kneeling downe besought them to give them audience, and that they would doe them justice. The other Consul that was present rebuked them, being angry that they had so maliciously spied the occasion of *Marcellus* absence. But when *Marcellus* heard of it, he straight left off all, and came to the Senate, and first sate him downe in his Consuls chaire, where he gave audience as Consul, and dispatched divers Causes: when he had so done, he rose out of his chaire and came downe among them, standing as a private person to answer at the Barre, as other offenders and men accused, suffering the SYRACUSANS to alledge and say against him what they would. Then were the SYRACUSANS blanke, when they saw the majesty of *Marcellus*, and his staied countenance in all things: and as they had found him before a very valiant man in Wars, and unconquerable, they found him then a man no lesse dreadfull in his Consuls robe: so that they hung downe their heads, and durst not looke him in the face. Notwithstanding they being suborned by his Enemies, began at the length boldly to accuse him, and yet with sorrow and lamentation, the effect whereof was this: That they being the ROMANES friends and confederates, had abidden such injuries at *Marcellus* hands, as all other Generals never offered their very Enemies. Whereto *Marcellus* straight answered againe to the contrary: That for many injuries the ROMANES had received of them, they suffered nothing but that which was impossible they should not suffer, that resisted untill they were taken by force: and yet they might thanke themselves for any thing they suffered, because they would not obey nor consent to reasonable capitulations and Articles of Peace,

Marcellus entred into ROME with *Ovatio* triumph. What the *Ovatio* triumph is.

Ovatio whereof it is called. The sacrifices of the quiet triumph. The sacrifices of the little triumph *Ovatio*. The difference betwixt the *Spartans* and *Romanes* in their sacrifices for Victory.

The *Syracusans* accuse *Marcellus*.

which

which he had oftentimes offered them. And againe, they could not alledge for their excuse, that the Tyrants had compelled them to make Warres: when they to the contrary because they would enter into Warres, were contented to be subject to a Tyrant. So, when both parties had spoken their mindes, the SYRACUSANS (as the manner is) went out of the Senate house, and *Marcellus* also leaving his fellow Consull in his place in the Senate; and tarried without the door, attending the sentence of the Senate, never altering his countenance nor wonted looke, neither for feare of sentence, nor for malice nor anger against the SYRACUSANS, quietly looking for his judgement. Afterwards when the Senators voices were gathered together, and that *Marcellus* was cleared by most voices: then the SYRACUSANS fell downe at his feete weeping, and besought him not to wreake his anger upon them that were present, and moreover that he would have compassion on the residue of the Citizens, who did acknowledge his great grace and favour extended to them, and confessed themselves bound to him for ever. *Marcellus* moved with pity by their intreaty, he pardoned them, and ever after did to the SYRACUSANS what pleasure he could possibly. For through his intreaty and request, the Senate did confirme and ratifie his Grant unto them, which was, that they might use the liberty and benefit of their owne Lawes, and quietly enjoy their goods also which were left them. To requite the speciall grace procured them by *Marcellus*, the SYRACUSANS gave him many honours, and among others they made a Law, that ever after as oft as any of *Marcellus* Name or House came into SICILE, the SYRACUSANS should keep a solemne Feast, with Garlands on their heads, and should also sacrifice unto the gods. After this, *Marcellus* went against *Hannibal*: and where all the other Consuls almost, and Generals, after the overthrow at CANNES, had used this only policy with him, not to come to Battell: he took a contrary course to them all, thinking that tract of time (whereby they thought to eate out *Hannibal's* force) was rather a direct consuming and destroying of all ITALY: and that *Fabius Maximus* standing too much upon safety, took not the way to cure the disease and weakenesse of the Common-weale of ROME, looking to end this Warre, consuming by little and little the strength and power of ROME, committing a fearful Physitions fault and error, being afraid to heale the patient sodainly, imagining that to bring them low, doth lessen the disease. So first of all he went to besiege certaine great Cities of the SAMNITES, which were revolted from obedience of the ROMANES: and those he wan againe with a great provision of Corne and Money, he found in them, besides three thousand Souldiers *Hannibal* had in garison there, whom he tooke prisoners. *Hannibal* after that, having slaine the Viceconsull *Cneius Fulvius* in APULIA, with eleven Tribunes Militum (to wit, Colonels) every one having the charge of a thousand Footmen, and overthrowne the greatest part of his Army: *Marcellus* wrote Letters to ROME, hoping to comfort the Senate and people, telling he would go thither, and did warrant them he would drive *Hannibal* out of APULIA. When the ROMANES had read his Letters, they were nothing the more comforted, but rather (as *Livy* writeth) more afraid and discouraged: because they doubted the danger to come would be greater then the losse past, taking *Marcellus* to be a far greater and better Generall, then ever was *Fulvius*. Nevertheless, *Marcellus* performing the contents of his Letters written to ROME, drave *Hannibal* out of APULIA, and made him retire into LUCANIA. And *Marcellus* finding him in that country, by a City called NUMISTRON, lodged upon hills, and in place of strength and advantage: he camped hard by him in the valley, and the next morning he was the first that presented his Enemy Battell. *Hannibal* on the other side, came downe into the valley, and they joynt Battell: which was so cruelly fought, and so long time, as it could not be discerned who had the better. For the Battell being begun at nine of the Clocke in the morning, 'twas darke night ere they gave over. The next morning by peepe of day, *Marcellus* set his men againe in battell ray, in the midst of all the dead bodies that lay slaine in the Field, and challenged *Hannibal*, to prove who should have the field, but *Hannibal* refused, and marched his way thence: so as *Marcellus* thereby had good leisure left him to strip his slaine Enemies, and also to bury his owne Souldiers. When he had finished that, he presently followed his Enemy by the footte, who laid many ambushes for him, but he could never trap him in any: and in every encounter or skirmish they had together *Marcellus* had ever the better, which wan him great fame and credit. Now time being come about to chuse new Consuls, the Senate thought good to send rather for the other Consull that was in SICILE, then to remove *Marcellus* thence, who had fought with *Hannibal*. So when the other Consull was come to ROME, the Senate commanded him to name *Quintus Fulvius* Dictator, because the Dictator was neither chosen by the People, nor by the Senate: but one of the Consuls or Prators, in open assembly of the People, nameth such a one Dictator as he liketh of. Wherefore it seemeth, that this word Dictator, came upon that word, naming: for, *Dicere* in the ROMANE tongue, signifieth to name. Howbeit other hold opinion, that he was called Dictator, because he commandeth of himselfe what he will, without the counsell of the Senate, and the voices of the people: and this seemeth to be true, because the commandements of the Senate of ROME are called *Edicta*, which the GRECIANS call *Diatagmata*. Now the other Consull and companion of *Marcellus* being come out of SICILE, he would needs name another Dictator then him whom the Senate offered him: and because he would not be compalled to doe that he was unwilling to doe, he stole away one night, and returned againe into SICILE. Hereupon the people did name and appoint *Quintus Fulvius* Dictator, and the Senate wrote their Letters to *Marcellus*, to confirme him; which *Marcellus* did, and authorized the Peoples election. So he himselfe was chosen againe Proconsull for the next yeare following: in the which he having conferred with *Fabius Maximus* about the Warres, they were agreed that *Fabius* should prove if he could win the City of

TARENTUM

Marcellus cons-
tancy.

Marcellus cour-
tesie to the Sy-
racusans.

Marcellus acts
against *Hanni-
bal* in his fourth
Consulship.

Cneius Fulvius
Viceconsul
slain in Apulia
by *Hannibal*.

Marcellus
fought a battell
with *Hannibal*
at Numistrum
in Apulia.

The Dictator
chosen by the
Consul or Pre-
tor, not by the
People or Sen-
ate.
Whereof
Dictator com-
eth.

TARENTUM againe: and that *Marcellus* in the meane time should keepe *Hannibal* occupied, that he might not come to aid it. This resolution being taken between them, *Marcellus* went to meet *Hannibal* by the City of CANNUS: who as he stil changed and shifted lodging, because he would not come to the Battell against his will, found *Marcellus* ever in his eye before him. Infomuch as *Hannibal* removing thus his Campe, *Marcellus* plied him so one day with continuall alarms and skirmishes, that he brought him to a Battell that held all day long till night, and compelled them both to leave off till the next morning: where *Marcellus* shewed againe in field by breake of the day, in Battell ray. Whereat *Hannibal* being in a marvellous rage, he called his souldiers together and made an Oration to them, earnestly moving them once again to fight with *Marcellus*, if ever they had heretofore fought for his sake. You see, said he, that having fought so many Battells, and gotten such Victories as we have done, we cannot yet take breath as we would, nor be in quiet, how much soever we win, if we drive not away yonder fellow *Marcellus*. When *Hannibal* had ended his Oration to the CARTHAGINIANS, he led them on to the Battell: where *Marcellus*, to no purpose and out of time, would needs shew *Hannibal* a stratageme of war, that turned to himselfe the worst. For *Marcellus* perceiving the right wing of his Army distressed, made one of his Legions that was set in ray in the rereward of his host, to march to the front of his Battell, to helpe those that needed aid. But this removing of the Legion, troubled them that fought, and gave the Enemies the Victory: who slew that day two thousand seven hundred of the ROMANES. So, when *Marcellus* was come againe into his Campe, he straight called his souldiers before him, to whom he spake in this manner: That he saw a great deale of armour, and bodies of men, but he could see no ROMANES. The ROMANES hearing him say so, besought him to pardon the fault they had committed. *Marcellus* answered, he would never pardon them, so long as they were overcome: but when they overcome againe, he was content to remit all. So the next morning he agreed to bring them again to fight with the Enemy, that such as were at ROME should rather heare newes of their Victory, then of their running away. When he had said, he appointed they should give those bands that first turned their backs to *Hannibal*, Barly for Wheate. So as though many of them were in great danger of their lives, for the fore wounds they had received in the Battell: yet their was not a man of them, but *Marcellus* words did more grieve them then the grievous woundes they had. The next morning betimes was let out of the Generals tent, the Coat armour died in skarlet, which is the ordinary signe of Battell: and the bands that had received dishonour the day before, were placed at their own request in the front of the Battell. The other Capitaines besides, that were not overthrowne, led their bands also to the field, and did set them in Battell ray. *Hannibal* hearing of that cried out: O gods, what a Man is this, that cannot be quiet, neither with good nor ill fortune? for he is the only odde man, that never giveth rest to his Enemies, when he hath overcome him, nor taketh any for himselfe when he is overcome. We shall never have done with him, for any thing that I see, sith shame, whether he win or lose, doth still provoke him to be bolder and valianter. After Orations made of both sides, both Armies marched forwards to joyne Battell. The ROMANES being as strong as the CARTHAGINIANS, *Hannibal*, put his Elephants in the vaward and front of his Battell, and commanded his men to drive them upon the ROMANES: and so they did. Which indeed did somewhat trouble and disorder the first ranks of the ROMANES: untill such time as *Flavius* Tribune of the souldiers, tooke an Ensigne in his hands, and marched before the beasts, and gave the first of them such a thrust with the point of his Ensigne, that he made her turne back. The first beast being turned back thus, ran upon the second that followed her, and the second made the third go backe also, and so from one to another, untill they all turned. *Marcellus* perceiving that, commanded his Horsemen to set upon the Enemies with all the fury they could, in that place where he saw them somewhat troubled with these beasts that turned back againe upon them: and that they should drive them further in amongst them. Which they did, and gave so hot a Charge upon the CARTHAGINIANS, that they made them turne their backs and run away, and they pursued them still, killing them down right, even to their Campe side: where was the greatest slaughter of all, by reason their Elephants that were wounded, fell downe starke dead within the Gate of their Camp. And they say, of the CARTHAGINIANS, there were slaine at this Battell, about eight thousand, and of the ROMANES onely three thousand: howbeit all the rest of them for the most part were very fore hurt. Which fell out very well for *Hannibal*, that he might march away at his pleasure, as he did that night, and got him away far off from *Marcellus*, as knowing he was not in state to follow him over sodainly, because of the great number of hurt men in his Camp: and so by small journeys he went into CAMPANIA, where he lay in garrison all the Sommer, in the City of SINUSSE, to heale the wounds of his fore mangled Souldiers. *Hannibal* having now gotten himself at the length out of *Marcellus* hands, and having his Army free to serve him as he thought good: he burned and destroyed all ITALY where he went, and flood no more in feare of any thing. This made *Marcellus* ill spoken of at ROME, and caused his Enemies to take hold of such a matter against him: for they straight raised *Publius Bibulus* Tribune to accuse him, who was a hot barebraine man, but very eloquent, and could deliver his minde very well. So this *Bibulus* called the people off to counsell, and told them there, that they must needs call home *Marcellus*, and appoint some other to take the charge of the Army: for as for him, said he, because he hath fought a little with *Hannibal* (and as a man might say, wrestled a little with him) he is now gotten to the Bathes to solace himselfe. But *Marcellus* hearing this, left his Lieutenants in the Campe, and went himselfe to ROME, to answer to the untrue accusations laid against him, and

*Quintus Ful-
vius* chosen
Dictator by
the people,
Marcellus Pro-
consull.

Hannibal's Ora-
tion to his
souldiers.

Marcellus over-
throwne in Bat-
telle by *Hanni-
bal*.

Marcellus hard
words unto his
souldiers.

Hannibal's
words of *Mar-
cellus*.

Battell be-
twixt *Hanni-
bal* and *Marcel-
lus*.
The worthy
acts of *Flavius*
Tribune Militi-
um.

Marcellus Vi-
ctor of *Han-
nibal*.

Hannibal lay
in Garrison in
the City of *Sin-
usse* in Camp-
ania.

P. Bibulus Tri-
bune of the
people, accus-
eth *Marcellus*.

Circus Flami-
nius

and there he perceived at his coming, how they intended to prosecute the matter against him upon these informations. So a day of hearing was appointed for his matter, and the parties came before the People assembled in council, in the great lists or show place, called *Circus Flaminius*, to give judgement. There *Publius Bibulus* the Tribune, sitting in his chaire, laid open his accusation with great circumstance: and *Marcellus*, when *Bibulus* had told his tale, answered him in a few words, and very discreetly, onely touching his purgation. But the Noble and chiefe men of the City, rose up and spake on *Marcellus* behalfe, telling the People plainly that they did *Marcellus* wrong, to reckon worke of his valiantnesse, then their Enemy did: and to judge of him as a coward, considering *Hannibal* onely fled from him, of all other Captaines, and would by no means fight with him, never refusing to fight with any other whatsoever. These persuasions took such effect, as where *Marcellus* accuser looked for his condemnation, *Marcellus* to the contrary, was not onely cleared of his accusation, but furthermore, they chose him Consul againe the fift time. So being entred into his Office he went first into *THUSCAN*: where visiting the good Cities one after another, and quieting them, he pacified a great sedition in the Countrey, when they were all ready to rise and rebel. Afterwards at his returne, he thought to consecrate the Temple of Honour and Vertue, which he had built with the spoiles he got in the wars of *SICILE*. But the Priests were against it, laying, two gods might not be in one Church. Thereupon he built another Temple, and joyne it to the first, being very angry the Priests denied so his consecration: and he did take it for an evil token, besides divers others signes in the element that afterwards appeared, and troubled him much. For there were many Temples set on fire with lightning at one time: and the Rats and Mice did gnaw the Gold that was in the Chappell of *Jupiter Capitoline*. And it is reported also, that an Ox did speake: and a Child came out of the Head of an Elephant, and that the Child was alive. Furthermore, the Priests and Soothsayers, sacrificing to the gods, to withdraw the evil from them these sinister tokens did threaten: they could never finde any favourable signes in their sacrifices. Whereupon they fought to keep *Marcellus* still at *ROME*, who had a marvellous earnest desire to be gone with speed to the wars: for never man longed for any thing so much, as *Marcellus* did, to fight with *Hannibal*. Infomuch as he never dreamed other thing in the night, nor speake of any matter else in the day to his friends and companions, nor prayed to the gods for any other thing, but that he might fight with *Hannibal* in the Field: and I thinke he would willingly have fought a private combat with him in some walled City or inclosed lists for the combat. And had it not bin that he had already won himself a great fame, and shewed himself to the world (by sundry great proofes and experience of his doings) a grave, skilfull, and valient Captaine as any man of his time: I would have said it had been a pang of youth, and a more ambitious desire, then became a man of his age, who was three score yeares old at that time, when they made him Consul againe the fift time. Nevertheless, after he had ended all his propitiatory sacrifices and purifications, such as the Soothsayers had appointed, he departed from *ROME* with his fellow Consul *Quintus Crispinus* to the wars. He found *Hannibal* lying between the Cities of *BANCIA*, and *VENOUSA*, and fought all the meanes he could to procure him to fight, but he could never get him to it. Howbeit *Hannibal* being advertised by spies, That the Consuls set an Army to besiege the City of the *LOCRIANS* surnamed *EPITAPHYRIANS* (as you would say) the occidentals, because the *GRECIANS* in respect of the *ITALIANS*, are called the orientals: he laid an ambush for them that went under the Hill of *PETELIUM*, which was directly in their way, where he flew above two thousand five hundred *ROMANES*. That overthrow did set *Marcellus* on fire, and make him more desirous of Battell: whereupon he removed his Camp from the place he lay in, and marched neerer to his Enemy. Between their two Camps there was a pretty little Hill, strong of situation, a wilde thing overgrown with Wood: and there was high hillockes, from whence they might discerne a great way, both the one and the others Campes, and at the foot of the same ran pretty springs: Infomuch as the *ROMANES* wondered that *Hannibal* coming thither first, did not take that place, but had left it to his Enemies. Howbeit *Hannibal* was crafty enough, leaving it of purpose: For as it was commodious to lodge his Camp, so it served his turne better for an ambush. So he filled the Wood, the hollow places, and the vallies thereabout, with store of shot and spearmen, assuring himself that the place would intice the *ROMANES* thither: and indeed he guessed rightly, for so it fell out. Straight there flue a rumour abroad in the *ROMANES* Campe, that there was a passing place to lodge in, and every man took upon him like a skilfull Souldier, to tell what vantage they should have upon their Enemies by taking that place, and specially if they did lodge there, or otherwise built a fort upon it. Whereupon *Marcellus* determined to go see the place himselfe, taking a few Horsemen with him. Notwithstanding, before he would take Horse, he called for his Soothsayer to sacrifice to the gods. The first beast that was sacrificed, the Soothsayer shewed *Marcellus* the liver of it without a Head. The second beast sacrificed, had a faire great Head of a Liver, and all the other parts were also found, and very new: that by them it appeared all the feare of the first signes and tokens were taken away. Yet the Soothsayers on the other side said, it did make them worke afraid then before: for these so favourable and lucky tokens of the sacrifice, following immediately after the first foule and naughty signes, made them doubt them much, by reason of so strange and suddaine an alteration. But as the Poet *Pindarus* saith:

Nor force of burning fire, nor Wall of Steele nor stone,
Nor whatsoever other thing, is here this earth upon.

Can

Marcellus
chosen Con-
sul the fift
time.The Temples
of honour and
vertue built by
Marcellus.
Wonderfull
signes were
seen in Rome,
unfortunate to
Marcellus.Marcellus
three score year
old, being
chosen Con-
sul the fift
time.Crispinus
Consul.
Hannibal lay
betwixt the
Cities of *Ezan-
cia* and *Venousa*.
Mons *Peteli-
um*.An ambush
laid by *Hanni-
bal*.Ill signes to
Marcellus.

Can keepe abacke the course of fatak destiny,

Nor yet resist the due decrees, which come from Heaven on high.

So *Marcellus* tooke his Horse, with *Quintus Crispinus* his fellow Consul, and his Sonne one of the Tribunes of the Souldiers, having onely two hundred and twenty Horsemen with him, of the which there was not one *ROMAN* among them, but all were *THUSCANES*, saving forty *FREGELLANIANES*, who from the beginning of these Warres, had alwaies shewed themselves very faithfull and loving to *Marcellus*. The hill we spake of before, being thicke covered with Woode and Bushes, the Enemies had set a Scout to watch on the top of it, to give warning if they saw any coming towards it. The *ROMANES* could not see him, and he on the other side might see even into their Campe, and perceive what was done: as he did advertise those at that time that lay in ambush for *Marcellus* coming: and they suffered him to passe on, untill he came directly against them. Then they shewed upon the sudden, and compassing in *Marcellus*, they both shot and strake at him, some following them that fled, and other fighting with the forty *FREGELLANIANES* which onely stuck to it: who came roundly in together (notwithstanding the *THUSCANES* were fled) upon the first cry they heard, to defend the two Consuls, untill such time as the Consul *Crispinus* having two wounds on his body with a dart, did turne his Horse to flie. And with that, one of the Enemies gave *Marcellus* such a fore blow with a Speare having a broad Iron head, that he ran him quite through. The *FREGELLANIANES* that were left alive, being but a few in number, seeing *Marcellus* slaine, left him lying on the ground, and tooke his Sonne away with them, that was very sore hurt, and by the swiftnesse of their Horses recovered their Campe, and saved themselves. At this overthrow, there were not slaine above forty men, and five and twenty taken Prisoners, of which five of them were the Consuls Sergeant, and their Officers that carried Axes before them, and the other were all Horsemen. Within few daies after, the other Consul *Crispinus* died also of his hurts, which was such a misfortune, as never came before to the *ROMANES*, that both their Consuls were slaine at one Battell. Now *Hannibal* made no great reckoning of all that were slaine or taken at this Field: but when he heard that *Marcellus* selfe was slaine at this overthrow, he went himselfe straight to the place to see him. So when he had viewed his body a great while, standing hard by it, and considering his strength, his stature, and countenance, having taken full view of all the parts of him, he spake no proud words against him, nor shewed any glad countenance, as some other would have done, that had slaine so valiant and dangerous an Enemy: but wondering how he came to be slaine so strangely there, he tooke off his Ring from one of his fingers that sealed his Letters, and giving his body buriall according to his estate, made it to be honourably burnt, and then put all his bones and ashes into a silver pot, on which he himselfe put a Crowne of Gold, and sent it unto *Marcellus* Sonne. It fortune so, that certaine light Horsemen of the *NUMIDIANS* met with them that carried this Silver pot, and would have taken it from them by force, but they stoode to it, and would not part withall, and so fighting and striving together for it, the bones and ashes were scattered all about. *Hannibal* hearing this, said to them that were about him: See, how nothing can be, which the gods will not. So he punished the *NUMIDIANS*, and cared no more to get *Marcellus* bones together, but perswaded himselfe it was the will of their gods he should die so strangely, and that his body should have no buriall. *Cornelius Nepos*, and *Valerius Maximus* write it thus: but *Livy* and *Augustus Caesar* say, that the pot was carried unto his Sonne, and honourably buried: *Marcellus* did consecrate many Monuments in divers places, besides those at *ROME*. As at *CATANA* in *SICILE*: a place for young men to exercise themselves in. In the Isle of *SAMOTHRACIA*, in the Temples of the gods called *Cabires*: many Images and Tables he brought from *SYRACUSA*. And in the Isle of *LINDOS*, in the Temple of *Minerva*, where among other, there is a statue of his, and this Epigram graven under it, as *Posidanius* the Philosopher writeth:

O thou my friend (I say) which passest forth by me,
Of Claudius *Marcellus* here, the Image mayst thou see:
Whose Family at Rome, was of the noblest Name.
Seven times he Consul chosen was, in which he overcame
Great numbers infinite, (in open Field and Fight)
Of such as sought his Countreys spoile, and put them all to flight.

The Author of this Epigramme reckoneth the two times of his being Viceconsul, for two whole Consulships: but his Posterity continued alwaies in great honour, unto *Marcellus* the Sonne of *Octavia* (*Augustus Caesars* Sister) and of *Caius Marcellus*. He died a young man, being *Edilis* of *ROME*, and married unto *Julia*, *Augustus* Daughter, with whom he lived no long time. But to honour the memory of him, *Octavia* his Mother built the Library, and *Augustus Caesar* the Theater, which are called to this day, *Marcellus* Theater and Library.

The end of the Life of Marcellus.

A a

THE

Quintus Crispi-
nus fellow
Consul with
Marcellus.Marcellus slaine
in an ambush
at the hill of
Petelia.The Consul
Crispinus slaineMarcellus Fun-
eral: honour-
red by *Hanni-
bal*.Marcellus Mo-
numents.Marcellus po-
sterity.

THE COMPARISON OF MARCELLUS with PELOPIDAS.



*Pelopidas and
Marcellus acts
in Warres.*

*Marcellus acts
pretiered be-
fore Pelopidas.*

*The manner
of Marcellus
and Pelopidas
deeds.*

*Marcellus
made the Ro-
mans coura-
geous.*

THese are the greatest things and best worthy of memory (in my opinion) of all *Pelopidas* and *Marcellus* doings: and for their manners and naturall conditions otherwise, they were all one, because they were both valiant, painfull, and noble minded: saving that this difference onely was between them, that *Marcellus* in many Cities he tooke by assault, did cruelly murder them, and spilt much blood: where *Epaminondas* and *Pelopidas* contrarily did never put any to the Sword they overcame, neither did they take away the liberty from any City they tooke: as it is thought the *THEBANES* would not have handled the *ORCHAMENIANS* so cruelly as they did, if one, or both of them had beene present. Now for their acts, it was a noble and wonderfull piece of Service that *Marcellus* did, with so small a company of Horsemen as he tooke with him, to overthrow so great a company of Horsemen and Footmen both, of the *GAULES*: a thing that never Generall but himselfe did, and specially that slew with his owne hands in the Field, the Generall of his Enemies: which *Pelopidas* could never attaine unto; for he seeking to kill *Alexander* the Tyrant of *PHERES*, was slaine first himselfe, and suffered that, which he desired to have done to another. And yet for that Service may be objected, the Battels of *LEUCTRES*, and of *TEGYRA*, which were both famous and notable. But to encounter with those, there was no notable ambush or secret practice done by *Marcellus*, that was any thing like comparable to that *Pelopidas* did at his returne from exile, when he slew the Tyrants that kept *THEBES* in bondage. For that was as notable a policy and sudden an enterprize stollen upon, as none was ever greater, or more famous. It is true, *Marcellus* was yoked with *Hannibal*, who was a dreadful and a violent Enemy: so were the *THEBANES* also at that very time with the *LACEDÆMONIANS*, who notwithstanding were overcome of *Pelopidas*, at the Battels of *TEGYRA*, and of *LEUCTRES*. Whereas *Marcellus* did never so much as once overcome *Hannibal*, as *Polybius* writeth; but remained unconquered alwaies, untill that *Scipio* overcame him in Battell. Notwithstanding, we do give best credit to the reports of *Cæsar*, *Livie*, *Cornelius*, *Nepos*, and of King *Juba* among the *GRECIANS*: who write that *Marcellus* otherwhile did overthrow certaine of *Hannibals* Companies; howbeit they were never so great overthrows to speake of, and it seemeth rather, it was through some mockery or deceit of that *AFRICAN* then otherwise. Yet sure it was a great matter, and worthy much commendation, that the *ROMANES* were brought to that courage, as they durst abide to fight with the *CARTHAGINIANS*, after so many great overthrows, and having so many Generals of their Armies slaine in battell, and the whole Empire of *ROME* being in so great danger of utter destruction. For it was *Marcellus* onely of all other Generals, that put the *ROMANES* in heart againe, after so great and long a feare thoroughly rooted in them: and encouraged the Souldiers also so long to fight with their Enemy, and not onely to hope, but to assure themselves of Victory. For, where by reason of their continuall losses and fearefull overthrowes they had, they thought themselves happy men to escape *Hannibals* hands by running away: he taught them to be ashamed to flie like cowards, to confesse they were in distresse, to retire, and leave the Field, before they had overcome their Enemies. And where *Pelopidas* was never overcome in Battell being Generall, and *Marcellus* did overcome more then any Generall in his time: it might seeme therefore that the great number of the Victories of the one, should compare with the good hap of the other, that was never overcome. It is true that *Marcellus* tooke the City of *SYRACUSA*, and *Pelopidas* failed of taking the City of *SPARTA*: but yet do I thinke that it was more valiantly done of *Pelopidas* to come so neare

neare *SPARTA* as he did, and that he was the first that passed the River of *EUROTAS* with an Army, which never Enemy did before him, then it was of *Marcellus* to winne all *SICILIE*. Unlesse some peradventure will say againe, this was *Epaminondas*, not *Pelopidas* act, as also in the Victory of *LEUCTRES*: whereas no man living can challenge any part of Glory in the doings of *Marcellus*: for he tooke *SYRACUSA*, being onely Generall alone, and did overthrow the *GAULES* without his fellow Confull, and fought with *Hannibal*, without any mans helpe or encouragement (for all other were against it, and perswaded the contrary) and he was the first that altered the manner of Warres the *ROMANES* used then, and that trained his Souldiers that they durst fight with the Enemy. For their death, I neither commend the one nor the other, and the strangenesse of either of their deaths doth grieve me marvellously: as I do greatly wonder also, how *Hannibal* in so many Battels as he fought (which are innumerable) could alwaies scape unhurt. I cannot but greatly commend also the valiantnesse of one *Chrysantas*, whom *Xenophon* speaketh of in his Bookes of the institution of *Cyrus*, saying: that he having lift up his Sword in his hand ready to kill one of his Enemies, and hearing the Trumper found the Retraite, he softly retired, and would not strike him. Howbeit it seemeth *Pelopidas* is more to be excused: for beside that he was very hot and desirous of Battell, his anger was honourable and just, and moved him to seeke revenge. For as the Poet *Euripides* saith:

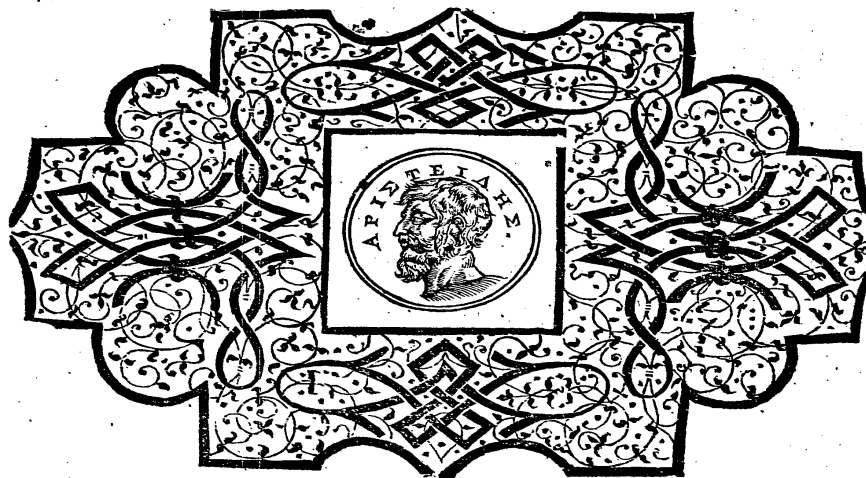
*The best that may betide, is When a Captaine lives,
And doth survive the Victories, which he with force achieves:
But if he need: must fall, then let him valiantly
Even thrust amid the thickest throng, and there with honour dye.*

For so becometh his death famous, and not dishonourable. But now, besides *Pelopidas* just cause of anger, yet was there another respect that most pricked him forward, to do that he did: for he saw his Victory ended, in the death of the Tyrant: otherwise he hardly should have found so noble an occasion to have shewed his valiantnesse, as in that. And *Marcellus* contrarily, without any instant necessity, and having no cause or heate of choler (which putteth all men valiant in Fight besides themselves, that they know not what they do) did rashly and unadvisedly, thrust himselfe into the midst of the danger, where he died not as a Generall, but as a Light-horseman and Scout (abandoning his three Triumphs, his five Consulships, and his Spoiles and Tokens of Triumph, which he had gotten of Kings with his owne hands) among venturous *SPANIARDS* and *NUMIDIANS*, that sold their blood and lives for pay unto the *CARTHAGINIANS*: so that I imagine they were angry with themselves (as a man would say) for so great and happy Victory, to have slaine amongst *FREGELLANIAN* Scouts, and Light-horsemen, the noblest and worthiest person of the *ROMANES*. I would no man should thinke I speake this in reproach of the memory of these two famous men, but as a griefe onely of them and their valiantnesse, which they employed so, as they bleished all their other vertues, by indiscreet hazarding of their persons and lives without cause, as if they would and should have died for themselves, and not rather for their Countrey and friends. And also when they were dead. *Pelopidas* was buried by the Allies and Confederates of the City of *THEBES*, for whose cause he was slaine: and *Marcellus* in like manner, by the Enemies selves that had slaine him. And sure the one is a happy thing, and to be wished for in such a case: but the other is far above it, and more to be wondred at: That the Enemy himselfe should honour his valiantnesse and worthinesse that hurt him, more then the Office of friendship performed by a thankfull friend. For nothing moveth the Enemy more to honour his dead Enemy, then the admiration of his worthinesse: and the friend sheweth friendship many times, rather for respect of the benefits he hath received, then for the love he beareth to his Vertue.

*Rashnesse in a
Capitaine de-
serveth blame.
The valiant-
nesse and obe-
dience of Chry-
santas a Souldier.*

*Plutarch accuseth his free
speech and
judgement of
these famous
men.
Pelopidas and
Marcellus Fun-
erals unlike.*

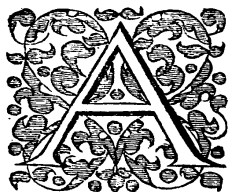
THE LIFE OF ARISTIDES.



Ann. Mund.
3461.

Ant. Christ.
489.

Aristides
Wealth.



Good men
may take
Gifts, but ar-
istides a fort.

ARISTIDES the Sonne of *Lyfimachus*, was certainly of the Tribe of *Antiochides*, and of the Towne of *ALOPECIA*. But for his Goods and Wealth they diversly write of him. For some say, he lived poorly all the daies of his life, and that he left two Daughters, which by reason of their poverty, lived unmarried many yeares after their Fathers death. And many of the oldest Writers do confirme that for truth. Yet *Demetrius Phalerus*, in his Booke intituled *Socrates*, writeth the contrary, that he knew certain Lands *Aristides* had in the Village of *PHALERIA*, which did yet beare the name of *Aristides* Lands, in the which his body is buried. And furthermore, to shew that he was well to live, and that his house was rich and wealthy, he bringeth forth these proofes. First, that he was one yeare Mayor or Provost of *ATHENS*, whom they called *Archon Eponymus*, because the yeare tooke the name of him that had it yearly. And they say, he came to it by drawing of the Beane, according to the ancient use of the *ATHENIANS*. and their wonted manner of making their Election of the said Office: in which Election none were admitted to draw the Beane, but such as were highest set in their Subsidie-bookes, according to the value and rate of their Goods, whom they called at *ATHENS*, *Pentacosmedimnes*, as you would say, those that might dispend five hundred bushels of Wheate by the yeare, and upwards. Secondly, he alledgeth he was banished by the *Ostracismos*, which banisheth the Nobility and great rich men onely, whom the common People envie because of their greatnesse, and never dealeth with poore men. The third and last reason he makes, is, that he left of his gift, three-footed Stooles in the Temple of *Bacchus*, which those do commonly offer up, as have wonne the victory in Comedies, Tragedies, or other such like Pastimes, where they themselves had borne the charge. And those three-footed Stooles remaine there yet, which they say were given by *Aristides*, and have this Inscription upon them: The Tribe of *Antiochides* wanne the Victory, *Aristides* defrayed the charges of the Games, and *Archestratus* the Poet taught them to play their Comedies. The last reason, though it seeme likeliest of them all, yet is it the weakest of the rest. For *Epaminondas* (whom every man knoweth was poore even from his birth, and alwaies lived in great poverty) and *Plato* the Philosopher, tooke upon them to defray the charges of Games that were of no small expence: the one having borne the charges of Flute-players at *THEBES*, and the other the Daunce of the Children which daunced in a round at *ATHENS*: towards the furnishing of which charges, *Dion* the *SYRACUSAN* gave *Plato* Money, and *Pelopidas* also gave *Epaminondas* Money. Now, this is not spoken that vertuous men should alwaies refuse the gifts of their friends, and that they might not in some sort accept their friends courtesie offered them: but because they should thinke it uncomely and dishonourable for them, to take any thing to enrich themselves, or to spare and hoord up

Howbeit

Howbeit where there is an honourable Act to be done, or any publick Shew to be made, not tending to their private benefit: in such a case they should not refuse their friends loving offer and good will towards them. And where *Demetrius* saith, the three-footed Stooles was offered up in the Temple of *Bacchus*, *Panatus* declareth plainly, that *Demetrius* was deceived by the semblance of the name. For since the time of the Warres of the *MEDS*, unto the beginning of the Warre of *PELOPONNESUS*, in all the Registers and Records kept of the defrayers of the charges of common Playes, there were found but two men bearing name of *Aristides* that obtained Victory: and neither of them both was Sonne unto *Lyfimachus*, whom we write of at this present. For the one is expressly named the Sonne of *Xenophilus*, and the other was long after the same *Aristides* we now speak of: as appeareth easily by the writing and Orthography, which is according to the Grammer Rules, we have used in *GREECE* ever since *Euclides* time. Moreover it is easie to be knowne, by the name of the Poet *Archestratus* that is adjoining to it: for there is no man that maketh mention of a Poet of this name, in all the Warres of the *MEDS*: but in the time of the Warres of *PELOPONNESUS*, many do put him in for an Authour and maker of Rimes and Songs that were sung in common Daunces. Yet for all *Panatus* objections, the matter is to be better looked into, and considered of. But for the *Ostracismos* banishment, it is true, that such as were great men in estimation above the common People, either in Fame, Nobility, or Eloquence, they onely were subject unto this banishment. For *Damon* himselfe, being *Pericles* Schoole-master, was banished, onely because the common People thought him too wise. Moreover, *Idomeneus* writeth, that *Aristides* was their Provost for a yeare, not by lot of Beanes, but by voyce of the *ATHENIANS* that chose him. And if he were Provost since the Journey of *PLATES*, as *Demetrius* writeth, it is likely enough that they did him this honour, for his great vertue and notable service, which other were wont to obtaine for their riches. But this *Demetrius* doth not onely defend *Aristides*, but also *Socrates* poverty, as if it were a foule vice and reproach to be poore. For he writeth, that he had not onely a house of his owne, but also threescore and ten Minas at usury, which *Crison* gave him Interest for. But now to our Story againe. *Aristides* was *Clesthene*s very friend, he that restored the Government at *ATHENS* after the expulsion of the thirty Tyrants, and did reverence *Lycurgus* the Law-maker of the *LACIDEMONIANS* for his Laws, above all the men in his time: and therefore he ever favoured the state of *Aristocratie*, that is, where the Noblemen rule and have the Sovereignty. Howbeit he ever had *Themistocles* (*Neocles* Sonne) his continuall adversary, as taking part with the contrary, and defending the Popular state of Government. Some say, that being Scholars, and brought up together, they were ever contrary one to another in all their actions and doings, were it in sport, or in matter of earnest: and ever after, men began to see the naturall inclination of them both, by their contrary affections. For *Themistocles* was quick, nimble, adventurous, and subtil, and would venture on any thing upon light occasion. *Aristides* contrariwise was very quiet, temperate, constant and marvellous well stayed, who would for no respect be drawne away from equity and justice, neither would lye, flatter, nor abuse any body, though it were but in sport. Notwithstanding *Aristus* of *CHIO* writeth, that their malice began first of light love, and that it grew to greatnesse by proceesse of time betweene them: For (saith he) both the one and the other of them fell in love with *Stesileus*, borne in the Isle of *CAOS*. This fond light love of theirs, fell not easily from them, nor the envie they conceived one against another, but continued against each other in matters of State: such were their malice towards one another. In which calling, *Themistocles* fought the way to winne friends, by whose meanes he came to great preferment in short time, and had made himselfe very strong by them. Therefore, when a friend of his told him one day, he was worthy to governe the City of *ATHENS*, and were very fit for it, if he were indifferent, and not partiall: The gods forbid (quoth he) I should ever occupie the place of a Governour, where my friends should not finde more favour then strangers, that do me no pleasure. But *Aristides* taking another course by himselfe, would not stand upon his friends in Governement. First, because he would do no man wrong with pleasuring his friends: nor yet would anger them, by denying their requests. Secondly, because he saw many Rulers and men of Authority bolde to do injustice and manifest wrong, bearing themselves upon their friends: but he carried this opinion, that no honest man or good Citizen, should trust to any bolstering of friends, but to his owne just and upright doings. Notwithstanding *Aristides* perceiving that *Themistocles* did rashly alter many things, and encountered all his wayes, and hindered his doings, he was enforced sometime to crosse *Themistocles* againe, and to speake against that he preferred, partly to be even with him, but most to hinder his Credit and Authority, which increased still through the Peoples favour and good will towards him: thinking it better by contrariying him a little to disappoint sometime a thing that might have fallen out well for the Common-wealth, rather then by giving him the head, to suffer him to grow too great. To conclude, it fortuned on a time, that *Themistocles* having preferred a matter very profitable for the Common-wealth, *Aristides* was so much against it, as *Themistocles* purpose tooke no place. Moreover *Aristides* was so earnest against him, that when the Councell brake up after *Themistocles* motion was rejected, he spake it openly before them all: that the Common-wealth of *ATHENS* would never prosper untill they both were laid in *Barathrum*, which was a Prison or hole, wherein they put all Thieves and condemned men. Another time, *Aristides* moved a matter to the People, which divers were against, but yet it went with him. And when the Judge or President of the Councell did put it to the People, to know their allowance of it: *Aristides* perceiving by the Arguments made against it, that the matter he preferred was hurtfull

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to

Damon banished because he was too wise.

Socrates was not poore.

Aristocratie, what it significeth. *Aristides* and *Themistocles* Enemies in the Common-wealth. *Themistocles* disposition. *Aristides* nature.

Themistocles laying for partiality. *Aristides* manner of dealing in the Common-wealth.

Barathrum a Prison or Dungeon.

Aristides con-
stancy.

to the Common-wealth, he gave it over, and would not have it passe. Many times also *Aristides* spake by other men, when he would have a thing go forward, for feare lest *Themistocles* spight towards him, would hinder the benefit of the Common-wealth. They found him very constant and resolute in matters of State, whatsoever happened: which wanne him great commendation. For he was never the prouder for any honour they gave him, nor thought himselfe disgraced for any overthrow he received: being alwaies of this minde, that it was the duty of an honest Citizen, to be ever ready to offer his body and life to do his Countrey service, without respect and hope of reward of Money, or for Honour and Glory. Therefore when certaine Verses were repeated in the Theater, of one of the Tragedies of *Aeschilus*, made in commendation of the ancient Soothsayer *Amphiaraus*, to this effect:

*He will not onely seeme, a just man by his face;
But just indeed he will be found, and vertue still imbrace
With all his thought and soule, from whence there may proceed
Grave counsels, for to beautifie his Countreys Crown indeed.*

*Aristides Ju-
stice.*

All the People straight cast their eyes upon *Arifides*, as upon him, that in truth above all other most deserved the praise of so great a vertue. For he was so stout and resolute, not onely to resist favour and friendship, but to reject hate and anger also. For in case of justice, neither could friendship make him go awry for his friends sake: nor envie could move him to do injustice, to his very enemy. For prooffe hereof it is written, that he had an enemy of his in sure of Law, and did prosecute it to Judgement: infomuch as after the Plaint was read, the Judges were so angry with the offender, that without any more hearing of him, they would have given Sentence against him. But *Arifides* rising from his place, went and kneeled at the Judges feete with the offender his enemy, and besought them to give him leave to speake, to justifie and defend his Cause, according to the course of Law. Another time he being Judge betweene two private men that pleaded before him, one of them said unto him: *Arifides*, this fellow mine adversary here, hath done you great injury. My friend (quoth *Arifides* againe) I pray thee tell me onely the injury he hath done thee, for I am Judge here to do thee right, and not my selfe. Moreover, he being chosin high Treasurer of all the Revenues of *ATHENS*, did declare that all the Officers before him, and other his late Predecessors, had greatly robbed and spoiled the common Treasure, but specially *Themistocles*: who was a wife man, and of

great judgement, but yet somewhat light fingered. Therefore when *Arifides* was brought to account, *Themistocles* and many other suborned by him, were against him, and accused him for abusing his Office, and followed him so hard, that through their practice they condemned him, as *Idemeneus* writeth. Yet the noblest Citizens seeing what injury they offered *Arifides*, took his cause in hand, and found means to procure the People not onely to release the Fine imposed upon him, but to restore him againe to his Office of high Treasurer for the year following: in the which he seemed to repent his former straightnesse in Government the year before, and dealt more favourably with those he had to do with, and would not examine every thing so straightly as he did before. Whereupon such as were thieves and stealers of the Treasure of the Common-wealth, did marvelously praise and like him, and became saters for him to continue in the Office. But when the day of election came, that the *ATHENIANS* would chuse him againe, *Arifides* selfe reproved them, and said: When I faithfully discharged the duty of mine Office committed to me by you, I then received thame and reproach at your hands: and now that I have dissembled, not seeming to see the thefts and robberies done upon your Treasure, ye claw me, and say I am an honest man, and a good Citizen. But I would you knew it, and I tell you plainly, I am more ashamed of the honour you do me now, then I was of the Fine you did set upon me, when you condemned me the last year: and I am sorry to speake it, that you should thinke it more commendation to pleasure the wicked, then to preserve the Common-wealth. After he had spoken these words, and had bewrayed the com-

Mulhades chief
of the ten Cap-
taines that
went against
Dubik the
King of Per-
sias Lieute-
nant.

did bend all their force, and made their greatest Right in that place. By which occasion, *Themistocles* and *Arifides* fighting one hard by another, for that the one was of the Tribe *Leontides*, and the other of *Antiochides*, they valiantly fought it out with the Enemies, envying one another : so as the barbarous People at the last being overthrowne, they made them flie, and drave them to their Ships. But when they were imbarqued and gone, the Captaines of the *ATHENIANS* perceiving they made not towards the Illes, which was their direct course to returne into *ASIA*, but that they were driven backe by storme of winde and Pyrries of the Sea, towards the Coast of *ATTICA* and the City of *ATHENS*, fearing lest they might finde *ATHENS* unfurnished for defence, and might set upon it : they thereupon sent away presently nine Tribes that marched thither with such speed, as they came to *ATHENS* the very same day, and left *Arifides* in the Campe at *MARATHON*, with his Tribe and Countrey-men, to looke to the Prisoners and Spoile they had wonne of the barbarous People. Who nothing deceived the opinion they had of his wisdom. For notwithstanding there was great store of Gold and Silver, much Apparell, Moveables, and other infinite Goods and Riches in all their Tents and Pavillions, and in the Ships also they had taken of theirs : he was not so covetous as once to touch them, nor to suffer any other to meddle with them, unlesse by stealth some provided for themselves. As amongst other, there was one *Callias*, one of *Ceres* Priests, called *Dadouchos*, as you would say, the Torch-bearer, (for in the secret Sacrifices of *Ceres*, his Office was to hold the Torch) whom when one of the barbarous People saw, and how he wore a band about his head, and long haire, he tooke him for some King, and falling on his knees at his feete, kissed his hand, and shewed him great store of Gold he had hidden and buried in a ditch. But *Callias*, like a most cruell and cowardly wretch of all other on the Earth, tooke away the Gold, and killed the poore soule that had shewed him the place, because he should not tell it to others. Hereof it cometh, that the Comical Poet do call those that came of him in mockery, *Laccoplures*, as made rich by a Ditch : because of the Gold that *Callias* found in it. Immediately after this Battell, *Arifides* was chosen Provost of *ATHENS* for the year : albeit *Demetrius Phalerius* writeth, that it was a little before his death, after the Journey of *PLATES*. For in their Chronicles, where they set in order their Provosts of *ATHENS* for the year, since *Xanhippes* time, there appeared no one name of *Arifides* in that year : that *Mardonius* the King of *PERSIANS* Lieutenant was overthrowne by *PLATES*, which was many years after : but contrariwise, they finde *Arifides* enrolled among the Provosts immediately after *Phanippus* : in the year the Battell was fought at *MARATHON*. Now the People did most commend *Arifides* justice, before all his other vertues and qualities : because that vertue is most common and in use in our life, and delivereth most benefit to men. Hereof it came, that he being a meane man, obtained the worthiest name that one could have, to be called by the whole City, a just man. This surname was never desired of Kings, Princes, nor of Tyrants, but they alwaies delighted to be surnamed, some *Polioretetes*, to say, Conquerors of Cities : other *Cerauni*, to say, lightning or terrible : other *Nicanores*, to say Subduers : and some other, *Eri* and *Hieracles*, to say, Eagles or Faulcons, or such like Birds that prey : desiring rather (as it should appeare by those Surnames) the praise and reputation growing by force and power, then the commendation that riseth by vertue and goodnesse. Yet notwithstanding, God whom they desire most to be likened to, doth excell all humane Nature in three severall things : in Immortality, in Power, and in Vertue, of which three, Vertue is the most honourable and precious thing. For as the Naturall Philosophers reason, all the foure Elements and *Vacuum*, are immortal and incorruptible, and so are Force and Power, Earth-quakes, Lightning, terrible Stormes, running Rivers, and Inundations of Waters : but as for Justice and Equity, no man is partaker of them, save onely God, by meanes of reason and understanding. Therefore, because men commonly have three sundry affections of the gods : the first, that they thinke them blessed : the second, that they feare them : the third, that they reverence them : it appeareth then that they thinke them blessed, for the Eternity and Immortality of their godhead : that they feare them, because of their Omnipotency and Power : and that they love and worship them, for their Justice and Equity. And yet notwithstanding, of those three, men do covet Immortality, which no flesh can attaine unto : and also Power : which dependeth most upon Fortune : and in the meane time they leave Vertue alone, whereof the gods of their goodnesse have made us capable. But here they shew themselves fooles. For Justice maketh the life of a Nobleman, and of one in great Authority, seeme Divine and Celestiall : where without Justice, and dealing unjustly, his life is most beastly, and odious to the World. But now againe to *Arifides*. This Surname of a just man at the beginning, made him beloved of all the People : but afterwards it turned him to great ill will, and specially by *Themistocles* practice : who gave it out every where, that *Arifides* had overthrowne all Justice, because by consent of the parties he was ever chosen Arbitrator to end all controversies : and that by this meanes he secretly had procured the absolute Power of a King : not needing any Guard or Souldiers about him. The People moreover being growne very dissolute and licentious, by reason of the Victory of *MARATHON*, and seeking to have all things passe by them and their Authority, began now to dislike, and to be greatly offended, that any private man should go before the rest in good Fame and Reputation. Whereupon, they came out of all Shires of *ATTICA* into the City of *ATHENS*, and so banished *Arifides* with the *Ostracismos* : disguising the envie they bare to his Glory with the Name of feare of Tyranny. For this manner of banishment called *Ostracismos*, or *Exostracismos*, was no ordinary punishment for any fault or offence committed : but to give it an honest cloke, they said it was onely a pulling downe and tying short of too much Greatnesse and Authority, exceeding

Miltiades' Victory of the Persians.

The wicked
part of *Callias*
the Torch-
bearer.

Aristides chosen Provost of Athens.

Aristides called
the Just.

**The praise of
Justice.**

Authority would be without corruption.

Themistocles
enviech Aristi-
les Justice.

Aristides banished with the *Ostracism*.
The nature of the *Ostracism*

Hyperbolus the last man banished with the Ostracism. The cause of Hyperbolus banishment.

A description of the Ostracism.

A Tale of a plaine man that came to Aristides with his shell, to pray him to write Aristides name in it.

Aristides called from exile.

Aristides acts and counsels against King Xerxes.

ding far the matter and countenance of a Popular State. But to tell you truly, it was none otherwise, then a gentle meane to qualifie the Peoples envie against some private person: which envie bred no malice to him whose greatnesse did offend them, but only tended to the banishing of him for ten years. But afterwards when by practice, this *Ostracism* banishment was laid upon meane men; and Malefactors, as upon *Hyperbolus* that was the last man so banished, they never after used it any more at ATHENS. And by the way it shall not be amisse to tell you here, why and wherefore this *Hyperbolus* was banished. *Alcibiades* and *Nicias* were the chiefeft men of ATHENS at that time, and they both were ever at square together, a common thing amongst great men. They perceiving now by the Peoples assembling, that they went about to execute the *Ostracism*, were marvellously afraid it was meant to banish one of them: wherefore they spake together, and made both their followers friends with each other, and joyined them in one Tribe together, inso much, when the most voyces of the People were gathered to condemne him that should be banished, they found it was *Hyperbolus*. The People therewith were much offended, to see the *Ostracism* so embased and scorned, that they never after would use it againe, and so left it off for ever. But briefly to let you understand what the *Ostracism* was, and after what fort they used it: ye are to know, that at a certaine day appointed, every Citizen carried a great shell in his hand, whereupon he wrote the name of him he would have banished, and brought it into a certaine place railed about with wooden bars in the Market-place. Then, when every man had brought in his shell, the Magistrates and Officers of the City did count and tell the number of them: for if there were lesse then fix thousand Citizens, that had thus brought these shells together, the *Ostracism* was not full and perfect. That done, they laid apart every mans name written in these shells: and whose name they found written by most Citizens, they proclaimed him by sound of Trumpet, a banished man for ten years, during which time notwithstanding, the party did enjoy all his Goods. Now every man writing thus his name in a shell, whom they would have banished: it is reported there was a plaine man of the Countrey (very simple) that could neither write nor reade, who came to *Aristides* (being the first man he met with) and gave him his shell, praying him to write *Aristides* name upon it. He being abashed withall, did aske the Countreyman, if *Aristides* had ever done him any displeasure. No, said the Countreyman, he never did me hurt, nor I know him not: but it grieves me to heare every man call him a just him. *Aristides* hearing him say so, gave him no answer, but wrote his owne name upon the shell; and delivered it againe to the Countreyman. But as he went his way out of the City, he lift up his hands to Heaven, and made a Prayer contrary to that of *Achilles* in *Homer*, beseeching the gods that the ATHENIANS might never have such troubles in hand, as they should be compelled to call for *Aristides* againe. Notwithstanding, within three years after, when *Xerxes* King of PERSIA came with his Army through the Countreys of THESSALY and BOEOTIA, and entred into the heart of the Countrey of ATTICA, the ATHENIANS revoking the Law of their *Ostracism*, called home againe all those they had banished, and specially, because they were afraid *Aristides* would take part with the barbarous People, and that his example should move many other to do the like; wherein they were greatly deceived in the nature of the man: for before that he was called home, he continually travelled up and downe, perswading and encouraging the GRECIANS to maintaine and defend their Liberty. After that Law was repealed by Proclamation, and that *Themistocles* was chosen the onely Lieutenant Generall of ATHENS, he did alwaies faithfully aide and assist him in all things, as well with his travell, as also with his counsell: and thereby wan his Enemies great honour, because it stood upon the safety and preservation of his Countrey. For when *Eurybiades*, Generall of the Army of the GRECIANS, had determined to forsake the Isle of SALAMINA, and that the Gallies of the barbarous People were come into the middest of the Seas, and had environed the Isles all about, and the mouth of the arme of the Straight of SALAMINA, before any man knew they were thus inclosed in: *Aristides* departing out of the Isle of *Egina* with a marvellous boldnesse, ventured through the middest of all the barbarous Ships and Fleete, and by good hap got in the night into *Themistocles* Tent, and calling him out, spake with him there in this sort: *Themistocles*, if we be both wise, it is high time we should now leave off this vaine envie and spight we have long time borne each other, and that we should enter into another fort of envie more honourable and profitable for us both: I meane, which of us two should do his best endeavour to save GREECE: you, by ruling and commanding all like Lieutenant Generall: and I, by counselling you the best, and executing your commandment: considering you are the man alone that will roundliest come unto the point that is best: which is in my opinion, that we should hazard Battell by Sea within the Straight of SALAMINA, and that as soone as might be possible. But if our Friends and Confederates do let this to be put in execution, I do assure you your Enemies do helpe it forward. For it is said, the Sea both before and behinde us, and round about us, is covered all over with their Ships, so as they that would not before, shall now be compelled of force, and in spight of their hearts, to fight and bestir them like men: because they are compassed in all about, and there is no passage left open for them to escape, nor to flee. Whereunto *Themistocles* answered: I am forry, *Aristides*, that herein your honesty appeareth greater then mine: but since it is so, that you have deserved the honour in beginning, and procuring such an honourable and commendable strife betweene us, I will henceforth endeavour my selfe to exceed you in continuing this your desire. After which Answer, he told *Aristides*, how he purposed to mocke the barbarous King, and prayed him to intreate *Eurybiades* to yeeld to his device, and to perswade him that there was no other way to save GREECE, but to fight by Sea: for *Eurybiades* gave more credit to *Aristides* perswasions, then he did to *Themistocles* words: for when

all

all the Captaines were called to Councell, to determine whether they should give Battell, or not: one *Cleocritus* CORINTHIAN said to *Themistocles*, that his counsell did not like *Aristides* at all as it seemed, because he spake never a word to it being present. *Aristides* answered him straight, that he utterly mistooke him. For (quoth he) if I did not thinke his counsell good, I would not hold my peace as I do: but now I am mute, not for any good will I beare him, but because I finde his counsell wife and found. While the Captaines of the GRECIANS were reasoning in this sort, *Aristides* seeing PSYTTALEA (a little Island before SALAMINA within the Straight) full of men of Warre of their Enemies: imbarqued immediately the valiantest and lustiest Souldiers he had of all his Countrey men, into the least Foystes or Pinnaces he had among all his Gallies: and went with them, and landed in that Isle, and overthrew all the barbarous People he found there, and put them to the Sword every man, taking the chiefeft of them onely Prisoners: among which were three Sonnes of *Sandaunce*, the Kings Sister, whom he sent unto *Themistocles*. These three Lords were all slaine by the commandment of *Euphrantides* the Soothsayer, and sacrificed to *Bacchus Omeftes*, as to say, the cruell *Bacchus*, and eater of raw flesh, and all upon an Oracle they had received. That done, *Aristides* dispersed his Souldiers about the Isle, to receive all such as were by fortune of Warre, or of the Sea, cast into the Island: to the end that no Enemy of theirs should scape their hands, nor any of his friends should perish. For the greatest Fleete of all their Ships, and the sharpest encounter of the whole Battell, was about this little Island: and therefore the Tokens of Triumph were set there. After the Battell was wonne, *Themistocles* to seele *Aristides* opinion, said unto him: We have done a good piece of service, but yet there is another behinde of greater importance, and that is this: We must bring all ASIA into EUROPE, which we may easily do, if we saile with all speede to the Straight of HELLESPOINT, and go breakage the Bride the King hath made there. Then *Aristides* cried out, Stay there, never speake of that: but I pray you let us rather seeke all the waies we can, how to drive this barbarous King out of GREECE, lest if we keepe him in still with so great an Army (and he shall see no way before him to escape out) we drive him then to fight like a desperate man, and perill our selves, we cannot tell to what. When *Themistocles* had heard his opinion, he secretly sent the Eunuke *Arnaeus* his Prisoner, unto King *Xerxes*, to advertise him from him, that he had altered the GRECIANS purpose, which was fully bent to have broken up the Bridge he had made at the Straight of HELLESPOINT, to passe over his Army: and that he was the willing to let him understand it, that he might the better provide for the safety of his Person. King *Xerxes* being nettled with this advertisement, tooke straight his journey, and with all speed went to recover the Straight of HELLESPOINT and left *Mardonius* his Lieutenant Generall in GREECE, with three hundred thousand of the best Souldiers of his Army. This *Mardonius* was marvellously dreared of all the GRECIANS, for the wonderful great Army he had by Land, and he did threaten them also by his Letters he wrote unto them: You have (said he) with your Ships by Sea, overcome men acquainted to fight by Land, and that never handled Oare: but now, the Plaines of THESSALY, or the Fields of BOEOTIA, are very faire and large for Horsemen and Footmen to make proofe of their valiantnesse, if you will come to the Battell in the Field. He wrote Letters to the ATHENIANS, by the King his Masters commandment, of other effect, and offered them from him, to build up their City againe, to give them a great Pension, and furthermore to make them Lords of all GREECE, so they would give over, and leave off these Warres. The LACEDÆMONIANS being forthwith advertised of his Letters written to the ATHENIANS, and fearing lest they would have beene perswaded by them: sent their Ambassadors with all speed to ATHENS, to pray them to send their Wives and Children unto SPARTA, and also to offer them Victuals, to relieve their poore old People, because of the great scarcity that was at ATHENS, for that their City was burnt and razed, and all their Countrey besides destroyed by the barbarous People. The ATHENIANS having heard the offers of the Ambassadors of LACEDÆMON, made them a marvellous answer through *Aristides* counsell, and this it was: That they bare with the barbarous People, though they thought all things were to be sold for Gold and Silver, because they esteemed nothing more precious nor better in this World, then to be rich and wealthy: but on the other side, they were greatly offended with the LACEDÆMONIANS, that they only regarded the present poverty, and necessity of the ATHENIANS, and did forget their vertue and noble courage, thinking to make them fight more valiantly for the preservation of GREECE, by offering them Victuals to live withall. The People approving this Answer, *Aristides* then caused the Ambassadors of SPARTA to come to the Assembly, and commanded them to tell the LACEDÆMONIANS by word of mouth, that all the Gold above, or under the ground, could not corrupt the ATHENIANS, to make them take any summe of Money or reward, to leave the defence of the Liberty of GREECE. And to the Herauld that came from *Mardonius*, he shewed the Sunne, and said unto him: So long as yonder Sunne keepeth his course about the World, so long will the ATHENIANS be mortall Enemies unto the PERSIANS, because they have spoiled and destroyed all their Countrey: and have defiled and burnt the Temples of their gods. Besides, he willed that the Priests, by commandment of the People, should excommunicate and curse him that would procure them to send unto the PERSIANS to make peace with them, and to breake their League and Alliance with the other GRECIANS. Hereupon, when *Mardonius* came againe the second time to over-run the Countrey of ATTICA, the ATHENIANS got them againe into the Isle of SALAMINA, and then they sent *Aristides* Ambassadour unto the LACEDÆMONIANS. He sharply tooke them up, and reproved their sloth and negligence, because they had againe forsaken ATHENS, and left it to the spoile of the barbarous People: and prayed them yet they would

Aristides words of *Themistocles*

Aristides Victory of *Psyttalea*.

Aristides wife counsell for *Xerxes* flying out of Greece.

A stratagem of *Themistocles*

Xerxes left *Mardonius* his Lieutenant in Greece with three hundred thousand men.

The noble minde of the Athenians.

look to save the rest of GREECE. The Ephori (which were certaine Officers that ruled all things within the City of SPARTA) when they had heard *Aristides* perswasions, straight tooke order for aide, though it appeared they did nothing all day but play, and make good cheare, keeping that day one of their Solemne Feasts they called *Hyalinthia*. Howbeit the next night following, they sent out five thousand Citizens borne in SPARTA, into the Field, all proper men and valiant Souldiers, every one of them carrying with him seven Ilotes (which are the Countreymen and Slaves in the Countrey of LACEDÆMONIA) not making the Ambassadors of ATHENS privie to it at all. Wherefore *Aristides* came againe another time into their Councell, to complaine of their negligence. But they fell a laughing, and said he dreamed, or else he mocked them: for their Army which they had sent against the strangers (for so they called the PERSIANS) was already at the City of ORKOSTION in ARCADIA. *Aristides* hearing their answer, replied, that they were to blame to mocke them in that sort, to send away their men so secretly, that they might not know of it: and that it was no time for them now to go about to deceive their friends, but their Enemies rather. *Idomenus* in his Story reporteth the matter thus in every point: notwithstanding, in the Decree that was made to send Ambassadors to SPARTA, *Aristides* is not named for Ambassadour, but there are other appointed: as *Cimon*, *Xanthippus*, and *Mironides*. Afterwards *Aristides* was chosen by voyces of the People, Lieutenant Generall of the Army of ATHENS, in this Warre against the PERSIANS, and went unto the Campe of the GRECIANS by the City of PLATÆES, with eight thousand Footmen well armed and appointed. There he found King *Pausanias* the onely Generall of all the whole Power and Army of the GRECIANS, who brought with him the force of SPARTA: and there came daily into his Campe one after another, a marvellous great multitude of other GRECIANS. Now touching the Army of the barbarous People, they incamped all along the River of ASOPUS: but because their Campe stretched out a marvellous way in length, they were not intrenched at all, but had onely fortified a piece of ground four square with a wall about, which was ten furlongs on every side, to place all their carriage and chieftest things in. And for the GRECIANS againe, the Soothsayer *Tisamenus*, borne in the City of ELIDE, had told *Pausanias*, and all the GRECIANS together, that they should have the Victory, so they did not assault at all, but onely defend. And *Aristides*, that had sent to the Oracle of *Apollo* at DELPHES, in the name of the ATHENIANS, had answer: They should overcome their Enemies, so they did sacrifice and make speciall Prayers unto *Jupiter* and *Juno* of Mount CITHÆRON, unto *Pan*, and unto the Nymphs *Sphragitides*, and also unto the demy-gods, *Androcrates*, *Leucon*, *Pisander*, *Damocrates*, *Hypion*, *Adæon*, and *Polydus*: and so that they did hazard Battell also within their owne Territories, and in the Plaine of *Ceres Eleusian*, and of *Proserpina*. This Oracle troubled *Aristides* marvellously, because the demy-gods whom they had commandement to do Sacrifice unto, were the Founders and Ancestors of the PLATÆIANS: and the Cave of the Nymphs *Sphragitides*, is one of the tops of the Mount CITHÆRON, looking towards the West, where the Sunne setteth in Sommer. They say there was an Oracle there in old time, whose spirit possessed many Inhabitants thereofabouts, and bestraught them of their wits: whereupon, they called those so possessed, *Nympholepti*, as who would say, taken with the Nymphs. And againe, to tell the ATHENIANS they should have the Victory, so they did hazard Battell in the Plaine of *Ceres Eleusian*, and within their owne Territory: it was even to send them backe againe into the Countrey of ATTICA. *Aristides* being thus perplexed, *Arminestus* Captaine of the PLATÆIANS, had such a Vision in the night in his sleepe. He thought, that *Jupiter* the Saviour did appeare unto him, and asked him what the GRECIANS intended to do? and that he answered: My Lord, we must to morrow remove our Campe into the Territories of ELEUSIN, and there we will fight with the barbarous People, according to the commandement the Oracle of *Apollo* hath given us. Then that *Jupiter* replied, that they were greatly deceived: for all that *Apollo* had declared by his Oracle was meant within the Territories of the PLATÆIANS, and that they should finde it true, if they considered it well. *Arminestus* having plainly scene this Vision in his sleepe, when he did awake in the morning, he straight sent for the oldest Citizens, and considering with them where this place should be; he found at the length, that at the foot of Mount CITHÆRON, by the City of NYSSIA, there was an old Temple they called the Temple of *Ceres Eleusian*, and of her Daughter *Proserpina*. When he heard them say so, he went straight and told *Aristides* of it, and found that it was an excellent place to set an Army in Battell ray, that had but few Horsemen: for that the foote of Mount CITHÆRON did lett the Horsemen, they could not go to the place where the Temple stood, and where the Plaine and Valley did end: besides also, that the Chappell of *Androcrates* was even in that place, which was all hidden with thick Wood round about it. And because they should lacke nothing to hinder the expresse commandement of the Oracle for hope of Victory, the PLATÆIANS (through *Arminestus* counsell and advice) made a common Decree, that the Confines of the City of PLATÆES should be taken away towards ATHENS side, and that the Land thereof should be given clearly unto the ATHENIANS, because they should fight with the barbarous People in their own Land, for the defence and preservation of GREECE according to the commandement of the Oracle. This noble Gift and Present of the PLATÆIANS was so famous, as many years after, King *Alexander* the Great having conquered the Empire of ASIA, built up the Walls againe of the City of PLATÆES, and when he had done, made a Herald openly proclaime it at the Games Olympicall, that *Alexander* had done the PLATÆIANS that honour and dignity, for a memoriall and honour of their magnanimity; because in the Warre against the PERSIANS, they had freely and liberally given away their Land unto the ATHENIANS, for the safety of the GRECIANS: and

Aristides Lieutenant Generall of the Athenians against *Mardonius*, Persian King of Lacedæmon, Generall of all Greece.

Oracles of the Victory of *Platæes*.

The Nymphs *Sphragitides*.

Arminestus Dicaine.

The magnanimity of the *Platæians*. *Alexander* the Great doth honour the *Platæians* for their noble mindes.

and hath shewed themselves of a noble courage also, and very willing to defend the state of GREECE. Now when the Army of the GRECIANS came to be set in order of Battell, there fell a strife betweene the ATHENIANS and the TEGEATES, because the ATHENIANS would needs (according to their old custome) have the left Wing of the Battell, if the LACEDÆMONIANS had the right Wing: and the TEGEATES on the contrary part, would have the preheminence before the ATHENIANS, alleging the famous Acts and notable Service of their Ancestors in former Warres, whereupon the ATHENIANS did mutiny. But *Aristides* slept betweene them, and told them, that it was no time now to contend with the TEGEATES about their Nobility and Valiantesse: and as for you, my Lords of SPARTA (said he) and you also my Masters of GREECE: we tell you, that the place neither giveth nor taketh vertue away, and we do assure you, that wheresoever you place us, we will go to defend and keepe it, as we will not impair nor blemish the honour we have wonne in former foughten Battels and gotten Victories. For we are not come hither to quarrell and fall out with our friends, but to fight with our common Enemies, nor to brag of our Ancestors doings, but to shew our selves valiant in defence of all GREECE. For this Battell will make good proofe of all the GRECIANS, how much estimation every City, every Captaine, and particular person will deserve for his part. When *Aristides* had spoken, the Captaines and all other of the Councell concluded in favour of the ATHENIANS, that they should have one of the Wings of the Battell. But by this means all GREECE stood in marvellous garboile at that time, and the State of the ATHENIANS specially in great danger. For a number of the noblest Citizens of ATHENS, and that brought great substance with them to the Warres, being now at low state, and in poverty, their Goods being spent and gone, and seeing themselves discountenanced, not bearing that Rule and Authority in the Common-wealth they were wont to do, because other were called to Authority, and preferred to the Offices of the City: they gathered together, and met at a house in the City of PLATÆES, and there conspired to overthrow the Authority of the People at ATHENS: and if they could not obtaine their purpose, then that they would rather lose all, and betray their Countrey unto the barbarous People. While these things were practised in the Campe, many being of the Conspiracy, *Aristides* came to an inckling of it, and was marvellously afraid, because of the time: wherefore he began to be careful of the matter, being of such importance as it was, and yet would not be curious to understand the whole Conspiracy, little knowing what a number might be drawne into this Treason, if it were narrowly looked into, but rather respected that which was just, then what was profitable for the time. So he caused eight persons onely of the great number to be apprehended, and of these eight, the two first whom they would have indicted as Principals, and were most to be burdened for the Conspiracy, *Eschines* of the Towne of LAMPARA, and *Egefus* of the Towne of ACHARNA, they found meanes to flie out of the Campe, and to save themselves. And for the other, *Aristides* let them at liberty, and gave them occasion that were not discovered, to be bold, and to repent them of their follies: saying, that the Battell should be their Judge, where they should purge themselves of all accusations laid against them, and shew the World also, that they never had any other intention but honest and good, towards their Countrey. *Mardonius*, to prove the courage of the GRECIANS, had sent all his Horsemen (wherein he was far stronger then the GRECIANS) to skirmish with them. Who were lodged at the foote of Mount CITHÆRON, in strong places and full of stones, saving the three thousand MEGARIANS, that camped in the Plaine: by reason whereof, they were sore troubled and hurt, by the Horsemen of the barbarous People that set upon them on every side, for they might charge them where they would. Insomuch, in the end, perceiving they alone could no longer resist the force of so great a multitude of the barbarous People, they sent with all speed possible to *Pausanias*, to pray him to send them present aide. *Pausanias* hearing this news, and seeing in his owne sight the Campe of the MEGARIANS almost covered with Shot and Darts which the barbarous People threw at them, and that they were compelled to stand close together in a little corner: he wist not what to do. For to go thither in person with the LACEDÆMONIANS that were Footmen heave armed, he thought that was no way to helpe them. So he proved to put some ambitious desire and envie of honour, among the private Captaines and Generals of the Army of the other GRECIANS, which were then about him: to see if he could move any mans courage and desire, to offer himselfe willingly to aide the MEGARIANS. Howbeit they had all deafe eares, but *Aristides*, who promised to go in the name of the ATHENIANS, and brought *Olympiodorus* into the Field (one of the valiantest Captaines that served under him) with his Company of three hundred chosen men, and certaine Shot mingled amongst them. These Souldiers were ready in a moment, and marched straight in Battell ray, a great pace towards the barbarous People. *Masistius*, that was Generall of the Horsemen of the PERSIANS, a goodly tall man, perceiving their coming towards him: turned his Horse, and galloped to them. The ATHENIANS tarried him, and kept their ground, and the encounter was very hot, because both the one and the other side did the best they could at this first onset to put the rest of the Battell in jeopardy: and they fought so long, that *Masistius* Horse was shot through the body with an Arrow, that put him to such paine, as he never left flinging, till he cast his Master on the ground, armed as he was at all peeces. So being on the ground, he could not rise againe, as well for the weight of his Armour, as for that the ATHENIANS came so suddenly upon him. And notwithstanding there were many about him to hew him in pieces, yet they could finde no way how to kill him, he was so thoroughly armed and loaden with Gold, Copper, and Iron, not onely upon his body and his head, but also on his legs and armes: untill at the length there was one that thrust the head of his Dart through his Bever, and so killed him.

Strife betweene the Athenians and TEGEATES. *Aristides* wisely pacified the mutiny.

The conspiracy of the rich Noblemen of Athens.

Masistius Generall of the Horsemen of the Persians.

Maffius flaine
by the Atheni-
ans.

Alexander
King of Macedon,
revealeth
the Persians
secret counsell
unto Aristides.

The PERSIANS perceiving that, fled immediately, and forooke the body of their Generall. Shortly after it appeared to the GRECIANS, that they had sped well at this Skirmish, not because they had slaine many Enemies, but for the great lamentation the barbarous People made for the losse of *Maffius*. For his death did so grieve them, that they polled themselves, they clipped off their Horfe and Moyles haire, and filled besides all the Field thereabouts with pitfull cries and shriekes, as those that had lost the valiantest and chiefeft man of Authority of all their Campe, next unto *Mardonius* the Kings Lieutenant. After this first Skirmish, both the one and the other side kept their Campe, and would not come into the Field many daies after: for the Soothsayers did promise both sides the Victory, as much the PERSIANS, as the GRECIANS, so they did but only defend: and contrariwise, they did threaten them to be overthrowne, that did assault. But *Mardonius* finding Victuals waxed scant, and that they were stored but for few daies, and moreover how the GRECIANS daily grew stronger by continuall repaire to their Campe, the longer he delayed: in the end he resolved to tarry no longer, but to passe the River *Asopus* the next morning by breake of the day, and suddenly to set upon the GRECIANS. So he gave the Captaines warning the night before what they should do, because every man should be ready. But about midnight there came a Horseman without any noise at all, so neare to the GRECIANS Campe, that he spake to the Watch, and told them he would speake with *Aristides* Generall of the ATHENIANS. *Aristides* was called for straight, and when he came to him, the Horseman said unto *Aristides*: I am *Alexander* King of *Macedon*, who for the long and great good will I beare you, have put my selfe in the greatest danger that may be, to come at this present time to advertise you, that to morrow morning *Mardonius* will give you Battell: because your Enemies sudden coming upon you, should not make you afraid, being suddenly charged, and should not hinder also your valiant fighting. For it is no new hope that is come to *Mardonius*, that makes him to fight, but onely scarcity of Victuals that forceth him to do it, considering that the Prognosticators are all against it, that he should give you Battell, both by reason of the ill tokens of their Sacrifices, as also by the answers of their Oracles, which hath put all the Army in a marvellous feare, and stand in no good hope at all. Thus he is forced to put all at a venture, or else if he will needs lie still, to be starved to death for very famine. After King *Alexander* had imparted this secret to *Aristides*, he prayed him to keepe it to himselfe, and to remember it in time to come. *Aristides* answered him then, that it was no reason he should keepe a matter of so great importance as that from *Pausanias*, who was the Lieutenant Generall of their whole Army: notwithstanding, he promised him he would tell it no man else before the Battell, and that if the gods gave the GRECIANS the Victory, he did assure him, they should all acknowledge his great favour and good will shewed unto them. After they had talked thus together, King *Alexander* left him, and returned backe againe: and *Aristides* also went immediately to *Pausanias* Tent, and told him the talke King *Alexander* and he had together. Thereupon the private Captaines were sent for straight to Councell, and there order was given, that every man should have his Bands ready, for they should fight in the morning. So *Pausanias* at that time (as *Herodotus* writeth) said unto *Aristides*, that he would remove the ATHENIANS from the left to the right Wing, because they should have the PERSIANS themselves right before them, and that they should fight so much the lustier, both for that they were acquainted with their fight, as also because they had overcome them before in the first encounter: and that himselfe would take the left Wing of the Battell, where he should encounter with the GRECIANS that fought on the PERSIANS side. But when all the other private Captaines of the ATHENIANS understood it, they were marvellous angry with *Pausanias*, and said he did them wrong, and had no reason to let all the other GRECIANS keepe their place where they were alwaies appointed, and onely to remove them, as if they were Slaves, to be appointed at his pleasure, now on the one side, then on the other, and to set them in fight with the valiantest Souldiers they had of all their Enemies. Then said *Aristides* to them, that they knew not what they said, and how before they misliked, and did strive with the TEGEATES, onely for having the left Wing of the Battell; and when it was granted, they thought themselves greatly honoured that they were preferred before them, by order of the Captaines: and now where the LACEDÆMONIANS were willing of themselves to give them the place of the right Wing, and did in manner offer them the preheminance of the whole Army: they do not thankfully take the honour offered them, nor yet do reckon of the vantage and benefit given them to fight against the PERSIANS selves, their ancient Enemies, and not against their naturall Countreyemen anciently defended of them. When *Aristides* had used all these perswasions unto them, they were very well contented to change place with the LACEDÆMONIANS: and then all the talke among them was to encourage one another, and to tell them that the PERSIANS that came against them, had no better hearts nor Weapons, then those whom they before had overcome, in the Plaine of *MARATHON*. For said they, they have the same Bowes, the same rich imbroidered Gownes, the same golden Chaines and Carcanets of womanish persons, hanging on their cowardly bodies and faint hearts: where we have also the same Weapons and bodies we had, and our hearts more lively and courageous then before, through the sundry Victories we have since gotten of them. Further, we have this advantage more, that we do not fight as our other Confederates the GRECIANS do, for our City and Countrey onely, but also to continue the Fame and Renowne of our former noble service, which we wanne at the Journeys of *MARATHON* and of *SELEMINA*: to the end, the World should not thinke that the Glory of these Triumphs and Victories was due unto *Aristides* onely, or unto Fortune, but unto the courage and worthinesse of the ATHENIANS.

Thus

The Treason
of the Thebans

Thus were the GRECIANS throughly occupied to change the order of their Battell in haste. The THEBANS on the other side that tooke part with *Mardonius*, receiving intelligence of the altering of their Battell, by Traytors that ranne betwene both Campes, they straight told *Mardonius* of it. He thereupon did suddenly also change the order of his Battell, and placed the right Wing of the PERSIANS against the left Wing of his Enemies: either because he was afraid of the ATHENIANS, or else for greater glory, that he had a desire to fight with the LACEDÆMONIANS, and commanded the GRECIANS that tooke his part, that they should fight against the ATHENIANS. This alteration was so openly done, that every man might see it: whereupon *Pausanias* removed the LACEDÆMONIANS againe, and set them in the right Wing. *Mardonius* seeing that, removed the PERSIANS againe from the right Wing, and brought them to the left Wing (where they were before) against the LACEDÆMONIANS: and thus they consumed all that day in changing their men to and fro. So the Captaines of the GRECIANS fate in Councell at night, and there they agreed, that they must needs remove their Campe, and lodge in some other place where they might have water at commandement: because their Enemies did continually trouble and spoile that water they had about them, with their Horses. Now when night came, the Captaines would have marched away with their men, to go to the lodging they had appointed: but the People went very ill willing, and they had much ado to keepe them together. For they were no sooner out of the Trenches and Fortifications of their Campe, but the most part of them ranne to the City of *PLATEES*, and were marvellously out of order, dispersing themselves here and there, and set up their Tents where they thought good, before the places were appointed for them: and there were none that tarried behinde, but the LACEDÆMONIANS onely, and that was against their wills: for one of their Captaines called *Amompharetus*, a marvellous hardy man, that feared no danger, and longed sore for Battell, he was in such a rage with these trifling delays, that he cried it out in the Campe, that this removing was a goodly running away, and sware he would not from thence, but would there tarry *Mardonius* coming with his Company. *Pausanias* went to him, and told him he must do that the other GRECIANS had consented to in Councell, by most voyces. But *Amompharetus* tooke a great stone in his hands, and threw it downe at *Pausanias* feete, and told him, There is the signe I give to conclude Battell, and I passe not for all your cowardly conclusions. *Amompharetus* stubbornnesse did so amaze *Pausanias*, that he was at his wits end. So he went unto the ATHENIANS that were onwards on their way, to pray them to tarry for him, that they might go together, and therewithall made the rest of his men to march towards the City of *PLATEES*, supposing thereby to have drawne *Amompharetus* to have followed him, or else to let him remaine alone behinde. But in trifling thus, the day brake: and *Mardonius* understanding that the GRECIANS did forsake their first lodging, he made his Army presently march in Battell ray to set upon the LACEDÆMONIANS. So the barbarous People made great shouts and cries, not thinking to go fight, but to sacke and spoile the GRECIANS flying away, as indeede they did little better. For, *Pausanias* seeing the countenance of his Enemies, made his Ensignes to stay, and commanded every man to prepare to fight: but he forgot to give the GRECIANS the signal of the Battell, either for the anger he tooke against *Amompharetus*, or for the sudden onser of the Enemies, which made them that they came not in fraight, nor all together to the Battell after it was begun, but stragling in small Companies, some here, and some there. In the meane time, *Pausanias* was busie in sacrificing to the gods, and seeing that the first Sacrifices were not acceptable unto them, by the Soothsayers observations they made, he commanded the SPARTANS to throw their Targets at their feete, and not to stir out of their places, but onely to do as he bade them, without resisting their Enemies. When he had given this straight order, he went againe and did Sacrifice, when the Horsemen of the Enemies were at hand, and that their Arrows flew amongst the thickest of the LACEDÆMONIANS, and did hurt divers of them, and specially poore *Callicrates* among the rest, that was one of the goodliest men in all the GRECIANS Host and Army. He having his deaths wound with an Arrow, before he gave up the ghost, said, His death did not grieve him, because he came out of his Countrey to die for the defence of *GREECE*: but it grieved him to die so cowardly, having given the Enemy never a blow. His death was marvellous lamentable, and the constancy of the SPARTANS wonderfull: for they never stirred out of their places, nor made any countenance to defend themselves against their Enemies that came upon them, but suffered themselves to be thrust through with Arrows, and slaine in the Field, looking for the houre the gods would appoint them, and that their Captaines would command them to fight. Some write also, that as *Pausanias* was at his Prayers, and doing Sacrifice unto the gods a little behinde the Battell, certaine of the LYDIANS came upon him, and overthrow and tooke away all his Sacrifice: and that *Pausanias*, and those that were about him (having no other Weapons in their hands) drave them away with force of Staves and Whips. In memory whereof, they say there is a solemne Procession kept at *SPARTA* on that day, which they call the LYDIANS Procession, where they whip and beate young Boyes about the Altar. Then was *Pausanias* in great distresse, to see the Priests offer Sacrifice upon Sacrifice, and that not one of them pleased the gods: at the last he turned his eyes to the Temple of *Juno*, and wept, and holding up his hands, besought *Juno Citharon*, and all the other gods (Patrons and Protectors of the Countrey of the *PLATEIANS*) that if it were not the will of the gods the GRECIANS should have the victory, yet that the Conquerors at the least should buy their deaths dearly, and that they should finde they fought against valiant men, and worthy Souldiers. *Pausanias* had no sooner ended his Prayer, but the Sacrifices fell out very favourable,

B b

infomuch

The stubborn-
nesse of *Amom-
pharetus* Cap-
taine of the
Lacedæmonians

The Battell of
the Grecians
with the Persi-
ans, at the City
of Platees.

Callicrates
slaine without
fighting.

Note the obe-
dience of the
Spartan Sould-
iers unto
death.

Battell betwixt
the Grecians
and Persians.

The Grecians
Victories of
the Persians at
Plataeae.

Mardonius
slaine by Arimnestus a
Spartan, with a
blow of a stone

Two hundred
and threescore
thousand Persians
slaine.
A thousand
three hundred
and threescore
Grecians slaine.

infirmuch as the Priests and Soothsayers came to promise him victory. Thereupon, he straight gave commandment to march toward the Enemy, which flew from man to man incontinently that they should march. So as he that had scene the Squadron of the LACEDÆMONIANS, would have said it had beene like the body of a fierce Beast raising up the bristles, preparing to fight. Then the barbarous People saw they should have hot Battell, and that they should meete with men that would fight it out to the death: wherefore they covered their bodies with great Targets after the PERSIAN fashion, and bestowed their Arrows lustily upon the LACEDÆMONIANS, but they keeping close together, and covering themselves with their Shields, marched on still upon them, untill they came to joyne with the Enemy so lustily, that they made their Targets flie out of their hands with the terrible thrusts and blowes of the Pikes and Spears upon their breasts, and overthrow their faces, that they slew many of them, and laid them on the ground. For all that, they did not cowardly, but tooke the LACEDÆMONIANS Pikes and Spears in their bare hands, and brake them in two by strength of their armes: and then they quickly pluckt out their Cimeters and Axes, and lustily laid about them, and wrung the LACEDÆMONIANS Shields out of their hands by force, and fought it out with them a great while hand to hand. Now whilst the LACEDÆMONIANS were busily fighting with the barbarous People, the ATHENIANS stood still imbatell'd far off, and kept their ground. But when they saw the LACEDÆMONIANS tarry so long, and that they came not, and heard a marvellous noise of men as though they were fighting, and besides that there came a speedy Messenger unto them sent from *Pananius*, to let them understand they were fighting: then they marched with all speede they could to helpe them. But as they were coming on a great pace over the Plaine, unto that part where they heard the noise, the GRECIANS that were on *Mardonius* side came against them. *Aristides* seeing them coming towards them, went a good way before his Company, and cried out as loud as he could for life, and conjured the GRECIANS in the name of the gods, the Protectors of GREECE, to leave off these Warres, and not to trouble the ATHENIANS that were going to helpe them that ventured their lives, to defend the Common-wealth and safety of all GREECE. But when he saw they would needs fight for any request and conjuration he could use, and that they came still upon them, bending themselves to give Charge: then he stayed his going to relieve the LACEDÆMONIANS, and was compelled to make head against those that set upon him and his Company, they being about fifty thousand men; of the which, the most part notwithstanding went their waies, and left the Army, specially when they understood the PERSIANS were overthrowne and fled. The fury of the Battell and cruellest Fight (as they say) was where the THEBANS were: because the Nobility and chiefeest men of the Countrey fought very earnestly for the PERSIANS, but the People refused, being led by a small number of the Nobility that commanded them. So they fought that day in two places, the LACEDÆMONIANS being the first that overthrow the PERSIANS, and made them flie: and they flew *Mardonius* the Kings Lieutenant, with a blow of a stone one *Arimnestus* a SPARTAN gave him upon his head, rightly as the Oracle of *Amphiarus* had prophesied before unto him. For *Mardonius* before the Battell had sent thither a LYDIAN, and a CARIAN unto the Oracle of *Throponius*, of the which the Prophet made answer unto the CARIAN, in the CARIAN Tongue: and the man of LYDIA lay within the Sanctuary of *Amphiarus*, where he thought in his dreame that one of the Priests of the Temple willed him to go out of the place he was in, and he denying it, the Priest tooke a great stone and threw it at his head, and so thought he was slaine with the blow. And thus it is written. And furthermore, the LACEDÆMONIANS did chase the PERSIANS flying into their Fortifications they had in a Wood: and the ATHENIANS also shortly after overthrow the THEBANS, whereof they slew in the Field three hundred of the noblest and chiefeest of them. Foreven as the THEBANS began to turne taile, news came unto the ATHENIANS, that the PERSIANS had intrenched themselves within their Fort and strength in the Wood, where the LACEDÆMONIANS did besiege them. The ATHENIANS suffered the GRECIANS that fled to save themselves, and they went to helpe the LACEDÆMONIANS, to take the Fort of the barbarous People: who went before but slenderly about it, because they had no experience to make an assault, nor force upon a wall. But so soon as the ATHENIANS came in to them, they straight took it by assault, and made great slaughter of the PERSIANS and barbarous People. For of three hundred thousand fighting men that *Mardonius* had in his Campe, there were saved only but forty thousand, led under *Artabazus*: and of the GRECIANS side there were not slaine above thirteene hundred and threescore in all; amongst which also there were two and fifty ATHENIANS, all of the Tribe of *Eantides*, the which had done more valiantly that day then any other Tribe, as *Clidemus* writeth. And this is the cause why the *Eantides* made a solemne Sacrifice unto the Nymphs *Sphragitides*, at the common charge, according to the order given them by the Oracle of *Apollo*, to give them thanks for this Victory. Of the LACEDÆMONIANS there died fourscore and eleven: and of the THEBATES sixteene. But I marvell, *Herodorus* saith, that none but these People onely fought in that Journey against the barbarous Nation, and no other GRECIANS besides: for the number of the dead bodies, and their graves also do shew that it was a generall Victory and Exploit of all the GRECIANS together. And moreover, if there had beene but these three People onely that had fought against them, and that all the rest had stood and looked on, and done nothing: sure there had been no such Epigram as this engraven upon the Altar or Tombe that was set up in the place of the Battell:

When the victorious Greekes, had driven out of their Land
The Persians by force of Armes, Which long did them withstand,

They

They built to mighty Jove, this holy Altar here,
And made it common for all Greece, as plainly may appeare,
In guerdon of the good, which he did them restore,
In guerdon of their liberty, which lik'd them evermore.

This Battell was fought the fourth day of the Month which the ATHENIANS call *Bædromion*, that is, about the Month of July: or after the BOEOTIANS account, the fix and twentieth of the Month they call *Paumemus*, on which day there is kept a common Assembly of the Estates of GREECE, in the City of PLATAEAE, where the PLATAEANS make a solemne Sacrifice unto *Jupiter*, Protector of their Liberty, to give him thanks alwaies for this Victory. It is no marvell that there was such difference then betwixt the moneths and daies; considering that even now when Astronomy is more perfectly understood then it was then, some do yet begin and end their Moneths at one day, and some at another. After this great Battell and Overthrow of the barbarous People, there arose a great strife betwixt the ATHENIANS and the LACEDÆMONIANS, touching the reward and honour of the Victory. For the ATHENIANS would not give place unto the LACEDÆMONIANS, nor suffer them to set up any Tokens or Signes of Triumph. Whereupon the GRECIANS running to Armes in mutiny together, by this occasion they had almost spoiled one another: had not *Aristides* through his wisdom and wise persuasions, stayed and quiered the other Captaines his Companions, and specially one *Leocrates* and *Myrmitides*, whom he wanne with such discrete and gentle words, that they were contented to refer it wholly unto the Arbitrement and Judgement of the other People of GREECE. So the GRECIANS met in the same place together, purposely to decide their Controversies. In this Councell holden there, *Theogiton* a Captaine of the MEGARIANS, said for his opinion, that to avoid the civill Warre might grow betwixt the GRECIANS upon this quarrell: he thought it more requisite, to appoint over the reward and honour of this Victory unto some other City, then to any of the two that fell out about it. After him rose up *Cleocritus* CORINTHIAN, seeming to every man there that he would have requested this honour for the City of CORINTH, being indeede the third City in estimation of all GREECE, next unto SPARTA and ATHENS: howbeit he made an Oration in commendation of the PLATAEANS, which was marvellously liked, and well thought of by every man: for his opinion went flatly with the PLATAEANS, that to end this strife, they should give the honour of this Victory unto the City of PLATAEAE, and so would neither of both parties be angry that they should be honoured. Upon his words *Aristides* first agreed on the ATHENIANS behalfe, and then *Pananius* for the LACEDÆMONIANS. That the PLATAEANS should have the Reward. Now they both being agreed, before the spoile was divided betwixt them, they set aside fourescore Talents that were given to the PLATAEANS, with they which they built a Temple unto *Minerva*, and gave her an Image, and set out all her Temple with Pictures that remaine whole until this day: and the LACEDÆMONIANS notwithstanding, did set up their tokens of Victorie by themselves, and the ATHENIANS theirs also by themselves. So the sending unto the Oracle of *Apollo* in the City of DELPHES, to know unto what gods, and how they should do sacrifice: *Apollo* answered them, that they should build up an Altar unto *Jupiter*, Protector of their liberty; howbeit that they should put no sacrifice upon it, untill they had first put out all the fire through the whole Countrey, because it had been polluted and defiled by the Barbarous People: and then, that they should fetch pure and cleane fire at the common Altar, whereon they do sacrifice unto *Apollo Pythias*, in the City of DELPHES. This answer being delivered, The great Lords and Officers of GREECE went through all the Countrey to put out the fire every where. And there was a man of the same City of PLATAEAE at that time called *Euchidas*, that came and offered himselfe, and promised he would bring them fire from the Temple of *Apollo Pythias*, with all possible speed that might be. So when he came to the City of DELPHES, after he had sprinkled and purified his body with cleane Water, he put a Crowne of Laurell upon his Head, and went in that manner to take fire from the Altar of *Apollo*. When he had done, he bled him againe as fast he could runne for life, unto the City of PLATAEAE, and came thither before the Sunne was set, having come and gone that day a thousand furlongs. But after he had saluted his Citizens, and delivered them the fire he brought, he fell down dead at their feet, and gave up the Ghost. The PLATAEANS lift him up starke dead, and buried him in the Temple of *Diana Euclia*, to say, of good renowne: and caused afterwards this Epitaph following to be graven upon his Tombe.

Engraved here doth lye, *Euchidas* speedy man,
Who in one day both too and fro, to Delphes lightly ranne:
Even from this self same place, which thou dost here behold,
Such haste, post haste, he swiftly made; thereof thou maist be bold.

Many thinke that this goddesse *Euclia* is *Diana*, and so they call her. But other hold opinion she was the Daughter of *Hercules*, and *Myro* the Nymph *Menatius* Daughter, and *Patroclus* siter, that died a Virgin, and was honoured afterwards as a goddesse of the BOEOTIANS, and of the LOCRIANS. For in all their Cities and Towns in open places, they finde an Altar and Image dedicated unto her: and all that are married, do sacrifice to her upon that Altar. Afterwards there was a Generall councill holden by all the GRECIANS, in the which *Aristides* made a motion that all the Cities of GREECE should yearely send their deputies at a certaine day appointed unto the City of PLATAEAE, there to make their prayers and sacrifices unto the gods: and that from five

B b 2

A generall
counsell holden
at the City
of Plataeae.
yeares,

Strife betwixt
the Athenians
and Lacedæ-
monians for ho-
nour of the
Victory.

Corinth the
third City of
estimation in
Greece.
Sparta.
Athen.
Corinth.
The Grecians
grant the ho-
nour of the
Victory unto
the Plataeans.

The wonder-
full speede of
Euchidas the
Plataean, on
foot.
Diana Euclia.
Euchidas Epi-
taph.

Solemne Sacrifice and Funerals kept by the *Platæians* yearly for the *Grecians* that were slain at the Battell of *Platæa*.

years, to five years, they should celebrate common Games, that should be called the Games of Liberty: and that they should also leave through all the Provinces of *Greece*, for maintenance of the Warres against the *Persians* and barbarous People, ten thousand Footmen, a thousand Horsemen, and a Fleete of an hundred Saile. Also that the *Platæians* thenceforth should be taken for devout and holy men, and that no man should be so hardy as to hurt or offend them; and that they should onely tend the Sacrifices unto the gods, for the health and prosperitie of *Greece*. All which Articles were enacted in forme and manner aforesaid, and the *Platæians* bound themselves yearly to keepe solemne Sacrifices and Aniverfaries for the Soules of the *Grecians* that were slain in their Territories, fighting for defence of the liberty of the *Grecians*. And this they observe yet unto this day in this sort. The sixteenth day of the Moneth of *Memalierion* (which the *Boeotians* call *Alalcomenies*, and is about the Moneth of January) they go a Procession, and before the Procession goeth a Trumpeter that soundeth the *Alarum*: Then there follow certaine Chariots loaden with branches of Firre-tree, and with *Nesegayes* and Garlands of Triumph: then a blacke Bull, and certaine young Gentlemen noble mens Sonnes, that carry great Cawdrons with two eares full of Wine and Milke, such as they use to poure upon the Graves of dead men for propitiatory Oblations; and other young Boyes free borne, that carry Oyles, Perfumes, and other sweete Odours in Viall Glasses: for no Servant or Bondman may lawfully be admitted to have any Office about this Mystery, for that those whose Memory they honour, died all fighting for defence of the Liberty of *Greece*. After all this shew, followeth the Provost of the *Platæians* for that time being, last of all: who may not all the rest of the yeare besides, so much as touch any Iron, nor weare any other coloured Gowne but white. Howbeit then he weareth on a Purple-coloured Coate, and holdeth a Funerall Pot in one of his hands, which he taketh in the Towne-House, and a naked Sword in the other hand, and so goeth through the City in this sort after all the Pompe aforesaid, unto the Church-yard where all their Graves be that were slain at that Battell. So when he cometh thither, he draweth Water out of a Well that is there, and with the same he washeth the fouresquare Pillars and Images that stand upon those Tombes, and then anointeth them with Oyles and sweete Savours: afterwards, he sacrificeth a Bull, and layeth him upon a heape of Woode hard by him, as they do when they burne the bodies of dead men; and making certaine Prayers and Petitions unto *Jupiter* and *Mercury*, gods of the Earth, he doth solemnly invite the Soules of those valiant men that died fighting for the liberty of *Greece*, unto the Feast of the Funerall Sacrifice. Then he taking a Cup full of Wine in his hand, and spilling it all upon their Tombes, he speaketh these words aloud: I drinke to the worthy and valiant men, that died sometime in defence of the Liberty of *Greece*. This solemne Ceremoney and Aniverfary, the *Platæians* do duly observe unto this present day. Now when the *Athenians* were returned to *Athens*, *Aristides* perceiving the People were bent to establish a Popular State, where the People might beare the whole Rule and Authority, judging them well worthy to be considered of, in respect of their noble Service and valiant courage they had shewed in this Warre: and considering also that they would hardly be brought to like of any other Government, being yet in Armes, and very stout, by reason of the famous Victories they had obtained: he caused a Law to be made, that all Authority of Government should runne in equality among the Citizens, and that thenceforth all Burgeses (as well poore as rich) should be chosen by voyces of the People, and promoted to Offices within the City. And moreover, when *Themistocles* told in open Assembly, that he had a thing in his head, would be grealy to the profit and commodity of the State, but yet it was not to be spoken openly for divers respects: the People willed him to tell it unto *Aristides* onely, and to take his advice in it, to know whether it was meete to be done, or not. Then *Themistocles* told him secretly between them, that he thought to set the Arcenall on fire, where all the *Grecians* Ships lay: alleading, that by this means the *Athenians* should be the greatest men of Power in all *Greece*. *Aristides* hearing that, without any more, came presently to the People againe, and told the whole Councell openly, that nothing could be more profitable indeede for the whole Common-wealth, and which more wicked and unjust, then that *Themistocles* thought good to do. When the People heard *Aristides* Answer, they willed *Themistocles* to let his device alone whatsoever it were: so great Justicers were the *Athenians*, and so much did they trust *Aristides* wisdom and equity besides. So they made *Aristides* afterwards Generall of the Army of the *Athenians* together with *Cimon*, and sent them to make Warre against the barbarous People. *Aristides* at his coming thither, seeing *Pausanias*, and the other Captaines that were Generals over the whole Army, dealing hardly and churlishly with the People their Confederates, he on the contrary side, spake gently unto them, and shewed himselfe as courteous and familiar to them as he could possible, making his companion also familiar to all, and just to every body, not oppressing some to ease other, in defraying the charges of the Warres. *Aristides* taking this course, it was not noted how by little and little he cut off the Rule and Authority of the *Lacedæmonians* in *Greece*, not by force of Armes, nor by Ships, nor by numbers of Horses, but onely by his grave and wise Government. For if the Justice and Vertue of *Aristides*, and the mildnesse and courtesie of *Cimon*, made the Government of the *Athenians* to be liked of and accepted of all the other People of *Greece*: the covetousnesse, pride and fiercenesse of *Pausanias*, made it much more to be disliked. For *Pausanias* never spake unto the other Captaines of the People, Allies, and Confederates, but it was ever in choler, and he was too sharpe with them: and for the poore private Souldiers, he would cause them to be cruelly whipped for every small offence, or else make them stand a whole day

Aristides preferreth the popular State. A wicked device of *Themistocles*.

Aristides sentence upon *Themistocles* device.

The justice of the *Athenians*. *Aristides* and *Cimon* Generals of the *Athenians* against the barbarous People.

Aristides justice and vertue tooketh from the *Lacedæmonians* all their Rule and Authority in *Greece*.

Pausanias proud and covetous.

Pausanias cruel punishment of his Souldiers.

day together on their feete, laying a heave iron Anker upon their shoulders. No man durst go forrage, neither for Straw, nor Reeds to make them Couches of, nor durst water their Horse before the *Spartans*: for he had set Scouts for them to whip them home, that went out before them. And one day when *Aristides* thought to have spoken to him, and to have told him something, he frowned upon him: and said he had no leisure to speake with him now, and so would not heare him: whereupon the Captaines of the other *Grecians*, and specially those of *Chio*, of *Samos*, and of *Lesbos*, did afterwards follow *Aristides*, and perswaded him to take upon him the charge and Authority to command the other People of *Greece*, and to take into his protection the Allies and Confederates of the same, who long fithence wished to revolt from the Government of the *Lacedæmonians*, and onely to submit themselves unto the *Athenians*. *Aristides* answered them thus: that they had not onely reason to do that they said, but that they were also constrained to do it. Notwithstanding, because the *Athenians* might have good ground and assurance of their undoubted fidelity and good service, they should deliver them manifest testimony and assurance thereof, by some famous act attempted against the *Lacedæmonians*, whereby their People hereafter durst never fall from the League of the *Athenians*. *Uliades* *SAMIAN*, and *Antagoras* of *Chio* hearing him say so, both Captaines of Gallies confedered together: they went one day to set upon the Admirall Galley of *Pausanias*, hard by *Bizantium*, the one of the one side of her, and the other on the other side, as she was rowing before all the Fleete. *Pausanias* seeing them, stood up straight in a marvellous rage against them, and threatened them that before it were long he would make them know, they had beene better to have assaulted their owne naturall Countrey, then to have set upon him as they had done. But they answered him, and bade him get him away quickly if he were wise, and let him thanke Fortune hardly, that granted the *Grecians* victory at the Battell of *Platæa* under his leading: and that it was nothing else but the onely reverence and respect of the same, that had made the *Grecians* hold their hands till now, from giving him that just punishment his pride and arrogancy had deserved. So the end was, they left the *Lacedæmonians*, and stucke unto the *Athenians*: wherein was easily discerned the great courage and wonderfull magnanimity of the *Lacedæmonians*. For when they saw their Captaines were marred and corrupted, through the over-great Authority and liberty they had, they willingly gave up their commandment over the other *Grecians*, and did no more send their Captaines to be Generals of the whole Army of *Greece*: thinking it better for their Citizens, that they should be obedient, and in every point observe the Discipline and Law of their Countrey, then if they had beene otherwise the onely Rulers and Lords over the whole Countrey. Now at what time the *Lacedæmonians* did command all *Greece*, as Lords, the Cities and People of *Greece* did pay a certaine summe of Money, towards defraying of the charges of the Warres against the barbarous People. But after that their Seigniority and Rule was taken from them, the *Grecians* were contented a Taxe should be levied, and that every City should be reasonably fessed, according to their wealth and ability: because every City might know what they should pay. And for this purpose, they prayed the *Athenians* they would appoint *Aristides* to take order for it, unto whom they gave full Power and Authority to taxe and fesse every City indifferently, considering the greatnesse of the Territory, and the Revenues of the same, as every one was reasonably able to beare it. But if *Aristides* were poore when he entred into that great charge and Office of Authority, wherein all *Greece* in manner did refer themselves unto his discretion: he came out of that Office more poore, and had made his Assessment and Taxation not only justly and truly, but also so indifferently according unto every mans ability, that there was no man could finde fault with his doings. And like as the ancient men in old time did celebrate and sing out the blessednesse of those that lived under the Reigne of *Saturne*, which they called the Golden Age: even so did the People and Confederates of the *Athenians* afterwards honour the Assessment made by *Aristides*, calling it the fortunate and blessed time of *Greece*, and specially, when shortly after it did double, and treble on the sudden. For the Taxe *Aristides* made, came to about foure hundred and threescore Talents: and *Pericles* raised it almost unto a third part. For *Thucydides* writeth, that at the beginning of the Wars of *PELOPONNESUS*, the *Athenians* levied six hundred Talents yearly upon their Confederates. And after the death of *Pericles*, the Orators and Counsellors for matters of State, did raise it up higher by little and little, untill it mounted to the summe of thirteene hundred Talents. And this was not because the Wars did rise to so great a charge, by reason of the length of the same, and of the losses the *Athenians* had received: but for that they did accustom the People to make distributions of Money by hand unto every Citizen, to make them set up Games, and make goodly Images, and to build up sumptuous Temples. Thus was *Aristides* therefore justly honoured, praised and esteemed above all others, for his just imposition of Taxes, saving onely of *Themistocles*: who went up and downe fleeing at the matter, saying it was no meete praife for an honest man, but rather for a Coffer well barred with Iron, where a man might safely lay up his Gold and Silver. This he spake to be even with *Aristides*, which was nothing like the sharpe gird *Aristides* gave him openly, when *Themistocles* talking with him, told him it was an excellent thing for a Captaine to be able to know, and to prevent the counsels and doings of the Enemies: And so it is, said *Aristides* againe, not onely a needfull, but an honest thing, and meete for a worthy Generall of an Army, to be cleane fingered, without Bribery or corruption. So *Aristides* made all the other People of *Greece* to sweare, that they would truly keepe the Articles of the Alliance, and he himselfe as Generall of the *Athenians*, did take their Oaths in the name of the *Athenians*: and so pronouncing execrations and curses against

Aristides Generall of Traytors.

The rebellious act of *Uliades* and *Antagoras* against *Pausanias*.

The temperance of the *Lacedæmonians*.

Aristides did fesse the Cities of *Greece*.

Aristides a true Scllor.

Taunts between *Themistocles* and *Aristides*.

against them that should breake the League and Oath taken, he threw Iron Wedges red hot into the Sea, and prayed the gods to destroy them even so, that did violate their vowed faith. Notwithstanding, afterwards in my opinion, when there fell out great alteration in the State, and that the ATHENIANS were forced to rule more straightly then before: *Aristides* then willed the ATHENIANS to let him beare the danger and burden of perjury and execration, and that they should not lett for feare thereof to do any thing whatsoever they thought meete or necessary. To conclude, *Theophrastus* writeth, that *Aristides* was not onely a perfect, an honest, and just man, in private matters betwixt party and party: but in matters of State, and concerning the Common-weale, he did many things oftentimes according to the necessity of the time, and troubles of the City, wherein violence and injustice was to be used. As when the question was asked in open Councell, to know whether they might take away the Gold and Silver, that was left in the Isle of DELOS safely laid up in the Temple of *Apollo*, to beare out the charges of the Warres against the barbarous People, and to bring it from thence unto ATHENS, upon the motion of the SAMIANS, although it was directly against the Articles of the Alliance, made and sworn among all the GREECIANS; *Aristides* opinion being asked in the same, he answered: it was not just, but yet profitable. Now, notwithstanding *Aristides* had brought his City to rule and command many thousands of People, yet was he still poore for all that, and till his dying day he gloried rather to be praised for his poverty, then for all the famous Victories and Battels he had wonne: and that plainly appeared thus. *Callias Ceres* Torch-bearer, was his neare Kinsman, who through Enemies came to be accused, and stood in hazard of life: so when the day came that his matter was to be heard before the Judges, his Accusers very faintly, and to little purpose, uttered the offences whereof they accused him, and running into other by-matters, left the chiefe matter, and spake thus to the Judges: My Lords, you all know *Aristides* the Sonne of *Lyfimachus*, and you are not ignorant also that his Vertue hath made him more esteemed, then any man else is, or can be, in all GREECE. How thinke ye, doth he live at home, when you see him abroad up and downe the City, in a threeed-bare Gowne all to be tattered? Is it not likely, trow ye, that he is ready to starve at home for lacke of meat and reliefe, whom we all feare quake for very cold, being so ill arrayed and clothed? And yet *M. Callias* here his Cousin-germaine the richest Citizen in all ATHENS, is so miserable, that notwithstanding *Aristides* hath done much for him, by reason of his great Credit and Authority among you, he suffered him and his poore Wife and Children ready to beg and starve for any helpe he giveth them. *Callias* perceiving the Judges more angry with him for that, then for any matter else he was accused of: he prayed *Aristides* might be sent for, and willed him to tell truly, whether he had not offered him good round summes of Money, many a time and oft, and intreated him to take it; which he ever refused, and answered him alwaies, That he could better boast of his Poverty, then himselfe could of his Riches: (which he said many did use ill, and few could use them well) and that it was a hard thing to finde one man of a noble minde, that could away with Poverty, and that such onely might be asham'd of Poverty, as were poore against their wills. So *Aristides* confirmed all he spake to be true: and every man that was at the hearing of this matter, went wholly away with this opinion, that he had rather be poore as *Aristides*, then rich as *Callias*. This tale is written thus by *Æschines* the Socratic Philosopher: and *Plato* reporteth of him also, that notwithstanding there were many other famous and noble men of ATHENS, yet he gave *Aristides* praise above them all. For others, said he, (as *Themistocles*, *Cimon*, and *Pericles*) have beautified the City with stately Porches, and sumptuous Buildings of Gold and Silver, and with store of other fine superfluous devices: but *Aristides* was onely he, that vertuously disposed himselfe and all his doings, to the furtherance of the State and Common-weale. His Justice and good nature appeared plainly in his doings, and behaviour towards *Themistocles*. For though *Themistocles* was ever against *Aristides* in all things, and a continuall Enemy of his, and that by his meanes and practice he was banished from ATHENS: yet when *Themistocles* was accused of Treason to the State, having divers sharpe Enemies against him, as *Cimon*, *Alcmaon*, with divers other, *Aristides* sought not revenge, when he had him at his advantage. For he neither spake nor did any thing against him at that time to hurt him: neither did he rejoyce to see his Enemy in misery, no more then if he had never envied him in his prosperity. And touching *Aristides* death, some write that he died in the Realme of PONTUS, being sent thither about matters of the State: and other thinke he died an old man in the City of ATHENS, greatly honoured and beloved of all the Citizens. But *Craterus* the MACEDONIAN writeth of his death in this sort: After that *Themistocles* (saith he) was fled, the People of ATHENS became very stubborn and insolent: whereupon, many lewd men grew to be common appeachers and accusers of the Noblemen and chiefe Citizens, and to stir up the malice and ill will of the common People against them, who were waxen proud by reason of their Prosperity, and Dominion that was enlarged. Among the rest, *Aristides* was condemned for Extortion and ill behaviour in the Common-wealth, upon one *Diophantes* accusation, of the Village of AMPHITROPE: who burdened him, that he rooke Money of the IONIANS, to make the annuall Tribute Cesse which they payed unto ATHENS: and so *Craterus* saith, that because *Aristides* was not able to pay the Fine they set upon his head (which was five Minas) he was driven to forsake ATHENS, and to get him into IONIA, where he died. Yet doth not *Craterus* bring forth any probable matter to prove this true he writeth: as his pleading, his Sentence and condemnation, or any Decree passed against him, although he used great diligence else in collecting all such matters, and vouching his Authours. Furthermore, all other Writers that have specially noted the faults and offences committed by the People of ATHENS in former times against their

Aristides preferred necessity of time, before Law and Reason.

Aristides gloried in his poverty.

A hard thing to away with Poverty. Who may be ashamed of Poverty. *Aristides* commended of Plato.

Aristides temperance unto *Themistocles*.

Aristides death

Aristides condemned for Extortion.

their Captaines and Governours: they do declare *Themistocles* exile, *Miltiades* captivity that died in Prison, *Pericles* Fine wherein he was condemned, and *Paches* death that slew himselfe in the Pulpit for Orations, when he saw he was condemned: and tell divers such Stories, adding too also *Aristides* banishment: but yet they make no matter of mention of the condemnation which *Craterus* speaketh of. Moreover, *Aristides* Tombe is to be seene at this day upon the Haven of PHALERUS, which was set up for him at the charge of the Common-wealth, as it is reported, because he died so poore a man, as they found nothing in his house to bury him with. Other go further, and say that his Daughters were married by Decree of the People, at the charge of the Common-wealth, and that the City gave every one of them three thousand Drachmas: and his Sonne *Lyfimachus*, a hundred Minas of Silver, and a hundred Jugera; and at *Alcibiades* request, who was the Authour of the Decree, they gave him foure Drachmas a day besides, of ordinary allowance. Furthermore, when this *Lyfimachus* died, he left alive one onely Daughter called *Polycrite*, whom the People appointed, as *Calisthenes* writeth, as much Provision to live withall, as they gave to any that wanne the Olympian Games. And fithence, *Demetrius PHALERIAN*, *Hieronymus RHODIAN*, *Aristoxenus* the Musitian, and *Aristotle* the Philosopher, at least if the Booke intituled of Nobility be any of *Aristotles* Workes: all these agree together, that one *Myrto*, *Aristides* Daughters Daughter, was married to the wife *Socrates*, who tooke her to his Wife (having a Wife already) because she was a poore Widow, and could not be married for her Poverty, having much ado to live. Yet *Panetius* doth write against him, in his Booke of *Socrates* Life. But *Demetrius PHALERIAN* writeth in his Booke he intituled *Socrates*, that he could remember very well he had seene one *Lyfimachus*, *Aristides* Sonnes Sonne, or his Daughters Sonne, that was very poore, and lived of that he could get to interpret Dreames, by certaine Tables, wherein was written the Art to interpret the signification of Dreames: and that he kept commonly about the Temple of *Bacchus* called *Iacchion*, unto whom, together with his Mother and his Sister, he said he had caused the People to give them a Triobulum apiece, every day towards their living: It is very true, that the self-same *Demetrius PHALERIAN*, when he reformed the State of ATHENS, ordained that his Mother and Sister should have each of them a Drachnor strange thing, that the People of ATHENS were so carefull to helpe and to relieve the Women that dwelt in their City: considering that in times past, *Aristogiton* having a little Daughter in the Isle of LEBMONOS, in very hard and poore estate, and that could not be bestowed in marriage for her Poverty, they caused her to be brought to ATHENS, and married her in one of the Noblest Houses of the City, and made her a Joynter besides in the Village of PONTAMOS. Which great courtesie and humanity of theirs, hath ever deserved great fame and commendation, and yet continueth even until this day, in that noble City of ATHENS, in the mouth of every man there.

The end of *Aristides* Life.



Aristides Tombe.

The Athenians thankfullnes unto *Aristides* children.

Myrto *Aristides* Daughters Daughter, married unto *Socrates*.

The Athenians commended for their liberality.

THE

THE LIFE OF MARCUS CATO the Censor.



Ann. Mund.
3758.

Ant. Christ.
190.



Marcus Cato and his Ancestors, were (as they say) of the City of THUSCULUM: but before he went unto the Warres, and dealt in matters of the Common-wealth, he dwelt and lived in the Countrey of the SABYNS, upon certaine Land his Father left him. And though to many his Ancestors were knowne to have bene obscure: yet he himselfe did highly commend his Father *Marcus*, by bearing his name, and saying he was a Souldier, and had served valiantly in the Field. And he telleth also of another *Cato* that was his great Grandfather, who for his valiant service had been oft rewarded of the Generals, with such honourable gifts, as the ROMANES did use to give unto them that had done some famous act in any Battell: and how that he having lost five Horses of service in the Warres, the value of the same was restored to him againe in Money of the common Treasure, because he had shewed himselfe trusty and valiant for the Common-wealth. And where they had a common speech at ROME, to call them upstarts that were no Gentlemen borne, but did rise by vertue: it fortun'd *Cato* to be called one of them. And for his part he did confesse it, that he was the first of his House that ever had honour, and Office of State: but by reason of the noble acts and good service of his Ancestors, he maintained he was very ancient. He was called at the beginning after his third name, *Priscus*: but after wards by reason of his great wisdom and experience, he was surnamed *Cato*, because the ROMANES call a wife man, and him that hath seene much, *Cato*. He was somewhat given to be red-faced, and had a paire of staring eyes in his head, as this man telleth us, that for ill will wrote these Verbes of him after his death:

*Pluto (the god) which rules the Furies infernall,
Will not receive the damned ghost, of Porcius in his hall.
His sawcy coppered nose, and fierce staring eyes,
His common slanderous tales, which he did in this world devise,
Made Pluto stand in dread, that he would bridle in Hell,
Although his bones were dry and dead; on Earth he was so fell,*

Furthermore, touching the disposition of his body; he was marvellous strong and lusty, and all because he did use to labour and toile even from his youth, and live sparingly, as one that was ever brought up in the Warres from his youth: so that he was of a very good constitution, both for strength of body, and for health. As for utterance, he esteemed it as a second body, and most necessary gift, not onely to make men honest, but also as a thing very requisite for a man that should beare sway and Authority in the Common-wealth. He practised to speake well in little Villages near home, whither he went many times to pleade mens Causes in Courts judicall, that would retaine him of Counsell: so as in short time he became a perfect Pleader, and had tongue at will, and in proesse of time became an excellent Orator. After he was thus well knowne, they that were familiar with him, began to perceive a grave manner and behaviour in his life, and a certaine noble minde in him,

Cato called an upstart.

The definition of this word Cato.

Catoes manners and life.

Cato an excellent Orator.

him, worthy to be employed in matters of State and great importance, and to be called into the Common-wealth. For he did not openly refuse to take Fees for his pleading, and followed the *Caufes* he maintained: but furthermore, made no reckoning of the estimation he wanne by that manner and practise, as though that was not the onely Marke he shot at. But his desire reached further, rather to winne himselfe Fame by Service in the Warres, and by valiant fighting with his Enemy, then with such a quiet and pleasing manner of life. Infomuch as when he was but a young stripling in manner, he had many cuts upon his breast, which he had received in divers Battels and Encounters against the Enemies. For he himselfe writeth, that he was but seventene yeares old, when he went first unto the Warres, which was about the time of *Hannibals* chiefe prosperity, when he spoiled and destroyed all Italy. So when he came to fight he would strike lustily, and never stir foote nor give backe; and would looke cruelly upon his Enemy, and threaten him with a fearfull and terrible voyce, which he used himselfe, and wisely taught other also to use the like: for such countenances, said he, many times do feare the Enemies more then the Sword ye offer them. When he went any Journey, he ever marched on foote, and carried his Armour upon his backe, and had a man waiting on him, that carried his Victuals with him, with whom he was never angry (as they say) for any thing he had prepared for his Dinner or Supper, but did helpe to dresse it himselfe for the most part, if he had any leisure, when he had done the duty of a private Souldier in fortifying the Campe, or such other needfull businesse. All the while he was abroad in Service in the Wars, he never dranke other then cleane Water, unless it were when he found he was not well, and then he would take a little Vineger: but if he saw he were weake, he would then drinke a little Wine. Now it fortun'd that *Manius Curius* the ROMANE, who had triumphed thrice, had a pretty Houfe and Land hard by *Cato*, where he kept in times past, which *Cato* for a while would visit oft. And he considering how little Land he had to his Houfe, and what a little Houfe he had withall, and how poorly it was built, wondered with himselfe what manner of man *Curius* had bene, that having bene the greatest man of ROME in his time, and having subdued the mightiest Nations and People of all ITALY, and driven King *Pyrus* also out of the same: yet himselfe with his owne hands did manure that little patch of ground, and dwell in so poore and small a Farme. Whither notwithstanding, after his three Triumphs, the SAMNITES sent their Ambassadors to visit him, who found him by the fires side seething of Parfeneys, and presented him a marvellous deale of Gold, from their State and Commonalty. But *Curius* returned them againe with their Gold, and told them, that such as were contented with that Supper, had no neede of Gold nor Silver: and that for his part, he thought it greater honour to command them that had Gold, then to have it himselfe. *Cato* remembering these things to himselfe, went home againe, and began to thinke upon his Houfe, of his Living, of his Family and Servants, and also of his Expences, and to cut off all superfluous charges, and fell himselfe to labour with his owne hands, more then ever he had done before. Furthermore, when *Fabius Maximus* tooke the City of TARENTUM againe, *Cato* served under him being very young, where he fell into familiar acquaintance with *Nearchus* the PYTHAGORIAN Philosopher, in whom he tooke marvellous delight to heare him talke of Philosophy. Which *Nearchus* held the same opinion of pleasure, that *Plato* did, by calling him the sweete Poyson, and chiefe Baite to allure men to ill: and saying that the Body was the first plague unto the Soule, and that her onely Health, Remedy, and Purgation, stood upon rules of Reason, good Examples and Contemplations, that drive sinfull thoughts and carnall pleasures of the body, far off from her. *Cato* moreover gave himselfe much to sobriety and temperance, and fram'd himselfe to be content with little. They say he fell in his very old age to the study of the Greeke Tongue, and to reade Greeke Bookes, and that he profited somewhat by *Thucydides*, but much more by *Demosthenes*, to frame his Matter, and also to be eloquent: which plainly appeareth in all his Bookes and Writings, full of Authorities, Examples, and Stories taken out of the Greeke Authours: and many of his Sentences and Morals, his Adages and quick Answers, are translated out of the same word for word. Now there was a Nobleman of ROME at that time, one of great Authority, and a deepe wise man besides, who could easily discern buds of Vertue sprouting out of any towardy youth, who was of a good and honourable disposition to helpe forward, and to advance such: his name was *Valerius Flaccus*, a neare neighbour unto *Cato*, who was informed by his Servants of *Catoes* strange life, how he would be doing in his Ground with his owne hands: and how he would be gone every day betimes in the morning to little Villages thereabouts, to pleade mens Causes that prayed his counsell, and that when he had done, he would come home againe: and if it were in Winter, that he would but cast a little Coate on his shoulders, and being Some he would go out bare-necked to the waste, to worke in his ground among his Servants and other Workmen: and would besides, sit and eate with them together at one Boord, and drinke as they did. Moreover, they told him also a world of such manners and fashions he used, that shewed him to be a marvellous plaine man, without pride, and of a good nature. Then they told him what notable wise Sayings and grave Sentences they heard him speake. *Valerius Flaccus* hearing this report of him, willed his men one day to pray him to come to Supper to him. Who falling in acquaintance with *Cato*, and perceiving he was of a very good Nature, and well given, and that he was a good Graffe to be set in a better Ground, he perswaded him to come to ROME, and to practise there in the Assembly of the People, in the common Causes and Affaires of the Common-wealth. *Cato* followed his counsell, who having bene no long Practiser among them, did grow straight into great estimation, and wanne him many friends, by reason of the Causes he tooke in hand to defend: and was the better preferred and taken also, by meanes of the speciall favour and countenance *Valerius*

Cato a Souldier at seventeen yeares of age.

A grim looke giveth terrour to the Enemy.

This Manius Curius overthrew King Pyrus being Generall of the Tarentines. Cato the elder wondered at the thriftinesse of Manius Curius. The moderation of Manius Curius.

Nearchus the Pythagorian Philosopher Catoes School-master. Platons opinion of pleasure. Cato learned the Greeke Tongue in his old age. Cato profited much by Demosthenes eloquence. Valerius Flaccus a grave wise man. Catoes strange life.

Cato goeth to Rome by Valerius Flaccus perswasion.

Cato chosen Tribune militum.
Cato's Office in the Senate.
Cato followed Fabius Maximus.
Cato's emulation with Scipio the Great.

Cato being treasurer under Scipio Africanus, reproved him for his wasteful expences.

Cato accuseth Scipio of riot.

Cato's eloquence, his continence, and extreme pains.

Cato's wonderfull thrift.

Cato's sharp-logic.

Gentleness goeth further then justice.
Gentleness to be used unto brute beasts.

lerius Flaccus gave him. For first of all, by voice of the People he was chosen Tribune of the Souldiers (to say, Colonell of a thousand Footmen) and afterwards was made treasurer: and so went forwards, and grew to so great credite and authority, as he became *Valerius Flaccus* Companion in the chiefe Offices of State, being chosen Consull with him, and then Censor. But to begin withall, *Cato* made choise of *Quintus Fabius Maximus*, above all the Senators of ROME, and gave himselfe to follow him altogether: and not so much for the credit and estimation *Fabius Maximus* was of (who therein excelled all the ROMANES of that time) as for the modesty and discreet government he saw in him, whom he determined to follow, as a worthy mirrour and example. At which time *Cato* passed not for the malice and evill will of *Scipio* the Great, who did strive at that present being but a young man, with the authority and greatness of *Fabius Maximus*, as one that seemed to envy his rising and greatness. For *Cato* being sent treasurer with *Scipio*, when he undertook the journey into AFRICKE, and perceiving *Scipio's* bountifull nature, and disposition to large gifts without meane to the Souldiers: he told him plainly one day, that he did not so much hurt the Commonwealth in waisting their treasure, as he did great harme in changing the ancient manner of their auncelours: who used their Souldiers to be contented with little, but he taught them to spend their superfluous money (all necessities provided for) in vaine toies and trifles to serve their pleasure. *Scipio* made him answer, he would have no treasurer should controule him in this sort, nor that should looke so narrowly to his expences: for his intent was to go to the Warres, with full failes as it were, and that he would (and did also determine) to make the state privy to all his doings, but not to the money he spent. *Cato* hearing this answer, returned with speed out of SICILE into ROME, crying out with *Fabius Maximus* in open Senate, that *Scipio* spent infinitely, and that he tended Playes, Comedies, and Wrestlings, as if he had not been sent to make Warres, invasions, and attempts upon their Enemies. Upon this complaint the Senate appointed certaine Tribunes of the People, to go and see if their informations were true: and finding them so, that they should bring him back againe to ROME. But *Scipio* shewed farre otherwise to the Commissioners that came thither, and made them see apparent Victory, through the necessary preparation and provision he had made for the Warres: and he confessed also, that when he had dispatched his great businesse, and was at any leasure, he would be privately merry with his Friends: and though he was liberrall to his Souldiers, yet that made him not negligent of his duty and charge in any matter of importance. So *Scipio* tooke shipping, and sailed towards AFRICKE, whether he was sent to make Warre. Now to returne to *Cato*. He daily increased still in authority and credit by meanes of his eloquence, so that divers called him the *Demagogue* of ROME: howbeit the manner of his life was in more estimation then his eloquence. For all the youth of ROME did seeke to attaine to his eloquence and commendation of words, and one envied another which of them should come nearest: but few of them would file their hands with any labour as their Forefathers did, and made a light Supper and Dinner without fire or provision, or would be content with a meane gown, and a poore lodging, and finally would thinke it more honourable to defie Fancies and Pleasures, then to have and enjoy them. Because the State was waxen now of such Power and Wealth, as it could no more retain the ancient discipline, and former austerity, and straightnesse of life it used: but by reason of the largenesse of their Dominion and seigniority, and the numbers of People and Nations that were become their subjects, it was even forced to receive a medley of sundry Countrey fashions, examples, and manners. This was a cause, why in reason men did so greatly wonder at *Cato's* Vertue, when they saw other straight wearied with paines and labour tenderly brought up like pulers: and *Cato* one the other side never overcome, either with the one or with the other, no not in his youth, when he most coveted honour, nor in his age also when he was gray Headed and bald after his Consulship and triumph: but like a conquerour that had gotten the mastery, he would never give over labour even unto his dying day. For he writeth himselfe, that there never came Gowne one his backe that cost him above 100 pence, and that his hinds and workemen alwaies drunke no worse Wine, when he was Consul and Generall of the Army, then he did himself: and that his Cater never bestowed in Meat for his Supper, above thirty Asles of ROMANE money; and yet he said it was, because he might be the stronger, and apter to doe service in the Warres for his Country and the Commonwealth. He said furthermore, that being heire to one of his Friends that died, he had a peece of tapestry by him with a deepe border, which they called then the BABYLONIAN border, and he caused it straight to be sold: and that of all his Houses he had abroad in the Countrey, he had not one Wall plastered, nor rough cast. Moreover he would say, he never bought Bondman or slave dearer, then a thousand five hundred Pence, as one that fought not for fine made men and goodly personages, but strong fellows that could away with paines, as Carters, Horfe-keepers, Neat-herds, and such like: and againe he would tell them when they were old, because he would not keepe them when they could do no service. To conclude, he was of opinion, that a man bought any thing deare, that was for little purpose: yea, though he gave but a farthing for it, he thought it too much to bestow so little, for that which needed not. He would have men purchase Houses, that had more store of arable Land and Pasture, then of fine Hortyards or Gardens. Some say, he did thus for very misery and covetousnesse: other thinke, and tooke it that he lived so sparingly, to move others by his example to cut off all superfluity and waste. Nevertheless, to sell slaves in that sort, or to turne them out of doores when you have had the service of all their youth, and that they are grown old, as you use brute Beastes that have served whilest they may for age: me thinkes that must needs proceed of too severe and greedy a nature, that hath no longer regard or consideration of humanity, then whilest one

one is able to do another good. For we see, gentleness goeth further then justice. For Nature teacheth us to use justice onely to them, but gentleness sometimes is shewed unto brute Beasts: and that cometh from the very Fountaine and Spring of all courtesie and humanity, which should never dry up in any man living. For to say truly, to keepe cast Horfes spoiled in our service, and Dogs also, not onely when they are Whelps, but when they be old, be even tokens of love and kindnesse. As the ATHENIANS made a Law, when they builded their Temple called *Hecatompodon*: that they should suffer the Moyles and Mules that did service in their carriages about the building of the same, to graze every where, without lett or trouble of any man. And they say there was one of their Moyles thus turned at liberty, that came her selfe to the place to labour, going before all the other draught Beasts that drew up Carts loaden towards the Castle, and kept them company, as though she seemed to encourage the rest to draw: which the People liked so well in the poore Beast, that they appointed she should be kept whilest she lived, at the charge of the Towne. And yet at this present are the graves of *Cimons* Mares to be seene, that wanne him thrice together the Prize of the Horserace at the Games Olympian, and they are hard by the grave of *Cimon* himselfe. We heare of divers also that had buried their Dogs they brought up in their house, or that waited on them: as among other, old *Xanthippus* buried his Dog in the top of a cliffe, which is called the Dogs pit till this day. For when the People of ATHENS did forsake their City at the coming downe of the King *Xerxes*, this Dog followed his Master, swimming in the Sea by his Gallies side, from the firme Land unto the Ile of SALAMINA. And there is no reason, to use living and sensible things, as we would use an old shoore or a ragge, to cast it out upon the Dunghill when we have worne it, and can serve us no longer. For if it were for no respect else, but to use us alwaies to humanity, we must ever shew our selves kinde and gentle, even in such small points of pity. And as for me, I could never finde in my heart to sell my draught Oxe that had ploughed my Land a long time, because he could plough no longer for age: and much lesse my Slave, to sell him for a little Money, out of the Countrey where he had dwelt a long time, to plucke him from his old trade of life, wherewith he was best acquainted, and then specially, when he shall be as unprofitable for the buyer, as also for the seller. But *Cato* on the other side gloried, that he left his Horfe in SPAINES he had served on in the Wars during his Consulship, because he would not put the Commonwealth to the charge of bringing him home by Sea into ITALY. Now a question might be made of this, and probable reason of either side, whether this was noblesse or a niggardinesse in him: but otherwise to say truly, he was a man of a wonderful abstinence. For when he was Generall of the Army, he never tooke allowance but after three bushells of Wheate a Moneth of the Commonwealth, for himselfe and his whole Family: and but a bushell and a halfe of Barley a day, to keepe his Horfe and other Beasts for his carriage. On a time when he was Prætor, the government of the Ile of SARDINIA fell to his lot: and where the other Prætors before him had put the Countrey to exceeding great charge, to furnish them with Tents, Bedding, and Clothes, and such like stufte, and burthened them also with a marvellous Train of Servants and their Friends that waited on them, putting them to great expence in feasting and banquetting of them: *Cato* in contrary manner brought downe all that excesse and superfluity, unto a marvellous neare and incredible saving. For when he went to visit the Cities, he came on foote to them, and did not put them to a peny charge for himselfe: and had onely one Officer or Bayliffe of the State that waited on him, and carried his Gowne and a Cup with him, to offer up Wine to the gods in his Sacrifices. But though he came thus simply to the Subjects, and eased them of their former charges, yet he shewed himselfe severe and bitter to them in matters concerning Justice: and spared no man, in any commandement of service for the State and Commonwealth: for he was therein so precise, that he would not beare with any little fault. So by this meanes, he brought the SARDINIANS under his government, both to love and feare the Empire of ROME, more then ever they had before: as appeareth plainly by the manner both of his speaking and writing: because it was pleasant and yet grave: sweete and fearfull: merry and severe: sententious and yet familiar, such as is meete to be spoken. And he was to be compared unto *Socrates*: who (as *Plato* saith) at the first sight was a plaine simple man to them that knew him but outwardly, or else a pleasant Taunter or Mocker: but when they did looke into him, and found him thoroughly, they saw he was full of grave Sentences, goodly Examples, and wise Perfwasions, that he could make men water their Plants that heard him, and leade them as he would by the eare. Therefore I cannot see any reason that moves men to say, *Cato* had *Lyfias* grace and utterance. Notwithstanding, let us refer it to their judgements that make profession to discern Oratours graces and titles: for my part, I shall content my selfe to write at this present, onely certaine of his notable Sayings and Sentences, perfwading my selfe that mens manners are better discerned by their words, then by their lookes, and so do many thinke. On a time seeking to dissuade the People of ROME, which would needs make a thankfull distribution of Corne unto every Citizen, to no purpose, he began to make an Oration with this Preface. It is a hard thing (my Lords of ROME) to bring the belly by perfwasions to reason, that hath no eares. And another time, reproving the ill Government of the City of ROME, he said: it was a hard thing to keepe up that State, where a little Fish was sold dearer then an Oxe. He said also, that the ROMANES were like a flock of Sheepe: for faith he, as every Weather when he is alone, doth not obey the Shepherd, but when they are all together they one follow another for love of the foremost: even so are you; for when you are together, you are all contented to be led by the noses by such, whose counsell not a man alone of you would use in any private Cause of your owne. And talking another time of the Authority the Women

A gentle Law made by the Athenians in favour of their labouring Moyles.

Xanthippus buried his Dog, that swammed by his Gallies side from Athens to Salamina, and died when he landed.

Cato's straight life.

Cato Prætor in Sardinia.

Cato's nearnesse in his Circuit.

Cato's severity.

Cato's speech and writing.

The praise of *Socrates*.

Cato's sayings.

Themistocles
aying.

Honour now-
rifesth Art.

Cato against
Offices of per-
petuity.

Cato would pu-
nish himselfe
for offending.
* This is to
say, under-
standing: for
they judged
that the lea's
of Reason was
placed in the
heart, follow-
ing *Aristotles*
opinion.

Ensting in
young men is
a better token
then palefaced-
ness.

A Lover liveth
in anothers
Joy.

of ROME had over their Husbands, he said other men commanded their Wives, and we command men, and our Wives command us. But this last of all he borrowed of *Themistocles* pleasant sayings. For his Sonne making him do many things by means of his Mother: he told his Wife one day: The ATHENIANS command all GREECE, I command the ATHENIANS, you command me, and your Sonne ruleth you. I pray you therefore bid him use the liberty he hath with some better discretion, soole and affe as he is, thence he can do more by that Power and Authority, then all the GRECIANS besides. He said also that the People of ROME did not onely delight in divers sorts of Purple, but likewise in divers sorts of Exercises. For said he, as divers commonly die that colour they see best esteemed, and is most pleasant to the eye: even so the lusty Youths of ROME do frame themselves to such Exercise, as they see your selves most like and best esteeme. He continually advised the ROMANES, that if their Power and Greatnesse came by their Vertue and Temperance, they should take heed they became no changelings, nor waxe worse: and if they came to that Greatnesse by Vice and Violence, that then they should change to better, for by that meanes he knew very well they had attained to great Honour and Dignity. Again he told them, that such as sued ambitiously to beare Office in the Common-wealth, and were common Suters for them, did seeme to be afraid to lose their way, and therefore would be sure to have Uffers and Serjeants before them, to shew them the way, lest they should lose themselves in the City. He did reprove them also, that often chose one man to continue one Office still: For it seemeth, saith he, either that you passe not much for your Officers, or that you have not many choice men you thinke worthy for the Office. There was an Enemy of his that led a marvellous wicked and an abominable life, of whom he was wont to say, that when his Mother prayed unto the gods that she might leave her Sonne behinde her, she did not think to pray, but to curse: meaning to have him live for a plague to the World. And to another also that had unthrifely sold his Lands which his Father had left him, lying upon the Sea side, he pointed unto them with his finger, and made as though he wondred how he came to be so great a man, that he was stronger then the Sea: for that which the Sea hardly consumeth and eateth out by little and little a long time, he had consumed it all at a clap. Another time, when King *Eumenes* was come to ROME, the Senate entertained him marvellous honourably, and the noblest Citizens did strive, envying one another, who should welcome him best. But *Cato* in contrary manner shewed plainly, that he did suspect all this feasting and entertainment, and would not come at it. When one of his familiar friends told him, I marvel why you flee from King *Eumenes* company, that is so good a Prince, and loves the ROMANES so well: Yea, said he, let it be so, but for all that, a King is no better then a ravening Beast that lives of the prey: neither was there ever any King so happy, that deserved to be compared to *Epaminondas*, to *Pericles*, to *Themistocles*, nor to *Manius Curius*, or to *Hamylcar*, surnamed *Barca*. They say his Enemies did malice him, because he used commonly to rise before day, and did forget his owne businesse to follow matters of State. And he affirmed that he had rather lose the reward of his well-doing, then not to be punished for doing of evil: and that he would beare with all other offending ignorantly, but not with himselfe. The ROMANES having chosen on a time three Ambassadors to send into the Realme of BYTHINIA, one of them having the gout in his feete, the other his head full of cuts and great gashes, and the third being but a foole: *Cato* laughing, said, the ROMANES sent an Ambassade that had neither feete, head nor heart. *Scipio* sued once to *Cato* at *Polybius* request, about those that were banished from ACHIA. The matter was argued afterwards in the Senate, and there fell out divers opinions about it. Some would have had them restored to their Countrey and Goods againe: other were wholly against it. So *Cato* rising up at the last, said unto them: It seemes we have little else to do, when we stand beating of our braines all day, disputing about these old GRECIANS, whether the ROMANES or the ACHAIANS shall bury them: In the end, the Senate tooke order they should be restored unto their Countrey againe. Whereupon *Polybius* thought to make petition againe unto the Senate, that the banished men whom they had restored by their order, might enjoy their former Estates and Honours in ACHIA, they had at the time of their banishment: but before he would move the Suite unto the Senate, he would seele *Catoes* opinion first, what he thought of it. Who answered him, smiling: Methinks *Polybius* thou art like *Ulysses*, that when he had scaped out of *Cyclops* Cave the Giant, he would needs go thither againe, to fetch his Hat and Girdle he had left behinde him there. He saith also, that wise men did learne and profit more by fooles, then fooles did by wise men. For wise men, saith he, do see the faults fooles commit, and can wisely avoid them: but fooles never studie to follow the example of wise mens doings. He said also, that he ever liked young men better that blushed, then those that ever looked whitely: and that he would not have him for a Souldier, that wags his hand as he goeth, removes his feete when he fighteth, and rowteth and snorteth lowder in his sleepe, then when he crieth out to his Enemy. Another time when he would raunt a marvellous fat man: See, saith he, what good can such a body do to the Common-wealth, that from his chin to his codpiece is nothing but belly? And to another man that was given to pleasure, and desired to be great with him: My friend, said *Cato*, as refusing his acquaintance: I cannot live with him that hath better judgement in the palate of his mouth, then in his heart. This was also his saying, That the Soule of a Lover lived in anothers Body. And that in all his life time he repented him of three things. The first was, if that he ever told secret to any woman: the second, that ever he went by Water, when he might have gone by Land: the third, that he had beene idle a whole day, and had done nothing. Also when he saw a vicious old man, he would say to reprove him: O gray beard, age bringeth many deformities with it, helpe

helpe it not besides with your Vice. And to a seditious Tribune of the People that was suspected to be a paysoner, and would needs passe some wicked Law by voice of the People, he would say: O young man, I know not which of these two be worse, to drinke the Drugges thou givest, or to receive the Lawes thou offerest. Another time, being reviled by one that led a lewd and naughty Life: Go thy way, said he, I am no man to scold with thee: for thou art so used to revile, and to be reviled, that it is not dainty to thee: but for my selfe, I never use to hear scolding, and much lesse delight to scold. These be his wife sayings we finde written of him, whereby we may the callier conjecture his manners and nature. Now when he was chosen Consull with his friend *Valerius Flaccus*, the Government of SPAINNE fell to his Lot, that is on this side of the River of BÆTIS. So *Cato* having subdued many People by force of Armes, and won others also by friendly meanes: suddenly there came a marvellous great Army of the Barbarous People, against him; and had environed him so, as he was in marvellous danger, either shamefully to be taken Prisoner, or to be slain in the Field. Wherefore he sent presently unto the CELTIBERIANS, to pray aide of them, who were next neighbours unto the marches were he was. These CELTIBERIANS did aske him two hundred Talents to come and helpe him: but the ROMANES that were about him, could not abide to hire the Barbarous People to defend them. Then *Cato* told them straight, there was no hurt in it, nor any dishonour unto them. For said he, if the Field be ours, then we shall pay their wages, we promised, with the spoile and Money of our Enemies: and if we lose it, then our selves and they lie by it, being left neither man to pay, nor yet any to aske it. In the end he won the Battell, after a fore conflict, and after that time he had marvellous good Fortune. For *Polybius* writeth, that all the Walls of the Cities that were on this side the River of BÆTIS, were by his commandement razed in one day, which were many and full of good Souldiers. Himselfe writeth, that he tooke moe Cities in SPAINNE, then he remained there daies: and it is no vaine boast, if it be true that is written, that there were foure hundred Cities of them. Now, though the Souldiers under him had gotten well in this journey, and were rich, yet he caused a Pound weight of Silver to be given to every Souldier besides: saying he liked it better that many should returne home with Silver in their Purfes, then a few of them with Gold onely. But for himselfe he affirmed: that of all the spoile gotten of the Enemies, he never had any thing, saving that which he tooke in Meate and Drinke. And yet said he, I speake it not to reprove them that grow rich by such spoiles: but because I would contend in vertue rather with the best, then in Money with the richest, or in covetousnesse with the most avaritious. For not onely he himselfe was cleare from bribes and extortion, but his Officers also under him kept the same course. In this Spainish journey, he had five of his servants with him, whereof one of them called *Paccus*, brought three young Boyes that were taken in the Warres, when the spoile was sold to them that would give most. So *Cato* knew it. But *Paccus* being afraid to come neare his Master, hanged himselfe: and then *Cato* sold the Boyes againe, and put the Money made of them into the Treasure Chests of saving at ROME. Now while *Cato* was in SPAINNE, *Scipio* the Great that was his Enemy, and sought to hinder the course of his prosperity, and to have the Honour of conquering all the rest of SPAINNE, he made all the friends he could to the People, to be chosen in *Catoes* place. He was no sooner entred into his charge, but he made all the possible speede he could to be gone, that he might make *Catoes* Authority cease the sooner. *Cato* hearing of his hasty coming, tooke onely five Ensignes of Footmen, and five hundred Horsemen to attend upon him home: with the which, in his journey homeward, he overcame a People in SPAINNE called the LACETANIANS, and tooke six hundred Traitours also that were fled from the ROMANES Campe to their Enemies, and did put to death every Mothers Childe of them. *Scipio* storming at that, said *Cato* did him wrong. But *Cato* to mocke him finely, said: It was the right way to bring ROME to flourish, when Noble borne Citizens would not suffer meane borne men, and upstarts as himselfe was, to goe before them in Honour: and on the other side when meane borne men would contend in Vertue, with those that were of Noblest race, and farre above them in calling. For all that, when *Cato* came to ROME, the Senate commanded that nothing should be changed nor altered otherwise, then *Cato* had appointed it, whilest he was in his Office. So that the Government for which *Scipio* made such earnest sute in SPAINNE, was a greater disgrace unto him, then it was unto *Cato*: because he passed all his time and Office in peace, having no occasion offered him to doe any notable service worthy memory. Furthermore, *Cato* after he had beene Consull, and had granted to him the Honour to Triumph, did not as many others doe, that seeke not after Vertue, but onely for worldly Honour and dignity: who, when they have beene called to the highest Offices of State, as to be Consuls, and have also granted them the Honour to Triumph, doe then leave to deale any more in matters of State, and dispose themselves to live merrily and quietly at home, and not to trouble themselves any more. Now *Cato* farre otherwise behaved himselfe: for he would never leave to exercise Vertue, but began afresh, as if he had beene a young Novice in the world, and as one greedy of Honour and reputation, and to take as much paines and more then he did before. For, to pleasure his friends or any other Citizen, he would come to the Market-place, and pleade their causes for them that required his counsell, and goe with his friends also into the Warres: as he went with *Tiberius Sempromius* the Consull, and was one of the Lieutenants at the conquest of the Countrey of THRACE, and unto the Provinces adjoining to the River of DANUBY upon those marches. After that, he was in GREECE also, Colonnell of a thousand Footmen, under *Manius Aquilius*, against King *Antiochus* surnamed the Great,

Cato and *Valerius Flaccus*
Consuls.
Cato's doings
in Spainne.

Catoes abstinence from
spoile and bribery.

Discord between
Cato and
Scipio.

Cato overcame
the Lacetani-
ans.

Catoes Acts after
his Consul-
ship and Tri-
umph.

The power of
Antiochus the
Great.

Cato mocked
Posthumus Al-
binus a Roman
for writing a
Story in the
Greeke tongue.
King Antio-
chus Army.

Cato's designs
against King
Antiochus.

Mount Cal-
lidromus.

Cato's O-
bedience to his
Soldiers

Great, who made the ROMANES so much afraid of him, as ever they were of Enemy, but *Hannibal*. For when he had Conquered all the Regions and Provinces of ASIA, which *Selenus Nicator* enjoyed before, and had subdued many Barbarous and Warlike Nations: he was so proud hearted, as he would needs have Warres with the ROMANES, whom he knew to be the onely worthy men, and best able to fight with him. So he made some honest shew and pretence of Warres, saying it was to set the GRECIANS at liberty, who had no cause thereof, considering they lived after their owne Lawes, and were but lately delivered from the bondage of King *Philip*, and of the MACEDONIANS, through the goodnesse of the ROMANES. Notwithstanding, he came out of ASIA into GREECE with a marvellous great Army, and all GREECE was straight in Armes and in wonderfull danger, because of the great promises and large hopes the Governours of divers Cities (whom the King had wonne and corrupted with Money) did make unto him. Whereupon *Manius* dispatched Ambassadors unto the City, and sent *Titus Quintus Flaminus* among others, who kept the greatest part of the People from rebelling (that were easily drawn to give eare to this innovation) as we have exprest more amply in his Life: And *Cato* being sent Ambassadour also, perswaded the CORINTHIANS, those of PATRAS, and the AEGIANS, and made them stick full to the ROMANES, and continued a long time at ATHENS. Some say they finde an Oration of his written in the Greeke tongue, which he made before the ATHENIANS, in commendation of their Ancestors: wherein he said, he tooke great pleasure to see ATHENS, for the beauty and Stateliness of the City. But this is false: for he spake unto the ATHENIANS by an Interpreter, though he could have uttered his Oration in the Greeke tongue if he had beene disposed: but he did like the Lawes and customes of his owne Countrey, and the ROMANE tongue so well, that he laughed at them that would praise and commend the Greeke tongue. As he did once mocke *Posthumus Albinus*, who wrote an History in the Greeke tongue, praying the readers in his Preface to beare with him, if they found any imperfection in the Tongue: Marry said *Cato*, he had deserved pardon indeede, if he had beene forced to have written his Story in the Greeke tongue, by the order of the States of GREECE, called the Councell of the Amphictyons. They say the ATHENIANS wondered to heare his ready tongue. For what he had uttered quickly in few words unto the Interpreter, the Interpreter was driven to deliver them againe with great circumstances and many words. So that he left them of this opinion, that the GRECIANS words lay all in their lipps, and the ROMANES words in their heades. Now King *Antiochus* kept all the straights and narrow passages of the Mountaines called THERMOPYLES (being the ordinary way and entrie into GREECE) and had fortified them awell with an Army that Camped at the foote of the Mountaine, as also with Walls and Trenches he had made by hand, besides the naturall strength and fortification of the Mount it selfe in sundry places: and so he determined to remaine there, trusting to his owne strength and fortifications aforesaid, and to turne the force of the Warres some other way. The ROMANES also they dispaired utterly they should be able any way to charge him before. But *Cato* remembering with himselfe the compasse the PERSIANS had fetched about before time likewise to enter into GREECE, he departed one night from the Campe with part of the Army: to prove if he could finde the very compasse about the Barbarous People had made before. But as they climed up the Mountaine, their guide that was one of the Prisoners taken in the Countrey, lost his way, and made them wander up and downe in marvellous steepe Rockes and crooked waies, that the poor Souldiers were in marvellous ill taking. *Cato* seeing the danger they were brought unto by this lewd guide, commanded all his Souldiers not to stirre a foote from thence, and to tarry him there: and in the meane time he went himselfe alone, and *Lucius Manlius* with him, (a lusty man, and nimble to clime upon the Rockes) and so went forward at adventure, taking extreme and uncredible paines, and in much danger of his Life, grabbing all night in the darke without Moone light, through wilde Olive Trees, and high Rockes (that let them they could not see before them, neither could tell whether they went) untill they stumbled at the length upon a little path way, which went as they thought directly to the foote of the Mountaine, where the Campe of the Enemies lay. So they set up certaine markes and tokens, upon the highest toppes of the Rockes they could choofe, by view of eye to be discerned furthest off upon the Mountaine called Callidromus. And when they had done that, they returned backe againe to fetch the Souldiers, whom they led towards the Markes they had set up: untill at they length they found their path-way againe, where they put their Souldiers in order to march. Now they went not farre in this path they found, but the way failed them straight and brought them to a bogge: but then they were in worse case then before, and in greater feare, not knowing they were so neare their Enemies, as indeed they were. The day beganne to breake a little, and one of them that marched foremost, thought he heard a noise, and that he saw the GREKES Campe at the foote of the Rockes, and certaine Souldiers that kept watch there. Whereupon *Cato* made them stay, and willed onely they FIRMANTIANs to come unto him, and none but them, because he had found them faithfull before, and very ready to obey his commandement. They were with him at a trice, to know his pleasure: so *Cato* said unto them: My fellows, I must have some of our Enemies taken Prisoners, that I may know of them who they be that keepe that passage, what number they be, what order they keepe, how they are Camped and Armed, and after what fort they determine to fight with us. The way to worke this feate standeth upon swiftnesse and hardinesse to runne upon them sodainely, as Lyons doe, which being naked fare not to runne into the middelt of any heard of fearefull Beasts. He had

no

no sooner spoken these words, but the FIRMANTIAN Souldiers began to ruine downe the Mountaines as they were, upon those that kept the Watch: and so setting upon them, they being out of order, made them fly, and tooke an Armed man prisoner. When they had him, they straight brought him unto *Cato*, who by Oath of the prisoner, was advertised how that the strength of their Enemies Army was lodged about the person of the King, within the straight and valley of the said Mountaine: and that the Souldiers they saw, were six hundred ETOLIANS, all brave Souldiers, whom they had chosen and appointed to keepe the toppe of the Rockes over King *Antiochus* Campe. When *Cato* had heard him, making small account of the matter, as well for their small number, as also for the ill order they kept: he made the Trumpets sound straight, and his Souldiers to march in battell with great cryes, himselfe being the foremost man of all his Troupe, with a Sword drawne in his hand. But when the ETOLIANS saw them coming downe the Rockes towards them, they began to fly for life unto their great Campe, which they filled full of feare, trouble, and all disorder. Now *Manius* at the same present also, gave an assault unto the Walles and fortification the King had made overthwart the vallies and straights of the Mountaines: at which assault King *Antiochus* selfe had a blow on the face with a stone, that strake some of his Teeth out of his mouth, so that for very paine and anguish he felt, he turned his Horse back, and got him behinde the presse. And then there were none of his Army that made any more resistance, or that could abide the fiercenesse of the ROMANES. But notwithstanding that the places were very ill for flying, because it was unpossible for them to scatter and straggle, being holden in with high Rockes on the one side of them, and with bogges and deepe marishes on the other side, which they must needs fall into if their Fee te slipped, or were thrust forward by any: yet they fell one upon another in the straights, and ran so in heapes together that they cast themselves away, for feare of the ROMANES Swords that lighted upon them in every corner. And there *Marcus Cato*, that never made Ceremony or tincnesse to praise himselfe openly, nor reckoned it any shame to doe it, did take a present occasion for it, as falleth out upon all Victory and famous exploits: and so did set it out with all the ostentation and brave words he could give. For he wrote with his owne hands; and such as saw him chafe and lay upon his flying Enemies that day, were driven to say, that *Cato* was not bound to the ROMANES, but the ROMANES bound unto *Cato*. And then *Manius* the Consull selfe, being in a great heate with the fury of the Battell, embraced *Cato* a great while, that was also hot with chafing of the Enemy, and spake aloud with great joy before them all, that neither he, nor the People of ROME could recompence *Cato*, for his valiant service that day. After this Battell, the Consull *Manius* sent *Cato* to ROME, to be the messenger himselfe to report the News of the Victory. So he embarked incontinently, and had such a faire winde, that he passed over the Seas to BRINDIS without any danger, and went from thence unto TARENTUM in one day, and from TARENTUM in foure daies more to ROME. And so he came to ROME in five daies after his landing in ITALY, and made such speed that himselfe was indeed the first messenger that brought News of the Victory. Whereupon he filled all ROME with joy and Sacrifices, and made the ROMANES so proude, that ever after, they thought themselves able men to conquer the world both by Sea and Land. And these be all the martiall deedes and Noble Acts *Cato* did. But for his doings in civill policy and State, he seemed to be of his opinion: that to accuse and pursue the wicked, he thought it was the best thing an honest man and good governour of the Common-wealth could employ himselfe unto: for he accused many, and subscribed many other accusations which they preferred. And to be short, he did alwaies stirre up some accuser, as he did *Petilius* against *Scipio*. But *Scipio*, by reason of his Nobility, the greatnesse of his Houle, and the magnanimity of his minde, passed not for any accusation they could lay against him: being out of all feare, they should be able to condemne him: and so let fall the accusation he had against him. Notwithstanding, he joynd with other that accused *Lucius Scipio*, his owne Brother, and followed the matter to fore against him, that he caused him to be condemned in a great summe of Money to the Common-wealth: who being unable to pay the fine, had gone to prison, and hardly scaped it, had not the Tribunes of the People revoked his condemnation. It is said that *Cato* coming through the Market-place one day, and meeting with a young man by the way that had overthrowne his adversary in suite, and put one of his late Fathers greatest Enemies to open shame and foile before the People, he embraced him with a good countenance, and said unto him: Oh my Sonne, Sacrifices that good Children should offer to their Fathers soule, be not Lambes nor Kiddes, but the Teares and condemnations of their Enemies. But as he vexed other, so he scaped not free himselfe from danger, in administration of the Common-wealth. For if they could catch the least vantage in the world of him, his Enemies straight accused him: so as they say he was accused almost fifty times, and at the last time of his accusation, he was about the age of fourescore yeares. And then he spake a thing openly that was noted: That it was a harder thing to give up an account of his life before men in any other world, then in this amongst whom he lived. And yet was not this the last time he followed: for foure yeares after, when he was fourescore and Ten yeares of age, he accused *Servius Galba*. And thus he lived as *Nestor*, in manner three ages of man, alwaies in continuall suite and action. For when he wrestled with the first *Scipio* the AFRICAN about matters of State and Common-wealth, he went on unto the time of the second, that was adopted by the first *Scipio*es Sonne, the naturall Sonne of *Paulus Emilius*, who overcame *Perseus*, King of MACEDON. Furthermore, *Marcus Cato* Ten yeares after his Consulship, sued to be Censor, which was in

Cc 2

ROME

The boldness
and valiant ac-
tomp of Ca-
to's Souldiers.
Cato advertised
of the strength
of King Antio-
chus Campe.

Cato took the
straight of
Thermopyles.
King Antio-
chus hurt in
the face with a
stone.

Cato's Victory
of King Antio-
chus.
Cato would
praise his own
doings.

Manius send-
eth Cato to
Rome to carry
News of the
Victory.

Cato an accuser
of men.

Cato fifty
times accused.

The dignity
and Office of
the Censor.

How the Cen-
sors were cho-
sen.

The Senators
and Nobility
bent all against
Cato's sure.

Cato chosen
Censor

Cato's Acts in
his Censor-
ship.
Cato put Lucius
Quintius Fla-
minius off the
Senate.

The cause why
Cato put Quin-
tius off the ce-
nate.

Lucius Quin-
tius Flaminius
wickedly and
cruelly.

ROME the greatest Office of dignity that any Citizen of ROME could attaine unto : and as a man may say, the ROME of all glory and Honour of their Common-wealth. For among other authori- ties, the Censor had power to examine mens lives and manners, and to punish every offender. For the ROMANS were of that minde, that they would not have men marry, beget Children, live privately by themselves, and make Feasts and banquets at their pleasure, but that they should stand in feare to be reprovred and enquired of by the Magistrate : and that it was not good to give every body liberty, to doe what they would, following his owne lust and fancy. And they judging that mens naturall dispositions do appeare more in such things, then in all other things that are openly done at Noone daies, and in the sight of the world, used to choose two Censors, that were two Surveyors of manners, to see that every man behaved himselfe virtuously, and gave not them- selves to pleasure, nor to breake the Laws and customes of the Common-wealth. These Officers were called in their tongue, *Censores*, and alwaies of custome, one of them was a PATRICIAN, and the other a Commoner. These two had power and authority to disgrace a Knight, by taking a- way his Horse, and to put any off the Senate, whom they saw live dissolutely and disorderly. It was their Office also, to fesse and rate every Citizen according to the estimation of their goods ; to note the age, genealogie, and degrees of every man, and to keep Books of them, besides many o- ther prerogatives they had belonging to their Office. Therefore when Cato came to sue for this Of- fice among other, the chiefeest Senators were all bent against him. Some of them for very envy, thinking it shame and dishonour to the Nobility, to suffer men that were meanelly borne, and up- starts (the first of their House and Name, that ever came to beare Office in the State) to be called and preferred unto their highest Offices of State in all their Common-wealth. Other also that were ill livers, and knowing that they had offended the Lawes of their Country, they feared his cruelty too much, imagining he would spare no man, nor pardon any offence, having the Law in his owne hands. So when they had consulted together about it, they did set up seven Competitors against him, who flattered the People with many faire words and promises, as though they had need of Magistrates to use them gently, and to doe things for to please them. But Cato contrariwise, shew- ing, no countenance that he would use them gently, in the Office, but openly in the Pulpit for O- rations, threatening those that had lived naughtily and wickedly, he cried out : that they must re- forme their City, and perfwade the People not to choose the gentlest, but the sharpest Phisiti- ons : and that himselfe was such a one as they needed, and among the PATRICIANS *Valerius Flaccus* another, in whose company he hoped (they two being chosen Censors) to doe great good unto the Common-wealth, by burning and cutting off (like *Hydraes* Heads) all vanity and volup- tuous pleasures, that were crept in amongst them : and that he saw well enough, how all the other suters sought the Office by dishonest meanes, fearing such Officers as they knew would deale ju- stly and uprightly. Then did the People of ROME shew themselves Nobly minded, and worthy of Noble governours. For they refused not the sowrenesse or severity of Cato, but rejected these Meale-mouthed men, that seemed ready to please the People in all things : and thereupon chose *Marcus Cato* Censor, and *Valerius Flaccus* to be his fellow, and they did obey him, as if he had bene present Officer, and no suter for the Office, being in themselves to give it to whom they thought good. The first thing he did after he was staled in his Censorship, was that he named *Lucius Valerius Flaccus* his friend and fellow Censor with him, Prince of the Senate : and among many other also whom he thrust out of the Senate ; he put *Lucius Quintius Flaminius* off the Se- nate, that had bene Consull seven yeares before, and was Brother also unto *Titus Quintius Fla- minius* that overcame *Philip* King of MACE DON in Battell, which was greater glory to him, then that he had bene Consull. But the cause why he put him off the Senate, was this : This *Lu- cius Quintius* carried ever with him a young Boy to the Warres, whom he gave as good counte- nance and credit unto, as to any of his best familiar friends he had about him. It fortuned one time whilest *Lucius Quintius* was Consull and Governor of a Province, that he made a Feast, and this Boy being set at his Table, hard by him, as his manner was, he began to flatter him, know- ing how to handle him when he was pretily merry : and soothing him, told him he loved him so dearly, that upon his departing from ROME, when the Sword-players were ready to fight for life and death with unbated Swords. To shew the People pastime, he came his way, and left the sight of that he never saw, that was very desirous to have seen a man killed. Then this *Lucius Quintius*, to make him see the like, said : care not for the sight thou hast lost, Boy, for I will let thee see as much. And when he had spoken these words, he commanded a Prisoner condemned to die, to be fetched and brought into his Hall before him, and the Hang-man with his Axe : which was forthwith done accord- ing to his commandement. Then asked he the Boy, if he would straight see the man killed : Yea sir said the Boy : and with that he bade the Hang-man strike off his head. Most writers report this matter thus : And *Cicero* to confirme it also, wrote in his Booke *de Senectute*, that the same was written in an Oration Cato made before the People of ROME. Now *Lucius Quintius* being thus shamefully put off the Senate by Cato, his Brother *Titus* being offended withall, could not tell what to doe, but besought the People that they would command Cato to declare the cause, why he brought such shame unto his House. Whereupon Cato openly before the People made recital of all this Feast. And when *Lucius* denied it, affirming it was not so : Cato would have him sworne before them all, that it was not true they had burdened him withall. But *Lucius* prayed them to pardon him, who said he would not sweare : whereupon the People judged straight that he deserved well that shame. So not long af- ter, certain Games being shewed in the Theater, *Lucius* came thither, and passing beyond the ordinary

ordinary place that was appointed for those that had bene Consuls, he went to sit aloofe off a- mongst the multitude. The People tooke pity on him, and made such ado about him, as they forced him to rise, and to go sit among the other Senators that had bene Consuls : salving the best they could, the shame and dishonour happened unto so Noble a House. Cato put out of the Senate also, one *Manlius*, who was in great towardlinesse to have bene made Consull : the next yeare following, onely because he kissed his Wife too lovingly in the day time, and before his Daughter : and reprooving him for it, he told him, his Wife never kissed him, but when it thun- dered. So when he was disposed to be merry, he would say it was happy with him when *Jupiter* thundered. He tooke away *Lucius Scipios* Horse from him, that had triumphed for the Victories he had wonne of the great King *Antiochus* : which wanne him much ill will, because it appeared to the world he did it of purpose, for the malice he did bear *Scipio* the AFRICAN, that was dead. But the thing that most grieved the People, of all other extremities he used, was his putting downe of all Feasts and vaine expences. For a man to take it cleane away, and to be openly seene in it, it was impossible, because it was so common a thing, and every man was given so to it. Therefore Cato to fetch it about indirectly, did praise every Citizens goods, and rated their Apparell, their Coaches, their Litters, their Wives Chaines, and Jewels, and all other moveables and Household- stuffe, that had cost above a thousand five hundred Drachmes a peece, at ten times as much as they were worth : to the end that such as had bestowed their money in those curious trifles, should pay so much more subsidie to the maintenance of the Common-wealth, as their goods were overvalued at. Moreover he ordained for every thousand Asles that those trifling things were praised at, the own- ers thereof should pay three thousand Asles to the common treasure : to the end that they who were grieved with this Tax, and saw other pay lesse subsidie (that were as much worth as themselves, by living without such Toyes) might call home themselves againe : and lay aside such foolish bravery and finensse. Notwithstanding, Cato was envied every way. First, of them that were con- tented to pay the Tax imposed, rather then they would leave their vanity : and next, of them also, that would rather reforme themselves, then pay the Tax. And some thinke that this Law was de- vised rather to take away their goods, then to let them to make any shew of them : and they have a fond opinion besides, that their riches are better seene in superfluous things, then in neces- sary. Whereat they say *Aristotle* the Philosopher did wonder more, then at any other thing : how men could thinke them more rich and happy, that had many curious and superfluous things, then those that had necessary and profitable things. And *Scopas* the THESSALIAN, when one of his familiar Friends asked him I know not what tri- fling thing, and to make him grant it the sooner, told him it was a thing he might well spare, and did him no good : Marry said he, as the goods I have, are in such Toyes as do me no good. So this covetous desire we have to be rich, cometh of no necessary desire in nature, but is bread in us by a false opinion from the Common sort. Now Cato caring least of all for the exclamations they made against him, grew to be more straight and severe. For he cut off the pipes and quils private men had made to convey Water into their Houses and Gardens, robbing the City of the Water that came from their common Conduit heads, and did pluck downe also mens Porches that were made before their Doores into the Streer, and brought downe the prizes of common workes in the City, and moreover raised the common Farmes and customes of the City, as high as he could, all which things together made him greatly hated and envied of most men. Wherefore *Titus Flaminius*, and certaine other being bent against him in open Senate, caused all *Catoes* covenants and bargaines made with the Master Work-man, for repairing and mending of the common buildings and Holy places, to be made voide, as things greatly prejudiciall to the Common-wealth. And they did also stirre up the boldest and rashest of the Tribunes of the People against him, be- cause they should accuse him unto the People, and make request he might be condemned in the summe of two Talents. They did marvellously hinder also the building of the Pallace he built at the charge of the Common-wealth, looking into the Marker-place under the Senate-house : which Pallace was finished notwithstanding, and called after his Name, *Basilica Porcia* : as who would say, the Pallace *Porcia* the Censor built. Howbeit it seemed the People of ROME did greatly like and commend his government in the Censorship : for they set up a Statue of him in the Temple of the goddesse of Health, whereunder they wrote not his Victories nor triumph, but onely ingra- ved this inscription word for word, to this effect by translation : For the honour of *Marcus Cato* the Censor : because he reformed the discipline of the Common-wealth of ROME (that was farre out of order, and given to licentious life) by his wife precepts, good manners, and Holy instituti- ons. Indeed, before this Image was set up for him, he was wont to mocke at them that delighted, and were desirous of such things : saying, they did not consider how they bragged in Founders, Painters, and Image-makers, but nothing of their Vertues : and that for himselfe, the People did al- waies carry lively Images of him in their hearts, meaning the memory of his life and doings. When some wondered why divers meane men and unknowne persons had Images set up of them, and there were none of him, he gave them this answer : I had rather men should aske why Cato had no Image set up for him, then why he had any. In the end, he would have no honest man abide to be praised, unlesse his praise turned to the benefit of the Common-wealth : and yet was he one of them that would most praise himselfe. So that if any had done a fault, or stept awrie, and that men had gone about to reprove them, he would say they were not to be blamed, for they were no *Catoes* that did offend. And such as counterfeited to follow any of his doings, and

Manlius put off
the Senate for
kissing his
Wife before
his Daughter.

Merry with
married men
when *Jupiter*
thundereth.
Banqueting
and Feasts put
down by Cato.

Catoes counsel
for reforming
excessive at
Rome.

Superfluous
things reckon-
ed for riches.

Scopas goods
were all in
Toyes, that
did him no
good.

Basilica Porcia
built by Cato.
Catoes Image
set up in the
Temple of the
goddesse of
Health.
Honour
changed con-
ditions.

No man
should abide
to be praised
but for the
Common-
wealth.
came

What Cato was at home in his Houfe, and towards his Wife and Children. Cato judgeth the Noble born Gentlewomen the best Wives. Socrates patience commended bearing with the shrewdness of his Wife. Cato's Wife was Nurse to her own Child. Cato taught his Sonne. Chilo a Grammarian.

What exercises Cato brought up his Sonne in.

Cato's Son was valiant.

Cato the younger married Teritia Paulus & Emilius Daughters. Scipio the second was & Emilius natural Sonne. Cato's discipline to his slaves. Cato's opinion of sleep.

came short of his manner, he called them left handed *Catoes*. He would say that in most dangerous times the Senate used to cast their eyes upon him, as passengers on the Sea do look upon the Master of the Ship in a storme: and that many times when he was absent, the Senate would put over matters of importance, untill he might come among them. And this is confirmed to be true as well by other as by himself. His Authority was great in matters of State, for his wisdom, his eloquence, and great experience. Besides this commendation, they praised him for a good Father to his Children, a good Husband to his Wife, and a good favor for his profit: for he was never careless of them, as things to be lightly passed on. And therefore he thinks I must needs tell you by the way some part of his well doing, to follow our declaration of him. First of all he married a Gentlewoman more Noble then rich, knowing that either of both would make her proud and stout enough: but yet he thought the Nobler born, would be the more ashamed of dishonesty, then the meaner born: and therefore they would be more obedient to their Husbands, in all honest manner and reasonable things. Furthermore, he said: that he that beate his Wife or his Child, did commit as great a sacrilege, as if he polluted or spoiled the holiest things of the world: and he thought it a greater praise for a man to be a good Husband then a good Senatour. And therefore he thought nothing more commendable in the life of old Socrates, then his patience, in using his Wife well, that was such a threw, and his Children that were so hare-brained. After Cato's Wife had brought him a Sonne, he could not have so earnest businesse in hand, if it had not touched the Common-wealth, but he would let all alone, to go home to his Houfe, about the time his Wife did unfwaddle the young Boy to wash and shift him: for she gave it sucke with her own Breasts, and many times would let the slaves Children sucke of her also, because they might have a naturall love towards her Sonne, having suckt one milke, and been brought up together. When his Sonne was come to age of discretion, and that he was able to learne any thing, Cato himself did teach him, notwithstanding he had a slave in his Houfe called *Chilo* (a very honest man, and a good Grammarian) who did also teach many other: but as he said himself, he did not like a slave should rebuke his Sonne, nor pull him by the eares, when peradventure he was not apt to take very fodainly that was taught him: neither would he have his Sonne bound to a slave for so great a matter as that, as to have his learning of him. Wherefore he himself taught him his Grammer, the Law, and to exercise his Body, not onely to throw a Dart, to play at the Sword, to vault, to ride a Horse, and to handle all sorts of weapons, but also to fight with fists, to abide cold and heate, and to swim over a swift running River. He said moreover, that he wrote goodly Histories in great letters with his owne hand, because his Son might learne in his Fathers Houfe the Vertues of good men in times past, that he taking example by their doings, should frame his life to excell them. He said also that he tooke as great heed of speaking any foule or uncomely words before his Sonne, as he would have done if he had been before the Vestall Nunnes. He never was in the hot Houfe with his Sonne: for it was a common use with the ROMANES at that time, that the Sonnes in Law did not bathe themselves with their Fathers in Law, but were ashamed to see one another naked. But afterwards they having learned of the GREEKES to wash themselves naked with men, it taught them also to be naked in the bathe even with their Wives. There lacked no towardsness, nor good disposition in Cato's Sonne, to frame himselfe Vertuous: for he was of so good a nature, that he shewed himselfe willing to follow whatsoever his Father had taught him. Howbeit he was such a weakeling, that he could not away with much hardnesse, and therefore his Father was contented not to binde him to that straight and painefull life, which himselfe had kept. Yet he became valiant in the Warres. For he fought marvellous stoutly in the Battell, in which *Perseus* King of MACEDON was overthrowne by *Paulus Emilius*: where his sword being striken out of his hand, with a great blow that lighted on it, and by reason his hand was somewhat swayed besides, he fell into a great fury, and prayed some of his friends to helpe him to recover it. So they all together ranne upon the Enemies in that place where his sword fell out of his hand, and came in so fiercely on them, that they made a lane through them; and clearing the place, found it in the end, but with much ado, being under such a heape of dead Bodies and other weapons as well ROMANES as MACEDONIAS, one lying on another. *Paulus Emilius* the Generall hearing of this Act of his, did highly commend the young man. And at this day their is a Letter extant from Cato to his Son, in the which he praiseth this worthy Fact and toile of his, for the recovering of his sword againe. Afterwards, this Cato the younger married *Teritia*, one of *Paulus Emilius* Daughters, and Sister unto *Scipio* the second, and so was matched in this Noble Houfe, not only for his owne Vertues sake, but for respect of his Fathers dignity and authority: whereby the great care, pains and study that Cato the Father tooke in bringing up his Sonne, in Vertue and Learning, was honourably rewarded in the happy bestowing of his Sonne. He ever had a great number of young little slaves which he bought, when any would sell their Prisoners in the Warres. He did chuse them thus young, because they were apt yet to learne any thing he would traine them unto, and that a man might breake them like young Colts, or little Whelps. But none of them all, how many soever he had, did ever goe to any mans house, but when himselfe or his Wife did send them. If any man askt them what Cato did: they answered, they could not tell. And when they were within, either they must needs be occupied about somewhat, or else they must sleepe: for he loved them well that were sleepey, holding opinion that slaves that loved sleepe were more tractable and willing to do any thing a man would set them to, then those that were waking. And

And because he thought that nothing did more provoke slaves to mischief and naughtinesse, then lust and desire of Women: he was contented his slaves might comany with his bondwomen in his Houfe, for a piece of money he appointed them to pay, but with straight commandment besides; that none of them should deal with any other woman abroad. At the first when he gave himselfe to follow the Warres, and was not greatly rich, he never was angry for any fault his Servants did about his person: saying that it was a foule thing for a Gentleman or Nobleman, to fall out with his Servants for his belly. Afterwards as he rose to better state, and grew to be wealthier, if he had made a Dinner or Supper for any of his Friends and familiars, they were no sooner gone, but he would scourge them with whips and leather thongs, that had not waited as they should have done at the board, or had forgotten any thing he would have had done. He would ever craftily make one of them fall out with another: for he could not abide they should be friends, being ever jealous of that. If any of them had done a fault that deserved death, he would declare his offence before them all: and then if they condemned him to die, he would put him to death before them all: Howbeit in his latter time he grew greedy, and gave up his tillage, saying that it was more pleasant then profitable. Therefore because he would lay out his money freely, and bring a certaine revenue to his Purse, he bestowed it upon Ponds, and naturall hot bathes, and places fit for fullers craft; upon Medows and Pastures, upon copises and young wood: and of all these he made a great and a more quiet revenue yearly, which he would say, *Jupiter* himselfe could not diminish. Furthermore he was a great usurer, both by Land and by Sea: and the usury he took by Sea, was most extreme of all others, for he used it in this sort. He would have them to whom he lent his money unto, that trafficked by Sea, to have many partners, to the number of fifty: and that they should have so many Ships. Then he would venture among them for a part onely, whereof *Quintius* his slave whom he had manumitted, was made his factor, and used to saile and trafficke with the Merchants, to whom he had lent his money out to usury. And thus he did not venture all the money he lent, but a little peece onely for his part, and got marvellous riches by his usury. Moreover he lent money to any of his slaves, that would therewith buy other young slaves, whom they taught and brought up to do service; at Cato's charge and cost: and then they sold them againe at the yeares end, and some of them Cato kept for his owne service, and gave his slaves as much for them as any other offered. Therefore to allure his Sonne in like manner to make profit of his money, he told him it was no wise mans part to diminish his Substance, but rather the part of a Widow. Yet this was a token of a most greedy covetous minde, that he durst affirme him to be divine, and worthy immortall praise, that increased his Wealth and patrimony more then his Father left him. Furthermore when Cato was grown very old *Carneades* the ACADEMICK, and *Diogenes* the STOICK, were sent from ATHENS as Ambassadors to ROME, to sue for a release of a fine of five hundred Talents which they had imposed on the ATHENIANS upon a condemnation passed against them for a contempt of appearance, by the sentence of the SEYTHONIANS, at the suite of the OROPIANS. Immediately when these two Philosophers were arrived in the City of ROME, the young Gentlemen that were given to their Books, did visit and welcome them, and gave great reverence to them after they had heard them speake, and specially to *Carneades*: whole grace in speaking, and force of perswading was no lesse then the same ranne of him, and specially when he was to speake in so great an audience, and before such a State, as would not suppress his praise. ROME straight was full, as if a winde had blown this rumour into every mans eare: that there was a GREEK arrived, a famous Learned man, who with his eloquence would leade a man as he list. There was no other talke a while through the whole City, he had so inflamed the young Gentlemens minds with love and desire to be learned: that all other pleasures and delights were set aside, and they disposed themselves to no other exercise, but to the study of Philosophie, as if some secret and divine inspiration from above had procured them to it. Whereof the Lords and Senators of ROME were glad; and rejoiced much to see their youth so well given to knowledge, and to the study of the Greeke tongue, and to delight in the companie of these two great and excellent learned men. But *Marcus Cato*, even from the beginning that young men began to study the Greeke tongue, and that it grew in estimation in ROME, did dislike of it: fearing lest the youth of ROME that were desirous of learning and eloquence, would utterly give over the honour and glory of Armes. Furthermore, when he saw the estimation and fame of these two personages did increase more and more, and in such sort that *Caius Aquilius*, one of the chieft of the Senate made sute to be their interpreter: he determined then to convey them out of the City by some honest meane and colour. So he openly found fault one day in the Senate, that the Ambassadors were long there, and had not dispatch: considering also they were cunning men, and could easily perswade what they would. And if there were no other respect, this onely might perswade them to determine some answer for them, and so to send them home againe to their Schooles, to teach their Children of GREECE, and to let alone the Children of ROME, that they might learne to obey the Laws and the Senate, as they had done before. Now he spake thus to the Senate, not of any private ill will or malice he bare to *Carneades*, as some men thought: but because he generally hated Philosophie, and of ambition despised the Muses and knowledge of the Greeke tongue. Which was the more suspected, because he had said, the ancient *Socrates* was but a busie man, and a stirrer up of sedition, and sought by all meanes possible to usurp Tyranny and rule in his Countrey: but perverting and changing the manners and customes of the same, and alluring the subjects thereof to a disliking of their Laws and ancient customes.

Note how Cato altered his manner and opinion by Wealth.

Cato's good Husbandry to for increasing his Wealth.

Cato a great usurer. He tooke extreme usury by sea.

Carneades and Diogenes Philosophers sent Ambassadors to Rome.

Cato mistaked the Greeke tongue.

Catoes Physi-
call Books.

Cato talketh
with Saloni-
us his Clerk about
the marriage
of his Daugh-
ter.

Catoes answer
to his Sonne
of his second
marriage.
Cato married
Saloni-
us Daughter, be-
ing a very old
man and had a
Son by her.
How Cato
passed his age.

Catoes writings
and monu-
ments.

And he laughed at *Socrates* Schoole, that taught the art of Eloquence: saying his Schollers waxed old, and were still so long in learning, that they meant to use their Eloquence and pleade Causes in another world before *Minos*, when they were dead. Therefore to plucke his Sonne from the study of the Greeke tongue, he said to him with a strained voice, and in a bigger sound then he was wont to do: (as if he had spoken to him by way of prophetic or inspiration) that so long as the ROMANES dipoted themselves to study the Greeke tongue, so long would they marre and bring all to nought. And yet time hath proved his vaine words false and untrue. For the City of ROME did never flourish so much, nor the ROMANE Empire was ever so great, as at that time, when Learning and the Greeke tongue most flourished. Howbeit *Cato* did not only hate the Philosophers of GREECE, but did dislike them also that professed Physicke in ROME. For he had either heard or read the answer *Hippocrates* made, when the King of PERSIA sent for him, and offered him a great summe of Gold and Silver, if he would come and serve him: who sware he would never serve the barbarous People that were naturall Enemies to the GREGIANS. So *Cato* affirmed it was an Oath that all other Physicians sware ever after: wherefore he commanded his Sonne to flee from them all alike, and said he had Written a little Booke of Physicke, with the which he did heale those of his House when they were sicke, and did keepe them in Health, when they were whole. He never forbade them to eate, but did alwaies bring them up with Herbs, and certaine light Meates, as Mallard, Ring-doves and Hares: for such meates, said he, are good for the sick, and light digestion, saving that they make them dreame and Snort that eate them. He boasted also how with this manner of Physicke, he did alwaies keepe himselfe in Health, and his family from sicknesse. Yet for all that, I take it, he did not all that he bragged of: for he buried both his Wife and his Sonne also. But he himselfe was of a strong nature, and a lusty body, full of Strength and Health, and lived long without sicknesse: so that when he was a very old man and past marriage, he loved Women well, and married a young Maiden for that cause only. After his first Wife was dead, he married his Sonne unto *Paulus Amylius* Daughter, the Sister of *Scipio*, the second AFRICAN. *Cato* himselfe being a widower, tooke paines with a pretty young Maide that waited in his House, and came by stealth to his Chamber: howbeit his haunt could not long continue secret in his House, and specially where there was a young Gentlewoman married, but needs must be spied. So one day when the young Maide went somewhat boldly by the Chamber of young *Cato*, to go to his Father, the young man said never a word at it: yet his Father perceived that he was somewhat ashamed, and gave the Maide no good countenance. Wherefore finding that his Sonne and Daughter in Law were angry with the matter, saying nothing to them of it, nor shewing them any ill countenance: he went one morning to the Market place (as his manner was with a traine that followed him, amongst whom was one *Salonius* that had bene his Clarke, and waited upon him as the rest did. *Cato* calling him out aloud by his Name, asked him if he had not yet bestowed his Daughter. *Salonius* answered him, he had not yet bestowed her, nor would not before he made him privy to it. Then *Cato* told him againe: I have found out a Husband for her, and a Sonne in law for thee, and it will be no ill match for her unlesse she mislike the age of the Man; for indeed he is very old, but otherwise there is no fault in him. *Salonius* told him againe as for that matter he referred all to him, and his Daughter also, praying him even to make what match he thought good for her: for she was his humble Servant, and relied wholly upon him, standing in need of his favour and furtherance. Then *Cato* began to discover, and told him plainley he would willingly marry her himself. *Salonius* therewith was abashed, because he thought *Cato* was too old to marry then, and himselfe was no fit man to match in any honourable House, specially with a Confull, and one that had triumphed: howbeit in the end, when he saw *Cato* meant good earnest, he was very glad of the match, and so with this talke they went on together to the Market place, and agreed then upon the marriage. Now while they went about this matter, *Cato* the Sonne taking some of his kinne and friends with him, went unto his Father, to aske him if he had offended him in any thing, that for spite he should bring him a Steppemother into his House. Then his Father cried out, and said: O my Sonne, I pray thee say not so, I like well all thou doest, and I find no cause to complaine of thee: but I doe it, because I desire to have many Children, and to leave many such like Citizens as thou art, in the Common-wealth. Some say that *Pisistratus* the Tyrant of ATHENS, such a like answer made unto the Children of his first Wife, which were men growne when he married his second Wife *Timonassa*, of the Towne of ARGO, of whom he had (as it is reported) *Iophon*, and *Thestalus*. But to returne againe to *Cato*, he had a Sonne by his second Wife, whom he named after her Name, *Cato SALONIAN*: and his Eldest Sonne died in his Office being Prætor, of whom he often speaketh in divers of his Bookes commending him for a very honest man. And they say, he tooke the death of him very patiently, and like a grave wife man, not leaving therefore to doe any service or business for the State, otherwise then he did before. And therein he did not as, *Lucius Lucullus*, and *Metellus* surnamed *Pius*, did afterwards: who gave up meddling any more with matters of government and State, after they were waxen old. For he thought it a charge and duty, whereunto every honest man whilest he lived was bound in all piety. Nor as *Scipio AFRICAN* had done before him, who perceiving that the glory and fame of his doings did but purchase him the ill will of his Citizens, he changed the rest of his life into quietnesse, and forsooke the City and all dealings in Common-wealth, and went and dwelt in the Countrey. But as their was one that told *Dionysius* the Tyrant SYRACUSA, as it is written, that he could not die more honourably, then to be buried in the Tyranny: even so did *Cato* thinke, that he could not

Catoes re-
venue.

Catoes compa-
ny pleasant
both to old and
young.
The Table a
good meane
to procure
love, and how
Table talke
should be used.
Cato author of
the last Warres
against the
Carthaginians.

Scipio Nafica
against Cato,
for the destroy-
ing of Carthage.

Catoes death.

not waxe more honestly old, then in serving of the Common-wealth unto his dying day. So at vacant times, when *Cato* was desirous a little to recreate and refresh himselfe, he passed his time away in making of Bookes, and looking upon his Husbandry in the Countrey. This is the cause why he wrote so many kinds of Bookes, and Stories. But his tillage and Husbandry in the Countrey, he did tend and follow in his youth, for his profit. For he said he had but two sorts of revenue, Tillage and sparing: but in age whatsoever he did in the Countrey, it was all for pleasure. and to learne something ever of nature. For he hath written a Booke of the Countrey life, and of Tillage, in the which he sheweth how to make Tartes and Cakes, and how to keepe fruits: he would needs shew such singularity and skill in all things. When he was in his House in the Countrey, he fared a little better then he did in other places, and would oftentimes bid his neighbours, and such as had Land lying about him, to come and Suppe with him, and he would be merry with them: so that his company was not onely pleasant and liking to old folkes as himselfe, but also to the younger fort. For he had seen much, and had experience in many things, and used much pleasant talke profitable for the hearers. He thought the boord one of the chiefest meanes to breed love amongst men, and at his owne Table would alwaies praise good men and virtuous Citizens, but would suffer no talke of evil men, neither in their praise nor dispraise. Now it is thought the last notable act and service he did in the Common-wealth, was the overthrow of CARTHAGE: for indeed he that wan it and razed it utterly, was *Scipio* the second, but it was chiefly through *Catoes* counsell and advice, that the last Warre was taken in hand against the CARTHAGINIANS, and chanced upon this occasion. *Cato* was sent into AFRICKE to understand the cause and controversie that was betwene the CARTHAGINIANS and *Massinissa*, King of NUMIDIA, which were at great Warres together. And he was sent thither because King *Massinissa* had ever bene a friend unto the ROMANES, and for that the CARTHAGINIANS were become their confederates since the last Warres, in the which they were overthrown by *Scipio* the first, who tooke for a fine of them a great part of their Empire, and imposed upon them besides, a great yearly tribute. Now when he was come into that Countrey, he found not the City of CARTHAGE in misery, beggery, and out of heart, as the ROMANES supposed: but full of lusty youths, very rich and wealthy, and great store of Armour and munition in it for the Warres, so that by reason of the wealth thereof, CARTHAGE carried a high saile, and stooped not for a little. Wherefore he thought that it was more then time for the ROMANES to leave to understand the controversies betwixt the CARTHAGINIANS and *Massinissa*, and rather to provide betimes to destroy CARTHAGE, that hath ever bene an ancient Enemy to the ROMANES, and ever fought to be revenged of that they had suffered at their hands before, and that they were now growne to that greatness and courage in so short time, as in manner it was incredible: so as it was likely they would fall into as great enmity with the ROMANES, as ever they did before. Therefore so soone as he returned to ROME, he plainely told the Senate, that the losses and harmes the CARTHAGINIANS had received by the last Warres they had with them, had not so much diminished their Power and Strength, as the same had shewed their owne folly and lacke of wisdom: for it was to be feared much, lest their late troubles had made them more skillfull, then weakened them for the Warres. And that they made Warres now with the NUMIDIANS, to exercise them onely, meaning afterwards to Warre with themselves: and that the peace they had made with them, was but an intermission and stay of Warres, onely expecting time and opportunity to breake with them againe. They say moreover, that besides the persuasions he used, he brought with him of purpose AFRICKE Figgs in his long sleeves, which he shooke out amongst them in the Senate: and when the Senators marvelled to see so goodly faire Greene Figges, he said: the Countrey that beareth them, is not above three dayes sailing from ROME. But yet this is more strange which they report of him besides: that he never declared his opinion in any matter in the Senate after that, but this was ever the one end of his tale: Me thinketh still CARTHAGE would be utterly destroyed. *Publius Scipio Nafica*, used ever in like manner the contrary speech: that he thought it meete CARTHAGE should stand. This *Publius Scipio* saw, in my opinion, that the ROMANES through their pride and insolency were full of absurdities, and carried themselves very high by reason of their happy successe and Victories, and were so lofty minded, that the Senate could hardly rule them: and that by reason of their great authority, they imagined they might bring their City to what height they would. Therefore he spake it that the feare of CARTHAGE might alwaies continue as a Bridle, to raine in the insolency of the People of ROME, who knew well enough, that the CARTHAGINIANS were of no sufficient power to make Warres with the ROMANES, nor yet to overcome them: and even so were they not wholly to be despised, and not to be feared at all. *Cato* still replied to the contrary, that therein consisted the greatest danger of all: that a City which was ever of great force and Power, and had been punished for former Warres and misery, would alwaies have an eye of revenge to their Enemies, and be much like a Horse that had broken his Haltar, that being unbridled, would runne upon his rider. And therefore he thought it no good nor sound advice, so to suffer the CARTHAGINIANS to recover their strength, but rather they ought altogether to take away all outward danger, and the feare they stood in to lose their conquest: and specially, when they left meanes within the City selfe to fall still againe to their former rebellion. And this is the cause why they suppose *Cato* was the occasion of the third and last War the ROMANES had against the CARTHAGINIANS. But now when the Warre was begun, *Cato* died, and before his death he prophesied, as man would say, who it should be that should end those Warres. And it was *Scipio* the second, who being a young man at that time, had charge onely

ly as a Colonel over a thousand Footmen : but in all Battels, and whereſoever there was Warres, he ſhewed himſelfe ever valiant and wife. Inſomuch as Newes being brought thereof continually unto ROME, and Cato hearing them, ſpeake (as they ſay) theſe two Verſes of Homer :

This onely man right wife reputed is to be,

All other ſeeme but ſhadowes, ſet by ſuch wife men as he.

Which Prophecy Scipio ſoone after confirmed true by his doings. Moreover, the iſſue Cato left behind him, was a Sonne he had by his ſecond Wife : who was called (as we ſaid before) Cato SALONIAN, by reaſon of his Mother, and a little Boy of this Eldeſt Son that died before him. This Cato SALONIAN died being Prætor, but he left a Sonne behind him that came to be Conſull, and was Grandfather unto Cato the Philoſopher, one of the moſt vertuous men of his time.

The end of MARCUS CATOES Life the Cenſor.

THE COMPARISON OF ARISTIDES with MARCUS CATO.



*Aristides and
Catoes acceſſe
to the Com-
mon-wealth.*



OW that we have ſet downe in writing, theſe notable and worthy things of memory : if we will conſerre the Life of the one, with the Life of the other, perhaps the difference betweene the one and the other will not eaſily be diſcerned, ſeeing their be ſo many ſimilitudes and reſemblances one of another. But if we come to compare them in every particularity, as we would do Poets Workes, or Pictures drawne in Tables : firſt, in this we ſhall finde them much alike, that having had nothing elſe to perſerre and commend them, but their onely Vertue and wiſdome, they have beene both Governours in their Common-wealth, and have thereby atchieved to great honour and eſtimation. But me thinks when *Aristides* came to deale in matters of State, the Common-wealth and Seigniority of ATHENS being then of no great Power, it was eaſie for him to advance himſelfe, becauſe the other Governours and Captaines of his time, and that were Competitors with him, were not very rich, nor of great Authority. For the Tax of the richeſt Perſons then at ATHENS in revenue, was but at five Hundred buſhels of Corne and upwards, and therefore were ſuch called Pentacoſiomedimi. The ſecond Tax was but at three hundred buſhels, and they were called Knights. The third and laſt was at two hundred buſhels, and they called them Zeugitæ. Where *Marcus Cato* coming out of a little Village from a rude Countrey life, went at the firſt daſh (as it were) to plunge himſelf into a bottomleſſe Sea, of Government in the Common-wealth of ROME : which was not ruled then by ſuch Governours and Captaines, as *Curius Fabricius*, and *Oſtilius* were in old time. For the People of ROME did no more beſtow their Offices upon ſuch meane labouring men, as came but lately from the Plough and the Mattocke : but they would looke now upon the Nobility of their Houſes, and upon their riches that gave them moſt Money, or ſued earneſtly to them for the Office. And by reaſon of their great Power and Authority, they would be waited upon and ſued unto, by thoſe that fought to beare the honourable Offices of the State and Common-wealth. And it was no like match nor compariſon, to have *Themistocles* an advaſary and Competitor, being neither of Noble Houſe, nor greatly rich (for they ſay that all the goods his Father left him, were not worth above foure or five hundred Talents, when he began to deale in State) in reſpect as to contend for the chiefeſt place of Honour and Authority againſt *Scipio AFRICAN*, *Servilius Galba*, or *Quintus Flaminius*, having no other maintenance, nor helpe to truſt unto, but

but a tongue ſpeaking boldly with reaſon and all uprightneſſe. Moreover, *Aristides* at the Battels of MARATHON, and of PLATÆS, was but one of the Ten Captaines of the ATHENIANS : where *Cato* was choſen one of the two Conſuls among many other Noble and great Competitors, and one of the two Cenſors, before ſeven other that made ſuite for it, which were all men of great reputation in the City; and yet was *Cato* preferred before them all. Furthermore, *Aristides* was never the chiefeſt in any Victory. For at the Battell of MARATHON, *Miltiades* was the General : and at the Battell of SALAMINA, *Themistocles* : and at the journey of PLATÆS, King *Panſanias* as *Herodotus* ſaith, who writeth that he had a marvellous Victory there. And there were that ſtrived with *Aristides* for the ſecond place, as *Sophanes*, *Amyntas*, *Callimachus*, and *Cynegirus*, every one of the which did notable valiant ſervice at thoſe Battels. Now *Cato* was General himſelfe, and chiefe of all his Army in worthineſſe and Counſell, during the Warre he made in SPAIN while he was Conſull. Afterwards alſo in the journey where King *Antiochus* was overthrowne in the Countrey of THERMOPILES, *Cato* being but a Colonel of a thouſand Footmen, and ſerving under another that was Conſull, wanne the Honour of the Victory, when he did ſuddenly ſet upon *Antiochus* behind, whereas he looked onely to defend himſelfe before. And that Victory without all doubt was one of the chiefeſt Acts that ever *Cato* did, who drave ASIA out of GREECE, and opened the way unto *Lucius Scipio* to paſſe afterwards into ASIA. So then for the Warres, neither the one nor the other of them was ever overcome in Battell : but in peace and civill Government, *Aristides* was ſupplanted by *Themistocles*, who by practice got him to be baniſhed ATHENS for a time. Whereas *Cato* had in manner all the greateſt and Nobleſt men of ROME that were in his time, ſworne Enemies unto him, and having alwaies contended with them even to his laſt houre, he ever kept himſelfe on ſound ground, like a ſtout Champion, and never tooke fall nor foile. For he having accuſed many before the People, and many alſo accuſing him, himſelfe was never once condemned, but alwaies his tongue was the Buckler and defence of his Life and innocency. Which was to him ſo neceſſary a weapon, and with it he could helpe himſelfe in ſo great matters, that (in my opinion it was the onely cauſe why he never received diſhonour, nor was unjuſtly condemned : rather then for any thing elſe he was beholding to Fortune, or to any other that did protect him. And truly, Eloquence is a ſingular gift, as *Antipater* witneſſeth, in that he wrote of *Aristotle* the Philoſopher after his death : ſaying that amongst many other ſingular graces and perfections in him, he had this rare gift, that he could perſwade what he liſted. Now there is a rule conſeſſed of all the world, that no man can attaine any greater vertue or knowledge, then to know how to governe a multitude of men, or a City : a part whereof is Oeconomia, commonly called Houſe-rule, conſidering that a City is no other, then an aſſembly of many houſholds and Houſes together; and then is the City commonly ſtrong and of Power, whereas the Townes-men and Citizens are wiſe and wealthy. Therefore *Lycurgus* that baniſhed Gold and Silver from LACEDÆMON, and coynded them Money of Iron, that would be marred with fire and Vinegar when it was hot, did not forbid his Citizens to be good Huſbands : but like a good Law-maker, exceeding all other that ever went before him, he did not onely cut off all ſuperfluous expences that commonly waite upon riches, but did alſo provide that his People ſhould lacke nothing neceſſary to live withall, fearing more to ſee a begger and needy perſon dwelling in his City, and enjoy the priviledges of the ſame, then a proude man by reaſon of his riches. So me thinks, *Cato* was as good a Father to his houſhold, as he was a good Governour to the Common-wealth : for he did honeſtly increaſe his goods, and did teach other alſo to doe the ſame, by ſaving, and knowledge of good Huſbandry, whereof in his Booke he wrote ſundry good rules and Precepts : *Aristides* contrariwiſe, made juſtice odious and ſlandrous by his poverty, and as a thing that made men poore, and was more profitable to other, then to a mans ſelfe that uſed juſtice. And yet *Hesiodus* the Poet, that commendeth juſtice ſo much, doth wiſh us withall to be good Huſbands, reproving ſloth and idleneſſe, as the roote and originall of all iniuſtice. And therefore me thinks *Homer* ſpake wiſely when he ſaid :

In times paſt, neither did I Labour, carke nor care

For buſineſſe, for family, for food, nor yet for ſare :

But rather did delight, with ſhips the Seas to ſaile.

To draw a bow, to ſling a Dart in Warres, and to prevail.

As giving us to underſtand, that juſtice and Huſbandry are two relatives, and neceſſarily linked one to the other : and that a man who hath no care of his owne things nor Houſe, doth live unjuſtly, and taketh from other men. For juſtice is not like Oyle, which Phyſicians ſay is very whoſome for mans Body, if it be applied outwardly : and in contrary manner very ill, if a man drinke it : neither ought a juſt man to profit ſtrangers, and in the end not to care for himſelfe nor his. Therefore me thinks this governing Vertue of *Aristides* had a fault in this reſpect, if it be true that moſt Authors write of him : that he had no care nor forecaſt with him to leave ſo much, as to marry his Daughters withall, nor wherewith to bury himſelfe. Where thoſe of the Houſe of *Cato*, continued Prætors and Conſuls of ROME even unto the fourth deſcent. For his Sons Sons, and yet lower, his Sons Sons Sons came to the greateſt Offices of dignity in ROME. And *Aristides*, who was in his time the chiefeſt man of GREECE, left his poſterity, in ſo great poverty, that ſome were compelled to become Soothſayers (that Interpreter Dreames, and tell mens Fortune) to get their living, and other to aſke Almes : and left no meane to any of them to doe any great thing worthy him. But to contrary this, it might be ſaid, poverty of it ſelfe is neither ill nor diſhoneſt : but

*Cato in
marciſſal af-
fares excelled
Aristides.*

*Aristides and
Catoes diſ-
pleaſures in
the Common-
wealth.*

*The power of
inecancy and
Eloquence.*

*Oeconomia,
Houſe rule.*

*The Nature
of Oyle.*

*No man wiſe,
that is not
wiſe to him-
ſelfe.*

*Whether
poverty be an
evil thing.*

but where it groweth by idleness, carelesse life, vanity and folly, it is to be reprov'd. For when it lighteth upon any man that is honest, and liveth well, that taketh paines, is very diligent, Just, Valiant, Wife, and Governeth a Common-wealth well: then it is a great signe of a Noble minde: for it is impossible that man should doe any great things, that had such a base minde as to thinke alwaies upon trifles: and that he should relieve the Poor greatly, that lacketh himselfe reliefe in many things. And sure, riches are not so necessary for an honest man that will deale truly in the Common-wealth, and Government, as is sufficiency: which being a contentation in it selfe, and desirous of no superfluous thing, it never withdraweth a man from following his businesse in the Common-wealth, that enjoyeth the same. For God his he alone, who simply and absolutely hath no neede of anything at all: wherefore the chiefest Vertue that can be in man, that cometh nearest unto God, ought to be esteemed that, which maketh man to have need of least things. For like as a lusty Body, and well complexioned, hath no need of superfluous fare and curious Apparell: even so a cleane Life, and sound Houfe, is kept with a little charge: and so should the goods also be proportioned, according to use and necessity. For he that gathereth much, and spendeth little, hath never enough. But admit he hath no desire to spend much, then he is a Foole to travell to get more then he needeth: and if he doe desire it, and dare not for niggardinesse spend part of that he laboureth for, then he is miserable. Now would I aske Cato with a good will, if riches be made but to use them, why doe you boast then you have gotten much together, when a little doth suffice you? And if it be a commendable thing (as in truth it is) to be contented with the bread you finde, to drinke of the same Tappe Work-men and Labourers doe, not to care for Purple died Gowns, nor for Houses with plastered Walles: it followeth then, that neither *Aristides*, nor *Epaminondas*, nor *Alcibiades*, nor *Caius Fabricius*, have forgotten any part of their duties, when they cared not for getting of that which they would not use nor occupy. For it was to no purpose for a man that esteemed Rootes and Parfenips to be one of the best dishes in the world, and that did feed them himselfe in his chimney, whilst his Wife did bake his Bread, to talke so much of an Asse, and to take paines to write, by what Art and industry a man might quickly enrich himselfe. For it is true, that sufficiency and to be contented with a little, is a good and commendable thing: but it is because it taketh from us all desire of unnecessary things, and maketh us not to paffe for them. And therefore we finde that *Aristides* said, when rich *Callias* came was pleaded, that such as were poore against their wills, might well be ashamed of their poverty: but such as were willingly poore, had good cause and might justly rejoyce at it. For it were a mad part to thinke that *Aristides* poverty proceeded of a base minde and slothfullnesse, since he might quickly have made himselfe rich without any dishonesty at all, by taking onely the spoile of some one of the Barbarous People whom he had overcome, or any one of their Tents. But enough for this matter. Furthermore, touching the Victories and Battels Cato had won, they did in manner little helpe to increase the Empire of Rome: for it was already so great, as it could almost be no greater. But *Aristides* Victories are the greatest Conquest and Noblest Acts that the GRECIANS ever did in any Warres: as the journey of MARATHON; the Battell of SALAMINA, and the Battell of PLATÆES. And yet there is no reason to compare King *Antiochus* with King *Xerxes*, nor the Walles of the City of SPAIN which Cato overthrew and razed, unto so many thousands of Barbarous People, which were then overthrown and put to the Sword by the GRECIANS, aswell by Land as by Sea. In all which services, *Aristides* was the chiefest before all other, as touching his valiantnesse in fighting: notwithstanding he gave other the glory of it, that desired it more then himselfe, as he did easily leave the Gold and Silver unto those that had more need of it then himselfe. Wherein he shewed himselfe of a Nobler minde then all they did. Furthermore, for my part, I will not reprove *Catoes* manner, to commend and extoll himselfe so highly above all other, since he himselfe saith in an Oration he made, that to praise himselfe is as much folly, as also to dispraise himselfe: but this I thinke, his Vertue is more perfect that desireth other should not praise him, then he that commonly doth use to praise himselfe. For not to be ambitious, is a great shew of humanity, and necessary for him that will live amongst men of Government: and even so, ambition is hatefull, and procureth great envy unto him that is infected withall. Of the which *Aristides* was cleare, and *Cato* farre gone in it. For *Aristides* did helpe *Themistocles* his chiefest Enemy, in all his Noblest Acts, and did serve him (as a man would say) like a private Souldier that guarded his Person, when *Themistocles* was General, being the onely Instrument and meane of his glory: which was indeede the onely cause that the City of ATHENS was saved, and restored againe to her former good State. *Cato* contrariwise, crossing *Scipio* in all his enterprises, thought to hinder his voyage and journey unto CARTHAGE, in the which he overcame *Hannibal*, who untill that time was ever invincible: and so in the end, continuing him still in jealousy with the State and ever accusing of him, he never left him till he had driven him out of the City, and caused his Brother *Lucius Scipio* to be shamefully condemned for theft, and ill behaviour in his charge. Furthermore, for temperancy and modesty which *Cato* did ever commend so highly, *Aristides* truly kept them most sincerely. But *Catoes* second Wife, who married a Maid (that was neither fit for his dignity and calling, nor agreeable for his age) made him to be thought a lecherous man, and not without manifest cause. For he cannot be excused with honesty, that being a man past marriage, brought his Sonne that was married, and his faire Daughter in Law, a Steppe-mother into his Houfe, and but a Clerks Daughter, whose Father did write for Money, for any man that would hire him. Take it *Cato* married her to satisfie his lust, or else for spite to be revenged of his Son, because his Son could not abide his young filth he had before:

Whether *Aristides* is better or *Cato* did most bene fit their Country.

As *Aristides* is better than *Cato* in the Common-wealth.

As *Aristides* is better than *Cato* in his second Wife.

before: ither of these turneth still to his shame, as well the Effect as also the Cause. Againe, the excuse he made to his Sonne why he married, was a lye. For if he had grounded his desire indeede, to have gotten other children, as he said, that might be as honest men as his eldest Sonne: then surely he had done well after the death of his first Wife, if he had fought him another Wife soone after, that had bene of an honest Houfe; and not to have lye with a young Harlotry filth, till his Sonne had spied him: and then when he saw it was knowne, to go and marry her; and to make alliance with them, not because it was honourable for him to do it, but easiest to be obtained.

THE LIFE OF PHILOPOEMEN.



Ann. Mund.
3757.

Ant. Christ.
191.

IN the City of MANTINEA, there was a Citizen in old time called *Cassander*, one that was as nobly borne and of as great authority in Government there, as any man of his time whatsoever. Notwithstanding, fortune frowned on him in the end, inasmuch as he was driven out of his Countrey, and went to lie in the City of MEGALIPOLIS, onely for the love he bare unto *Cranis*, *Philopomenes* Father, a rare man, and nobly given in all things, and one that loved him also very well. Now so long as *Cranis* lived, *Cassander* was so well used at his hands, that he could lacke nothing: and when he was departed this world, *Cassander*, to requite the love *Cranis* bare him in his life time, tooke his Sonne into his charge, being an Orphan, and taught him, as *Homer* said *Achilles* was brought up by the old *Phanix*. So this childe *Philopomen* grew to have noble conditions, and increased alwaies from good to better. Afterwards, when he came to grow to mans state, *Ecdemus* and *Demophanes*, both MEGALIPOLITANS, tooke him into their government. They were two Philosopher that had bene hearers of *Arcefilas*, in the Schoole of Academia, and afterwards employed all the Philofophy they had learned, upon their governing of the Common-wealth, and dealing in matters of State, as much or more, then any other men of their time. For they delivered their City from the tyranny of *Aristodemus*, who kept it in subjection, by corrupting among them; they went unto CYRENA, where they did reforme the state of the Common-wealth, and stablished good Lawes for them. But for themselves, they reckoned the education and bringing up of *Philopomen*, the chiefest act that ever they did: judging that they had procured an universall good unto all GREECE, to bring up a man of so noble a nature, in the Rules and Precepts of the Philofophy. And to say truly, GREECE did love him passingly well, as the last valiant man she brought forth in her age, after so many great and famous ancient Captaines: and did alwaies increase his Power and Authority, as his Glory did also rise. Whereupon there was a ROMANE, who

Cranis, *Philopomenes* Father, *Cassander*, his Schoolemaster.

Ecdemus and *Demophanes* read Philofophy to *Philopomen*.

Philopomen the last famous man of GREECE.

D d

Philopamen
taken for a
Servingman.

Philopamen
hasty and wil-
full.

Philopamen
delighted in
Warre and
Martiall Exer-
cises.

Philopamen
did improve
wrestling.

Philopamen
paices how
they were em-
ployed.

Philopamen
study and care
in tillage.

Philopamen
delight to
reade *Evange-*
lus Bookes of
the Discipline
of Warres.

who to praise him the more, called him the last of the GRECIANS: meaning that after him, GRECE never brought forth any worthy person, deserving the name of a GRECIAN. And now concerning his person, he had no ill face, as many suppose he had: for his whole Image is yet to be seene in the City of DELPHES, excellently well done, as if he were alive. And for that they report of his Hostesse in the City of MEGARA, who tooke him for a Servingman: that was by reason of his courtesie, not standing upon his reputation, and because he went plainly besides. For the understanding that the Generall of the ACHAÏANS came to Inne there all night, the bestirred her, and was very busie preparing for his supper, her husband peradventure being from home at that time: and in the meane season came *Philopamen* into the Inne, with a poore cloake on his backe. The simple woman seeing him no better apparelled, tooke him for one of his men that came before to provide his lodging, and so prayed him to lend her his hand in the Kitchen. He straight cast off his cloake, and began to fall to hew woode. So as *Philopamen* was busie about it, in cometh her Husband, and finding him riving of woode: Ha ha ha, said he, my Lord *Philopamen*, why what meanest this? Truly nothing else, said he in his DORICAN Tongue, but that I am punished, because I am neither faire boy, nor goodly man. It is true that *Titus Quintus Flaminus* said one day unto him, seeming to mocke him for his personage: O *Philopamen*, thou hast faire hands and good legs, but thou hast no belly; for he was fine in the waste, and small bodied. Notwithstanding, I take it this jesting tended rather to the proportion of his Army, then of his body, because he had both good Horsemen and Footmen, but he was often without Money to pay them. These jests, Scholars have taken up in Schooles, of *Philopamen*. But now to descend to his nature and conditions: it seemed that the ambition and desire he had to winne honour in his doings, was not without some heate and wilfulness. For, because he would altogether follow *Epaminondas* steps, he shewed his hardinesse to enterprize any thing, his wisdom to execute all great matters, and his integrity also, in that no money could corrupt him: but in Civill matters and controversies, he could hardly otherwhiles keepe himselfe within the bounds of modesty, patience, and courtesie, but would often burst out into choler, and wilfulness. Wherefore it seemeth, that he was a better Captaine for Warres, then a wise Governour for peace. And indeede, even from his youth he ever loved Souldiers and Armes, and delighted marvellously in all Martiall Exercises: as in handling of his Weapon well, riding of Horses gallantly, and in vaulting nimble. And because he seemed to have a naturall gift in wrestling, certaine of his friends, and such as were carefull of him, did with him to give himselfe most unto that exercise. Then he asked them, if their life that made such profession, would be no hindrance to their Martiall Exercises. Answer was made him againe. That the disposition of the person, and manner of life that Wrestlers used, and such as followed like Exercises, was altogether contrary to the life and discipline of a Souldier, and specially touching life and limbe. For wrestlers studied altogether to keepe themselves in good plight, by much sleeping, eating, and drinking; by labouring, and taking their ease at certaine houres, by not missing a jot of their Exercises: and besides, were in hazard to lose the force and strength of their body, if they did surfeit never so little, or passed their ordinary course and rule of diet: where Souldiers contrariwise are used to all change and diversity of life; and specially be taught from their youth, to away with all hardnesse and scarcity, and to watch in the night without sleepe. *Philopamen* hearing this, did not onely forsake those Exercises, and scorned them, but afterwards being Generall of an Army, he fought by all infamous meanes he could to put downe all wrestling and such kinde of exercise, which made mens bodies unmeet to take paines, and to become Souldiers to fight in defence of their Countrey, that otherwise would have beene very able and handsome for the same. When he first left his Booke and Schoolemasters, and began to weare Armour in Invasions the MANTINEANS used to make upon the LACEDÆMONIANS, to get some spoile on a sudden, or to destroy a part of their Countrey: *Philopamen* then would ever be the foremost to go out, and the hindermost to come in. When he had leisure, he used much hunting in time of peace, all to acquaint his body with toyle and travell, or else he would be digging of his Grounds. For he had a faire May nor, not passing twenty furlongs out of the City, whither he would walke commonly after dinner or supper: and then when night came that it was bed time, he would lie upon some ill favoured matresse, as the meanest labourer he had, and in the morning by breake of the day, he went out with his Vine-men to labour in his Vineyard, or else with his Plough-men to follow the Plough, and sometimes returned againe to the City, and followed matters of the Common-wealth, with his friends and other Officers of the same. Whatsoever he could spare and get in the Warres, he spent it in buying of goodly Horses, in making of faire Armours, or paying his poore Countreymens-ransome, that were taken Prisoners in the Warres: but for his Goods and Revenue, he sought onely to increase them by the profit of tillage, which he esteemed the justest and best way of getting of Goods. For he did not trifle therein, but employed his whole care and study upon it, as one that thought it fit for every Nobleman and Gentleman so to travell, governe, and increase his own, that he should have no occasion to covet or usurpe another mans. He tooke no pleasure to heare all kinde of matters, nor to reade all sorts of Bookes of Philosophy: but those onely that would teach him most to become vertuous. Neither did he much care to reade *Homers* Workes, saving those places onely that stirred up mens hearts most unto valiantnesse. But of all other Stories, he specially delighted to reade *Evangelus* Bookes, which treated of the discipline of Warres, how to set Battels, and declared the acts and jests of *Alexander* the Great, saying, that men should ever bring words unto deeds, unlesse they would take them for vaine stories, and things spoken, but not to profit by. For in his Bookes of the feates of Warre, and how Battels should be ordered, he was not onely contented

to

to see them drawne and set out in Charts and Maps, but would also put them in execution, in the places themselves as they were set out. And therefore when the Army marched in order of Battell in the Field, he would consider and study with himselfe, the sudden events and reproaches of the Enemies, that might light upon them, when they coming downe to the Valley, or going out of a Plaine, were to passe a River or a Ditch, or through some straight: also when he should spreade out his Army, or else gather it narrow: and this he did not onely forecast by himselfe, but would also argue the same with the Captaines that were about him. For *Philopamen* doublelesse was one of the odd men of the World, that most esteemed the Discipline of Warre (and sometime peradventure more then he needed, as the most large Field and most fruitfull Ground, that valiantnesse could be exercised in: so that he despised and contemned all that were no Souldiers, as men good for nothing. When he was come now to thirty yeares of age, *Cleomenes* King of LACEDÆMON, came one night upon the sudden, and gave an assault to the City of MEGALIPOLIS, so lustily that he drave back the Watch and got into the Market-place, and wan it. *Philopamen* hearing of it, ran immediately to the rescue. Neverthelesse, though he fought very valiantly, and did like a noble Souldier, yet he could not repulse the Enemies, nor drive them out of the City: but by this meanes he got the Citizens leisure, and some time to get them out of the Towne to save themselves, slaying those that followed them: and made *Cleomenes* still waite upon him, so that in the end he had much ado to save himselfe, being the last man and very sore hurt, and his Horse also slaine under him. Shortly after, *Cleomenes* being advertised that the MEGALIPOLITANS were gotten into the City of MESSINA, he sent unto them to let them understand, that he was ready to deliver them their City, Lands, and Goods againe. But *Philopamen* seeing his Countreymen very glad of these news, and that every man prepared to returne againe in haste, he said them with these persuasions, shewing them that *Cleomenes* device was not to deliver them their City, but rather to take them together with their City: foreseeing well enough, that he could not continue long there, to keepe naked walls and empty houses, and that himselfe in the end should be compelled to go his way. This perswasion staid the MEGALIPOLITANS, but withall it gave *Cleomenes* occasion to burne and plucke downe a great part of the City, and carried away a great summe of Money and a great Spoile. Afterwards when King *Antigonus* was come to aide the ACHAÏANS against *Cleomenes*, and that *Cleomenes* kept on the top of the Mountaines of SELASTIA, and kept all the passages, and waies unto them out of all those quarters: King *Antigonus* set his Army in battell hard by him, determining to set upon him, and to drive him thence if he could possibly. *Philopamen* was at that time amongst the Horsemen with his Citizens, who had the ILLYRIANS on the side of them, being a great number of Footmen and excellent good Souldiers, which did thrust in the tail of all the Army. So they were commanded to stand still, and to keepe their place, untill such time as they did shew them a red Coate of Armes on the top of a Pike, from the other Wing of the Battell, where the King himselfe stood in person. Notwithstanding this straight commandement, the Captaines of the ILLYRIANS would abide no longer, but went to see if they could force the LACEDÆMONIANS that kept on the top of the Mountaines. The ACHAÏANS contrariwise, kept their place and order, as they were commanded. *Endidas*, *Cleomenes* Brother, perceiving how their Enemies Footmen were severd from their Horsemen, suddenly sent the lightest armed Souldiers and lustiest fellows he had in his Bands, to give a Charge upon the ILLYRIANS behinde, to prove if they could make them turne their faces on them, because they had no Horsemen for their guard. This was done, and these light armed men did marvellously trouble and disorder the ILLYRIANS. *Philopamen* perceiving that, and considering how these light armed men would be easily broken and driven backe, since occasion selfe enforced them to it: he went to tell the Kings Captaines of it, that led his men of Armes. But when he saw he could not make them understand it, and that they made no reckoning of his reasons, but tooke him of no skill, because he had not yet attained any credit or estimation to be judged a man that could invent or execute any stratagem of Warre, he went thither himselfe, and tooke his Citizens with him: and at his first coming, he so troubled these light armed men, that he made them flie, and slew a number of them. Moreover, to encourage the better King *Antigonus* men, and to make them give a lusty Charge upon the Enemies, whilst they were thus troubled and out of order, he left his Horse and marched on foote up hill and downe hill, in rough and stony waies, full of springs and quavemires, being heavily armed at all pieces as a man at Armes, and fighting in this sort very painfully and uneasily, he had both his thighs past through with a Dart, having a leather thong on the middle of it. And though the blow did not take much hold of the flesh, yet was it a strong blow; for it pierced both thighs through and through, that the iron was seene on the other side. Then was he so cumberd with this blow as if he had beene shackled with irons on his feete, and knew not what to do: for the leather fastened in the middle of the Dart, did grieve him marvellously, when they thought to have pulled the Dart out of the place where it entred in, so as never a man about him durst set his hands to it. *Philopamen* on the other side, seeing the Fight terrible on either side, and would soone be ended: it spited him to the guts, he would so faine have beene among them. So at the length he made such struggling, putting backe one thigh, and setting forward another, that he knapped the staffe of the Dart asunder, and made them pull out the two truncheons, the one on this side, and the other on the other side. Then when he saw he was at liberty againe, he tooke his Sword in his hand, and ranne through the midst of them that fought, unto the foremost ranks, to meete with the Enemy: so that he gave his men a new courage, and did set them on fire with envie, to follow his valiantnesse. After the Battell was wonne, *Antigonus* asked the MACHEDONIAN Captaines,

D d 2

to

Philopamen saved the Megalipolitans from *Cleomenes* King of Sparta. *Philopamen* very sore hurt.

King *Antigonus* came to aide the AchaÏans against *Cleomenes* King of Lacedæmon.

Philopamen sent in the Battell against King *Cleomenes*.

Philopamen hurt in fight.

Antigonus laying
ing or *Philop-*
emmen's skill of
a Scudier.

Philopemen
chosen Gene-
ral of the
Horsemen of
the *Achaians*.

Philopemen
flw *Demophan-*
tus General of
the Horsemen
of the *Achai-*
ans.

The praise of
Philopemen.
- *Aratus* raised
Achaia to
greatness.

Philopemen
and *Aratus*
compared.

Aratus a soft
man in Wars.

Philopemen
changed the
Achaians order
and discipline
of Wars.

to prove them : who moved the Horsemen to divide themselves, and give the Charge, before the signe that was commanded. They answered him, that they were forced to do it against their wills, because a young *MEGALIPOLITAN* Gentleman gave a Charge with his Company, before the signe was given. Then *Antigonus* laughing, told them the young Gentleman played the part of a wife and valiant Captaine. This exploit, together with *Antigonus* testimony, gave great reputation unto *Philopemen*, as we may easily imagine. So King *Antigonus* marvellously intreated him he would serve with him, and offered him a Band of men at Armes, and great entertainment, if he would go with him. But *Philopemen* refused his offer, and chiefly because he knew his owne nature, that he could hardly abide to be commanded by any. Notwithstanding, because he could not be idle, he tooke Sea, and went into *CRETA*, where he knew there was Warres, onely to continue himselfe in exercise thereof. So when he had served a long time with the *CRETANS*, which were valiant Souldiers, and very expert in all policies and feates of Warre, and moreover were men of a moderate and spare diet : he returned home againe to *ACHAIA*, with so great credit and reputation of every one, that he was presently chosen Generall of all the Horsemen. So when he entred into his charge, he found many Horsemen very ill horied, upon little Jades, such as might be gotten cheapest, and that they used not to go themselves in person to the Warres, but did send other in their stead : and to be short, that they neither had hearts, nor experience of the Warres, and all because the Generalls and Captaines of the People of the *ACHAIANS* that served before him, did take no heede to those matters, as fearing to offend any, because they had the greatest authority in their hands, to punish or reward whom they thought good. *Philopemen* fearing none of all these things, would leave no part of his charge and duty undone, but went himselfe in person to all the Cities, to perswade and encourage the young Gentlemen, to be well horied, and well armed, that they might winne honour in the Field, be able to defend themselves, and overthrow their Enemies. And where perswasion could do no good, there he would set fines upon their heads that so refused, and did use to muster them oft, and did acquaint them with tilting, turning, and barriers, and one to fight with another, and at such times and places specially, as he knew there would be multitudes of People to give them the looking on : that in short space he made them very forward, proper, and ready Horsemen, whose chieft property is, to keepe their order and ranks in the Battell. So as when necessity served for the whole Company of Horsemen to turne together, halfe turne, or whole turne, or else every man by himselfe : they were so thoroughly trained in it, that all the whole Troope set in Battell ray, did seeme as it were to be but one body, they removed so together, and withall so easily, and at all times, and so oft, as they should turne, on the one side, or on the other. Now in a great Battell the *ACHAIANS* had with the *ETOLIANS*, and the *ELIANS*, by the River of *Larissus*, *Demophantus* Generall of the Horsemen of the *ETOLIANS*, came from his Company to fight with *Philopemen*, who also made towards him, and gave him first such a blow with his Speare, that he strake him starke dead. When *Demophantus* fell to the ground, his Souldiers fled by and by upon it. This wanne *Philopemen* great honour, who gave no place to the youngest men in fighting most valiantly with his owne hands : nor to the oldest men in wildome, for the wise leading of his Army. Indeepe the first man that made the People of *ACHAIA* grow in power and greatnesse, was *Aratus* : for before his time *ACHAIA* was of small reckoning, because the Cities of the same floode divided betweene themselves, and *Aratus* was the first man that made them joyne together, and stablished among them an honest civill government. Whereby it happened, that as we see in Brookes and Rivers where any little thing stoppeth and falleth to the bottome, which the course of the water bringeth downe the streame, there the rest that followeth doth use to stay, and go no further : even so in the Cities of *GREECE* that were in hard state, and fore weakened, by faction one against another, the *ACHAIANS* were the first that staid themselves, and grew in amity one with the other, and afterwards drew on the rest of the Cities into league with them, as good Neighbours and Confederates. Some by helping and delivering them from the oppression of Tyrants, and winning other also by their peaceable Government and good concord : they had a meaning in this wise to bring all the Countrey of *PELOPONNESUS* into one body and league. Nevertheless, while *Aratus* lived, they depended most upon the strength and power of the *MACEDONIANS* : first with sticking unto King *Ptolomy*, and then unto *Antigonus*, and last to *Philip*, who ruled in manner all the State of *GREECE*. But when *Philopemen* came to governe, and to be the chieft man, the *ACHAIANS* being strong enough to resist the strongest, would march then no more under any other bodies Ensigne, nor would suffer any more strange Governours or Captaines over them. For *Aratus* (as it seemed) was somewhat too soft and cold for the Wars, and therefore the most things he did, were by gentle intreaties, by intelligences, and by the Kings friendships with whom he was great, as we have at large declared in his life. But *Philopemen* being a man of execution, hardy and valiant of person, and of very good fortune, in the first Battell that ever he made, did marvellously increase the courage and hearts of the *ACHAIANS* : because under his charge they ever foiled their Enemies, and alwaies had the upper hand of them. The first thing *Philopemen* began withall at his coming, he changed the manner of setting of their Tables, and their fashion of arming themselves : for before they carried little light Targets, which because they were thin and narrow, did not cover half their bodies, and used Spears far shorter then Pikes, by reason whereof they were very light, and good to skirmish and fight afar off : but when they came to joyne Battell, their Enemies then had great vantage of them. As for the order of their Battels, they knew not what it meant, nor to cast themselves into a snail or ring, but onely used the square Battell, nor yet gave it any such front where the Pikes of many ranks might push together, and where the Souldiers might stand so close, that their

their Targets should touch one another, as they do in the Squadron of the Battell of the *MACEDONIANS* : by reason whereof, they were soone broken and overthrowne. *Philopemen* reformed all this, perswading them to use the Pike and Shield, instead of the little Target, Speare, or Bore-staffe, and to put good Morians or Burganets on their heads, Corselets on their bodies, and good Taffes and Greaves to cover their thighs and legs, that they might fight it out manfully, not giving a foote of ground, as light armed men run to and fro in a Skirmish. And thus having perswaded and taught the young men to arme themselves thoroughly, first he made them the bolder and more courageous to fight, as if they had beene men that could not have beene overcome : then he turned all their vaine superfluous charge, into necessary and honest expences. But he could not possibly bring them altogether from their vaine and rich Apparell they had of long time taken up, the one to exceed another : nor from their sumptuous furniture of houses, as in beds, hangings, curious service at the Table, and delicate kinde of dishes. But to begin to withdraw this desire in them, which they had to be fine and delicate, in all superfluous and unnecessary things, and to like of things necessary and profitable : he wished them to looke more nearely to their ordinary charge about themselves; taking order as well for their Apparell, as also for their Diet, and to spare in them, to come honourably armed to the Field, for defence of their Countrey. Thereupon, if you had looked into the Goldsmiths Shops, ye should have seene nothing else in their hands, but breaking and battering of Pots of Gold and Silver, to be cast and molten downe againe, and the gilding of Armour and Targets, and silvering of bits. In the Shew-places for the running of Horses, there was managing and breaking of young Horses, and young men exercising Armes. Womens hands also were full of Morians and Head-pieces, whereto they tied goodly brave plumes of Feathers of sundry colours, and were also full of imbroidered arming Coates and Cassocks, with curious and very rich Workes. The sight of which bravery did heave up their hearts, and made them gallant and lively : so as envie bred straight in them who should do best service, and no way spare for the Warres. Indeepe, sumptuousnesse and bravery in others fights, doth secretly carry mens mindes away; and allure them to seeke after vanities, which makes them tender bodied, and womanish persons : because this sweet tickling and inticing of the outward sense, that is delighted therewith, doth straight melt and soften the strength and courage of the minde. But againe, the sumptuous cost bestowed upon warlike Furniture, doth incourage and make great a noble heart. Even as *Homer* saith it did *Achilles*, when his Mother brought him new Armour and Weapons she had caused *Vulcan* to make for him, and layed them at his feete : who seeing them, could not tarry, but was straight set on fire with desire to occupie them. So when *Philopemen* had brought the Youth of *ACHAIA* to this good passe, to come thus bravely armed and furnished into the Field, he began then to exercise them continually in Armes : wherein they did not onely shew themselves obedient to him, but did moreover strive one to excell another, and to do better then their fellows. For they liked marvellous well the ordering of the Battell he had taught them, because that standing so close together as they did, they thought surely they could hardly be overthrowne. Thus by continuance of time, being much used to weare their Armour, they found them a great deale easier and lighter then before, beside the pleasure they tooke to see their Armour so brave, and so rich : in somuch as they longed for some occasion to try them straight upon their Enemies. Now the *ACHAIANS* at that time were at Warres with *Machanidas*, the Tyrant of *LACEDEMON*, who fought by all device he could with a great Army, to become chiefe Lord of all the *PELOPONNESIANS*. When newes was brought that *Machanidas* was come into the Countrey of the *MANTINEANS*, *Philopemen* straight marched towards him with his Army : so they met both not far from the City of *MANTINEA*, where by and by they put themselves in order of Battell. They both had entertained in pay a great number of strangers to serve them, besides the whole force of their Countrey : and when they came to joyne Battell, *Machanidas* with his strangers gave such a lusty Charge upon certaine Slingers and Archers, being the Forlorne-hope whom *Philopemen* had put before the Battell of the *ACHAIANS* to begin the Skirmish, that he overthrowed them, and made them flie withall. But where he should have gone on directly against the *ACHAIANS* that were ranged in Battell ray, to have proved if he could have broken them, he was very busie and earnest still, to follow the chafe of them that first fled, and so came hard by the *ACHAIANS* that stoode still in their Battell, and kept their Ranks. This great overthrow fortuning at the beginning, many men thought the *ACHAIANS* were but cast away. But *Philopemen* made as though it had beene nothing, and that he set light by it ; and spying the great fault his Enemies made, following the Forlorne-hope on the spurre, whom they had overthrowne, and staying so far from the Battell of their Footmen, whom they had left naked, and the Field open upon them : he did not make towards them to stay them, nor did strive to stop them that they should not follow those that fled, but suffered them to take their course. And when he saw that they were gone a good way from their Footmen, he made his men march upon the *LACEDEMONIANS*, whose sides were naked, having no Horsemen to guard them : and so did set upon them on the one side, and ranne so hastily on them to winne one of their Flankes, that he made them flie, and slew withall a great number of them. For it is said, there were foure thousand *LACEDEMONIANS* slaine in the Field, because they had no man to leade them. And moreover, they say they did not looke to fight, but supposed rather they had wonne the Field, when they saw *Machanidas* chasing still those upon the spurre, whom he had overthrowne. After this *Philopemen* retired to meete *Machanidas*, who came backe from the chafe with the strangers. But by chance there was a great broad ditch betweene them,

Philopemen
turned all curi-
osity and dain-
ty fare into
brave and rich
Armour.

Brave Armour
incourage
mens mindes
to serve nobly.

Philopemen
made Warres
with *Machanidas*
Tyrant of
Lacedamon.

Battell fought
betweene *Phi-*
lopermen and
Machanidas.

Philopemen o-
vercame *Ma-*
chanidas Army,
Tyrant of the
Lacedemonians
so

so as both of them rode upon the bankes side of the same, a great while together, one against another of them: the one side seeking some convenient place to get over and flee, and the other side seeking meanes to keepe them from starting away. So to see the one before the other in this fort, it appeared as they had bene wilde Beasts brought to an extremity, to defend themselves by force, from so fierce a hunter as *Philopamen* was. But while they were striving thus, the Tyrants Horfe that was lusty and courageous, and felt the force of his Masters spurres pricking in his sides, that the blood followed after, did venture to leape the ditch, coming to the bankes side, stoode upon his hindmost legs, and advanced forward with his foremost feet, to reach to the other side. Then *Simias* and *Polyanus*, who were about *Philopamen* when he fought, ranne thither straight to keepe him in with their borestaves that he should not leape the ditch. But *Philopamen* who was there before them, perceiving that the Tyrants Horfe, by lifting up his head so high, did cover all his Masters body: forsooke by and by his Horfe, and tooke his Speare in both his hands, and thrust at the Tyrant with so good a will, that he slew him in the ditch. In memory whereof, the ACHAÏANS that did highly esteeme this valiant act of his, and his wisdom also in leading of the Battell, did set up his Image in brasse in the Temple of *Apollo* in DELPHES, in the forme he slew the Tyrant. They say, that at the Assembly of the common Games called *Nemes* (which they solemnize in honour of *Hercules*, not far from the City of ARGOS) and not long after he had wonne this Battell of MANTINEA, being made Generall the second time of the Tribe of the ACHAÏANS, and being at good leisure also by reason of the Feast; he first shewed all the GRECIANS that were come thither to see the Games and Pastimes, his Army ranged in order of Battell, and made them see how easily they removed their places every way, as necessity and occasion of Fight required, without troubling or confounding their Rankes, and that with a marvellous force and readinesse. When he had done this, he went into the Theater to heare the Musicians play and sing to their Instruments, who should winne the best Game, being accompanied with lusty young Gentlemen apparelled in Purple Cloakes, and in Scarlet Coats and Cassocks they wore upon their Armour, being all in the flower of their youth, and well given and disposed: who did greatly honour and reverence their Capitaine, and besides that shewed themselves inwardly of noble hearts, being encouraged by many notable Battels they had fought, in which they had ever attained the Victory, and gotten the upper hand of their Enemies. And by chance, as they were entred into the Theater, *Pylades* the Musitian, singing certaine Poems of *Timotheus*, called the *Perfes*, fell into these Verses:

*O Greekes, it is even he, Which your prosperity
Hath given to you: and there withall a noble liberty.*

When he had sweetly sung out aloud these noble Verses, passingly well made, the whole Assembly of the GRECIANS in the Theater, that were gathered thither to see the Games, cast all their eyes straight upon *Philopamen*, and clapped their hands one to another for joy, because of the great hope they had in him, that through him they should soone recover their ancient reputation: and so imagined they possessed already the noble and worthy mindes of their Ancestors. And as young Horses that do alwaies looke to be ridden by their ordinary Riders, if any stranger get upon their backs, do straight waxe strange to be handled, and make great ado: even so when the ACHAÏANS came to any dangerous Battell, their hearts were even done, if they had any other Generall or Leader then *Philopamen*, on whom still they depended and looked. And when they saw him, ever the whole Army rejoiced, and desired straight to be at it, they had such confidence in his valiantnesse and good fortune: and truly not without cause. For of all men, their Enemies did feare him most, and durst not stand before him: because they were afraid to heare his name onely, as it seemed by their doings. For *Philip* King of MACEDON (imagining that if he should finde meanes to dispatch *Philopamen* out of the way, howsoever it were, the ACHAÏANS would straight take part againe with him) sent men secretly into the City of ARGOS, to kill him by Treason: howbeit the practice was discovered, and the King ever after was mortally hated of all the GRECIANS generally, and taken for a wicked and cowardly Prince. It fortuned one day when the BOEOTIANS layed siege to the City of MEGARA, and thought certainly to have wonne it at the first assault, there rose a rumour suddenly amongst them, that *Philopamen* came to aide the City, and was not far from it with his Army. But it was a false report. Notwithstanding, the BOEOTIANS were so scared, that for feare they left their scaling-Ladders behinde them, which they had set against the Walls, to have scaled the Towne, and fled straight to save themselves. Another time, when *Nabis* the Tyrant of LACEDÆMON, that succeeded *Maehanidas*, had taken the City of MESSINA upon a sudden: *Philopamen* being then a private man, and having no charge of Souldiers, went unto *Lysippus* Generall of the ACHAÏANS that yeare, to perswade him that he would send present aide unto them of MESSINA. *Lysippus* told him, it was too late now to go thither, and that it was but a lost Towne, not to be holpen; considering the Enemies were in it already. *Philopamen* perceiving he could not procure him to go, went thither himselfe with the force of MESSINA onely, not staying for the assembly of the MEGALIPOLITANS, that were in counsell about it, to give them Commission by voyces of the People to take him with him: but they all willingly followed him, as if he had bene their continuall Generall, and the man that by nature was worthiest of all other to command them. Now when he came neere unto MESSINA, *Nabis* hearing of his coming, durst not tarry him, though he had his Army within the City, but stole out at another Gate, and marched away in all the haste he could, thinking himselfe a happy man if he could so scape his hands, and retire with safety, as indeed he did. And thus was MESSINA by his means delivered from captivity. All

*Philopamen
slew Maehanidas.*

The onely
name of *Philopamen* made
the Boeotians
flee for feare.
Nabis Tyrant
of Lacedæmon
wonne the City
of Messina.

Nabis fled
from *Philopamen*.

All that we have written hitherto concerning *Philopamen*, falleth out doublelesse to his great honour and glory: but afterwards he was greatly dispraised for a journey he made into Creta, at the request of the GORTYNIANS, who sent to pray him to be their Capitaine, being sore troubled with Warres at that time. Because *Philopamen* went then to serve the GORTYNIANS, when the Tyrant *Nabis* had greatest Warres with the MEGALIPOLITANS in their owne Countrey, they laid it to his charge, either that he did it to fly the Warres, or else that he sought honour out of seafon with forraigne Nations, when his poore Citizens the MEGALIPOLITANS were in such distresse, and that their Countrey being lost and destroyed, they were driven to keepe them within their City, and to sow all their void Grounds and Streets in the same with Corne, to sustaine them withall, when their Enemies were incamped almost hard at their owne Gates. And the rather, because himselfe making Warres with the CRETANS, and serving strangers beyond the Sea in the meane time, gave his Enemies occasion to slander him that he fled, that he would not tarry to fight for defence of his owne Countrey. Againe, there were that said, because the ACHAÏANS did chuse other for their Generall, that he being a private man and without charge, was the rather contented to be Generall of the GORTYNIANS, who had marvellously intreated him to take the charge: for he was a man that could not abide to live idely, and that desired specially above all things to serve continually in the Warres, and to put in practise his skill and discipline in the leading of an Army. The words he spake one day of King *Prolemis* doe witnesse as much: for when there were some that praised King *Prolemis* highly, saying that he trayned his Army well, and that he still continued his person in exercise of Armes: It is not commendable for a King (said he) of his yeares, to delight in training his men to exercise Armes, but to doe some Act himselfe in person. Well, in the end, the MEGALIPOLITANS tooke his absence in such evil part, that they thought it a piece of treason, and would needs have banished him, and put him from the freedome of the City: had not the ACHAÏANS sent their Generall *Aristanctus* unto them, who would not suffer the sentence of banishment to passe against him, although otherwise there was ever contention betweene them about matters of the Common-wealth. Afterwards *Philopamen* perceiving his Countrey men made no more account of him, to spite them withall, he made divers small Villages and Cities rebell against them, and taught them to say, and to give it out, that they were not their subiects, neither paid them tribute from the beginning: and he made them stand to it openly, and maintaine their sedition against the City of MEGALIPOLIS, before the Councill of the ACHAÏANS. These things hapned shortly after. But whilest he made Warres in Creta for the GORTYNIANS, he shewed not himselfe a PELOPONNESIAN, nor like a man born in ARCADIA, to make plain and open Warres: but he had learned the manner of the CRETANS, to use their own polices, fine devices, and ambushes against themselves. And made them know also, that all their crafts were but childish sports as it were, in respect of those that were devised, and put in execution, by a wife experienced Capitaine, and skillfull to fight a Battell. So *Philopamen*, having wonne great fame by his acts done in Creta, returned againe to PELOPONNESUS, where he found that *Philip* King of MACEDON had bene overcome in Battell, by *T. Q. Flaminius*: and that the ACHAÏANS joyning with the ROMANS, did make Warre against the Tyrant *Nabis*, against whom he was made Generall immediately upon his returne, and gave him Battell by Sea. In the which it seemed he fell into like misfortune, as *Epaminondas* did: the event of this Battell falling out much worse with him then was looked for, in respect of his former courage and valiantnesse. But as for *Epaminondas*, some say he returned willingly out of ASIA, and the Isles, without any Exploit done, because he would not have his Countrey men fleshed with spoile by Sea, as feareing lest of valiant Souldiers by Land, they would by little and little (as *Plato* said) become dissolute Mariners by Sea. But *Philopamen* contrariwise, presuming on the skill he had to set the Battell in good order by Land, would needs take upon him to do the same by Sea. But he was taught to his cost, to know what exercise and experience meant, and how strong it maketh them that are practised in things. For he lost not onely the Battell by Sea, being unskilfull of that service: but he committed besides a fouler error. For he caused an old Ship to be rigged, which had bene very good of service before, but not occupied in forty yeares together, and embarked his Countrey men into the same, which were all likely to perish, because the Ship had divers leaks, by fault of good calking. This overthrow made his Enemies despise him utterly, perswading themselves he was fled for altogether, and had given them Sea-roome: whereupon they laid siege to the City of GYTHIUM. *Philopamen* being advertised thereof, imbarqued his men suddenly, and set upon his Enemies ere they wist it, or had any thought of his coming: and found them stragling up and downe, without Watch or Guard, by reason of the Victory they had lately wonne. So he landed his men closely by night, and went and set fire upon his Enemies Campe, and burnt it every whit: and in this feare and hurly-burly, slew a great number of them. Shortly after this stealing upon them, the Tyrant *Nabis* also stole upon him againe unawares, as he was to go through a marvellous ill and dangerous way: which made the ACHAÏANS amazed at the first, thinking it impossible for them that they could ever scape that danger, considering their Enemies kept all the waies thereabouts. But *Philopamen* bethinking himselfe, and considering the nature and situation of the place: after he had viewed it well, he shewed them plainly then, that the chiefe point of a good Souldier and man of Warre, was to know how to put an Army in Battell, according to the time and situation of the place. For he did but alter the forme of his Battell a little, and forced it according to the situation of the place, wherein he was compassed: and by doing this without trouble or businesse, he tooke away all feare of danger, and gave a charge upon his Enemies in such fierce wise, that in a short

Philopamen delivered the City of Messina from *Nabis* the Tyrant of Lacedæmon.
Philopamen second journey into Creta discommended.

Philopamen made divers Cities to rebell against the MEGALIPOLITANS.

The Cretians polittick men of warre.

Philopamen made Generall of the Achaïans against *Nabis*.

Philopamen overcome by Sea.

Nabis besiegeth the City of Gythium.

Philopomen overcame Nabis, Tyrant of Lacedæmon in Bœœll.

Titus Quintus Flaminius envied Philopomen.

Nabis Raine by the Achaïans.

Philopomen free from covetousness.

Philopomen was counsell to the Lacedæmonians, how they should bestow their gifts.

Diophanes and Titus Quintus Flaminius do invade Lacedæmonia.

Philopomen's cruelty to the Spartans.

time he put them all to flight. And when he perceived that they did not flee all in Troupes together towards the City, but scattering wife, abroad in the Fields in every place, he caused the Trumpet to sound the Retreat. Then he commanded the chafe to be followed no further, for that all the Countrey thereabout was full of thick Woods and Groves, very ill for Horsemen: and also because there were many Brookes, Valleys and Quavemires, which they should passe over, he encamped himselfe presently, being yet broad day. And so, fearing lest his Enemies would in the night time draw unto the City, one after another, and by couples: he sent a great number of ACHAÏANS, and laid them in ambush amongst the Brookes and Hills neare about it, which made great slaughter of *Nabis* Souldiers, because they came not all together in Troupes, but scatteringly one after another as they fled, one here another there, and so fell into their Enemies hands, as Birds into the Fowlers Net. These acts made *Philopomen* singularly beloved of the GRECIANS, and they did him great honour in all their Theaters and common Assemblies. Whereat *T. Q. Flaminius*, of nature very ambitious and covetous of honour, did much repine, and was envious at the matter, thinking that a Consul of ROME should have place and honour among the ACHAÏANS before a meane Gentleman of ARCADIA. And he imagined he had deserved better of all GRECE, then *Philopomen* had: considering how by the onely Proclamation of an Herald, he had restored GRECE againe to her ancient liberty, which before his coming was subject to King *Philip*, and unto the MACEDONIANS. Afterwards, *T. Quintus* made peace with the Tyrant *Nabis*, who was shortly after very trayterously slaine by the ACHAÏANS. Whereupon the City of SPARTA grew to a tumult, and *Philopomen* straight taking the occasion, went thither with his Army, and handled the matter so wisely, that partly for love, and partly by force, he wan the City, and joyned it unto the Tribe of the ACHAÏANS. So was he marvellously commended and esteemed of the ACHAÏANS for this notable Victory, to have won their Tribe and Commonalty so famous a City, and so great estimation. For the City of SPARTA was no small increase of their Power, being joyned as a member of ACHAÏA. Moreover he wan by this means the love and good will of all the honest men of LACEDÆMON, for the hope they had to finde him a Protector and defender of their Liberty. Wherefore, when the Tyrant *Nabis* house and goods were sold, as forfeited to the State: they resolved in their Councell to make him a Present of the Money thereof, which amounted to the summe of fixscore Talents, and sent Ambassadours purposely unto him, to offer it him. Then *Philopomen* shewed himselfe plainly to be no counterfeited honest man, but a good man indeed. For first of all, there was not one of all the LACEDÆMONIANS that durst presume to offer him this Money, but every man was afraid to tell him of it: and every body that was appointed to do it, made some excuse or other for themselves. Notwithstanding, in the end they made one *Timolau* to take the matter upon him, who was his familiar friend and also his Host. And yet the same *Timolau* when he came unto MEGALIPOLIS, and was lodged and entertained in *Philopomen's* house, did so much reverence him for his wise talke and conversation, for his moderate diet, and just dealing with all men: that he saw there was no likely possibility to corrupt him with Money, so as he durst not once open his mouth to speak to him of the Present he had brought him, but found some other occasion to excuse the cause of his coming unto him. And being sent unto him againe the second time, he did even as much as at the first time. And making a third proofe, he ventured at the last to open the matter unto him, and told him the good will the City of SPARTA did beare him. *Philopomen* became a glad man to hear it: and when he had heard all he had to say to him, he went himselfe unto the City of SPARTA. There he declared unto the Councell, that it was not honest men and their good friends, they should seeke to winne and corrupt with Money, considering they might command their vertue upon any occasion, without cost unto them: but that they should seeke to bribe naughty men with money, and such as by feditious Orations in Councell did mutiny, and put a whole City in uprore: to the end that having their mouths stopped with gifts, they should trouble them the lesse in the Common-wealth. For, said he, it is more necessary to stop your Enemies mouths, and to sow up their lips from liberty of speaking, then it is to keepe your friends from it. So noble a man was *Philopomen* against all covetousnesse of Money. Shortly after, the LACEDÆMONIANS beginning to stir againe, *Diophanes* (who was then Generall of the ACHAÏANS) being advertised of it, began to prepare to punish them. The LACEDÆMONIANS on the other side preparing for the Wars, did set all the Countrey of PELOPONNESUS in Armes. Hereupon *Philopomen* fought to pacifie *Diophanes* anger, declaring unto him, that King *Antiochus*, and the ROMANES, being at wars together at that present time, and they both having puissant Armies one against another in the midst of GRECE, it was meete for a good Generall and wise Governour, to have an eye to their doings, to be carefull of the same, and to beware that he did not trouble or alter any thing within his Countrey at that instant, but then rather to dissemble it, and not to seeme to heare any fault whatsoever they did. *Diophanes* would not be perswaded, but entred the Territories of LACEDÆMON with a great Army, and *T. Quintus Flaminius* with him: and they together marched directly towards the City of SPARTA. *Philopomen* was so mad with their doings, that he tooke upon him an enterprize not very lawful, nor altogether just: nevertheless his attempt proceeded of a noble minde and great courage. For he got into the City of SPARTA, and being but a private person, kept out the Generall of the ACHAÏANS, and the Consul of the ROMANES for entering the City: and when he had pacified all troubles and seditions in the same, he delivered it up again as it was before, into the hands of the Commonalty of the ACHAÏANS. Neverthelesse himselfe being afterwards Generall of the ACHAÏANS, did compell the LACEDÆMONIANS to receive those home againe whom they had banished for certaine faults, and did put eighty naturall borne Citizens of SPARTA unto death, as *Polybius* writeth: or three hundred and fifty, as *Aristocrates* another Historiographer

riographer reciteth. Then he pulled downe the Walls of the City, and razed them to the ground, and tooke away the most part of their Territories, and gave them to the MEGALIPOLITANS. All those whom the Tyrants had made free Denizons of SPARTA, he compelled them to depart the Countrey of LACEDÆMON, and forced them to dwell in ACHAÏA, three thousand onely excepted, who would not obey his commandement: all those he sold for Slaves, and with the Money he made of them (to spight them the more) he built a goodly faire walke within the City of MEGALIPOLIS. Yet furthermore, to do the LACEDÆMONIANS all the mischief he could, and as it were, to treade them under the feete in their most grievous misery, he did a most cruell and unjust act toward them. For he compelled them to leave the discipline and manner of education of their Children, which *Lycurgus* had of old time instituted: and made them to follow the manner the ACHAÏANS used, in lieu of their old grounded Countrey custome, because he saw they would never be humble minded, so long as they kept *Lycurgus* order and institution. Thus were they driven to put their heads in the collar, by the miserable mishap that befell them: and in all despite, to suffer *Philopomen* in this manner to cut asunder (as it were) the finewes of their Common-wealth. But afterwards they made sute to the ROMANES, that they might be suffered to enjoy their ancient discipline againe, which being granted them, they straight left the manner of the ACHAÏANS, and did set up againe as much as was possible (after so great misery and corruption of their manners) their old ancient customes and orders of their Countrey. Now about the time the Warres began in GRECE betweene the ROMANES and King *Antiochus*, *Philopomen* was then a private man, and without any Authority. He seeing that King *Antiochus* lay still in the City of CHALCIS, and did nothing but feast and love, and had married a young Maide far unmeet for his yeares: and perceiving that his SYRIAN Souldiers wandred up and downe the Townes in great disorder, playing many lewd parts without guide of Captaines, he was very sorry he was not at that time Generall of the ACHAÏANS, and told the ROMANES, that he envied their Victory, having Warres with Enemies that were so easily to be overcome. For (said he) if Fortune favoured me that I were Generall of the ACHAÏANS at this present, I would have killed them every man in the Cellars and tipping Houses. Now when the ROMANES had overcome *Antiochus*, they began to have furer foot-ting in GRECE, and to compass in the ACHAÏANS on all sides, and specially, by reason the Heads and Governours of the Cities about them did yeeld to the ROMANES, to winne their favour. And now their greatnesse grew in haste, by the favour of the gods, so as they were become the Monarch of the whole World, who brought them now to the end that Fortune had determined. *Philopomen* in the meane time did like a good Pilot, resisting against the billowes and roughnesse of the waves. And though for the time he was forced to give place, and to let things passe, yet for all that he was against the ROMANES, and did withstand them in the most part of their proceedings, by seeking ever to defend the liberty of those, who by their eloquence and well doing carried great Authority among the ACHAÏANS. And when *Aristanetus* MEGALIPOLITAN, (a man of great authority among the ACHAÏANS, and one that ever bare great devotion to the ROMANES) said in open Senate among the ACHAÏANS, that they should deny the ROMANES nothing, nor shew themselves unthankfull to them: *Philopomen* hearing what he said, held his peace a while, and suffered him to speake (though it boyled in his heart, he was so angry with him) and in the end, breacking all patience, and as one overcome with choler, he said: *Aristanetus*, why have you such haste to see the unfortunate end of GRECE? Another time when *Manius* Consul of ROME (after he had conquered King *Antiochus*) did make request to the Councell of the ACHAÏANS, that such as were banished from LACEDÆMON, might returne home into their Countrey againe, and that *Titus Quintus Flaminius* also did earnestly intreate them: *Philopomen* was against it, not for any hatred he bare unto the banished men, but because he would have done it by his owne meane, and the onely grace of the ACHAÏANS, to the end they should not be beholding for so good a turne, neither unto *Titus*, nor yet to the ROMANES. Afterwards he himselfe, being Generall of the ACHAÏANS, did restore them wholly to their owne againe. Thus was *Philopomen* sometime a little too bold and quarrellous, by reason of his great stomach: and specially when any man sought for to have things by Authority. Lastly, being threescore and ten yeares of age, he was the eighth time chosen Generall of the ACHAÏANS, and hoped well, not onely to passe the yeare of his charge in peace and quietnesse, but also all the rest of his life without any stir of new Wars, he saw the affaires of GRECE take so good successe. For like as the force and strength of sicknesse declined, as the naturall strength of the sickly body impaireth: so through all the Cities and People of GRECE, the desire of quarrell and of Wars surceased, as their power diminished. Neverthelesse, in the end of his yeares government, the gods divine (who justly punish all insolent words and deeds) threw him to the ground, as they suffer a Rider unfortunately to take a fall off his Horse, being come almost to the end of his carriere. For they write, that he being in a place on a time amongst good company, where one was marvellously praised for a good Captaine, said unto them: Why Masters, can ye commend him that was contented to be taken Prisoner alive of his Enemies? Shortly after came newes that *Dinocrates* MESSINIAN (a private Enemy of *Philopomen's* for certaine controversies past betweene them, and a man generally hated besides of all honourable and vertuous men, for his licentious wicked life) had withdrawn the City of MESSINA from the devotion of the ACHAÏANS: and moreover, that he came with an Army to take a Towne called COLONIDE. *Philopomen* was at that time in the City of ARGOS, sick of an Ague, and yet he hearing these newes, tooke his Journey towards MEGALIPOLIS, making all the hate he could possible, for that he came above foure hundred furlongs that day.

Philopomen made the Spartans forsake Lycurgus Laws.

Antiochus so-lace and marriage at Chalci.

Philopomen's counsell against the Romanes.

Philopomen chosen the eighth time Generall of the Achaïans, being seventy years old.

Philopomen's journey against Dinocrates.

Strait

Straight he departed thence towards *MESSINA*, and tarried not, but tooke with him a Company of men at Armes of the lustiest and wealthiest *MEGALIPOLITANS*: who were all young noble men of the City, and willingly offered themselves to go with him for the good will they bare him, and for the desire they had to follow his valiantnesse. Thus went they on their way towards the City of *MESSINA*, and marched so long, that they came neare to the hill of *Evander*, where they met with *Dinocrates* and his company, and gave so fierce an onset on them, that they made them all turne taile: howbeit in the meane while, there came a reliefe of five hundred men to *Dinocrates*, which he had left to keepe the Countrey of *MESSINA*. The flying men that were scattered here and there, seeing this supply, gathered themselves againe together, and shewed upon the hills. *Philopamen* fearing to be environed, and being desirous to bring his men safe home againe, who most of love had followed him: began to march away through narrow bushy places, himselfe being in the rereward, and turned oftentimes upon his Enemies, and skirmished with them; onely to drive them away from following of the rest of his company, and not a man that durst once set upon him: for they did but cry out aloofe, and wheele as it were about him. Howbeit *Philopamen* sundry times venturing far from his company, to give these young Noblemen leisure to save themselves one after another: tooke no heede to himselfe that he was alone environed on every side with a great number of Enemies. Notwithstanding, of all his Enemies there was not a man that durst come to handstrokes with him, but still slinging and shooting at him afar off, they drave him in the end amongst stony places between hewne rocks, where he had much ado to guide his Horse, although he had spurred him that he was all of a gore blood. And as for his age, that did not lett him but he might have saved himselfe, for he was strong and lusty by the continuall exercise he tooke: but by cursed happe his body being weake with sicknesse, and weary with the long journey he had made that day, he found himselfe very heave and ill disposed, that his Horse stumbling with him, threw him to the ground. His fall was very great, and bruised all his head, that he lay for dead in the place a great while, and never stirred nor spake: so that his Enemies thinking he had bene dead, came to turne his body to strip him. But when they saw him lift up his head and open his eyes, then many of them fell all at once upon him and tooke him, and bound both his hands behinde him, and did all the villany and mischief they could unto him, and such, as one would little have thought *Dinocrates* would have used in that sort, or that he could have had such an ill thought towards him. So they that tarried behinde in the City of *MESSINA*, were marvelous glad when they heard these newes, and ranne all to the Gates of the City to see him brought in. When they saw him thus shamefully bound and pinioned, against the Dignity of so many Honours as he had received, and of so many Triumphs and Victories as he had passed: the most part of them wept for pity, to consider the mishap and ill fortune of mans nature, where there is so little certainty, as in manner it is nothing. Then began there some courteous speech to runne in the mouths of the People by little and little, that they should remember the great good he had done them in times past, and the liberty he had restored them unto, when he expelled the Tyrant *Nabis* out of *MESSINA*. But there were other againe (howbeit very few) that to please *Dinocrates*, said they should hang him on a gibbet, and put him to death as a dangerous Enemy, and that would never forgive man that had once offended him: and the rather, because he would be more terrible to *Dinocrates* then ever he was before, if he escaped his hands, receiving such open shame by him. Nevertheless, in the end they carried him into a certaine Dungeon under the ground, called the Treasury (which had neither light nor aire at all into it, nor doore, nor halfe-doore, but a great stone rolled on the mouth of the Dungeon) and so they did let him downe the same, and stopped the hole againe with the stone, and watched it with armed men for to keepe him. Now when these young noble *ACHAIA* Horfemen had fled upon the spurre a great way from the Enemy, they remembered themselves, and looked round about for *Philopamen*: and finding him not in sight, they supposed straight, he had bene slaine. Thereupon they staid a great while, and called for him by name, and perceiving he answered not, they began to say among themselves, they were beasts and cowards to flie in that fort: and how they were dishonoured for ever so to have forsaken their Captaine, to save themselves, who had not spared his owne life to deliver them from danger. Hereupon riding on their way, and enquiring still for him, they were in the end advertised how he was taken. And then they went and carried those newes through all the Townes and Cities of *ACHAIA*, which were very sorry for him, and tooke it as a signe of great ill fortune toward them. Whereupon they agreed to send Ambassadors forthwith to the *MESSINIANS*, to demand him: and in the meane time every man should prepare to arme themselves to go thither, and get him either by force or love. When the *ACHAIANS* had thus sent, *Dinocrates* feared nothing so much, as that delay of time might save *Philopamens* life: wherefore to prevent it, as soone as night came, and that the People were at rest, he straight caused the stone to be rolled from the mouth of the Dungeon, and willed the Hangman to be let downe to *Philopamen* with a cup of poyson to offer him, who was commanded also not to go from him, untill he had drunke it. When the Hangman was come downe, he found *Philopamen* laid on the ground upon a little Cloake, having no lift to sleepe, he was so grievously troubled in his minde. Who when he saw light, and the man standing by him, holding a cup in his hand with this poyson, he sate upright upon his Couch, howbeit with great paine, he was so weake, and taking the cup in his hand, asked the Hangman if he heard any newes of the Horfemen that came with him, specially of *Lycortas*. The Hangman made him answer, that the most of them were saved. Then he cast his hands a little over his head, and looking merrily on him, he said: It is well, seeing we are not all unfortunate. Therewith speaking no more words, nor making other ado, he drunke up all the poyson, and laid

Philopamens
misfortune.

Philopamen
taken.

Philopamen
poysoned by
Dinocrates.

Philopamens
last words.

laid him downe as before. So nature strove not much withall, his body being brought so low, and thereupon the poyson wrought his effect, and rid him straight out of his paine. The newes of his death ranne presently through all *ACHAIA*, which generally from high to low was lamented. Whereupon all the *ACHAIANS* Youth and Counsellors of their Cities and Townes, assembled themselves in the City of *MEGALIPOLIS*, where they all agreed without delay to revenge his death. They made *Lycortas* their Generall, under whose conduct they invaded the *MESSINIANS*, with force and violence, putting all to the fire and sword: so as the *MESSINIANS* were so feared with this mercilesse fury, that they yeelded themselves, and wholly consented to receive the *ACHAIANS* into their City. But *Dinocrates* would not give them leisure to execute him by justice, for he killed himselfe: and so did all the rest make themselves away, who gave advice that *Philopamen* should be put to death. But those that would have had *Philopamen* hanged on a gibbet, *Lycortas* caused them to be taken, which afterwards were put to death with all kinde of torments. That done, they burnt *Philopamens* body, and did put his ashes into a pot. Then they straight departed from *MESSINA*, not in disorder, one upon anothers necke as every man listed: but in such an order and ray, that in the midst of the Funerals, they did make a Triumph of Victory. For the Souldiers were all crowned with Garlands of Laurell in token of victory, notwithstanding the teares ran downe their cheeks in token of sorrow, and they led their Enemies Prisoners, shackled and chained. The Funerall-pot in the which were *Philopamens* ashes, was so covered with Garlands of Flowers, Nofegayes, and Laces, that it could scant be seene or discerned, and was carried by one *Polybius* a young man, the Sonne of *Lycortas*, that was Generall at that time to the *ACHAIANS*: about whom there marched all the noblest and chiefe of the *ACHAIANS*, and after them also followed all the Souldiers armed, and their Horses very well furnished. The rest, they were not so sorrowfull in their countenances, as they are commonly which have great cause of sorrow: nor yet so joyfull, as those that came Conquerors from so great a Victory. Those of the Cities, Townes and Villages in their way as they past, came and presented themselves unto them, to touch the Funerall-pot of his ashes, even as they were wont to take him by the hand, and to make much of him when he was returned from the Warres: and did accompany his Convoy unto the City of *MEGALIPOLIS*: at the Gates whereof were old men, women and children, which thrusting themselves amongst the Souldiers, did renew the teares, sorrows and lamentations, of all the miserable and unfortunate City: who tooke it that they had lost with their Citizens, the first and chiefe place of honour among the *ACHAIANS*. So he was buried very honourably, as appertained unto him: and the other Prisoners of *MESSINA* were all stoned to death, about his Sepulcher. All the other Cities of *ACHAIA*, besides many other honours they did unto him, did set up Statues, as like to him as could be counterfeited. Afterwards in the unfortunate time of *GREECE*, when the City of *CORINTH* was burnt and destroyed by the *ROMANS*, there was a malicious *ROMAN* that did what he could to have the same pulled downe againe, by burdening and accusing *Philopamen* (as if he had bene yet alive) that he was alwaies enemy to the *ROMANS*, and envied much their prosperity and Victories. But after *Polybius* had answered him, neither the Confull *Mummius*, nor his Counsellors, nor Lieutenants, would suffer them to deface and take away the honours done in memory of so famous and worthy a man, although he had many waies done much hurt unto *Titus Quintius Flaminius*, and unto *Manius*. So, these good men then made a difference betweene Duty and Profit: and did thinke Honesty and Profit two distinct things, and so separated one from the other, according to reason and justice. Moreover, they were perswaded, that like as men receive courtesie and goodnesse of any, so are they bound to requite them againe with kindnesse and duty. And as men use to acknowledge the same: even so ought men to honour and reverence Vertue. And thus much of the Life of *Philopamen*.

The end of the Life of *Philopamen*.

Philopamens
death.

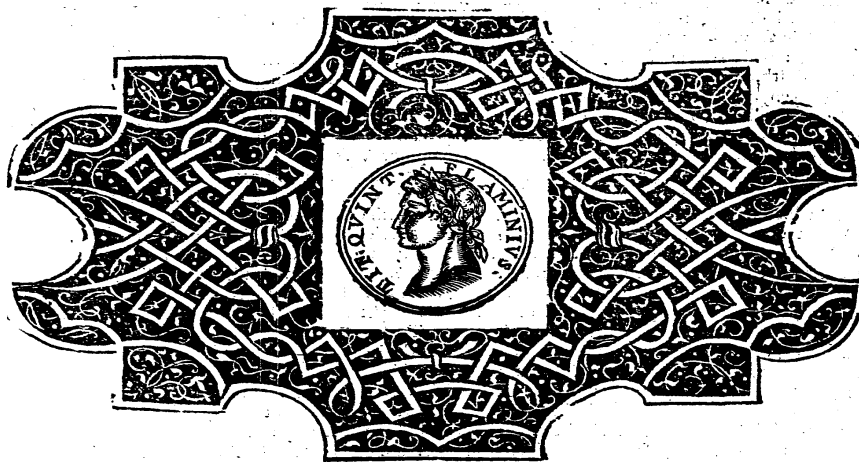
The *Achaians*
did revenge
Philopamens
death.
Dinocrates slew
himselfe.

Philopamens
funerall.

Note the hu-
manity of the
Romanes, keep-
ing their En-
emys Monu-
ments from
defacing.

THE

THE LIFE OF TITUS QUINCTIUS FLAMINIUS.



Ann. Mond.
3752.

Ant. Christ.
196.

IT is easie to see *Titus Quintius Flaminius* forme and stature, by *Philopomenus* Statue of Brasse, to whom we compare him: the which is now set up at *ROME*, neare to great *Apollo* that was brought from *CARTHAGE*, and is placed right against the coming into the Shew-place, under which there is an Inscription in Greeke Letters. But for his nature and conditions, they say of him thus: he would quickly be angry, and yet very ready to pleasure men againe. For if he did punish any man that had angered him, he would doe it gently, but his anger did not long continue with him. He did good also to many, and ever loved them whom he had once pleased, as if they had done him some pleasure: and was ready to do for them still whom he found thankfull, because he would ever make them beholding to him, and thought that as honourable a thing as he could purchase to himselfe, because he greatly sought Honour above all things; when any notable service was to be done, he would do it himselfe, and no man should take it out of his hand. He would ever be rather with them that needed his helpe, then with those that could helpe him, or do him good. For, the first he esteemed as a meane to exercise his Vertue with: the other, he tooke them as his fellows and followers of Honour with him. He came to mans state, when the City of *ROME* had greatest Warres and trouble: At that time all the Youth of *ROME*, which were of age to carry Weapon, were sent to the Warre to learne to traile the Pike, and how to become good Captaines. Thus was he entred into Martiall affaires, and the first charge he tooke, was in the Warre against *Hannibal* of *CARTHAGE*, where he was made Colonell of a thousand Footemen, under *Marcellus* the Consul: who being slaine by an ambush *Hannibal* had laid for him betwene the Cities of *BANCIA* and *VENUSA*, then they did choose *Titus Quintius Flaminius* Governour of the Province and City of *TARENTUM*, which was now taken againe the second time. In this Government of his, he wanne the reputation as much of a good and just man, as he did of an expert and skillfull Captaine. By reason whereof, when the *ROMANES* were requested to send men to inhabit the Cities of *NARNIA* and *COSSA*, he was appointed the chief Leader of them, which chiefly gave him heart and courage to aspire at the first to the Consulship, passing over all other meane Offices, as to be *Edile*, *Tribune*, or *Prator*, by which (as by degrees) other young men were wont to attaine the Consulship. Therefore when the time came that the Consuls should be elected, he did present himselfe among other, accompanied with a great number of those he had brought with him, to inhabit the two new Townes, who did make earnest suite for him. But the two *Tribunes Fulvius* and *Manlius*, spake against him, and said: It was out of all reason, that so young a man should in such manner prease to have the Office of the highest Dignity, against the use and custome of *ROME*, before he had passed through the inferiour Offices: of the

Titus Quintius
first charge in
Warre.

Deegrees of
Offices before
one came to the
Consul.

Common-wealth. Nevertheless, the Senate preferred it wholly to the voices of the People: who presently pronounced him Consul openly, with *Sextius Aelius*, although he was not yet Thirty yeares old. Afterwards, *Aelius* and he deviding the Offices of the State by Lot, it fell upon *Titus Quintius* to wake Warre with *Philip* King of *MACEDON*. In the which he thinks Fortune greatly favoured the *ROMANES* affaires, that made such a man Generall of these Warres: for, to have appointed a Generall that by force and violence would have sought all things at the *MACEDONIAN* hands, that were a People to be won rather by gentleness and persuasions, then by force and compulsion: it was all against themselves. *Philip* to maintaine the brunt of a Battell against the *ROMANES*, had Power enough of his owne in his Realme of *MACEDON*: but to make Warre any long time, to furnish himselfe with Money and Victuals, to have a place and Cities to retire unto: and lastly, to have all other necessities for his men and Army, it stood him upon to get the force of *GREECE*. And had not the force of *GREECE* bene politically cut from him, the Wars against him had not bene ended with one Battell. Moreover, *GREECE* (which never before bare the *ROMANES* any great good will) would not have dealt then so inwardly in friendship with them, had not their Generall bene (as he was) a gentle Person, lowly and tractable, that wane them more by his wisdom, then by his force, and could both eloquently utter his minde to them, and courteously also hear them speake, that had to doe with him, and chiefly ministred justice, and equity to every man alike. For it is not to be thought that *GREECE* would otherwise so soone have withdrawn themselves from the rule of those, with whom they were acquainted, and governed: and have put themselves under the rule of strangers, but that they saw great justice and lenity in them. Howbeit that may more plainly appear by declaring of his Acts. *Titus* was informed, that the Generals before him sent to the Warre in *MACEDON* (as *Sulpicius*, and *Publius Julius*) used to come thither about the latter end of the yeare, and made but cold Warres, and certaine light skirmishes, as sometime in one place, and sometime in another against *Philip*, and all to take some straight, or to cut off Victuals: which he thought was not his way to follow their example. For they tarrying at home, consumed the most of their Consulship at *ROME*, in matters of Government, and so enjoyed the Honour of their Office. Afterwards in the end of their yeare, they would set out to the Warres, of intent to get another yeare over their heads in their Office, that spending one yeare in their Consulship at home, they might employ the other in the Warres abroad. But *Titus* not minding to trifle out the half of his Consulship at *ROME*, and the other abroad in the Warres: did willingly leave all his Honours and dignities, he might have enjoyed by his Office at *ROME*, and befought the Senate that they would appoint his Brother *Lucius Quintius* Lieutenant of their Army by Sea. Furthermore, he took with himself about three thousand old Souldiers of those that had first overthrowne *Ardubal* in *SPAIN*, and *Hannibal* afterwards in *AFRICK*, under the conduct of *Scipio*, which yet were able to serve, and were very willing to go with him in his journey, to be the strength of his Army. With this company he passed the Seas without danger, and landed in *EPHROS*, where he found *Publius Julius* encamped with his Army before King *Philip*, who of long time had lien in Camp about the mouth of the River of *Apsus*, to keep their straight and passage which is the entry into *EPHROS*. So that *Publius Julius* had lain still there, and done nothing, by reason of the natural force and hardness of the place. Then *Titus* took the Army of him, and sent him to *ROME*. Afterwards, himself went in Person to view and consider the nature of the Country, which was in this sort. It is a long valley walled one either side with great high Mountaines, as those which shut in the valley of *Tempe* in *THESSALY*: howbeit it had no such goodly Woods, nor greene Forests, nor fair Medows, nor other like places of pleasure, as the other side had: but it was a great deep marsh or quavemire, through the midst whereof the River called *Apsus* did runne being in greatnesse and swiftnesse of streame, very like to the River of *PENEUS*. The River did occupy all the ground at the feete of the Mountaines, saving a little way that was cut out of the maine Rocks by mans hand, and a narrow straight path by the waters side, very unhandfome for an Army to passe that way, though they found not a man to keep the passage. There were some in the Army that counselled *Titus* to fetch a great compasse about by the Countrey of *DASSARETIDE*, and by the City of *LYNCUS*, where the Countrey is very plaine, and the way marvellous easie. Howbeit he stood in great feare he should lacke Victuals, if he staid far from the Sea; and happily if he fell into any barren or leane Countrey, (*Philip* refusing the Battell, and purposing to flye) he should be constrained in the end to returne againe towards the Sea, without doing any thing, as his predecessor had done before. Wherefore he determined to crosse the Mountaines to set upon his Enemies, and to prove if he could win the passage by force. Now *Philip* kept the top of the Mountaines with his Army, and when the *ROMANES* forced to get up the Hills, they were received with Darts, Slings and Shot, that lighted amongst them here and there: insomuch as the skirmish was very hot for the time it lasted, and many were slaine and hurt on either side. But this was not the end of the Warre: for in the meane time there came certaine Neat-herds of the Countrey unto *Titus* (who did use to keepe Beasts on these Mountaines) and told him they could bring him a way which they knew the Enemies kept not: by the which they promised to guide his Army so, that in three daies at the furthest, they would bring them on the top of the Mountaine. And because they might be assured that their words were true, they said they were sent to him by *Charopus*, the Sonne of *Maebatus*. This *Charopus* was the chiefe man of the *EPHROS* who loved the *ROMANES* very well, yet he favoured them but underhand, for feare of *Philip*. *Titus* gave credit unto them, and so sent one of his Captaines with them, with foure thousand Footmen, and three hundred Horsemen. The

*T. Q. Flamini-
us*
Sextius Aelius
Consuls.
*T. Q. Flamini-
us* maketh
Warre with
Philip King of
Macedon.

Titus courtie
wan the *Graeci-
ans*, more then
his force.

T. Q. landed
in *Ephros*.

Apsus R.

The descrip-
tion of the
Countrey of
Ephros.

Charopus
(*Maebatus*
Son) the
chiefe man of
the *Ephros*.

E c

Heard;

Heard men that were their guides, went before still, soft bound, and the ROMANES followed after. All the day time the Army rested in thick Woods and marched all night by moon light, which was then by good hap at the full. *Titus* having sent these men away, rested all the rest of his Camp, saying that some daies he entertained them with some light skirmishes to occupy the Enemy withall. But the same day, when his men that fetched a compass about, should come unto the top of the Mountaine above the Campe of his Enemies, he brought all his Army out of the Campe by breake of day, and divided them into three Troopes: with the one of them he himselfe went on that side of the River, where the way is straightest, making his hands to march directly against the side of the Hill, The MACEDONIANS againe, they shot lustily at them from the height of the Hill, and in certaine places amongst the Rocks they came to the Sword. At the selfe same time, the two other Troopes on either hand of him, did their dangerous likewise to get up the Hill, and as it were envying one another, they climbed up with great courage against the sharp and steep hanging of the Mountaine. When the Sun was up, they might see there off, as it were, a certain smoke, not very bright at the beginning, much like to the Mists we see commonly rise from the tops of the Mountaines. The Enemies could see nothing, because it was behind them, and that the top of the Mountaine was possessed with the same. The ROMANES, though they were not assured of it, did hope being in the midst of the fight, that it was their fellows they looked for. But when they saw it increased still more and more, and in such sort, that it darkned all the Ayre, then they did assure themselves it was certainly the token their men did give them that they were come. Then they began to cry out, climbing up the Hills with such a lusty courage, that they drave their Enemies up the Hill still, even unto the very rough and hardest places of the Mountaine. Their fellows also that were behind the Enemies, did answer them with like loud cries from the top of the Mountaine: where with the Enemies were so affrighted, that they fled presently upon it. Notwithstanding, there was not flaine above Two thousand of them, because the hardnesse and straightnesse of the place did so guard them that they could not be chased. But the ROMANES spoiled their Campe, tooke all that they found in their Tents, tooke also their Slaves, and won the passage into the Mountaine, by the which they entered the Countrey of EPIRUS: and did passe through it so quietly, and with so great abstinence, that though they were farre from their Ships and the Sea, and lacked their ordinary portion of Corne which they were wont to have Monthly, and that Victuals were very scant: with them at that time, yet they never tooke any thing of the Countrey, though they found great store and plenty of all riches in it. For *Titus* was advertised, that *Philip* passing by THESSALY, and flying for feare, had caused the Inhabitants of the Cities to get them to the Mountaines, and then to set fire on their Houses; and to leave those goods they could not carry away, by reason of the weight and unhandsome carriage thereof, to the Spoile of his Souldiers: and so (as it seemed) he left the whole Countrey to the Conquest of the ROMANES. Whereupon *Titus* looking considerably to his doings, gave his men great charge to passe through the Countrey without doing any hurt or mischief, as the same which their Enemies had now left to them as their own. So they carried not long to enjoy the benefit of their orderly and wise forbearing of the Countrey. For, so soone as they were entred THESSALY, the Cities willingly yielded themselves unto them: and the GRECIANS inhabiting beyond the Countrey of THERMOPILES, did marvellously desire to see *Titus*, asking no other thing, but to put themselves unto his hands. The ACHAIIANS also on the other side, did renounce the League and alliance they had made with *Philip* and furthermore did determine in their Counsell, to make Warre with him on the ROMANES side. And although the ETOLIANS were at that time friends and confederates with the ROMANES, and that they did shew themselves very loving to take their part in the Warres: nevertheless when they desired the OPUNTIANs that they would put their City into their hands, and were offered that it should be kept and defended from *Philip*: they would not hearken thereto, but sent for *Titus*, and put themselves and their goods wholly into his Protection. They say, that when King *Pyrrus* first saw the ROMANES Army range in order of Battell from the top of a Hill, he said: This order of the Barbarous People setting of their men in Battell ray, was not done in a Barbarous manner. And those also that never had seen *Titus* before, and came for to speake with him: were compelled in a manner to say as much. For where they had heard the MACEDONIANS say, that there came a Captaine of the Barbarous People that destroyed all before him by force of Armes, and subdued whole Countries by violence; they said to the contrary, that they found him a man indeed young of yeares, howbeit gentle, and courteous to looke on, and that spake the Greek tongue excellently well, and was a lover onely of true glory. By reason whereof they returned home marvellous glad, and filled all the Cities and Towns of GREECE with good will towards him, and said: they had seen *Titus*, the Captaine, that would restore them to their ancient liberty againe. Then it much more appeared, when *Philip* shewed himselfe willing to have Peace and that *Titus* also did offer it him, and the friendship of the People of ROME, with these conditions that he would leave the GRECIANS their whole liberties, and remove his Garrisons out of their Cities and strong holds: which *Philip* refused to doe. And thereupon all GRECE, and even those which favoured *Philip*, said with one voice: that the ROMANES were not come to make Warres with them, but rather with the MACEDONIANS in favour of the GRECIANS. Whereupon all GREECE came in, and offered themselves unto *Titus* without compulsion. And as he passed through the Countrey of BOEOTIA, without any shew at all of Warres, the chiefe men of the City of THEBES went to meet him: who thought they tooke part with the King of MACEDON, because of a private man called *Barchyletes*, yet they would Honour *Titus*, as those which were contented to keepe

keepe League and friendship with either side. *Titus* embraced them, and spake very courteously unto them, going on his way still faire and softly, entertaining them sometime with one matter, and sometime with another, and kept them in talke of purpose, to the end his Souldiers being wearied, with journeying, might in the meane time take good breath: and so marching on by little and little, he entered into the City with them. Wherewith the Lords of THEBES were not greatly pleased, but yet they durst not refuse him, though he had not at that time any number of Souldiers about him. When he was within THEBES, he prayed audience and began to perswade the People (as carefully as if he had not had the City already, that they would rather take part with the ROMANES, then with the King of MACEDON. And to further *Titus* purpose, King *Attalus* being by chance at that time in the Assembly, did helpe to exhort the THEBANS very earnestly, that they would doe as *Titus* perswaded them. But *Attalus* was more earnest then became a man of his yeares, for the desire he had (as was imagined) to shew *Titus* his eloquence: who did so straine and move himselfe withall, that he swooned sodainly in the midst of his Oration, whereby the rewme fell down so fast upon him, that it tooke away his senses, so as he fell in a Trance before them all, and few daies after was conveyed again by Sea into ASIA, where he lived not long after. In the meane time, the BOEOTIANS came in to the ROMANES, and tooke their part. And *Philip* having sent Ambassadors to ROME, *Titus* also sent thither of his men to sollicite for him, in two respects. The one if the Warres continued against *Philip*, that then they would prolong his time there. The other if the Senate did grant him Peace: that they would doe him the Honour, as to make and conclude it with *Philip*. For *Titus* of his owne nature being very ambitious, did feare least they would send a successor to continue those Warres, who should take the glory from him, and make an end of them. But his friends made such earnest sute for him, that neither King *Philip* attained that he prayed: neither was there sent any other Generall in *Titus* place, but he still continued his charge in these Warres. Wherefore, so soone as he had received his Commission and Authority from the Senate, he went straight towards THESSALY, with great hope to overcome *Philip*. For he had in his Army above Six and twenty thousand fighting men, whereof the ETOLIANS made Sixe thousand Footemen, and Three thousand Horsemen. King *Philip*'s Army on the other side was no lesse in number, and they began to march one towards the other, untill at the length they both drew neare the City of SCOTUSA, where they determined to try the Battell, so neither they nor their men were afraid to see themselves one so neare another: but rather to the contrary, the ROMANES on the one side tooke greater heart and courage unto them, desiring to fight, as thinking with themselves what great Honour they should win to overcome the MACEDONIANS, who were so highly esteemed for their valiantnesse, by reason of the famous Acts that *Alexander* the Great did by them. And the MACEDONIANS on the other side also, taking the ROMANES for other manner of Souldiers then the PERSIANS, began to have good hope if they might winne the Field, to make King *Philip* more famous in the world, then ever was *Alexander* his Father. *Titus* then calling his men together, spake and exhorted them to stand to it like men, and to shew themselves valiant Souldiers in this Battell, as those which were to shew the proove of their valiantnesse in the heart of GREECE, the goodliest Theater of the world, and against their Enemies of most Noble fame. *Philip* then by chance, or forced to it by the speed he made, because they were both ready to joyne, did get up unawares upon a charnell House, (where they had buried many Bodies, being a little Hill raised up above the rest, and neare the trenches of his Campe) and there began to encourage his Souldiers, as all Generals doe before they give Battell. Who when he saw them all discouraged, for they tooke it for an ill signe that he was gotten up on the top of a Grave to speak unto them, he of a conceit at the matter, did of himselfe deferre to give Battell, that day. The next morning because the night was very wet by reason the South windes had blowne, the Clouds were turned to a Mist, and filled all the vally with a darke grosse thicke Ayre, coming from the Mountaines thereabouts, which covered the Field betwene both Campes with a Mist all the morning: by reason whereof the skouts on both sides that were sent to discover what the Enemies did, in very short time met together, and one gave charge upon another, in a place they call the Dogges heads, which are points of Rocks placed upon little Hills one before another, and very neare one unto another, which had beene called so, because they have had some likenesse of it. In this Skirmish there were many changes, as commonly fallieth out when they fight in such ill favoured stony places: for sometime the ROMANES fled, and the MACEDONIANS chased them: another time the MACEDONIANS that followed the chase, were glad to fly themselves, and the ROMANES who fled before, now had them in chase. This change and alteration came by sending new supplies still from both Camps, to relieve them that were distressed and driven to fly. Now began the Mist to breake up, and the Ayre to cleare, so that both Generals might see about them, what was done in either Campe: by reason whereof both of them drew on their Army to the Field and Battell. So *Philip* had the vantage on the right wing of his Army, which was placed on the height of an hanging Hill, from which they came so amaine to set upon the ROMANES, and with such a fury, that the Strongest and Valiantest that could be, had never beene able to abide the front of their Battell, so closely were they joyned together, and their Wall of Pikes was so strong. But on his left wing it was not so, because the ranks of his Battell could not joyne so neare nor close Target to Target, the place being betwixt the Hills and the Rocks, where the Battell was coming, so as they were compelled by reason of the straightnesse and unevennesse of the ground, to leave it open, and unfurnished in many places. *Titus* finding that disadvantage, went from the left wing of his Battell which he saw

T. Q. possessed
the heights of the Mount-
taines.

The Macedoni-
ans flye.

Philip King
of Macedon
fleeth.

Titus *Quintius*
Flaminius mo-
destly follow-
ing spoiles,
won him ma-
ny friends.

Pyrrus saying
of the Romanes
Army.

King *Attalus*
death.
The Boeotians
yield unto the
Romanes.
Quintius At-
my.

King *Philip*
and *Quintius*
meet with
their Armies
neare *Scotusa*.

Battell between *Quintus* and *Philip* King of *Macedon*.

The property of the *Macedonian* Battell.

Quintus overcame *Philip's* Army. Mutiny between the *Etolians* and the *Romans*.

Alcaeus Verses in disgrace of King *Philip*.

Philip's Verses against *Alcaeus*.

Privy grudge between *Quintus* and the *Etolians*.

T. *Quintus* granted *Philip* Peace.

Hannibal was with King *Antiochus*.

overlaid by the right wing of his Enemies, and going sodainly towards the left wing of King *Philip's* Battell, he set upon the *MACEDONIANS* on that side, where he saw they could not close their Ranks in the front, nor joyne them together in the midst of the Battell (which is the whole strength and order of the *MACEDONIAN* fight) because the Field was up hill and down hill: and to fight hand to had they were so pestered behind, that one thronged and over laid another. For the Battell of the *MACEDONIANS* hath this property, that so long as the order is kept close and joynd together, it seemeth as it were but the Body of a Beast of a force invincible. But also after that it is once open, and that they are sundred and not joynd together, it doth not onely lose the force and Power of the whole Body, but also of every private Souldier that fighteth: partly by reason of the diversity of the weapons wherewith they fight, and partly for that their whole strength consisteth most, in the disposing and joyning together of their ranks and orders, which doth stay up one another, more then doth every private Souldiers strength. So when this left wing of the *MACEDONIANS* was broken, and that they ran their way: one part of the *ROMANS* followed the chase, and the other ran to give a charge upon the Flanks of the right wing which fought yet, and they made great slaughter of them. Whereupon they now which before had the vantage, began to stagger and breake, and in the end ran away as fast as the other did, throwing down their weapons: insomuch as there were slaine of them Eight thousand in the Field, and Five thousand taken Prisoners in their chase. And had not the fault been in the *ETOLIANS*, *Philip* had not saved himselfe by flying as he did. For whilest the *ROMANS* had their Enemies in chase, the *ETOLIANS* tarried, and risled all King *Philip's* Campe, so as they left the *ROMANS* nothing to spoile at their returne. Whereupon there grew great quarrell and hot words betweene them, and one with another. But afterwards it angered *Titus* worse, challenging the Honour of this Victory to themselves, because they gave it out through *GREECE*, that they alone had overthrown King *Philip* in the Battell. So that in the Songs and Ballades the Poets made in praise of this Victory, which every Countrey and Town-man had in his mouth, they alwayes put the *ETOLIANS* before the *ROMANS*: as in this that followeth, which was currantly Sung in every place:

*O Friend which passeth by: here ly we wretched pheares,
Withouten Honour of the grave, without Lamenting teares.
We thirty Thousand were, which ended have our dayes:
In cruel coasts of Thessaly, which caused our decayes.
We have been overthrown by th' *Etolians* men of Warre:
And by the Latine crews likewise, whom *Titus* led from farre,
Even out of Italy, to Macedonie Land,
Us to destroy, he (Captaine like) did come with mighty band:
And *Philip* stout, therewhiles for all his proud fierce face,
Is fled, more swift then Harts do runne, which are pursue in chase.*

The Poet was *Alcaeus* that made these Verses for to Sing, who did them in disgrace of King *Philip*, fastely increasing the number of his men which died in the Battell, onely to shame and spite him the more: howbeit he spited *Titus* thereby more then *Philip*, because it was Sung in every place. For *Philip* laughed at it, and to encounter him againe with the like mocke, he made a Song to counterfeit his, as followeth:

*This gibbet on this Hill, which passers by may marke,
Was set to hang *Alcaeus* up withouten Leaves or barks.*

But *Titus* tooke it grievously, who chiefly desired to be Honoured amongst the *GRECIANS*, by reason whereof from that time forwards he dealt in the rest of his matters alone, without making account of the *ETOLIANS*: wherewith they were marvellous angry, and specially when he received an Ambassadour from *Philip*, and gave care unto a treaty of Peace which he offered. For then they were so nettled against him, that they gave it out through all *GREECE*, that *Titus* had sold Peace unto *Philip*, when he might altogether have ended the Warre, and utterly have destroyed *Philip's* whole Power and Empire, who had first brought *GREECE* into bondage. These slanderous reports and false Tales which the *ETOLIANS* spread thus abroad, did much trouble the *ROMANS* friends and confederates: but *Philip* selfe pulled this suspicion out of their heads, when he came in Person to require Peace, and did submit himselfe wholly to the discretion of *Titus* and the *ROMANS*. *Titus* then granted him Peace, and delivered to him his Realme of *MACEDON*, and commanded him he should give over all that he held in *GREECE*; and besides, that he should pay one Thousand Talents for tribute, taking from him all his Army by Sea, saving onely Ten Ships: and for assurance of this Peace, he tooke one of his Sons for Hostage, whom he sent to *ROME*. Wherein *Titus* certainly did very well, and wisely did foresee the time to come. For then *Hannibal* of *CARTHAGE* (the great Enemy of the *ROMANS*) was banished out of his Countrey, and came to King *Antiochus*, whom he put in the head, and earnestly moved, to follow his good Fortune, and the increase of his Empire. Whom *Hannibal* fo followed with these persuasions, that King *Antiochus* at length was come to it. And trusting to his former good success, and notable Acts, whereby in the Warres before he had attained the surname of Great, he began now to aspire to the Monarchy of the whole world, and sought how to finde occasion to make Warres with the *ROMANS*. So that if *Titus* (foreseeing that a farre off) had not wisely inclined to Peace, but that the Warres of *Antiochus* had fallen out together with the Warres of King *Philip*, and that these two the mightiest Princes of the world had joynd together against the City of *ROME*: then it had beene

been in as great trouble and danger, as ever it was before in the time of their Warres against *Hannibal*. Howbeit, *Titus* having happily thrust in this Peace betweene both Warres, he cut off the Warre that was present, before the other that was coming: by which meanes heooke from one of the Kings his last: and from the other his first hope. In the meane time the Ten Commissioners that were sent by the Senate from *ROME* to *Titus*, to aide and assist him in the order of the affaires of *GREECE*, did counsell him to set all the rest of *GREECE* at liberty, and onely to keepe in their hands with good Garrison, the Cities of *CHALCIDE*, of *CORINTH*, and of *DEMETRIADE*, to make sure that by practise they should not enter into league and alliance with *Antiochus*. Then the *ETOLIANS* (that were the common slanderers of *Titus* proceedings) began openly to make these Cities to rebell, and did summon *Titus* to loose the Chaines of *GREECE*: for so did King *Philip* call these three Cities. Then they asked the *GRECIANS* in mockery, whether they were willing now to have heavier Fetters on their Legs then before, being somewhat brighter and fairer then those they had beene shackled with: and also whether they were not greatly beholding to *Titus* for taking off the Fetters from the *GRECIANS* Legs, and tying them about their necks. *Titus* being marvellously troubled and vexed with this, moved the Ten Counsellors so earnestly, that he made them grant his request in the end, that those three Cities also should be delivered from Garrison: because the *GRECIANS* thenceforth might no more complaine, that his grace and liberality was not thoroughly performed and accomplished in every respect on them all. Wherefore when the Feast called *Isthmia* was come, there were gathered together an infinit multitude of People, come to see the sport of the Games played there: for *GREECE* having beene long time troubled with Warres, they seeing themselves now in sure peace, and in very good hope of full liberty, looked after no other thing, but delighted onely to see Games, and to make merry. Proclamation was then made by sound of Trumpet in the Assembly, that every man should keepe silence. That done, the Herald went forward, and thrust into the midst of the multitude, and proclaimed aloud: that the Senate of *ROME*, and *Titus Quintus Flaminius*, Consul of the People of *ROME*, (now that they had overthrown King *Philip* and the *MACEDONIANS* in Battell) did thenceforth discharge from all Garrisons, and set at liberty from all Taxes, subsidies, and impositions for ever, to live after their old ancient Lawes, and in full liberty: the *CORINTHIANS*, the *LOCRICIANS*, those of *PHOCIDE*, those of the Iles of *EUBOEAE*, the *ACHAIANS*, the *PHYLIOTIS*, the *MAGNESIANS*, the *THESSALIANS*, and the *PERROEBEANS*. At the first time of the Proclamation, all the People could not hear the voice of the Herald; and the most part of those that heard him, could not tell directly what he said: for there ran up and down the Shew-place where the Games were Plaid, a confused brute and tumult of People, that wondred, and asked what the matter meant, so as the Herald was driven againe to make the Proclamation Whereupon after silence made, the Herald putting out his voice far louder then before, did proclaim it in such audible wise, that the whole Assembly heard him: and then rose there such a loud shout and cry of joy through the whole People, that the sound of it was heard to the Sea. Then all the People that had taken their places, and were set to see the Sword-players play, rose up all on their feet, letting the Games alone, and went together with great joy to salute, to embrace, and to thanke *Titus* the recoverer, Protector, and Patron of all their liberties of *GREECE*. Then was seen (which is much spoken of) the Power of mens voices: for Crowes fell down at that present time among the People, which by chance flew over the Shew-place at that time that they made the same out-shout. This came to passe, by reason the ayre was broken and cut asunder with the vehemency and strength of the voices, so as it had not his naturall Power in it, to keepe up the flying of the Birds: which were driven of necessity to fall to the ground, as flying through a voide place where they lacked ayre. Unless we will rather say, that it was the violence of the cry, which strook the Birds passing through the ayre, as they had beene hit with Arrows, and so made them fall down dead to the Earth. It may be also, that there was some hurling winde in the ayre, as we doe see sometime in the Sea, when it riseth high and many times turneth about the waves, by violence of the storme. So it is, that if *Titus* had not prevented the whole multitude of People which came to see him; and that he had not got him away betimes, before the Games were ended: he had hardly escaped from being stifled amongst them, the People came so thicke about him from every place. But after that they were weary of crying and Singing about his Pavilion untill night, in the end they went their way: and as they went, if they met any of their kin, Friends or Citizens, they did kisse and embrace one another for joy, and so supped and made merry together. In their more rejoicing yet, as we may thinkefull well, they had no other talke at the Table; but of the Warres of *GREECE*, discoursing among them what sundry great Warres they had made, what they had endured heretofore, and all to defend and recover their liberty. And yet for all that, they could never so joyfully, nor more assuredly obtaine it, then they did even at that present, receiving the Honourable reward, and that which deserved greatest fame through the world: that by the valiantnesse of strangers who fought for the same (without any spilt blood of their owne in comparison, or that they lost the Life of any one man, whose death they had cause to lament) they were so restored to their ancient freedom and liberty. It is a very rare thing amongst men, to finde a man very valiant, and Wife withall: but yet of all sorts of valiant men, it is harder to finde a just man. For *Agessilaus*, *Lysander*, *Nicias*, *Alcibiades*, and all other the famous Captaines of former times, had very good skill to leade an Army, and to win the Battell, as well by Sea as by Land: but to turne their Victories to any Honourable benefit, or true Honour among men, they could never skill of it.

Chalide, Corinth, Demetriade, called by Philip of Macedon, the Chaine of Greece.

Isthmia.

Crowes flying, fell down by the sound of mens voices.

And if you doe except the Battell against the Barbarous People, in the plaine of MARATHON, the Battell of SALAMINA, the journey of PLATÆS, the Battell of THERMOPYLES, the Battell Cimon fought about CYPRUS, and upon the River of Eurymedon: all the other Warres and Battels of GREECE that were made, fell out against themselves, and did ever bring them into bondage: and all the tokens of Triumph which ever were set up for the same, was to their shame and losse. So that in the end, GREECE was utterly destroyed and overthrowne, and that chiefly through the wickednesse and selfe-will of her Governors and Captaines of the Cities, one envying anothers doing. Where a strange Nation, the which (as it should seeme) had very small occasion to move them to doe it, (for that they had no great familiarity with ancient GREECE, and through the counsell and good wisdom of the which, it should seeme very strange that GREECE could receive any benefit) have notwithstanding with dangerous Battels and infinite troubles, delivered it from oppreffion and servitude of violent Lords and Tyrants. This and such like talke, did at that time occupy the GRECIANS heads: and moreover, the deedes following did answer and performe the words of the Proclamation. For at one selfe time, Titus sent Lentulus into ASIA, to set the BARGILIANS at liberty, and Titillius into THRACIA, to remove the Garrisons out of the Iles and Cities which Philip had kept there: and Publius Fulvius was sent also into ASIA, unto King Antiochus, to speake unto him to set the GRECIANS at liberty which he kept in subjection. And as for Titus, he went himselfe unto the City of CHALCIDE, where he tooke Sea, and went into the Province of MAGNESIA, out of the which he tooke all the Garrisons of the Cities, and re-delivered the Government of the Common-wealth unto the Citizens of the same. Afterwards when time came that the Feast of Nemea was celebrated in the City of ARGOS in the Honour of Hercules, Titus was chosen Judge and Rector of the Games that were plaied there: where, after he had set all things in very good order, pertaining unto the solemnity of the Feast, he caused againe a solemn Proclamation to be made openly, for the Generall liberty of all GREECE. Furthermore visiting the Cities, he did establish very good Lawes, reformed justice, and did set the Inhabitants and Citizens of every one of them in good peace, amity and concord one with another: and did call home also all those that were out-lawes and banished men, and pacified all old quarrels and diffentions among them. The which did no lesse please and content him, that by perswasions he could bring the GRECIANS to be reconciled one with the other, then if he had by force of Armes overcome the MACEDONIANS. Infomuch, as the recovery of the Liberty which Titus had restored unto the GRECIANS, seemed unto them the least part of the goodness they had received at his hands. They say that Lycurgus the Orator seeing the Collectors of Taxes, carry Zenoaratus the Philosopher one day to Prison, for lacke of payment of a certaine imposition, which the strangers inhabiting within the City of ATHENS were to pay: he rescued him from them by force, and moreover prosecuted Law so hard against them, that he made them pay a fine for the injury they had done unto so worthy a Person: And they tell, that the same Philosopher afterwards meeting Lycurgus Children in the City, said unto them: I doe well requite your Fathers good turne he did me: For I am the cause that he is praised and commended of every man, for the kindeesse he shewed one my behalfe. So the good deedes of the ROMANES, and of Titus Quintius Flaminius unto the GRECIANS, did not only reape this benefit unto them, in recompence that they were praised and honoured of all the world: but they were cause also of increasing their Dominions and Empire over all Nationes, and that the world afterwards had great affiance and trust in them, and that most justly. So that the People and Cities did not onely receive the Captaines and Governours the ROMANES sent them: but they also went to ROME unto them, and procured them to come, and did put themselves into their hands. And not onely the Cities and commonalties, but Kings and Princes also which were oppressed by other (more mighty then themselves) had no other refuge, but to put themselves under their Protection: by reason whereof in a very short time (with the favour and helpe of the gods, as I am perswaded) all the world came to submit themselves to their obedience, and under the Protection of their Empire. Titus also did glory more that he had restored GREECE againe unto liberty, then in any other service or exploit he had ever done. For when he offered up unto the Temple of Apollo in the City of DELPHES, the Targets of Silver with his owne Shield, he made these Verses to be graven upon them, in effect as followeth:

O Noble twins Tyndarides Dan I love his Children deare,
Throw out lowde shouts of joy and mirth, rejoyce and make good cheer.
O Noble Kings of Spartan soyle, which take delight to ride
Your trampling Steeds, with fomy bit, and trappings by their side:
Rejoyce you now, for Titus be, the valiant Romane Knight,
These gifts so great to you hath got, even by his force and might:
That having taken cleane away from off the Greekish neckes,
The heavy yoke of servitude, which held them thrall to checkes,
Unto their former liberty he hath restor'd them free,
Which altogether perisht was, as men might plainly see.

He gave a Crowne of maslie Gold unto Apollo, upon the which he made this inscription to be written:

A valiant Romane Knight, even Titus by his Name,
A Captaine worthy by desert of high renowne and fame:

To

Torhee (Apollo god) this Crowne of pure fine Gold
Hath given, thy godhead to adorne with Jewels manifold:
Therefore let it thee please (Apollo god of grace)
With favour to requite this love to him and to his race:
That his renowned fame and Vertue may be spread,
And blazed through the world so wide, to shew what Life he led.

So hath the City of CORINTH enjoyed this good hap, that the GRECIANS have beene twice proclaimed to be set at liberty: the first time by Titus Quintius Flaminius, and the second time by Nero in our time, and at the selfe same instant when they solemnely kept the Feast called Isthmia. Howbeit the first Proclamation of their liberty (as we have told you before) was done by the voice of an Herald: and the second time it was done by Nero himselfe, who proclaimed it in an Oration he made unto the People in open Assembly, in the Market-place of the City of CORINTH. But it was a long time after. Furthermore, Titus began then a goodly and just Warre against Nabis the cursed and wicked Tyrant of LACEDÆMON. Howbeit in the end he deceived the expectation of GREECE: for when he might have taken him, he would not doe it, but made peace with him, forsaking poore SPARTA, unworthily oppressed under the yoke of bondage: either because he was afraid that if the Warre held on, there should come a succellour unto him from ROME, that should carry the glory away to end the same, or else he stood jealous and envious of the Honour they did unto Philopamen: who having shewed himselfe in every place as excellent a Captaine as ever came in GREECE, and having done notable Acts and famous service, both of great wisdom, and also of valiantnesse, and specially in the ACHAIANS Warre: he was as much Honoured and revered of the ACHAIANS in the Theater and common Assemblies, even as Titus was. Whereat Titus was marvellously offended, for he thought it unreasonable that an ARCADIAN who had never beene Generall of an Army, but in small little Warres against his neighbors, should be as much esteemed and Honoured as a Confull of ROME, that was come to make Warres for the recovery of the liberty of GREECE. But Titus alledged reasonable excuse for his doings, saying, that he saw very well he could not destroy this Tyrant Nabis, without the great losse and misery of the other SPARTANS. Furthermore of all the Honours the ACHAIANS ever did him (which was very great) he thinks there was none that came neare any recompence of his Honourable and well deserving, but one onely Present they offered him, and which he above all the rest most esteemed: and this it was. During the second Warres of AFRICK, which the ROMANES had against Hannibal, many ROMANES were taken Prisoners in sundry Battels they lost, and being sold here and there, remained slaves in many Countries: and amongst other, there were dispersed in GREECE to the number of Twelve hundred, which from time to time did move men with spite and compassion towards them that saw them in so miserable change and state of Fortune. But then much more was their misery to be pitied, when these captives found in the ROMANES Army, some of them their Sonnes, other their Brethren, and the rest their fellows and friends, free and conquerours, and themselves slaves and bondmen. It grieved Titus much to see these poore men in such miserable captivity, notwithstanding he would not take them by force from those that had them. Whereupon the ACHAIANS redeemed and bought them for Five hundred Pence a man, and having gathered them together into a Troope, they presented all the ROMANE captives unto Titus, euen as he was ready to take Ship to returne into ITALY: which present made him returne home with greater joy and contentation, having received for his Noble deeds so Honourable a recompence, and worthy of himselfe, that was so loving a man to his Citizens and Countrey. And surely, that onely was the Ornament (in my opinion) that did most beautifie his Triumph. For these poore redeemed captives did that, which the slaves are wont to doe on that day when they be set at liberty: to wit they shave their heads, and do weare little Hats upon them. The ROMANES that were thus redeemed, did in like manner: and so followed Titus Chariot, on the day of his Triumph and entry made into ROME in the Triumphing manner. It was a goodly sight also, to see the spoiles of the Enemies, which were carried in the shew of this Triumph: as store of Helms after the GRECIANS fashion, heapes of Targets, Shields, and Pikes after the MACEDONIAN manner, with a wonderfull summe of Gold and Silver. For Titus the Historiographer writeth, that there was brought a marvellous great Masse of Treasure in nigots of Gold, of Three thousand Seven hundred and Thirteene Pound weight: and of Silver, of forty three Thousand two Hundred Threecore and Ten Pound weight; and of Gold ready coyned in pieces called Philips, Fourteene thousand Five hundred and Fourteene, besides the Thousand Talents King Philip should pay for a rancome: the which summe, the ROMANES afterwards forgave him, chiefly at Titus sute and intercession, who procured that grace for him, and caused him to be called a friend and confederate of the People of ROME, and his Son Demetrius to be sent unto him againe, who remained before as an Hostage of ROME. Shortly after King Antiochus went out of ASIA into GREECE with a great fleet of Ships, and a very puissant Army, to stir up the Cities to forsake their League and alliance with the ROMANES, and make a diffention among them. To further this his desire and enterprise, the ETOLIANS did aide and back him, which of long time had borne great and secret malice against the ROMANES, and desired much to have had Warres with them. So they taught King Antiochus to say, that the Warre which he tooke in hand, was to set the GRECIANS at liberty; whereof they had no neede, because they did already enjoy their liberty: but for that they had no just cause to make Warre, they taught him to cloke it the honestest way he

Nero did set Greece at liberty.

Why Quintus made peace with Nabis the Tyrant of Lacedæmon. The Honour of Philopamen.

Twelve hundred Romanes sold for slaves.

The Achians redeemed the Romanes that were sold for slaves in Greece. The Ceremony of slaves manumitted. T. Quintius Triumph.

Manius Atilius Confull, and T. Quintius, Lieutenants sent into Greece.

Quintius came to establish the liberty of the Grecians.

The Feast of Nemea kept at Argos.

Lycurgus the Orator, rescued Zenoaratus the Philosopher, and saved himselfe from Prison.

Antiochus
overthrown in
Thermopyles, by
Manius the
Consull.

Quintus in-
treath for
the Aetoli-
ans.
King Antio-
chus married
Cleopatra
Daughter in
the City of
Chalcide.

Honours done
unto T. Quintus
for saving
the Chalcidians
and the Greci-
ans.

Quintus cour-
teous and good
nature.
Emulation be-
twix Titus
Quintus and
Philopamen.

he could. Wherefore the ROMANES fearing greatly the rising of the People, and the rumour of the Power of this great King, they sent thither *Manius Acilius* their Generall, and *Titus*, one of his Lieutenants for the GRECIANS sakes. Which arrivall did more assure them that already bare goodwill to the ROMANES, after they had once seene *Manius* and *Titus*: and the rest that began to fly out, and to shrinke from them, those *Titus* kept in obedience from starting, remembering that them of the friendship and good will they had borne him; even like a good skilfull Physitian that could give his Patient Phisicke to preserve him from a contagious disease. Indeede there were some (but few of them) that left him, which were won and corrupted before by the AETOLIANS: and though he had just cause of offence towards them, yet he saved them after the Battell. For King *Antiochus* being overcome in the Countrey of THERMOPYLES, fled his way, and in great hast tooke the Sea to returne into ASIA. And the Consull *Manius* following his Victory, entered into the Countrey of the AETOLIANS, where he tooke certaine Townes by force, and left the other for a pray unto King *Philip*. So *Philip* King of MACEDON on the one side, spoiled and sacked the DOLOPHANS, the MAGNESIANS, the ATHAMIANs, and the APERANTINES: and the Consull *Manius* on the other side, destroyed the City of HERACLEA, and laid siege to the City of NAUPACTUM, which the AETOLIANS kept. But *Titus* taking compassion of them to see the poore People of GREECE thus spoiled and turned out of all: went out of PELOPONNESUS (where he was then) unto *Manius Acilius* Camp, and there reproved him for suffering King *Philip* to usurpe the benefit and reward of his Honourable Victory, still conquering many People, Kings and Countries, whilst he continued siege before a City, and onely to wreak his anger upon them. Afterwards, when they that were besieged saw *Titus* from their Walls, they called him by his Name, and held up their hands unto him, praying him he would take pity upon them: but he gave them never a word at that time, and turning his back unto them, he fell a weeping. Afterwards he spake with *Manius*, and appeasing his anger, got him to grant the AETOLIANS truce for certaine dayes, in which time they might send Ambassadors to ROME, to see if they could obtain grace and pardon of the Senate. But the most trouble and difficulty he had, was to intreat for the CHALCIDIANS, with whom the Consull *Manius* was more grievously offended, then with all the rest: because that King *Antiochus* after the Warres was begun, had married his Wife in their City, when he was past yeares of marriage, and out of all due time. For he was now very old, and being in his extreme age, and in the midst of his Warres, he fell in dotage with a young Gentlewoman, the Daughter of *Cleopatra*, the fairest woman that was at that time in all GREECE. Therefore the CHALCIDIANS were much affected unto King *Antiochus*, and did put their City into his hands, to serve him in this Warre, for a strong and safe retiring place. Whereupon, when *Antiochus* had lost the Battell, he came thither with all possible speed, and taking from thence with him his passing faire young Queene which he had married, and his Gold, his Silver and Friends, he tooke the Seas incontinently, and returned into ASIA. For this cause the Consull *Manius* having wonne the Battell, did march straight with his Army towards the City of CHALCIDE in a great rage and fury. But *Titus* that followed him, did alwaies lye upon him to pacifie his anger, and did so much intreate him, together with the other ROMANES of state and Authority in Councell: that in the end, he got him to pardon them of CHALCIDE also. Who because they were preserved from perill by his meares, they to recompence this Fact of his, did consecrate unto him, all their most stately and sumptuous Buildings and common Works in their City, as appeareth yet by the superscriptions remaining to be seene at this day. As in the Shew-place of exercises: the People of CHALCIDE did dedicate this Shew-place of exercises, unto *Titus* and *Hercules*. And in the Temple called Delphinium: the People of CHALCIDE did consecrate this Temple unto *Titus*, and unto *Apollo*. And furthermore, unto this present time, there is a Priest chosen by the voice of the People, purposely to do Sacrifice unto *Titus*: in which Sacrifice after that the thing Sacrificed is offered up, and Wine powered upon it, the People standing by, doe sing a Song of Triumph made in praise of him. But because it were too long to write it all out, we have onely drawne in briefe the latter end of the fame: and this it is:

*The cleare unspeotted faith of Romanes we adore,
And vow to be their faithfull friends both now and evermore.
Sing out you Muses nine to Joves eternall fame:
Sing out the Honour due to Rome, and Titus worthy Name.
Sing out: (I say) the praise of Titus and his faith:
By whom you have preserved beene from ruine, dole and death.*

Now the CHALCIDIANS did not alone Honour and reverence *Titus*, but he was generally Honoured also by the GRECIANS as he deserved, and was marvellously beloved for his courtesie and good nature: which argueth plainly that they did not fainedly Honour him, or through compulsion, but even from the Heart. For though there were some jarre betwix him and *Philopamen* at the first about service, for emulation of Honour, and after betwix him and *Diophanes* also, both Generals of the ACHAIANS, yet he never bare them any malice in his heart, neither did his anger move him at any time to hurt them in any way, but he ever ended the heate of his words in Councell and Assemblies, where he uttered his minde frankly to them both. Therefore none thought him ever a cruell man, or eager of revenge: but many have thought him rash, and hasty of nature. Otherwise, he was as good a companion in company as possible could be, and would use as pleasant wife Mirth as any man. As when he said to the ACHAIANS, on a time, who would needs un-

justly

Titus Quintus
laying.

Antiochus Am-
bassadors doe
boast of their
Kings great
Army.
Titus Quintus
witty answer
to the Amba-
sadors braggs.

T. Quintus
chosen Censor
with Marcel-
lus.

P. Scipio, and
M. P. Cato
great Enemies.
Secret grudge
betwix Titus
and Cato.

A cruell deed
of Lucius
Quintus.

Cato being
Censor did
put Lucius
Quintus Fla-
minius out of the
Senate.

T. Quintus
unworthy Act
him.

justly usurpe the Ile of the ZAZINTHIANs, to dissuade them from it: My Lords of ACHAIAS, if ye once go out of PELOPONNESUS, you put your selves in danger, as the torteyes doe, when they thrust their heads out of their shels. And the first time he parled with *Philip* to treat of Peace: when *Philip* said unto him, you have brought many men with you, and I am come alone: Indeede it is true you are alone, said he, because you made all your friends and kin to be slaine. Another time, *Democrates* MESSENIAN being in ROME, after he had taken in his cups in a Feast where he was, he disguised himselfe in Womans apparell, and danced in that manner: and the next day following he went unto *Titus*, to pray him to helpe him through with his sute, which was, to make the City of MESSINA to rebell, and leave the Tribe of the ACHAIANS. *Titus* made him answer, that he would thinke upon it: but I can but wonder at you (said he) how you can dance in Womans apparell, and Sing at a Feast, having such matters of weight in your head. In the Countsell of the ACHAIANS, King *Antiochus* Ambassadors being come thither, to move them to breake their League with the ROMANES, and make their alliance with the King their Master, they made a marvellous large discourse of the great multitude of Souldiers that were in their Masters Army, and did number them by many divers Names. Whereunto *Titus* answered, and told how a friend of his having bidden him one night to Supper, and having served for many dishes of Meate to his Boord, as he was angry with him for bestowing so great cost upon him, as wondering how he could so sodainly get so much store of Meate, and of so divers kinds: my friend said to me againe, that all was but Porke dressed for many waies, and with so sundry Sawces. And even so (quoth *Titus*) my Lords of ACHAIAS, esteeme not King *Antiochus* Army the more, to hear off so many men of Armes, numbred with their Lances: and of such a number of Footmen with their Pikes: for they are all but SYRIANS, diversly Armed, onely with ill favoured little weapons. Furthermore, after *Titus* had done these things, and that the Warre with *Antiochus* was ended, he was chosen Censor at ROME, with the Son of that same *Marcellus*, who had been five times Consull. This Office is of great dignity and as a man may say, The Crown of all the Honours that a Citizen of ROME can have in their Common-wealth. They put off the Senate, foure men onely, but they were not famous. They received all into the Number of Citizens of ROME, that would present themselves to be enrolled in their common Register: with a proviso, that they were born free by Father and Mother. They were compelled to do it, by *Terentius Culeo*, Tribune of the People, who to despise the Nobility perswaded the People of ROME to command it so. Now at that time two of the Noblest and most famous men of ROME were great Enemies one against another: *Publius Scipio* AFRICAN, and *Marcus Porcius Cato*. Of these two, *Titus* named *Publius Scipio* AFRICAN, to be Prince of the Senate, as the chiefeest and worthiest Person in the City: and got the displeasure of the other, which was *Cato*, by this mishap. *Titus* had a Brother called *Lucius Quintus Flaminius*, nothing at all like him in condition: for he was so disolutely and licentious given to his pleasure, that he forgot all comblinesse and honesty. This *Lucius* loved well a young Boy, and carriad him alwaies with him when he went to the Warres, or to the charge and Government of any Province. This Boy flattering him, one day said unto *Lucius Quintus*, that he loved him so well, that he did leave the sight of the Sword-players at the sharpe, which were making ready to the fight, although he had never seen man killed before, to waite upon him. *Lucius* being glad of the Boys words, answered him straight. Thou shalt lose nothing for that my Boy, for I will by and by please thee as well. So he commanded a condemned man to be fetched out of Prison, and withall called for the Hangman, whom he willed to strike off his head in the midst of his Supper, that the Boy might see him killed. *Valerius Antias* the Historiographer writeth, that it was not for the love of the Boy, but of a Woman which he loved. But *Titus Livius* declareth, that in an Oration which *Cato* himselfe made, it was written that it was one of the GAULES: who being a traitor to his Countrey-men, was come to *Flaminius* Gate with his Wife and Children, and that *Flaminius* making him come into his Hall, killed him with his own hand, to please a Boy he loved, that was desirous to see a man killed. Howbeit, it is very likely that *Cato* wrot in this sort, to aggravate the offence, and to make it more cruell. For, many have written it that it is true, and that he was no traitor, but an offender condemned to dye, and among other, *Cicero* the Orator doth recite it in a Book he made of age, where he made it to be told unto *Cato*s owne Person. Howsoever it was, *Marcus Cato* being chosen Censor, and cleansing the Senate of all unworthy Persons, he put off the same *Lucius Quintus Flaminius*, although he had been Consull: which disgrace did seeme to redound to his Brother *Titus Quintus Flaminius* also. Whereupon both the Brethren came weeping with all humility before the People, and made a Petition that seemed very reasonable and civill: which was, that they would command *Cato* to come before them, to declare the cause openly, why he had with such open shame defaced so Noble a House as theirs was. *Cato* then without delay, or shrinking back, came with his companion into the Market-place, where he asked *Titus* out aloud, if he knew nothing of the Supper where such a Fact was committed. *Titus* answered, he knew not of it. Then *Cato* opened the whole matter as it was, and in the end of his Tale, he had *Lucius Quintus* sweare openly, if he would deny that he had said was true. *Lucius* answered not a word. Whereupon the People judged the shame was justly laid upon him: and so to Honour *Cato*, they did accompanie him from the Pulpit for Orations, home unto his owne House. But *Titus* being much offended at the disgrace of his Brother, became Enemy to *Cato*, and fell in with those that of long time had hated him. And so by practise he procured of the Senate, that all bargaines of Leases and all Deedes of Sales, made by *Cato* during his Office, were called in, and made void: and caused many Suits also to be commenced against him.

Lucius Quintus restored to his place by the People. T. Quintus ambition.

T. Quintus ambition.

Titus sent Ambassadors unto Prusias King of Bithynia. Hannibal deceived by an Oracle concerning his death. Hannibal kept at Lilyssa in Bithynia.

Hannibal's death.

Midas and Theomistocles poisoned themselves.

Hannibal's last words.

Looke in Pyrrus Life for the story at large.

Scipio Africanus clemency commended.

Talk between Scipio Africanus and Hannibal.

him. Wherein, I cannot say he did wisely or civilly, to become mortall Enemy to an honest man, a good Citizen, and dutifull in his Office for his yeare, for an unworthy kinsman, who had justly deserved the shame laid upon him. Notwithstanding, shortly after when the People were Assembled in the Theater to see Games played, and the Senators were set according to their custome, in the most Honourable places: *Lucius Flaminius* came in also, who in lowly and humble manner, went to sit downe in the Furthest Seates of the Theater, without regard of his former Honour: which when the People saw, they tooke pity of him, and could not abide to see him thus dishonoured. So they cried out to have him come and sit among the other Senators and Consuls, who made him place, and received him accordingly. But to returne againe to *Titus*. The naturall ambition and covetous greedy minde he had of Honour, was very well taken and esteemed, so long as he had any occasion offered him to exercise it in the Warres, which we have spoken of before. For, after he had bene Consul, of his owne seeking he became a Colonell of a Thousand Footmen, nor being called to it by any man. So when he began to stoop for age, and that he had given over as a man at the last cast, to beare Office any longer in the State: they saw plainly he was ambitious beyond measure, to suffer himselfe in old age to be overcome with such youthfull violence, being farre unmeet for any of his yeares. For methinks his ambition was the onely cause that moved him to procure *Hannibal's* death, which bred him much disliking and ill opinion with many. For, after *Hannibal* had fled out of his owne Countrey, he went first unto King *Antiochus*: who, after he lost the Battell in *PHRYGIA*, was glad the ROMANES granted him Peace, with such conditions as themselves would. Wherefore *Hannibal* fled again from him, and after he had long wandered up and down, at the length he came to the Realme of *BITHYNIA*, and remained there about King *Prusias*, the ROMANES knowing it well enough: and because *Hannibal* was then an old broken man, of no force nor Power, and one whom Fortune had spurned at her feete, they made no more reckoning of him. But *Titus* being sent Ambassadour by the Senate, unto *Prusias* King of *BITHYNIA*, and finding *Hannibal* there, it grieved him to see him alive. So that notwithstanding *Prusias* marvelously intreated him, to take pity upon *Hannibal* a poore old man, and his friend who came to him for succour: yet he could not perswade *Titus* to be content he should live. *Hannibal* long before had received answer of his death from an Oracle, to this effect:

The Land of Libya, shall cover under mould,

The valiant corps of Hannibal, when he is dead and cold.

So *Hannibal* understood that of *LIBYA*, as if he should have died in *AFRICA*, and bene buried in *CARTHAGE*. There is a certain fandy Countrey in *BITHYNIA*, neare to the Seas side, where there is a little Village called *LYSSA*, and where *Hannibal* remained continually. He mistrusting King *Prusias* faint heart, and fearing the ROMANES malice also, had made seven privy Caves and vaults under ground long before, that he might secretly go out at either of them which way he would, and every one of them came to the maine vault where himselfe did lye, and could not be discerned outwardly. When it was told him that *Titus* had willed *Prusias* to deliver him into his hands, he sought then to save himselfe by those mines: but he found that all the vents out, had Watch and Ward upon them by the Kings commandement. So then he determined to kill himselfe. Now some say, he wound a Linnen Towell hard about his necke, and commanded one of his men he should set his knee upon his buttocke, and weighing hard upon him, holding the Towell fast, he should pull his neck backward with all the power and strength he could, and never leave pressing on him, till he had strangled him. Others say that he drank Bulls blood, as *Midas* and *Theomistocles* had done before him. But *Titus Livius* writeth, that he had Poison which he kept for such a purpose, and tempered it in a Cup he held in his hands, and before he drank he spake these words: Come on, let us deliver the ROMANES of this great care, sith my life is so grievous unto them, that they thinke it too long to tarry the naturall death of a poore old man, whom they hate so much: and yet *Titus* by this shall win no honourable Victory, nor worthy the memory of the ancient ROMANES, who advertised King *Pyrrus* their Enemy, even when he had Warres with them, and had won Battells of them, that he should beware of poisoning which was intended towards him. And this was *Hannibal's* end, as we finde it written. The News whereof being come to Rome unto the Senate, many of them thought *Titus* too violent and cruell to have made *Hannibal* kill himselfe in that sort, when extremity of age had overcome him already, and was as a Bird left naked, her Feathers falling from her for age: and so much the more, because there was no instant occasion offered him to urge him to doe it, but a covetous minde of Honour, for that he would be Chronicled to be the cause and Author of *Hannibal's* death. And then in contrariwise they did much Honour and commend the clemency and Noble minde of *Scipio Africanus*: who having overcome *Hannibal* in Battell, in *AFRICA* selfe, being then indeed to be feared, and had bene never overcome before: yet he did not cause him to be driven out of his Countrey, neither did aske him of the *CARTHAGINIANS*, but both then, and before the Battell, when he parlied with him of Peace, he tooke *Hannibal* courteously by the hand, and after the Battell, in the conditions of Peace he gave them, he never spake word of hurt to *Hannibal's* Person, neither did he shew any cruelty to him in his misery. And they tell how afterwards they met againe together in the City of *EPHESUS*, and as they were walking, that *Hannibal* tooke the upper hand of *Scipio*: and that *Scipio* bare it patiently, and left not off walking for that, neither shewed any countenance of misliking. And in entering into discourse of many matters, they descended in the end to talke of ancient Captaines: and *Hannibal* gave judgement, that *Alexander* the Great was the famousst Captaine, *Pyrrus* the second,

cond, and himselfe the third. Then *Scipio* smiling, gently asked him: What wouldst thou say then, if I had not overcome thee? Truly, quoth *Hannibal*, I would rather put my selfe the third man, but the first, and above all the Captaines that ever were. So divers greatly commending the goodly sayings and deeds of *Scipio*, did marvelously mislike *Titus*, for that he had (as a man may say) laid his hands upon the death of another man. Other to the contrary againe said, it was well done of him, saying, that *Hannibal* so long as he lived, was a fire to the Empire of the ROMANES, which lacked but one to blow it: and that when he was in his best force and lusty age, it was not his hand nor body that troubled the ROMANES so much, but his great wilddome, and skill he had in the Warres, and the mortall hate he bare in his heart towards the ROMANES, which neither yeares, nor age would diminish or take away. For mens naturall conditions doe remaine still, but Fortune doth not alwaies keepe in a state, but changeth still, and then quickeneth up our desires to set willingly upon those that Warre against us, because they hate us in their hearts. The things which fell out afterwards, did greatly prove the reasons brought out for this purpose, in discharge of *Titus*. For once *Aristonius*, Son of the Daughter of a plaier upon the Cithern, under the name and glory of *Ennius*, whose bastard he was, filled all *ASIA* with Warre and rebellion, by reason the People rose in his favour. Againe *Mithridates*, after so many losses he had received against *Sylla* and *Fimbria*, and after so many Armies overthrown by Battell and Warres, and after so many famous Captaines lost and killed: did yet recover againe, and came to be of Power both by Sea and Land against *Lucullus*. Truly *Hannibal* was no lower brought then *Caim Marins* had bene: for he had a King to his friend that gave him entertainment for him and his family, and made him Admirall of his Ships, and Generall of his Horsemen and Footmen in the Field. *Marinus* also went up and down *AFRICA* a begging for his living, inso much as his enemies at Rome laughed him to scorn: and soone after notwithstanding they fell down at his feete before him, when they saw they were whipped, murdered, and flaine within Rome by his commandement. Thus we see no man can say certainly he is meane or great, by reason of the uncertainty of things to come: considering there is but one death, and change of better Life. Some say also, that *Titus* did not this Act alone, and of his owne Authority, but that he was sent Ambassadour with *Lucius Scipio* to no other end, but to put *Hannibal* to death, by what means soever they could. Furthermore after this Ambassade, we doe not finde any notable thing written of *Titus* worthy of memory, neither in Peace, nor in Warres, for he died quietly of a naturall death at home in his Country.

The end of the Life of T. Q. FLAMINIUS.



THE

THE COMPARISON OF TITUS QUINTIUS FLAMINIUS. with PHILOPOEMEN.



T. Quintus
benefits unto
Greece.

Philopomenus
malice.

Titus Quintus
wiser then
Philopomen.

Quintus com-
manded good
Souldiers.
Philopomen
made good
Souldiers.

IT is time now we come to compare them together. Therefore as touching the great benefits that came to the GRECIANS, neither *Philopomen*, nor all the other former Captaines are to be compared with *Titus*. For all the ancient Captaines almight being GRECIANS, made Warres with other GRECIANS: but *Titus* being a ROMANE, and no GRECIAN, made Warres for the liberty of GREECE. When *Philopomen* was not able to help his poore Citizens distressed sore and vexed with Warres, he sailed away into CRETA. *Titus* having overcome *Philip* King of MACEDON in Battell, did restore againe to liberty all the People and Cities of the same, which were kept before in bondage. And if any will narrowly examine the Battels of either party, they shall finde that *Philopomen* being Generall of the ACHAIANS, made more GRECIANS to be slaine, then *Titus* did of the MACEDONIANS, fighting with them for the liberty of the GRECIANS. And for their imperfections, the one of them was ambitious, the other was as obstinate: the one was quick and sodainly angred, the other was very hard to be pacified. *Titus* left King *Philip* his Realm and Crown after he had overcome him, and used great clemency towards the ETOLIANS: where *Philopomen* for spite and malice, took Towns and Villages from his owne native Countrey and City wherein he was borne, that had alwaies payed them tribute. Furthermore, *Titus* continued a found friend to them, to whom he had once professed friendship, and done pleasure unto: and *Philopomen* in a geare and anger, was ready to take away that he had given, and to overthrow the pleasure and good turne he had shewed. For *Philopomen* when he had done the LACEDAMONIANS great pleasure, did afterwards raze the Walls of their City, and spoiled and destroyed all their Countrey: and *Philip* overthrew their whole Government. It seemeth also by reason of his immoderate cholere, he was himselfe the cause of his owne death, for that he made more hast then good speed, to goe out of Crete to set upon those of MESSINA: and not as *Titus*, who did all his affaires with wisdom, and ever considered what was best to be done: But if we look into the number of Battels, and Victories. The Warre which *Titus* made against *Philip* was ended with two Battels: whereas *Philopomen* in infinite Battels in which he had the better, never left it doubtfull, but that his skill did ever help him more to the Victory, then the good Fortune he had. Moreover, *Titus* won Honour by means of the Power of ROME, when it flourished most, and was in best prosperity: *Philopomen* made himselfe, famous by his deeds, when GREECE began to stoope and fall altogether. So that the deeds of the one, were common to all the ROMANS: and the deeds of the other, were private to himselfe alone. For *Titus* was Generall over good and valiant Souldiers, that were already trained to his hand: and *Philopomen* being chosen Generall, did train his men himself, and made them afterwards very expert and Valiant, that were but meane and green Souldiers before. And whereas *Philopomen* had continuall Wars with the GRECIANS, it was not for any good Fortune he had, but that it made a certain proofe of his valiantnesse. For where all other things are answerable to his, there we must judge that such as overcome, have the most courage. Now *Philopomen* making Wars with the most Warlike Nations of all GREECE, (as the CRETANS, and the LACEDAMONIANS) did overcome the subtillest of them, by finenesse and policie: and the most valiant by prowesse and hardinesse. But *Titus* overcame, by putting that onely in practise, which was already found and stablished: as the discipline of Wars, and order of Battell, in the which his Souldiers had long before been trained. Whereas *Philopomen* brought into his Countrey, both the one and the other, and

and altered all the order which before they were accustomed unto. So that the chiefeft point how to win a battell, was found out anew, and brought in by the one; into a place where it was never before: and onely employed by the other, which had very good skill to use it, and had found it out already before. Againe, touching the valiant acts done in the person of themselves, many notable acts may be told of *Philopomen*, but none of *Titus*: but rather to the contrary. For there was one *Archedamus* an ETOLIAN, who flouting *Titus* one day, said in his reproach: that at a day of battell, when *Philopomen* ran with his sword in his hand, to that side where he saw the MACEDONIANS fighting and making head against the enemy, *Titus* held up his hands unto heaven, and was busie at his prayers to the gods, not stirring one foot, when it was more time to handle the sword, and to fight of all hands. All the goodly deeds *Titus* ever did, were done alwayes as a Consul, or Lieutenant, or Magistrate: whereas *Philopomen* shewed himself unto the ACHAIANS, a man no lesse valiant and of execution, being out of Office, then when he was a General. For when he was a General, he did drive *Nabis* the Tyrant of the LACEDAMONIANS out of MESSINA, and delivered the MESSINIANS out of bondage: and being a private man, he shut the Gates of the City of SPARTA, in the face of *Diophanes* (Generall of the ACHAIANS) and of *Titus Quintus Flaminius*, and kept them both from coming in, and thereby saved the City from sacking. Thus being borne to command, he knew not onely how to command according to the Law, but could command the Law it self upon necessity, and when the Commonwealth required it. For at such a time he would not tarry while the Magistrates which should govern him, did give him Authority to command, but he took it of himself; and used them when the time served: esteeming, that he which knew better then they what was to be done, was more truly their Generall, then he whom they had chosen. And therefore they do well, that do commend *Titus* Acts, for his clemency and courtesie used to the GRECIANS: but much more the Noble and Valiant Acts of *Philopomen* unto the ROMANS. For it is much easier to pleasure & gratifie the weak, then it is to hurt and resist the strong. Therefore sithence we have thoroughly examined and compared the one with the other, it is very hard to judge altogether the difference that is between them. Peradventure therefore the judgement would not seem very ill, if we do give the GRECIAN for Discipline of Warre, the pre-eminence and praise of a good Captaine: and to the ROMANS for Justice and Clemencie, the Name and Dignity of a most Just and Courteous Gentleman.

A General
must not be
at his prayers
when he should
occupy his
sword.

Quintus cle-
mency to the
Grecians.
Philopomenus
leve to the Ro-
mans.



F f

THE

THE LIFE OF PYRRRUS.



Ann. Mund.
3662.

Ant. Christ.
286.

Pyrrus kindred,
and beginning
of the King-
dom of Epirus.



Pyrrus, red.

It is written, that since Noahs flood, the first King of the THESSALIANS, and of the MOLOSSIANS, was Phaeon, one of those who came with Pelagus into the Realme of EPIRUS. But some say otherwise, that Democalion, and his Wife Pyrra remained there, after they had built and founded the Temple of Dodone, in the Countrey of the MOLOSSIANS. But howsoever it was, a great while after that, Neoptolemus the Sonne, of Achilles, bringing thither a great number of people with him, conquered the Country, and after him left a Succession of Kings, which were called after his name, the PYRRIDES: because that from his infancy he was surnamed Pyrrus, as much to say, as red: and one of his legitimate Sonnes whom he had by Lanassa, the Daughter of Cleodes the Son of Hylus, was also named by him Pyrrus. And this is the cause why Achilles is honoured as a god in EPIRUS, being called in their language, Aspetos, that is to say, mighty, or very great. But from the first Kings of that race untill the time of Tharrytas, there is no memory nor mention made of them: nor of their Power that Raigned in the mean time, because they all became very Barbarous, and utterly void of civility. Tharrytas was indeed the first that beautified the Cities of his Countrey with the GRECIAN tongue, brought in civil Laws and Customes, and made his name famous to the posterity that followed. This Tharrytas left a Sonne called Alcetas; of Alcetas came Arymbas, of Arymbas and Troiade his Wife came Eacides, who married Phthia the Daughter of Menon the THESSALIAN, a famous man in any o- time of the warres, surnamed LAMIAN, and one that had farre greater authority then any o- ther of the confederates, after Leofhenes. This Eacides had two Daughters by his Wife Phthia, to say, Deidamea and Troiade, and one Sonne called Pyrrus. In his time the MOLOSSIANS rebelled, drave him out of his Kingdom, and put the Crowne into the hands of the Sons of Neoptolemus. Whereupon all the friends of Eacides that could be taken, were generally murdered and slaine outright. Androclides and Angelus in the meane time stole away Pyrrus, being but a sucking babe, (whom his enemies nevertheless eagerly sought for to have destroyed) and fled away with him as fast as possible they might, with few servants, his Nurses and necessary women onely to look to the child and giveit suck: by reason whereof their flight was much hindered, so as they could go no great journeyes, but that they might easily be overtaken by them that followed. For which cause they put the childe into the hands of Androclion, Hippias, and Neander, three lusty young men whom they trusted with him, and commanded them to runne for life to a certain City of MACEDON, called MEGARES, and they themselves in the meane time, partly by intreaty, and partly by force made stay of those that followed them till night. So as with much ado having driven them backe, they ran after them that carried the childe Pyrrus, whom they overtook at Sun-set. And now, weening they had bene safe, and out of all danger, they found it clean contrary. For when

How Pyrrus
being an infant
was saved.

Megarae a City
of Macedonia.

when they came to the River under the Towne Wallles of MEGARES, they saw it so rough and swift, that it made them afraid to behold it: and when they gaged the foord, they found it impossible to wade through, it was so high risen and troubled with the fall of the raine, besides that the darknesse of the night made every thing seeme fearfull unto them. So as they now that carried the childe, thought it not good to venture the passage over of themselves alone, with the women that tended the child: but hearing certaine Countrymen on the other side, they prayed and besought them in the name of the gods, that they would helpe them to passe over the childe, shewing Pyrrus unto them afare off. But the Countrymen by reason of the roaring of the River understood them not. Thus they continued a long space, the one crying, the other listning, yet could they not understand one another, till at the last one of the company bethought himselfe to pill off the Barke of an Oke, and upon that he wrote with the tongue of a buckle, the hard fortune and necessity of the childe. Which he tied to a stone to give it weight, and so threw it over to the other side of the River: other say, that he did prick the Barke through with the point of a dart which he cast over. The Countrymen on the other side of the River, having read what was written, and understanding thereby the present danger the child was in: felled down trees in all the hast they could possible, bound them together and so passed over the River. And it fortuned that the first man of them that passed over, and tooke the other that came with the childe, and conveyed them over as they came first to hand. And thus having escaped their hands, by easie journeyes they came at the length unto Glaucias King of ILLYRIA, whom they found in his house sitting by his Wife: and laid downe the childe in the midst of the floor before him. The King hereupon staied a long time without uttering any one word, weighing with himselfe what was best to be done: because of the fear he had of Cassander, a mortall enemy of Eacides. In the meane time, the childe Pyrrus creeping of all foure, took hold of the Kings Gown, and scrawled up by that, and so got up on his feet against the Kings knees. At the first, the King laughed to see the child: but after it pitied him againe, because the childe seemed like an humble suter that came to seek sanctuary in his Armes. Others say, that Pyrrus came not to Glaucias, but unto the Altar of the familiar gods, amongst the which he got up on his feet, and embraced it with both his hands. Which Glaucias imagining to be done by gods providence, presently delivered the childe to his wife, gave her the charge of him, and willed her to see him brought up with his owne. Shortly after, his enemies sent to demand the child of him: and moreover, Cassander caused two hundred talents to be offered him, to deliver the child Pyrrus into his hands. Howbeit Glaucias would never grant thereunto, but contrarily, when Pyrrus was come to twelve years old, he brought him into his Countrey of EPIRUS with an Army, and stablished him King of the Realme againe: Pyrrus had a great Majesty in his countenance, but yet indeed more fearfull then friendly. He had also no Teeth in his upper Jaw that stood distinctly one from another, but one whole bone throughout his Gumme, marked a littel at the top onely, with certaine rifts in the place where the Teeth should be divided. Men held opinion also, that he did heale them that were sicke of the Spleene, by sacrificing a white Cock, and touching the place of the Spleene on the left side of them that were sick, softly with his right foot, they lying on their backs: and there was not so poore nor simple a man that craved this remedy of him, but he gave it him, and tooke the Cocke he sacrificed, for reward of the remedy, which pleased him very well. They say also, that the great toe of his right foot had some secret vertue in it. For when he was dead, and that they burnt his body, all the rest being consumed to ashes, his great toe was whole, and had no hurt at all: but of that, we will write more hereafter. Now, when he was seventeen years of age, thinking himselfe sure enough of his Kingdom, it chanced him to make a journey into ILLYRIA, where he married one of Glaucias Daughters, with whom he had bene brought up. But his backe was no sooner turned, but the MOLOSSIANS rebelled againe against him, and drave out his friends and servants, and destroyed all his goods, and yeelded themselves unto his adversary Neoptolemus. King Pyrrus having thus lost his Kingdom, and seeing himselfe forsaken on all sides, went to Demetrius (Antigonus Sonne) that had married his Sister Deidamia, who in her young age was assured to Alexander the Sonne of Alexander the Great, and of Roxane, and was called his Wife. But when all that race was brought to wicked end, Demetrius then married her, being come to full and able age. And in that great battell which was stricken neere to the City of HIRPUS, where all the Kings fought together, Pyrrus being then but a young man, and with Demetrius, put them all to flight that fought with him, and was worthily reputed for the valiantest Prince amongst them all. Furthermore, when Demetrius was overcome, and had lost the battell, Pyrrus never forsook him, but faithfully did keepe for him the Cities of GRECE, which he put into his hands. And afterwards when Peace was concluded betwixt Demetrius and Ptolomy, Pyrrus was sent an Hostage for Demetrius into the Realme of EGYPT: where he made Ptolomy know (both in Hunting and in other exercises of his person) that he was very strong, hard, and able to endure any labour. Furthermore perceiving that Berenice amongst all Kings Ptolomies Wives, was best beloved and esteemed of her husband; both for her Vertue and Wisdome, he began to entertaine and honour her above all the rest. For he was a man that could tell how to humble himselfe towards the great (by whom he might win benefit) and knew also how to creepe into their credit: and in like manner was he a great scorner and despiser of such as were his inferiours. Moreover, for that he was found marvellous honourable and of faire condition, he was preferred before all other

Glaucias King
of Ilyria.

Pyrrus countenance & teeth.

Pyrrus healed them that were sicke of the Spleene.

The fire could burne Pyrrus great toe.

Pyrrus Realme taken from him in his absence.

Pyrrus valiantest at the battell of Hirpus.

Pyrrus behaviour.

F f 2

young

Pyrrus married to Antigona the Daughter of Philip King of Macedon, and of his wife Berenice. Pyrrus restored to his kingdom againe. Pyrrus devided the Realm of Epirus with Neoptolemus.

young Princes, to be the Husband of *Antigona*, the Daughter of *Queen Berenice*, whom she had by *Philip*, before she was married unto *Ptolemy*. From thenceforth growing through the alliance of that marriage, more and more in estimation and favour by means of his Wife *Antigona*, who shewed her self very vertuous and loving towards him: he found means in the end, to get both men and money to returne againe into the Realme of *EPIRUS*, and to conquer it: so was he then very well received of the people, and the better, for the malice they beare to *Neoptolemus*, because he dealt both hardly and cruelly with them. That notwithstanding, *Pyrrus* fearing lest *Neoptolemus* would repaire unto some of the other Kings, to seek aide against him, thought good to make peace with him. Whereupon it was agreed betweene them, that they should both together be Kings of *EPIRUS*. But in proceesse of time, some of their men secretly made strife againe betweene them, and set them at defiance one with another: and the chieftest cause as it is said, that angered *Pyrrus* most, grew upon this: the Kings of *EPIRUS* had an ancient custome of great antiquity, after they had made solemne sacrifice unto *Jupiter Martialis*, in a certain place in the Province of *MOLOSSIDS* (called *PASSARON*) to take their Oath, and to be sworne to the *EPIROTS*, that they would reigne well and justly, according to the Lawes and Ordinances of the Countrey: and to receive the Subjects Oathes interchangeably also, that they should defende and maintaine them in their Kingdome, according to the Lawes in like manner. This Ceremony was done in the presence of both the Kings, and they with their friends did both give and receive Presents each of other. At this meeting and solemnity, among other, one *Gelon* a most faithfull servant and assured friend unto *Neoptolemus*, who besides great shewes of friendship and honour he did unto *Pyrrus*, gave him two pair of draught Oxen, which one *Myrtilus* a Cup-bearer of *Pyrrus* being present, and seeing did crave of his master. But *Pyrrus* denied to give them unto him, whereat *Myrtilus* was very angry. *Gelon* perceiving that *Myrtilus* was angry, prayed him to sup with him that night. Now some say, he sought to abuse *Myrtilus*, because he was faire and young: and began to perswade him after supper to take part with *Neoptolemus*, and poyson *Pyrrus*. *Myrtilus* made as though he was willing to give care to this perswasion, and to be well pleased withall. But in the meane time, he went and told his master of it, by whose commendement he made *Alexicrates*, *Pyrrus* chiefe Cup-bearer, to talke with *Gelon* about this practise, as though he had also given his consent to it, and was willing to be partaker of the enterprife. This did *Pyrrus* to have two Witnesses, to prove the pretended poysoning of him. Thus *Gelon* being finely deceived, and *Neoptolemus* also with him, both imagining they had cunningly spurne the threed of their treason: *Neoptolemus* was so glad of it, that he could not keepe it himselfe, but told it to certaine of his friends. And on a time going to be merry with his Sister, he could not keepe it in, but must be prating of it to her, supposing no body had heard him but her selfe, because there was no living creature neere them, saving *Phoenareta Samons* wife, the Kings chiefe heardman of all his beastes, and yet she was laid upon a little bed by, and turned towards the wall: so that she seemed as though she had slept. But having heard all their talke, and no body mistrusting her: the next morning she went to *Antigona* King *Pyrrus* wife, and told her every word what she had heard *Neoptolemus* say to his Sister. *Pyrrus* hearing this, made no countenance of any thing at that time: but having made sacrifice unto the gods, he had *Neoptolemus* to supper to his house, where he slew him, being well informed before of the goodwill the chieftest men of the Realme did beare him, who wished him to dispatch *Neoptolemus*, and not to content himself with a piece of *EPIRUS* onely, but to follow his natural inclination, being borne to great things: and for this cause, this suspition also falling out in the meane while, he prevented *Neoptolemus* and slew him first. And furthermore, remembering the pleasures he had received of *Ptolemy* and *Berenice*, he named his first Sonne by his Wife *Antigona*, *Ptolemy*, and having built a City in the *PRESSOYE*, an Isle of *EPIRUS*, did name it *BERENICIDA*. When he had done that, imagining great matters in his head, but more in his hope, he first determined with himself how to winne that which lay neereft unto him: and so tooke occasion by this meanes, first to set foot into the Empire of *MACEDON*. The eldest Sonne of *Cassander*, called *Antipater*, put his owne Mother *Thejalonica* to death, and drove his Brother *Alexander* out of his own Countrey, who sent to *Demetrius* for help, and called in *Pyrrus* also to his aide. *Demetrius* being troubled with other matters could not so quickly go thither. And *Pyrrus* being arrived there, demanded for his charge sustained, the City of *NYMPHÆA*, with all the Sea coasts of *MACEDON*: and besides all that, certaine Lands also that were not belonging to the ancient Crowne and Revenues of the Kings of *MACEDON*, but were added unto it by force of Armes, as *Ambracia*, *Acarnania*, and *Amphilochia*. All these, the young King *Alexander* leaving unto him, he tooke possession thereof, and put good Garisons into the same in his own name: and conquering the rest of *MACEDON* in the name of *Alexander*, put his Brother *Antipater* to great distresse. In the mean time King *Lysimachus* lacking no goodwill to help *Antipater* with his force, but being busied in other matters, had not the mean to do it. Howbeit knowing very well that *Pyrrus* in acknowledging the great pleasures he had received of *Ptolemy*, would deny him nothing: he determined to write counterfeit Letters to him in *Ptolemies* name, and thereby instantly to pray and require him to leave off the warres begun against *Antipater*, and to take of him towards the defraying of his charges, the sum of three hundred Talents. *Pyrrus* opening the Letters, knew straight that this was but a fetch and device of *Lysimachus*. For King *Ptolemies* common manner of greeting of him, which he used at the beginning of his Letters, was not in them observed: To my Son *Pyrrus*, health. But in those counterfeit was,

Pyrrus slew Neoptolemus.

Berenicida, a City of Epirus in the Isle of Presque.

Pyrrus first journey into Macedon.

King Lysimachus came to receive Pyrrus.

King *Ptolemy*, unto King *Pyrrus* health. Whereupon he presently pronounced *Lysimachus* for a naughty man: nevertheless, afterwards he made Peace with *Antipater*, and they met together at a day appointed, to be sworne upon the Sacrifices into the Articles of peace. There were three beasts brought to be sacrificed, a Goate, a Bull, and a Ramme: of the which the Ramme fell downe dead of himselfe before he was touched, whereat all the standers by fell a laughing. But there was a Soothsayer, one *Theodotus*, that perswaded *Pyrrus* not to swear: saying, that this signe and token of the gods did threaten one of the three Kings with sudden death. For which cause *Pyrrus* concluded no peace. Now *Alexanders* warres being ended, *Demetrius* notwithstanding came to him, knowing well enough at his coming, that *Alexander* had no more need of his aide, and that he did it onely but to feare him. They had not bene many dayes together, but the one began to mistrust the other, and to spie all the wayes they could to intrap each other: but *Demetrius* embracing the first occasion offered, perverted *Alexander*, and slew him, being a young man, and proclaimed himselfe King of *MACEDON* in his room. Now *Demetrius* had certaine quarrels before against *Pyrrus*, because he had over-run the Countrey of *THESSALIE*: and furthermore, greedy covetousnesse to have the more (which is a common vice with Princes and Noble men) made, that being so neare neighbours, the one stood in feare and mistrust of the other, and yet much more after the death of *Deidamia*. But now that they both occupied all *MACEDON* betweene them, and were to make divison of one selfe Kingdome: now I say began the matter and occasion of quarrell to grow the greater betweene them. Whereupon *Demetrius* went with his Army to set upon the *ÆTOLIANS*, and having conquered the Countrey, left *Pantauchus* his Lieutenant there with a great Army: and himselfe in person in the meane time marched against *Pyrrus*, and *Pyrrus* on the other side against him. They both missed of meeting, and *Demetrius* going on further on the one side, entered into the Realme of *EPIRUS*, and brought a great spoile away with him: *Pyrrus* on the other side marched on, till he came to the place where *Pantauchus* was. To whom he gave battell, and it was valiantly fought out betweene the souldiers of either party, but specially betweene the two Generals. For doubtlesse *Pantauchus* was the valiantest Capitaine, the stoutest man, and of the greatest experience in Armes, of all the Captaines and souldiers *Demetrius* had. Whereupon *Pantauchus* trusting in his strength and courage, advanced himselfe forwards, and lustily challenged the combat of *Pyrrus*. *Pyrrus* on the other side being inferiour to no King in valiantnesse, nor in desire to win honour, as he that would ascribe unto himselfe the glory of *Achilles*, more for the invitation of his valiance, then for that he was descended of his blood: passed through the midd of the battell unto the first ranke, to buckle with *Pantauchus*. Thus they began to charge one another, first with their darts, and then coming nearer, fought with their swords, not onely artificially, but also with great force and fury: untill such time as *Pyrrus* was hurt in one place, and he hurt *Pantauchus* in two: the one neere unto his throat, and the other in his legge: so as in the end *Pyrrus* made him turn his back, and threw him to the ground, but nevertheless killed him not. For, so soone as he was downe, his men took him up, and carried him away. But the *EPIROTS* encouraged by the victory of their King, and the admiration of his valiantnesse, took to it so lustily, that in the end they brake the battell of the *MACEDONIAN* footmen: and having put them to flight, followed them so lively, that they slew a great number of them, and took five thousand prisoners. This overthrow did not so much fill the hearts of the *MACEDONIANS* with anger, for the losse they had received, nor with the hate conceived against *Pyrrus*: as it wan *Pyrrus* great fame and honour, making his courage and valiantnesse to be wondered at of all such as were present at the battell that saw him fight, and how he laid about him. For they thought that they saw in his face the very life and agility of *Alexander* the Great, and the right shaddow as it were, shewing the force and fury of *Alexander* himselfe in that fight. And where other King did but onely counterfeit *Alexander* the Great in his Purple garments, and in numbers of souldiers and guards about their persons, and in a certain fashion and bowing of their necks a little, and in uttering their speech with an high voice: *Pyrrus* onely was like unto him, and followed him in his Martiall deeds and valiant Acts. Furthermore, for his experience and skill in Warlike Discipline, the bookes he wrote himselfe thereof, do amply prove and make manifest. Furthermore, they report, that King *Antigonus* being asked, whom he thought to be the greatest Capitaine: made answer, *Pyrrus*, so farre forth as he might live to be old, speaking onely of the Captaines of his time. But *Hannibal* generally said, *Pyrrus* was the greatest Capitaine of experience and skill in wars of all other, *Scipio* the second, and himselfe the third: as we have written in the Life of *Scipio*. So it seemeth that *Pyrrus* gave his whole life and study to the Discipline of warres, as that which indeed was Princely and meete for a King, making no reckoning of all other knowledge. And furthermore touching this matter, they report that he being at a feast one day, a question was asked him, whom he thought to be the best player of the Flute, *Pjthion* or *Cephebias*: whereunto he answered, that *Polyperchon* in his opinion was the best Capitaine, as if he would have said, that was the onely thing a Prince should seeke for, and which he ought chiefly to learne and know. He was very gentle and familiar with his friends, easie to forgive when any had offended him, and marvellous desirous to requite and acknowledge any courtesie or pleasure by him received. And that was the cause why he did very unpatiently take the death of *Æropus*, not so much for his death (which he knew was a common thing to every living creature) as for that he was angry with himselfe he had deferred the time so long, that time it selfe had cut him off from all occasion and meanes to requite the courtesies he had received of him. True it is, that money lent

Theodotus judgement, a Soothsayer.

Pyrrus quarrell and warre with Demetrius.

Pantauchus, Demetrius Lieutenant in Ætolia.

Pyrrus fight with Pantauchus.

Pyrrus victory over Pantauchus.

Pyrrus likened to Alexander the Great.

Pyrrus skill in warlike discipline.

Hannibal judgement of Captaines.

Pyrrus wife and sister.

Pyrrus goodness and clemency.

Pyrrus camped in the plaine between Pandosia and Heraclea.

Pyrrus battell.

Pyrrus first conflikt with the Romanes. Pyrrus wildest and foresight in battell.

Pyrrus changed his Armour and cloake.

Megacles slain, taken for Pyrrus.

Pyrrus victory of Leuinus the Consul.

understand of them, if (before they entered into this war) they could be content the controversies they had with all the GRECIANS dwelling in ITALY, might be decided by justice; and therein to refer themselves to his arbitration, who of himself would undertake the pacification of them. Whereunto the Consul *Leuinus* made answer, that the ROMANES would never allow him for a Judge, neither did they feare him for an enemy. Wherefore *Pyrrus* going on still, came to lodge in the plaine which is between the Cities of PANDOSIA, and of HERACLEA: and having news brought him that the ROMANES were encamped very neer unto him on the other side of the River of *Siris*, he tooke his horse, and rode to the Rivers side to view their Campe. So having thoroughly considered the forme, the situation, and the order of the same, the manner of charging their watch, and all their fashions of doing, he wounded much thereat. And speaking to *Megacles*, one of his familiars about him, he said, This order *Megacles* (quoth he) though it be of barbarous people, yet it is not barbarously done, but we shall shortly prove their force. After he had thus taken his view, he began to be more careful then he was before, and purposed to tarry till the whole aide of their confederates were come together, leaving men at the Rivers side of *Siris*, to keep the passage, if the enemies ventured to passe over, as they did indeed. For they made hast to prevent the aide that *Pyrrus* looked for, and passed their footmen over upon a Bridge, and their horsemen had diverse fords of the River: inso-much as the GRECIANS fearing lest they should be compassed in behind drew backe. *Pyrrus* advertised thereof, and being a little troubled therewithal, commanded the Captains of his footmen presently to put their bands in battell ray, and not to stir till they knew his pleasure: and he himself in the mean time marched on with three thousand horse, in hope to finde the ROMANES by the River side, as yet out of order, and utterly unprovided. But when he saw afarre off a great number of footmen with their Targets ranged in battell, on this side the River, and their horsemen marching towards him in very good order: he caused his men to joyne close together, and himselfe first began the charge being easie to be known from other, if it had bene no more but his passing rich glistering Armour and furniture, and withall, for that his valiant deeds gave manifest proofe of his well deserving fame and renowe. For, though he valiantly bestirred his hands and body both, repulsing them he encountered withall in fight, yet he forgot not himselfe, nor neglected the judgement and foresight which should never be wanting in a Generall of an Army: but as though he had not fought at all, quietly and discreetly gave order for every thing, riding to and fro, to defend and encourage his men in those places, where he saw them in most distresse. But even in the hottest of the battell, *Leonatus* MACEDONIAN spied an ITALIAN man of Armes, that followed *Pyrrus* up and down where he went, and ever kept in manner of even hand with him, to set upon him. Wherefore he said to *Pyrrus*: My Lord, do you not see that barbarous man there upon a Bay horse with white feet? Sure he looketh as though he meant to do some notable feat and mischief with his owne hands: for his eye is never off you, but waiteth onely upon you, being sharpe set to deale with your self and none other, and therefore take heed of him. *Pyrrus* answered him, It is impossible *Leonatus*, for a man to avoid his destiny: but neither he nor any other ITALIAN whatsoever, shall have any joy to deale with me. And as they were talking thus of the matter, the ITALIAN taking his Speare in the middle, and setting spurs to his horse, charged upon *Pyrrus*, and ran this horse through and through with the same, *Leonatus* at the selfe same instant served the ITALIAN horse in the like manner, so as both their horses fell dead to the ground. Howbeit *Pyrrus* men that were about him, saved him presently, and slew the ITALIAN in the field, although he fought it out right valiantly. The ITALIAN name was *Oplacus*, borne in the City of FERENTUM, and was Captaine of a band of men of Armes. This mishance made King *Pyrrus* looke the better to himself afterwards, and seeing his horsemen give back, sent presently to hasten his footmen forward, whom he straight set in order of battell: and delivering his Armour and cloake to one of his familiars called *Megacles*, and being hidden as it were in *Megacles* Armour, returned againe to the battell against the ROMANES, who valiantly resisted him, so that the Victory depended long in doubt: for it is said, that both the one side and the other did chase, and was chased, above seven times in that conflict. The changing of the Kings Armour served very well for the safety of his own person, howbeit it was like to have marred all, and to have made him lose the field. For many of his enemies set upon *Megacles*, that wore the Kings Armour: and the party that slew him dead, and threw him starke to the ground, was one *Deximus* by name, who quickly snatched off his head-piecc, took away his cloake, and ranne to *Leuinus* the Consul, crying out aloud, that he had slaine *Pyrrus*, and withall shewed forth the spoiles he supposed to have taken from him. Which being carried about through all the Bands, and openly shewed from hand to hand, made the ROMANES marvellous joyfull, and the GRECIANS on the contrary, both afear'd and right sorrowfull: untill such time as *Pyrrus* hearing of it, went and passed along all his Bands bare headed, and bare faced, holding up his hand to his souldiers, and giving them to understand with his owne voice, that it was himselfe. The Elephants in the end were they indeed that won the battell, and did most distresse the ROMANES: for, their horses seeing them afarre off, were fore afraid, and durst not abide them, but carried their masters backe in despite of them. *Pyrrus* at the sight thereof, made his THESSALIAN horsemen to give charge upon them whilest they were in this disorder, and that so lustily, as they made the ROMANES flie, and sustaine great slaughter. For *Dionysius* writeth, that there died few lesse, then fifteene thousand ROMANES at that battell. But *Hieronymus* speaketh onely of seven thousand. And of *Pyrrus* side, *Dionysius* writeth, there were slaine thirteene thousand. But *Hieronymus* saith, lesse then four thousand: howbeit they were all of the best men of his Army, and those whom he most trusted.

King

King *Pyrrus* presently hereupon also tooke the ROMANES Campe, which they forlooke, and wan many of their Cities from their alliance, spoiled and overcame much of their Country. In so much as he came within fixe and thirty miles of ROME, whither came to his aide, as confederates of the TARENTINES, the LUCANIANS, and SAMNITES, whom he rebuked because they came too late to the battell. Howbeit a man might easily see in his face, that he was not a little glad and proud to have overthrowne so great an Army of the ROMANES with his owne men, and the aide of the TARENTINES onely. On the other side, the ROMANES hearts were so great, that they would not depose *Leuinus* from his Consulship, notwithstanding the losse he had received: and *Caius Fabricius* said openly, that they were not the EPIROTS that had overcome the ROMANES, but *Pyrrus* had overcome *Leuinus*: meaning thereby, that this overthrow chanced unto them, more through the subtilty and wise conduction of the General, then through the valiant feates and worthinesse of his Army. And hereupon they speedily supplid their Legions againe that were diminished, with other new souldiers in the dead mens place, and Leavied a fresh Force besides, speaking bravely and fiercely of this warre, like men whose hearts were nothing appalled. Whereat *Pyrrus* marvelling much, thought good first to send to the ROMANES, to prove if they would give any ear to an offer of peace, knowing right well that the winning of the City of ROME was no easie matter to compass or attain, with that strength he presently had: and also that it would be greatly to his glory, if he could bring them to peace after this valiant Victory. And hereupon he sent *Cineas* to ROME, who spake with the chieft of the City, and offered Presents to them and their Wives, in the behalfe of the King his Master. Howbeit, neither man nor woman would receive any at his hands, but answered all with one voice, That if the peace might be generall to all, they all privately would be at the Kings commandement, and would be glad of his friendship. Moreover, when *Cineas* had talked in open Audience before the Senate, of many courteous offers, and had delivered them profitable capitulations of peace: they accepted none, nor shewed any affection to give ear unto them, although he offered to deliver them their Prisoners home againe without ranfome, that had bene taken at the battell, and promised also to aide them in the conquest of ITALY, requiring no other recompence at their hands, saving their good wills onely to his Master, and assurance for the TARENTINES, that they should not be annoyed for any thing past, without demand of other matter. Nevertheless in the end, when they had heard these offers, many of the Senators yeelded, and were willing to make peace: alledging that they had already lost a great battell, and now they looked for a greater, when the force of the confederates of ITALIE should joyne together with King *Pyrrus* Power. But *Appius Claudius*, a famous man, who came no more to the Senate, nor dealt in matters of State at all by reason of his age, and partly because he was blind, when he understood of King *Pyrrus* offers, and of the common brute that ranne through the City, how the Senate were in minde to agree to the capitulations of peace propounded by *Cineas*, he could not abide, but caused his servants to carry him in his Chaire upon their armes unto the Senate door, his Sonnes, and Sonnes in Law taking him in their armes, carried him into the Senate house. The Senate made silence to honour the coming in of so notable and worthy personage: and he so soone as they had set him in his seate, began to speake in this sort: "Hitherunto with great impatience (my Lords of ROME) have I borne the losse of my sight, but now, I would I were also deafe as I am blind, that I might not (as I do) heare the report of your dishonorable consultations determined upon in Senate, which tend to subvert the glorious fame and reputation of ROME. What is now become of all your great and mighty bragges you blazed abroad through the whole world? That if *Alexander* the great himselfe had come into ITALY, in the time that our Fathers had bene in the flower of their age, and we in the prime of our youth, they would not have said every where that he was altogether invincible; as now at this present they do: but either he should have left his body slaine here in battell, or at the leastwise have bene driven to flie, and by his death or flying should greatly have enlarged the renowe and glory of ROME. You plainly shew it now, that all these words spoken then, were but vaine and arrogant vaunts of foolish pride: considering that you tremble for feare of the MOLOSSIANS and CHAONIANS, who were ever a pray to the MACEDONIANS: and that ye are afraid of *Pyrrus* also, who all his life time served and followed one of the guard unto *Alexander* the Great, and now is come to make wars in these parts, not to aide the GRECIANS inhabiting in ITALY, but to flie from his enemies there about his own Country, offering you to conquer all the rest of ITALY with an Army, wherewith he was nothing able to keep a small part of MACEDON onely for himselfe. And therefore you must not perswade your selves, that in making peace with him, you shall thereby be rid of him: but rather shall you draw others to come and set upon you besides. For they will utterly despise you, when they shall hear ye are so easily overcome, and that you have suffered *Pyrrus* to escape your hands, before you made him feeble the just reward of his bold presumptuous attempt unto you: carrying with him for a further hire, this advantage over you: that he hath given a great occasion both to the SAMNITES, and TARENTINES, hereafter to mocke and deride you. After that *Appius* had told this tale unto the Senate, every one through the whole Assembly, desired rather war then peace. They dispatched *Cineas* away theupon with this answer, that if *Pyrrus* sought the ROMANES friendship, he first must depart out of ITALY, and then send unto them to treat of peace: but so long as he remained there with his Army, the ROMANES would make war upon him; with all the force and power they could make, yea although he had overthrowne and slaine ten thousand such

Cineas sent Ambassador to Rome. The Noble mind of the Romanes.

Appius Claudius dissuaded the Romanes from making peace with *Pyrrus*.

Appius Claudius Oration to the Senate.

Cap.

The Majesty
of the Senate
of Rome.

Caius Fabricius
Ambassador
to Pyrrus.
Caius Fabricius
a noble Cap-
taine, but very
poor.
Fabricius re-
sisted King
Pyrrus gifts.

The opinion
of the Epicuri-
ans touching
felicity.

King Pyrrus
Physician writ-
ten to Fabri-
cius, and offer-
eth to poison
his master.
Fabricius Let-
ter to Pyrrus, ad-
verting him
of his Physici-
ans treason.

Pyrrus sendeth
the Romanes,
their prisoners
without ran-
some.

Pyrrus second
battell with
the Romanes, by
the City of
Asculum.

Captaines as *Levinus* was. They say that *Cineas*, during the time of his abode at *Rome*, intreating for their peace, did curiously labour to confider and understand the manners, order, and life of the *ROMANES*, and their Commonweale, discoursing thereof with the chiefeft men of the City: and how afterwards he made ample report of the same unto *Pyrrus*: and told him amongst other things, that the Senate appeared to him, a Councell-house of many Kings. And furthermore (for the number of people) that he feared greatly they should fight against such a Serpent, as that which was in old time in the Marshes of *LEBNA*, of which, when they had cut of one head, seven other came up in the place: because the Consul *Levinus* had now leaved another Army, twice as great as the first was, and had left at *Rome* also, many times as many good able men to carry Armor. After this, there were sent Ambassadors from *Rome* unto *Pyrrus*, and amongst other, *Caius Fabricius*, touching the state of Prisoners. *Cineas* told the King his Master, that this *Fabricius* was one of the greatest men of account in *Rome*, a right honest man, a good Captaine, and a very valiant man of his hands, yet poore indeed he was notwithstanding. *Pyrrus* taking him secretly aside, made very much of him, and amongst other things, offered him both Gold and Silver, praying him to take it, not for any dishonest respect he meant towards him, but onely for a pledge of goodwill and friendship that should be between them. *Fabricius* would none of his gift: so *Pyrrus* left him for that time. Notwithstanding the next morning, thinking to feare him, because he had never seen Elephant before, *Pyrrus* commanded his men, that when they saw *Fabricius* and him talking together, they should bring one of his greatest Elephants, and set him hard by them, behind a hanging: which being done, at a certaine signe by *Pyrrus* given, suddenly the hanging was pulled backe, and the Elephant with his Trunke was over *Fabricius* head, and gave a terrible and fearfull cry. *Fabricius* softly giving backe, nothing afraid, laughed, and said to *Pyrrus* smiling: Neither did your Gold (Oh King) yesterday move me, nor your Elephant to day feare me. Furthermore, whilest they were at Supper, falling in talke of diverse matters, specially touching the state of *Greece*, and the Philosophers there: *Cineas* by chance spake of *Epicurus*, and rehearsed the opinions of the *EPICURIANS* touching the gods and Government of the Commonwealth, how they placed mans chiefe felicity in pleasure, how they fled from all Office and Publike charge, as from a thing that hindereth the fruition of true felicity: how they maintained that the gods were immortall, neither moved with pity nor anger, and led an idle life full of all pleasures and delights, without taking any regard of mens doings. But as he still continued this discourse, *Fabricius* cried out aloud, and said: The gods grant that *Pyrrus* and the *SAMNITES* were of such opinions, as long as they had warres against us. *Pyrrus* marvelling much at the constancy and magnanimity of this man, was more desirous a great deale to have peace with the *ROMANES*, then before. And privately prayed *Fabricius* very earnestly, that he would Treatate for Peace, whereby he might afterwards come and remaine with him: saying, that he would give him the chiefe place of honour about him, amongst all his friends. Whereunto *Fabricius* answered him softly: That were not good (Oh King) for your selfe, quoth he: for your men that presently do honour and esteem you, by experience if they once knew me, would rather chuse me for their King, then your selfe. Such was *Fabricius* talke, whose words *Pyrrus* took not in ill part, neither was offended with them at all, as a Tyrant would have been: but did himselfe report to his friends and familiars the noble minde he found in him, and delivered him upon his faith onely, all the *ROMANE* prisoners: to the end that if the Senate would not agree unto peace, they might yet see their friends and keep the feast of *Saturne* with them, and then to send them backe againe unto him. Which the Senate established by decree, upon pain of death to all such as should not performe the same accordingly. Afterwards *Fabricius* was chosen Consul, and as he was in his Campe, there came a man to him that brought him a Letter from King *Pyrrus* Physician, written with his owne hands: in which the Physician offered to poison his Master, so he would promise him a good reward, for ending the wars without further danger. *Fabricius* detesting the wickednes of the Physician, and having made *Quintus Amylius* his Colleague and fellow Consul also to abhor the same: wrote a Letter unto *Pyrrus*, and bade him take heed, for there were that meant to poison him. The Contents of his Letter were these: *Caius Fabricius*, and *Quintus Amylius* Consuls of *Rome*, unto King *Pyrrus*. Greeting, You have (O King) made unfortunate choise, both of your friends and of your enemies, as shall appear unto you by reading of this Letter which one of yours hath writ unto us: for you make wars with just and honest men, and do your selfe trust altogether the wicked and unfaithful. Hereof therefore we have thought good to advertise you, not in respect to pleasure you, but for feare lest the misfortune of your death might make us unjustly to be accused: imagining that by treachery or treason, we have fought to end this war, as though by valiantnesse we could not otherwise achieve it. *Pyrrus* having read this Letter, and proved the contents thereof true, executed the Physician as he had deserved: and to requite the advertisement of the Consuls, he sent *Fabricius* and the *ROMANES* their prisoners, without paying of ranfome, and sent *Cineas* againe unto them, to prove if he could obtain peace. Howbeit the *ROMANES*, because they would neither receive pleasure of their enemies, and least of all reward, for that they consented not unto so wicked a deed: did not onely refuse to take their prisoners of free gift, but they sent him againe so many *SAMNITES*, and *TARENTINES*. And furthermore, for peace and his friendship, they would give no ear to it, before the wars were ended, & that he had sent away his Army againe by sea into his Kingdom of *Epirus*. Wherefore *Pyrrus* seeing no remedy, but that he must needs fight another battell, after he had somewhat refreshed his Army, drew towards the City of *Asculum*, where he fought the second time with the *ROMANES*: and was brought into a marvellous ill ground for horsemen, by a very swift running River,

from

from whence came many Brookes and deepe Marishes, insomuch as his Elephants could have no space nor ground to joyne with the Battell of the Footemen, by reason whereof there was a great number of men hurt and slaine on both sides. And in the end, the Battell being fought out all day long, the darke night did sever them: but the next morning, *Pyrrus* to winne the advantage to fight in the plaine Field, where he might prevaile with the force of his Elephants, sent first certaine of his Bands to sieze upon the naughty ground they had fought on the day before. And by this policy having brought the *ROMANES* into the plaine Field, he thrust in amongst his Elephants, store of shot and sling men, and then made his Army march (being very well set in order) with great fury against his Enemies. They missing the other daies turnings and places of retire, were now compelled to fight all on a front in the plaine Field: and striving to breake into the Battell of *Pyrrus* Footmen before the Elephants came, they desperately pressed in upon the Enemies Pikes with their Swords, not caring for their owne persons what became of them, but onely looked to kill and destroy their Enemies. In the end notwithstanding, after the Battell had holden out very long, the *ROMANES* lost it, and they first began to breake and fle from that side that *Pyrrus* was, by reason of the great force and fury of his Charge, and much more through the violence of the Elephants: against which the *ROMANES* valiantnesse nor courage could ought prevaile, but that they were driven to give them place (much like the rage of surging waves, or terrible trembling of the Earth) rather then tarry to be troden under feet, and overthrowne by them, whom they were not able to hurt againe, but be by them most grievously martyred, and their troubles thereby yet nothing eased. The chafe was not long, because they fled but into their Campe: and *Hieronymus* the Historiographer writeth, that there died six thousand men of the *ROMANES*, and of *Pyrrus* part about three thousand five hundred and five, as the Kings owne Chronicles do witnesse. Nevertheless, *Dionysius* makes no mention of two Battels given neare unto the City of *Asculum*, nor that the *ROMANES* were certainly overthrowne: howbeit he affirmeth that there was one Battell onely that continued unto Sunne-set, and that they scarcely fevored also when night was come on, *Pyrrus* being hurt on the arme with a Speare, and his carriage robbed and spoyled by the *SAMNITES* besides. And further, that there died in this Battell, above fifteene thousand men, as well of *Pyrrus* side, as of the *ROMANES* part: and that at the last, both the one and the other did retire. And some say, that it was at that time *Pyrrus* answered one, who rejoiced with him for the Victory they had wonne: If we winne another of the price, quoth he, we are utterly undone. For indeede then had he lost the most part of his Army he brought with him out of his Realme, and all his friends and Captains in manner every one, or at the least there lacked little of it: and besides that, he had no means to supply them with other from thence, and perceived also that the Confederates he had in *Italy*, began to waxe cold. Where the *ROMANES* to the contrary, did easily renew their Army with fresh Souldiers, which they caused to come from *Rome* as neede required (much like unto a lively Spring, the head whereof they had at home in their Country) and they fainted not at all for any losses they received, but rather were they so much the more hotly bent, stoutly determining to abide out the Warres, whatever betide. And thus whilest *Pyrrus* was troubled in this sort, new hopes and new enterprises were offered unto him, that made him doubtfull what to do. For even at a clap came Ambassadors unto him out of *Sicilia*, offering to put into his hands, the Cities of *Syracusa*, of *AGRIGENTUM*, and of the *LEONTINES*, beseeching him to aide them to drive the *CARTHAGINIANS* out of the Isle, thereby to deliver them from all the Tyrants. And on the other side also, newes was brought him from *Greece*, how *Ptolemie* surnamed the Lightning, was slaine, and all his Army overthrowne in Battell against the *GAULES*, and that now he should come in good houre for the *MACEDONIANS*, who lacked but a King. Then he cursed his hard fortune, that presented him all at once, such sundry occasions to do great things: and as if both enterprises had been already in his hand, he made his account that of necessity he must lose one of them. So, long debating the matter with himselfe, which of the two waies he should conclude upon: in the end he resolved, that by the Warres of *Sicilia*, there was good meane to attaine to the greater matters, considering that *AFRICKE* was not far from them. Wherefore, disposing himselfe that way, he sent *Cineas* thither immediately to make his way, and to speake to the Townes and Cities of the Country, as he was wont to do: and in the meane time left a strong Garrison in the City of *TARENTUM*, to keepe it at his devotion, wherewith the *TARENTINES* were very angry. For they made request unto him, either to remaine in their Country to maintaine Wars with them against the *ROMANES* (which was their meaning why they sent for him) or else if he would needes go, at the leastwise to leave their City in as good state as he found it. But he answered them againe very roughly, that they should speake no more to him in it, and that they should not choose but tarry his occasion. And with this answer he tooke Shippe, and sailed towards *Sicilia*: where so soone as he was arrived, he found all that he hoped for, for the Cities did willingly put themselves into his hands. And where necessity of Battell was offered him to employ his Army, nothing at the beginning could stand before him. For, with thirty thousand Footemen, two thousand five hundred Horsemen, and two hundred Saile which he brought with him, he drave the *CARTHAGINIANS* before him, and conquered all the Country under their obedience. Now at that time, the City of *ERIX* was the strongest place they had: and there were a great number of good Souldiers within to defend it. *Pyrrus* determined to prove the assault of it, and when his Army was ready to give the Charge, he armed himselfe at all pieces from top to toe, and approaching the Walls, vowed unto *Hercules* to give him a solemne Sacrifice, with a Feast of common Playes, so that he would grant him grace to shew himselfe unto the *GRECIANS* inhabiting in *Sicilia*, worthy of the noble Ancestors from whence he

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Pyrrus victory
of the Romanes

The Writers
agree not about
Pyrrus Battell.

Ambassadors
out of Sicilie,
to pray aide of
Pyrrus.

Pyrrus Journey
into Sicilie.

Pyrrus wanne
the City of E-
rix in Sicilie.

came, and of the great good fortune he had in his hands. This Vow ended, he straight made the Trumpets found to the assault, and caused the barbarous People that were on the Walls, to retire with force of his shot. Then when the scaling-ladders were set up, himselfe was the first that mounted on the Wall, where he found divers of the barbarous People that resisted him. But some he threw over the Walls on either side of him, and with his Sword slew many dead about him, himselfe not once hurt: for the barbarous People had not the heart to looke him in the face, his countenance was so terrible. And this doth prove that *Homer* spake wisely, and like a man of experience, when he said: That valiantnesse onely amongst all other Morall Vertues, is that which hath sometimes certaine furious motions and divine provocations, which makes a man besides himselfe. So the City being taken, he honourably performed his vowed Sacrifice to *Hercules*, and kept a Feast of all kinds and sorts of Games and Weapons. There dwelt a barbarous People at that time about *MESSINA*, called the *MAMERTINES*, who did much hurt to the *GRIECIANS* thereabouts, making many of them pay Taxe and Tribute: for they were a great number of them, and all men of Warre and good Souldiers, and had their name also of *Mars*, because they were Martiall men, and given to Armes. *Pyrrus* led his Army against them, and overthrew them in Battell: and put their Collectors to death, that did levie and exact the Taxe, and razed many of their Fortresses. And when the *CARTHAGINIANS* required peace and his friendship, offering him Ships and Money, pretending greater matters, he made them a short answer: That there was but one way to make peace and love betweene them, to forsake *SICILIA* altogether, and to be contented to make *Mare Libycum* the border betwixt *GREECI* and them. For this good fortune, and the force he had in his hands, did set him aloft, and further allured him to follow the hope that brought him into *SICILIA*, aspiring first of all unto the conquest of *LYBIA*. Now, to passe him over thither he had Ships enough, but he lacked Owers and Mariners: wherefore when he would presse them, then he began to deale roughly with the Cities of *SICILIA*, and in anger compelled, and severely punished them, that would not obey his commandement. This he did not at his first coming, but contrarily had wonne all their good wills, speaking more courteously to them than any other did, and shewing that he trusted them altogether, and troubled them in nothing. But suddenly being aldrd from a popular Prince, unto a violent Tyrant, he was not onely thought cruell and rigorous, but that worst of all is, unfaithfull and ungratefull: nevertheless, though they received great hurt by him, yet they suffered it, and granted him any needfull thing he did demand. But when they saw he began to mistrust *Thanon* and *Softratus*, the two chiefe Captaines of *SYRACUSA*, and they who first caused him to come into *SICILIA*, who also at his first arrivall delivered the City of *SYRACUSA* into his hands, and had beene his chiefe aiders in helping him to compasse that he had done in *SICILIA*: when, I say, they saw he would no more carry them with him, nor leave them behinde him for the mistrust he had of them, and that *Softratus* fled from him, and absented himselfe, fearing lest *Pyrrus* would doe him some mischief: and that *Pyrrus* moreover, had put *Thanon* to death, mistrusting that he would also have done him some harme, then all things fell out against *Pyrrus*: not one after another, nor by little and little, but all together at one instant, and all the Cities generally hated him to the death, and did againe some of them confederate with the *CARTHAGINIANS*, and others with the *MAMERTINES*, to set upon him. But when all *SICILIA* was thus bent against him, he received Letters from the *SAMNITES* and *TARENTINES*, by which they advertised him, how they had much ado to defend themselves within their Cities and strong Holds, and that they were wholly driven out of the Field: wherefore they earnestly besought him speedily to come to their aide. This newes came happily to him, to cloake his flying, that he might say it was not for despaire of good successe in *SICILIA* that he went his way: but true it was indeede, that when he saw he could no longer keepe it, then a Ship could stand still among the waves, he sought some honest shadow to colour his departing. And that surely was the cause why he returned againe into *ITALY*. Nevertheless, at his departure out of *SICILIA*, they say that looking backe upon the Isle, he said to those that were about him: O what a goodly Field for a Battell (my friends) do we leave to the *ROMANES* and *CARTHAGINIANS*, to fight the one with the other? And verily so it fell out shortly after, as he had spoken. But the barbarous People conspiring together against *Pyrrus*, the *CARTHAGINIANS*, on the one side watching his passage, gave him Battell on the Sea, in the very Straight it selfe, of *MESSINA*, where he lost many of his Ships, and fled with the rest, and tooke the Coast of *ITALY*. And there the *MAMERTINES* on the other side, being gone thither before, to the number of eightene thousand fighting men, durst not present him Battell in open Field, but tarried for him in certaine Straights of the Mountaines, and in very hard places, and so set upon his Rereward, and disordered all his Army. They slew two of his Elephants, and cut off a great number of his Rereward, so as he was compelled himselfe in person to come from his Vant-guard, to helpe them against the barbarous People, which were lusty valiant men, and old trained Souldiers. And there *Pyrrus* caught a blow on his head with a Sword, and was in great danger: inso much as he was forced to retire out of the prease and Fight: which did so much the more encourage his Enemies: amongst which there was one more adventurous than the rest, a goodly man of personage, faire armed in white Armour, who advancing himselfe farre before his Company, cried out to the King with a bold fierce voyce, and challenged him to fight with him if he were alive. *Pyrrus* being mad as it were with this bravery, turned againe with his Guard, in spite of his men, hurt as he was. And besides that, he was all on a fire with choler, and his face all bloody and terrible to behold, he went through his men, and came at the length to this barbarous Villaine that had challenged him: and gave him such a blow on his head with all his force and power, that

Homer of valiantnesse.

The *Mamertines*, why so called.

Pyrrus cruelly in *Sicilia*.

The *Samnites* and *Tarentines* sent for *Pyrrus* to returne into *Italy*.

Pyrrus returne into *Italy* out of *Sicilia*.

Pyrrus hurt on his head with a sword.

that what by the strength of his arme, and through the goodnesse of the temper and mettall of his Sword, the blow clave his head right in the middle, downe to the shoulders: so that his head being thus divided, the one part fell on the one shoulder, and the other part on the other. This matter suddenly stayed the barbarous People, and kept them from going any further, they were so afraid and amazed, to see so great a blow with ones hand, and it made them thinke indeede, that *Pyrrus* was more then a man. After that, they let him go, and troubled him no more: *Pyrrus* holding on his Journey, arrived at the length in the City of *TARENTUM*, with twenty thousand Footemen, and three thousand Horse. And with these (joyning thereto the choicest men of the *TARENTINES*) he went incontinently into the Field to seeke out the *ROMANES*, who had their Campe within the Territories of the *SAMNITES*, which were then in very hard state: for their hearts were killed, because that in many Battels and encounters with the *ROMANES* they were ever overthrowne. They were very angry besides with *Pyrrus*, for that he had forsaken them, to go his Voyage into *SICILIA*, by reason whereof there came no great number of Souldiers into his Campe. But notwithstanding, he divided all his strength into two parts, whereof he sent the one part into *LUCANIA*, to occupie one of the *ROMANES* Consls that was there, to the end he should not come to aide his companion: and with the other part he went himselfe against *Manius Curius*, who lay in a very strange place of advantage, neare to the City of *BENEVENTO*, attending the aide that should come to him out of *LUCANIA*, besides also that the Soothsayers (by the signes and tokens of the Birds and Sacrifices) did counsell him not to stir from thence. *Pyrrus* to the contrary, desiring to fight with *Manius* before his aide came unto him, which he looked for out of *LUCANIA*, tooke with him the best Souldiers he had in all his Army, and the warlikest Elephants, and marched away in the night, supposing to steale upon *Manius* on the sudden, and give an assault unto his Campe. Now *Pyrrus* having a long way to go, and through a woody Countrey, his Lights and Torchés failed him, by reason whereof many of his Souldiers lost their way, and they lost a great deale of time also, before they could againe be gathered together: so as in this space the night was spent, and the day once broken, the Enemies perceived plainly how he came downe the hills. This at the first sight made them muse a while, and put them in a little feare: nevertheless *Manius* having had the signes of the Sacrifices favourable, and seeing that occasion did presse him to it, went out into the Field, and set upon the Voward of his Enemies, and made them turne their backs. The which feared all the rest in such wise, that there were slaine a great number of them in the Field, and certaine Elephants also taken. This Victory made *Manius Curius* leave his strength and come into the plaine Field, where he set his men in Battell ray, and overthrew his Enemies by plaine force on the one side: but on the other he was repulld by violence of the Elephants, and compelled to draw backe into his owne Campe, where in he had left a great number of men to guard it. So when he saw them upon the Rampiers of his Campe all armed, ready to fight, he called them out, and they coming fresh out of the places of advantage, to charge upon the Elephants, compelled them in a very short time to turne their backs, and fle through their owne men, whom they put to great trouble and disorder: so as in the end, the whole Victory fell upon the *ROMANES* side, and consequently by meanes of that Victory, followed the greatnesse and power of their Empire. For the *ROMANES* being growne more courageous by this Battell, and having increased their force, and wonne the reputation of men unconquerable, immediately after conquered all *ITALY* besides, and soone after that, all *SICILIA*. To this end (as you see) came King *Pyrrus* vaine hope he had to conquer *ITALY* and *SICILIA*, after he had spent sixe yeares continually in Warres, during which time his good fortune decayed, and his Army consumed. Notwithstanding, his noble courage remained alwaies invincible, what losses soever he had sustained: and moreover whilest he lived, he was ever esteemed the chiefe of all the Kings and Princes in his time, as well for his experience and sufficiency in Warres, as also for his valiantnesse and hardinesse of his person. But what he wanne by famous deedes, he lost by vaine hopes: desiring so earnestly that which he had not, as he forgot to keepe that which he had. Wherefore *Antigonus* compared him unto a Dice-player, that casteth well, and cannot use his lucke. Now having brought backe againe with him into *EPIDUR*, eight thousand Footemen, and five hundred Horsemen, and being without Money to pay them, he devised with himselfe to seeke out some new Warre to entertaine those Souldiers, and keepe them together. Wherefore upon a new aide of certaine *GAULES* being come unto him, he entred into the Realme of *MACEDON* (which *Antigonus*, *Demetrius* Sonne held at that time) with intent onely to make a Forrey, and to get some spoile in the Countrey. But when he saw that he had taken divers Holds, and moreover, that two thousand men of Warre of the Countrey came and yeelded themselves unto him, he began to hope of better successe, then at the first he looked for. For upon that hope he marched against King *Antigonus* selfe, whom he met in a very straight Valley, and at his first coming, gave such a lusty Charge upon his Rereward, that he put all *Antigonus* Army in great disorder. For *Antigonus* had placed the *GAULES* in the Rereward of his Army to close it in, which were a convenient number, and did valiantly defend the first Charge: and the Skirmish was so hot, that the most of them were slaine. After them the leaders of the Elephants perceiving they were environed on every side, yeelded themselves and their Beasts. *Pyrrus* seeing his power to be now increased, with such a supply, trusting more to his good fortune, then any good reason might move him: thrust further into the Battell of the *MACEDONIANS*, who were all afraid, and troubled for the overthrow of their Rereward, so as they could not once bafe their Pikes, nor fight against him: He for his part holding up his hand, and calling the Captaines of the Bander by their names, straightwaies made

Pyrrus with a blow of his Sword, clave his Enemies head in the middle, and laid it on his shoulders.

Manius Curius Confull.

Pyrrus third Battell with the *romanes*. *Pyrrus* overthrowne by *Manius Curius* in Battell.

Pyrrus compared to a Dice-player. *Pyrrus* returne into *Epurus* out of *Italy*.

Pyrrus victory of *Antigonus*, King of *Macedon*.

Antigonus Ryteth from King Pyrrus.

all the Footemen of *Antigonus* turne wholly to his side : who flying saved himselfe with a few Horsemen, and kept certaine of the Cities in his Realme upon the Sea Coast. But *Pyrrus* in all his prosperity judging nothing more to redound to his honour and glory, then the overthrow of the *Gauls*, layd aside their goodliest and richest Spoiles, and offered up the same in the Temple of *Minerva* *Lucina*, with this Inscription :

*When Pyrrus had subdu'd, the puissant Gauls in fields,
He caus'd of their Spoiles to make these Targets, Armes and Shields :
The which he hang'd up, in Temple all on high,
Before Minerva (goddess here) in signe of victory :
When he had overcome, the whole and huge Hoste,
The which Antigonus did bring, into his Countries Coast.
Ne marvel should it seeme, though victory he wonne,
Since valiantesse brings victory, and equallure hath done :
And valiantesse alwaies, hath constantly kept place,
From age to age, and time to time, in Eacus his race.*

The covetousnesse of the Gauls.

Immediately after this Battell all the Cities of the Realme of *MACEDON* yielded unto him: but when he had the City of *EGES* in his power, he used the Inhabitantes thereof very hardly, and specially because he left a great Garrison of the *GAULES* there, which he had in pay. This Nation is extreme covetous, as then they shewed themselves: for they spared not to breake up the Tombes wherein the Kings of *MACEDON* lay buried, and tooke away all the Gold and Silver they could finde: and afterwards with great infoleny cast out their bones into the open winde. *Pyrrus* was told it, but he lightly passed it over, and made no reckoning of it: either because he deferred it till another time, by reason of the Wars he had then in hand: or else for that he durst not meddle with punishing of these barbarous People at that time. But whatsoever the matter was, the *MACEDONIANS* were very angry with *Pyrrus*, and blamed him greatly for it. Furthermore, having not yet made all things sure in *MACEDON*, not being fully posselt of the same: new toyes and hopes came in his head; and (mocking *Antigonus*) said he was a mad man to go apparelled in Purple like a King, when a poore Cloake might become him like a private man. Now, *Cleonymus* King of *SPARTA* being come to procure him to bring his Army into the Countrey of *LACEDAMON*, *Pyrrus* was very willing to it. This *Cleonymus* was of the Bloud-royall of *SPARTA*: but because he was a cruell man, and would do all things by authority, they loved him not at *SPARTA*, nor trusted him at all: and therefore did they put him out, and made *Arcus* King, a very quiet man. And this was the oldest quarrell *Cleonymus* had against the Commonwealth of *SPARTA*; but besides that, he had another private quarrell, which grew upon this cause. In his old yeares, *Cleonymus* had married a faire young Lady called *Chelidonida*, which was also of the Bloud-royall, and the Daughter of *Leotichides*. This Lady being fallen extremely in love with *Acrotatus*, King *Arcus* Sonne, a goodly young Gentleman, and in his lusty youth, the greatly vexed and dishonoured her Husband *Cleonymus*, who was over head and eares in love and jealousie with her: for there was not one in all *SPARTA*, but plainly knew that his Wife made none account of him. And thus his home sorrows, being joyned with his outward common griefes, even for spite, desiring a revenge, in choler he went to procure *Pyrrus* to come unto *SPARTA*, to restore him againe to his Kingdom. Hereupon he brought him into *LACEDAMONIA* forthwith, with five and twenty thousand Footemen, two thousand Horse, and foure and twenty Elephants: by which preparation, though by nothing else, the World might plainly see, that *Pyrrus* came with a minde not to restore *Cleonymus* againe unto *SPARTA*, but of intent to conquer for himselfe (if he could) all the Countrey of *PELOPONNESUS*. For in words he denied it to the *LACEDAMONIANS* themselves, who sent Ambassadors unto him, when he was in the City of *MEGALIPOLIS*, where he told them that he was come into *PELOPONNESUS*, to set the Townes and Cities at liberty, which *Antigonus* kept in bondage: and that his true intent and meaning was to send his young Sonnes into *SPARTA* (so they would be contented) to the end they might be trained after the *LACONIAN* manner, and from their youth have this advantage above all other Kings, to have beene well brought up. But feigning these things, and abusing those that came to meete him on his way, they tooke no heede of him, till he came within the Coast of *LACONIA*, into the which he was no looner entred, but he began to waste and spoile the whole Countrey. And when the Ambassadors of *SPARTA* reproved and found fault with him, for that he made Warres upon them in such sort, before he had openly proclaimed it: he made them answer, No more have you your selves used to proclaime that, which you purposed to do to others. Then one of the Ambassadors called *Mandricidas*, replied againe unto him in the *LACONIAN* Tongue: If thou be a god, thou wilt do us no hurt, because we have not offended thee: and if thou be a man, thou shalt meete with another that shall be better then thy selfe. Then he marched directly to *SPARTA*, where *Cleonymus* gave him counsell even at the first, to assault it. But he would not so do, fearing (as they said) that if he did it by night, his Souldiers would sacke the City: and said it should be time enough to assault it the next day at broad day light, because there were but few men within the Towne, and beside they were very ill provided. And furthermore, King *Arcus* himselfe was not there, but gone into *CRETA* to aide the *GORTINIANS*, who had Warres in his owne Countrey. And doubtlesse that onely was the saving of *SPARTA* from taking, that they made no reckoning to assault it hotly: because they thought it was not able to make resistance. For *Pyrrus* camped before the Towne, thoroughly perswaded with himselfe, that he should finde none to fight with him: and *Cleonymus* friends and Servants also did prepare his lodging there, as if *Pyrrus* should have come

Arcus made King of *SPARTA*, and *Cleonymus* put downe.

The cause of *Pyrrus* invading *Peloponnesus*.

Pyrrus stragem to the *Spartans*.

Mandricidas seu answer to King *Pyrrus*.

Pyrrus besiegeth *Lacedaemon*.

to supper to him, and lodged with him. When night was come, the *LACEDAMONIANS* counselled together, and secretly determined to send away their Wives, and little Children into *CRETA*: But the Women themselves were against it, and there was one among them called *Archidamia*, who went into the Senate-house with a Sword in her hand, to speake unto them in the name of all the rest, and said: That they did their Wives great wrong, if they thought them so faint-hearted, as to live after *SPARTA* were destroyed. Afterwards it was agreed in Councell, that they should cast a Trench before the Enemies Campe, and that at both ends of the same they should bury Carts in the ground unto the middle of the wheeles, to the end that being fast set in the ground, they should stay the Elephants, and keepe them from passing further: And when they began to go in hand withall, there came Wives and Maides unto them, some of them their clothes girt up round about them, and others all in their smokes, to worke at this Trench with the old men, advising the young men that should fight the next morning, to rest themselves in the meane while. So the Women tooke the third part of the Trench to taske, which was fixe cubits broad, foure cubits deepe, and eight hundred foote long, as *Philarcus* saith, or little lesse as *Hieronymus* writeth. Then when the breake of day appeared, and the Enemies removed to come to the assault: the Women themselves fetched the Weapons, which they put into the young mens hands, and delivered them the taske of the Trench ready made, which they before had undertaken, praying them valiantly to keepe and defend it, telling them withall, how great a pleasure it is to overcome the Enemies, fighting in view and sight of their native Countrey, and what great felicity and honour it is to die in the armes of his Mother and Wife, after he had fought valiantly like an honest man, and worthy of the magnanimity of *SPARTA*. But *Chelidonida* being gone aside, had tied a halter with a riding knot about her necke, ready to strangle and hang her selfe, rather then to fall into the hands of *Cleonymus*, if by chance the City should come to be taken. Now *Pyrrus* marched in perfon with his Battell of Footemen, against the front of the *SPARTANS*, who being a great number also, did tarry his coming on the other side of the Trench: the which, besides that it was very ill to passe over, did lett the Souldiers to fight steadily in order of Battell, because the earth being newly cast up, did yeele under their feete. Wherefore *Ptolomie*, King *Pyrrus* Sonne, passing all along the Trench side with two thousand *GAULES*, and all the choise men of the *CHAONIANS*, assayed if he could get over to the other side at one of the ends of the Trench where the Carts were: which being set very deepe into the ground, and one joyned unto another, they did not onely hinder the assaylants, but the defendants also. Howbeit in the end, the *GAULES* began to plucke off the wheeles of these Carts, and to draw them into the River. But *Acrotatus*, King *Arcus* Sonne, a young man, seeing the danger, ranne through the City with a Troupe of three hundred lusty Youths besides, and went to inclose *Ptolomie* behinde, before he espied him; for that he passed a secret hollow way till he came even to the Charge upon them: whereby they were enforced to turne their faces towards him, one running in anothers necke, and so in great disorder were thrust into the Trenches, and under the Carts: inomuch as at the last, with much ado, and great bloudshed, *Acrotatus* and his Company drave them backe, and repulsed them. Now the Women and old men, that were on the other side of the Trench, saw plainly before their face, how valiantly *Acrotatus* had repulsed the *GAULES*. Wherefore after *Acrotatus* had done this Exploit, he returned againe through the City unto the place from whence he came, all on a goare bloud: couragious and lively, for the Victory he came newly from. The women of *SPARTA* thought *Acrotatus* far more noble and fairer to behold, then ever he was: so that they all thought *Chelidonida* happy to have such a friend and lover. And there were certaine old men, that followed him crying after him, Go thy way, *Acrotatus*, and enjoy thy Love, *Chelidonida*, beget noble Children of her unto *SPARTA*. The Fight was cruell on that side where *Pyrrus* was, and many of the *SPARTANS* fought very valiantly. Howbeit, amongst other, there was one named *Phillius*, who after he had fought long, and slaine many of his Enemies with his owne hands, that forced to passe over the Trench, perceiving that his heart fainted for the great number of wounds he had upon him, called one of them that were in the ranke next behinde him, and giving him his place, fell downe dead in the armes of his friends: because his Enemies should not have his body. In the end, the Battell having continued all the day long, the night did separate them: and *Pyrrus*, being laid in his bed, had this Vision in his sleepe. He thought he stroke the City of *LACEDAMON* with lightning, that he utterly consumed it: whereat he was so passing glad, that even with the very joy he awaked: and thereupon forthwith commanded his Captaines to make their men ready to the assault, and told his Dreame unto his familiars: supposing that out of doubt it did betoken he should in that approach take the City. All that heard it, believed it was so; saving one *Lyfimachus*, who to the contrary said, that this Vision liked him not, because the places smitten with lightning are holy, and it is not lawfull to enter into them: by reason whereof he was also afraid, that the gods did signifie unto him, that he should not enter into the City of *SPARTA*. *Pyrrus* answered him: That, said he, is a matter disputable to and fro in an open Assembly of People, for there is no manner of certainty in it. But furthermore, every man must take his Weapon in his hand, and set this Sentence before his eyes:

*A right good thing it is, that he would hazard life,
In just defence of Masters Cause, with Speare and bloudy Knife.*

Alluding unto *Homers* Verses, which he wrote for the defence of his Countrey. And saying thus, he rose, and at the breake of day led his Army unto the assault. On the other side also, the *LACEDAMONIANS* with a marvellous courage and magnanimity, farre greater then their force, befurred themselves wonderfully to make resistance; having their Wives by them, that gave them their

G g 3

Weapons

The courage of the women of *Sparsa*.

Women wrought in the Trench.

Women encouraged their men to fight.

Pyrrus Battell.

Acrotatus valiantnesse.

Pyrrus dreame.

Weapons wherewith they fought, and were ready at hand to give meate and drinke to them that needed, and did also withdraw those that were hurt to cure them. The MACEDONIANS likewise for their part, endeavoured themselves with all their might to fill up the Trench with Woodes and other things, which they cast upon the dead Bodies and Armour lying in the bottome of the Ditch: and the LACEDÆMONIANS againe, laboured all they could possible to lett them. But in this great broile, one perceived *Pyrrus* on horsebacke to have leapt the Trench, past over the strength of the Caris, and made force to enter into the City. Wherefore those that were appointed to defend that part of the Trench, cried out straight, and the women fell a shrieking, and running as if all had beene lost. And as *Pyrrus* passed further, striking downe with his owne hands all that stood before him, a CRETAN shot at him, and stroke his Horse through both sides: who leaping out of the preefe for paine of his wound, dying, carried *Pyrrus* away, and threw him upon the hanging of a sleepe hill, where he was in great danger to fall from the top. This put all his servants and friends about him in a marvellous feare, and therewithall the LACEDÆMONIANS seeing them in this feare and trouble, ranne immediately unto that place, and with force of shot drave them all out of the Trench. After this reigne *Pyrrus* caused all assault to cease, hoping the LACEDÆMONIANS in the end would yeeld, considering there were many of them slaine in the two daies past, and all the rest in a manner hurt. Howbeit, the good fortune of the City (whether it were to prove the valiantnesse of the Inhabitants themselves, or at the least to shew what power they were of, even in their greatest neede and distresse, when the LACEDÆMONIANS had small hope left) brought one *Aminias Phocian* from CORINTH, one of King *Antigonus* Captaine, with a great Band of men, and put them into the City to aide them: and straight after him, as soone as he was entred, King *Arenus* arrived also on the other side from CRETAN, and two thousand Souldiers with him. So the women went home to their Houses, making their reckoning that they should not neede any more to trouble themselves with Warres. They gave the old men liberty also to go and rest themselves, who being past all age to fight, for necessity sake yet were driven to arme themselves, and take Weapon in hand: and in order of Battell placed the new-come Souldiers in their roomes. *Pyrrus* understanding that new Supplies were come, grew to greater stomach then before, and enforced all that he could to winne the Towne by assault. But in the end, when to his cost he found that he wanne nothing but blowes, he gave over the Siege, and went to spoile all the Countrey about, determining to lie there in Garison all the Winter. He could not for all this avoide his destiny: for there rose a sedition in the City of ARGOS betwene two of the chiefeest Citizens, *Arifiteus* and *Arifippus*: and because *Arifiteus* thought that King *Antigonus* did favour his Enemy *Arifippus*, he made haste to send first unto *Pyrrus*, whose nature and disposition was such, that he did continually heape hope upon hope, ever taking the present prosperity, for an occasion to hope after greater to come. And if it fell out he was a loser, then he fought to recover himselfe, and to restore his losse by some other new attempts. So that neither for being Conquerour, nor overcome, he would ever be quiet, but alwaies troubled some, and himselfe also: by reason whereof, he suddenly departed towards ARGOS. But King *Arenus* having laid Ambushes for him in divers places, and occupied also the straightest and hardest passages, by the which he was to passe, gave a Charge upon the GAULES and MOLOSSIANS, which were in the taile of his Army. Now, the selfe-same day *Pyrrus* was warned by a Soothsayer, who sacrificing had found the Liver of the sacrificed Beast infected: that it betokened the losse of some most neare unto him. But when he heard the noise of the Charge given, he thought not on the warning of the Soothsayer, but commanded his Sonne to take his household Servants with him, and to go thither: and he himselfe in the meane time with as great haste as he could, made the rest of his Army to march, to get them quickly out of this dangerous way. The Fray was very hot about *Ptolomie*, *Pyrrus* Sonne, for they were all the chiefeest men of the LACEDÆMONIANS with whom he had to do, led by a valiant Captaine, called *Eualcus*. But as he fought valiantly against those that stood before him, there was a Souldier of CRETAN called *Oresus*, borne in the City of APTERA, a man very ready of his hand, and light of foote, who running along by him, stroke him such a blow on his side, that he fell downe dead in the place. This Prince *Ptolomie* being slaine, his Company began straight to flie: and the LACEDÆMONIANS followed the chase so hotly, that they tooke no heede of themselves, untill they saw they were in the plaine Field far from their Footemen. Wherefore, *Pyrrus* unto whom the death of his Sonne was newly reported, being on fire with sorrow and passion, turned suddenly upon them with the men of Armes of the MOLOSSIANS, and being the first that came unto them, made a marvellous slaughter among them. For, notwithstanding that every where before that time he was terrible and invincible, having his Sword in his hand: yet then he did shew more proofe of his valiantnesse, strenght, and courage, then he had ever done before. And when he had set spurres to his Horse against *Eualcus* to close with him: *Eualcus* turned on the one side, and gave *Pyrrus* such a blow with his Sword, that he missed little the cutting off his bridle hand: for he cutindeed all the raines of the bridle asunder. But *Pyrrus* straight ranne him through the body with his Speare, and lighting off from his Horse, he put all the Troupe of the LACEDÆMONIANS to the Sword that were about the body of *Eualcus*, being all chosen men. Thus the ambition of the Captaine was cause of that losse unto their Countrey for nothing, considering that the Warres against them were ended. But *Pyrrus* having now as it were made Sacrifice of these poore bodies of the LACEDÆMONIANS, for the soule of his dead Sonne, and fought thus wonderfully also, to honour his Funerals, converting a great part of his sorrow for his death, into anger and wrath against the Enemies: he afterwards held on his way directly towards ARGOS. And notwithstanding that King *Antigonus* had already seized the Hills

that

that were over the Valley, he lodged neare unto the City of NAUBIATA, and the next morning following sent an Herald unto *Antigonus*, and gave him defiance, calling him wicked man, and challenged him to come downe into the Valley to fight with him, to try which of them two should be King. *Antigonus* made him answer, that he made Warres as much with time as with Weapon: and furthermore, that if *Pyrrus* were weary of his life, he had waies enough open to put himselfe to death. The Citizens of ARGOS also sent Ambassadors unto them both, to pray them to depart, fith they knew that there was nothing for them to see in the City of ARGOS, and that they would let it be a neuter, and friend unto them both. King *Antigonus* agreed unto it, and gave them his Sonne for Hostage. *Pyrrus* also made them faire promise to do so too, but because he gave no caution nor sufficient pledge to performe it, they mistrusted him the more. Then there fell out many great and wonderfull tokens, as well unto *Pyrrus* as unto the ARGIVES. For *Pyrrus* having sacrificed Oxen, their heads being striken off from their bodies, they thrust out their tongues, and licked up their owne blood. And within the City of ARGOS, a Sister of the Temple of *Apollo Lycius*, called *Apollonide*, ranne through the streetes, crying out that she saw the City full of murthre, and blood running all about, and an Eagle that came unto the fray, howbeit she vanished away suddenly, and no body knew what became of her. *Pyrrus* then coming hard to the Walls of ARGOS in the night, and finding one of the Gates called *Dianepores*, opened by *Arifiteus*, he put in his GAULES: who possessed the Market-place before the Citizens knew any thing of it. But because the Gate was too low to paffe the Elephants through with their Towers upon their backs, they were driven to take them off, and afterwards when they were within, to put them on in the darke, and in tumult: by reason whereof they lost much time, so that the Citizens in the end perceived it, and ranne incontinently unto the Cattle of *Apides*, and into other strong places of the City. And therewithall, they sent with present speede unto *Antigonus*, to pray him to come and helpe them, and so he did: and after he was come hard to the Walls, he remained without with the Scouts, and in the meane time sent his Sonne with his chiefeest Captaine into the Towne, who brought a great number of good Souldiers, and men of Warre with him. At the same time also arrived *Arenus* King of SPARTA, with a thousand of the CRETANS, and most lusty SPARTANS: all which joyning together, came to give a Charge upon the GAULES that were in the Market-place, who put them in a marvellous feare and hazard. *Pyrrus* entering on that side also of the City called *Cylabaris* with terrible noises and cries, when he understood that the GAULES answered him not lustily and courageously, he doubted straight that it was the voyce of men distressed, and that had their hands full. Wherefore, he came on with speede to relieve them, thrusting the Horsemen forward that marched before him with great danger and paine, by reason of the holes and sinkes, and water conduits, whereof the City was full. By this meane there was a wonderfull confusion amongst them, as may be thought fighting by night, where no man saw what he had to do, nor could heare what was commanded, by reason of the great noise they made, straying here and there up and downe the streetes, the one scattered from the other: neither could the Captaine set their men in order, as well for the darkenesse of the night, as also for the confused tumult that was all the City over, and for that the streetes also were very narrow. And therefore they remained on both sides without doing any thing, looking for day light: at the dawning whereof, *Pyrrus* perceived the Cattle of *Apides*, full of his armed Enemies. And furthermore, suddenly as he was come into the Market-place, amongst many other goodly common Workes set out to beautifie the same, he spied the Images of a Bull and a Woolfe in Copper, the which fought one with another. This sight made him afraid, because at that present he remembered a Prophecie that had beene told him, that his end and death should be when he saw a Woolfe and Bull fight together. The ARGIVES report, that these Images were set up in the Market-place, for the remembrance of a certaine chance that had happened in their Countrey. For when *Danaus* came thither first, by the way called *Pyramis* (as one would say, Land sowne with Corne) in the Countrey of THYRATIDE, he saw as he went, a Woolfe fight with a Bull: whereupon he stayed to see what the end of their fight would come to, supposing the case in himselfe, that the Woolfe was of his side, because that being a stranger as he was, he came to set upon the natural Inhabitants of the Countrey. The Woolfe in the end obtained the victory: wherefore *Danaus* making his Prayer unto *Apollo Lycius*, followed on his Enterprise, and had so good successe, that he drave *Gelanor* out of ARGOS, who at that time was King of the ARGIVES. And thus you heare the cause why they say these Images of the Woolfe and Bull were set up in the Market-place of ARGOS: *Pyrrus* being halfe discouraged with the sight of them, and also because nothing fell out well according to his expectation, thought best to retire: but fearing the straightnesse of the Gates of the City, he sent unto his Sonne *Helenus*, whom he had left without the City with the greatest part of his force and Army, commanding him to overthrow a piece of the Wall, that his men might the more readily get out, and that he might receive them, if their Enemies by chance did hinder their coming out. But the Messenger whom he sent, was so hasty and fearfull, with the tumult that troubled him in going out, that he did not well understand what *Pyrrus* said unto him, but reported his Message quite contrary: Whereupon the young Prince *Helenus* taking the best Souldiers he had with him, and the rest of his Elephants, entred into the City to helpe his Father, who was now giving backe: and so long as he had roome to fight at ease, retiring still, he valiantly repulst those that set upon him, turning his face oft unto them. But when he was driven unto the streete that went from the Market-place to the Gate of the City, he was kept in with his owne men that entred at the same Gate to helpe him. But they could not heare when *Pyrrus* cried out, and bade them goe backe, the noise was so great: and

Antigonus answer to *Pyrrus* challenge.

Token of *Pyrrus* death.

Pyrrus Fight in the City of ARGOS.

Apides, the Cattle in ARGOS.

A Bull and Woolfe in copper, set up in the City of ARGOS fighting together. *Danaus* wanne the City of ARGOS from King *Gelanor*. *Apollo Lycius*.

Gelanor King of the ARGIVES.

Helenus, *Pyrrus* Sonne.

Pyrrus in danger of his life, at the Siege of SPARTA.

King *Arenus* arrived in SPARTA with new aide.

Sedition in the City of ARGOS.

Pyrrus repulst from SPARTA, goeth unto ARGOS.

Pro'mie King *Pyrrus* Sonne slaine by CRETAN.

Pyrrus slew *Eualcus*.

The strange
love of an Ele-
phant to his
keeper.

and though the first had heard him, and would have gone backe, yet they that were behinde, and did still thrust forward into the prease, did not permit them. Besides this moreover, the biggest of all the Elephants by misfortune fell downe overthwart the Gate, where he grinding his teeth, did hinder those also, that would have come out and given backe. Furthermore, another of the Elephants that were entred before into the City, called *Nican*, (as much to say, as conquering) seeking his Governour that was stricken downe to the ground from his backe with terrible blowes, ranne upon them that came backe upon him, overthrowing friends and foes one in anothers necke, till at the length having found the body of his Master slaine, he lift him up from the ground with his troncke, and carrying him upon his two tuskes, returned backe with great fury, treading all under feete he found in his way. Thus every man being thronged and crowded up together in this fort, there was not one that could helpe himselfe: for it seemed to be a masse and heape of a multitude, and one whole body shut together, which sometime thrust forward, and sometime gave backe, as the sway went. They fought not so much against their Enemies, who set upon them behinde: but they did themselves more hurt then their Enemies did. For if any drew out his Sword, or bated his Pike, he could neither scabard the one againe, nor lift up the other, but thrust it full upon his owne fellows that came in to helpe them, and so killed themselves one thrusting upon another. Wherefore *Pyrrus* seeing his People thus troubled and harried to and fro, tooke his Crowne from his head which he wore upon his Helmet, that made him knowne of his men afar off, and gave it unto one of his familiars that was next unto him: and trusting then to the goodnesse of his Horse, flew upon his Enemies that followed him. It fortuned that one hurt him with a Pike, but the wound was neither dangerous nor great: wherefore *Pyrrus* set upon him that had hurt him, who was an *ARGIVIAN* borne, a man of meane condition; and a poore old Woman's Sonne, whose Mother at that present time was gotten up to the top of the steeles of a House, as all other Women of the City were, to see the Fight. And she perceiving that it was her Sonne whom *Pyrrus* came upon, was so affrighted to see him in that danger, that she tooke a tile, and with both her hands cast it upon *Pyrrus*. The tile falling off from his head by reason of his Head-piece, lighted full in the nape of his necke, and brake his neck-bone asunder: wherewith he was suddenly so benumbed, that he lost his fight with the blow, the reins of his bridle fell out of his hand, and himselfe fell from his Horse to the ground, by *Licymnius* Tombe, before any man knew what he was, at the least the common People. Untill at the last there came one *Zopyrus* that was in pay with *Antigonus*, and two or three other Souldiers also that ranne straight to the place, and knowing him, dragged his body into a Gate, even as he was coming againe to himselfe out of this trance. This *Zopyrus* drew out a *SLAVON* Sword he wore by his side, to strike off his head. But *Pyrrus* cast such a grimme countenance on him betweene his eyes, that made him so afraid, and his hand so to shake therewith, that being thus amazed, he did not strike him right in the place where he should have cut off his head, but killed him under his mouth about his chinne, so that he was a great while ere he could strike off his head. The matter was straight blowne abroad amongst divers: wherupon *Alcyonius* running thither, asked for the head that he might know it againe. But when he had it, he ranne presently unto his Father withall, and found him talking with his familiar friends, and cast *Pyrrus* head before him. *Antigonus* looking upon it, when he knew it, laid upon his Sonne with his staffe, and called him cruell murderer and unnaturall barbarous beast: and so hiding his eyes with his Cloake, wept for pity (remembering the fortune of his Grandfather *Antigonus*, and of his Father *Demetrius*) and then caused *Pyrrus* head and body to be honourably burnt and buried. Afterwards *Alcyonius* meeting *Helennus* (King *Pyrrus* Sonne) in very poore estate, muffled up with a poore short Cloake, used him very courteously with gentle words, and brought him to his Father. *Antigonus* seeing his Sonne bringing of him, said unto him: This part now (my Sonne) is better then the first, and pleaseth me a great deale more. But yet thou hast not done all thou shouldst: for thou shouldst have taken from him his beggarly Cloake he weareth, which doth more shame us that are the gainers, then him that is the loser. After he had spoken these words, *Antigonus* embraced *Helennus*, and having apparelled him in good sort, sent him home with honourable Convey into his Realme of *EPYRUS*. Furthermore, seizing all *Pyrrus* Campe and Army, he courteously used all his Friends and Servants.

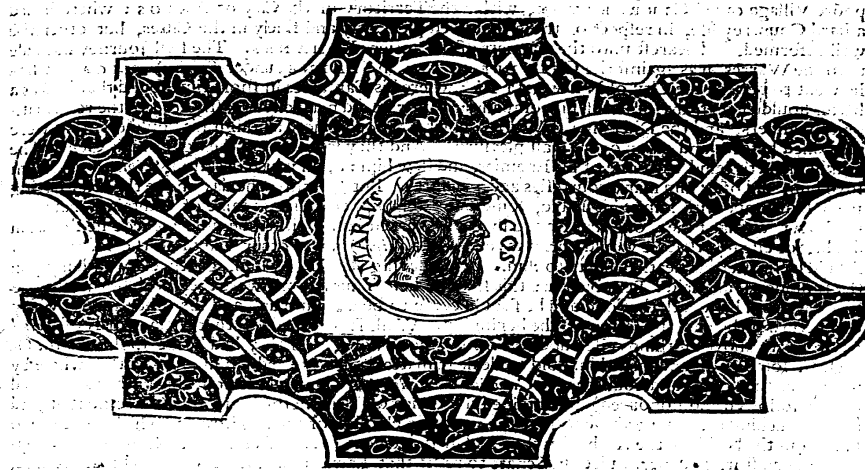
The end of the Life of *Pyrrus*.

King *Pyrrus*
slaine with a
tile throwne
by a woman.

Alcyonius King
Antigonus
Sonne.

Antigonus
courteous to-
wards *Pyrrus*
body and
friends.

THE LIFE OF CAIUS MARIUS.



Ann. Mund.
3862.

Ant. Christ.
86.



It is not knowne what was the third name of *Caius Marius*, no more then of *Quintus Sertorius*, who had all SPAIN in his hands at one time: nor of *Lucius Mummius*, he that destroyed the City of CORINTH. For this Name of *Achnitum* that was given unto *Mummius*, of *Africanus* unto *Scipio*, and of *Numidicus* unto *Metellus*: were all Surnames given them, by reason of the Conquests they wanne. By this reason *Pofidonius* thinketh to overcome them that say, that the third Name the ROMANES have, is their proper Name: as *Camillus*, *Marcellus*, *Cato*. For if it fell out so said he, then it must needs follow, that they which have two Names, should have no proper Name. But on the other side also, he doth not consider that by the like reason he should say, that women have no Names: for there is not a woman in ROME that is called by her first Name, which *Pofidonius* judgeth to be the proper Name of the ROMANES. And that of the other two, the one is the common Name of all the House or Family, as of the POMPEIANS, of the MANLIANS, and of the CORNELIANS, like as the HERACLIIDS and the PELOPIDS are amongst the GRECIANS: and the other is a Surname taken of the deeds, or of the nature, forme, or shape of the body, or of some other like accident, as are these Surnames, *Macrinus*, *Torquatus*, and *Sylla*. Even as amongst the GRECIANS likewise, *Mnemon*, which significth having good memory: *Grypus*, having a crooked nose: *Callinicos*, conquering. But as for that, the diversity of custome would deliver objection sufficient to the contrary, to him that listeth. And furthermore, as touching the favour of *Marius* face, we have seene an Image of his in Marble at RAVENNA, a City of the GAULES, which doth lively represent that rough severity of nature and manners, which they say was in him. For being borne a rough man by nature, and given to the Warres, and having followed the same altogether from his youth, more then the civil life: when he came to Authority, he could not bridle his anger and cholerick nature. And they say furthermore, that he never learned the Greeke Tongue, nor used it in any matters of weight: as though it had beene a mockery to study to learne the Tongue, the Masters whereof lived in bondage under others. After his second Triumphe, in the dedication of a certaine Temple, he made Greeke Playes to shew the ROMANES pastime: and came into the Theater, howbeit he did but sit downe onely, and went his way straight. Wherefore niethinks, that as *Plato* was wont to say oft unto *Xenocrates* the Philosopher, who was of a curth nature, had his head ever occupied, and too feyvere: *Xenocrates*, my friend, I pray thee do Sacrifice to the Graces. So if any man could have persuaded *Marius* to have sacrificed to the Muses, and to the GRECIAN Graces: (that is to say, that he had knowne the Greeke Tongue) to so many famous and glorious deedes as he did, both in Peace and Warres, he had not joynd so unfortunate and miserable an end as he made, through his choler and extreme ambition,

The names of
the Romanes.

Marius favour.

Marius could
not skill of the
Greeke
Tongue.

Plato say-
ing to
Xenocrates.

THE

Marius Parents manners, and Country.

Marius first Journey unto the Warres.

Scipio Africanus judgement of Marius.

Marius Tribune of the People. Cotta Consull.

Two sorts of Ediles. *Ædilitas Curulis*. *Ædilitas Popularis*. *Marius* denied to be *Ædilis*.

Marius chosen Prætor.

Sabacon put out of the Senate.

at such yeares, and through an unvariable covetousnesse, which like boysterous windes made him to make shipwracke of all, in a most cruel, bloody, and unnatural tragde. The which is easily knowne in reading the Discourse of his doings. First of all he was of a meane house, borne of poore Parents by Father and Mother, that got their livings by sweate of their browes. His Father as himselfe, was called *Caius*: *Fulcinus* was his Mother. And this was the cause why he began so late to haunt the City, and to learne the civility and manners of Rome, having bene brought up alwaies before in a little poore Village called *CYRROBATON*, within the Territory of the City of *ARPOS*: where he led a hard Countrey life, in respect of those that lived pleasantly and finely in the Cities, but otherwise well reformed, and nearest unto the manners of the ancient ROMANES. The first Journey he made unto the Warres, was against the *CELTIBERIAN*s in *SPAIN*e, under *Scipio* *AFRICAN*, when he went to besiege the City of *NUMANTIA*: where his Captaine in short time found that he was a better Souldier then any other of his companions. For he did marvellous easily receive the reformation of manners, and the Discipline of Warres which *Scipio* advanced amongst his Souldiers, that were ill trained before, and given over to all pleasure. And they say, that in the fight of his Generall he fought hand to hand with one of his Enemies, and slew him: upon which occasion, *Scipio* to make him love him, did offer him many courtesies and pleasures. But specially one day above the rest, having made him suppe with him at his Table, some one after Supper falling in talke of Captaines that were in Rome at that time: one that stoode by *Scipio*, asked him (either because indeede he stoode in doubt, or else for that he would curry favour with *Scipio*) what other Captaine the ROMANES should have after his death, like unto him. *Scipio* having *Marius* by him, gently clapped him upon the shoulders, and said: Peradventure this shall be he. Thus happily were they both borne, the one to shew from his youth that one day he should come to be a great man, and the other also for wisely conjecturing the end, by seeing of the beginning. Well, it fortune so, that these words of *Scipio* (by report) above all things else put *Marius* in a good hope, as if they had bene spoken by the Oracle of some god, and made him bold to deale in matters of State and Common-wealth: where by meanes of the favour and countenance *Cæcilius Metellus* gave him (whose house his Father and he had alwaies followed and honoured) he obtained the Office of Tribuneship. In this Office he preferred a Law touching the manner how to give the voyces in election of the Magistrates, which did seeme to take from the Nobility the Authority they had in Judgement. And therefore the Consull *Cotta* stepped up against it, and perswaded the Senate to resist that Law, and not suffer it to be authorized, and therewithall presently to call *Marius* before them to yeeld a reason of his doing. So was it agreed upon in Senate. Now *Marius* coming into the Senate, was not abashed at any thing, as some other young man would have bene, that had but newly begun to enter into the World as he did, and having no other notable calling or quality in him, saving his verue onely to commend him: but taking boldnesse of himselfe (as the noble acts he afterwards did, gave shew of his valour) he openly threatened the Consull *Cotta* to send him to Prison, if he did not presently withdraw the conclusion he had caused to be resolved upon. The Consull then turning himselfe unto *Cæcilius Metellus*, asked how he liked it? *Metellus* standing up, spake in the behalfe of the Consull: and then *Marius* calling a Serjeant out, commanded him to take *Metellus* selfe, and to carry him to Prison. *Metellus* appealed to the other Tribunes, but never a one would take his matter in hand: so that the Senate when all was done, were compelled to call backe the conclusion that before was taken. Then *Marius* returning with great honour into the Market-place among the Assembly of the People, caused this Law to passe and be authorized: and every man held opinion of him that he would prove a stout man, and such a one, as would not stoop for any feare, nor shrinke for bashfulnesse, but would beare the Senate in favour of the People. Notwithstanding he shortly after changed opinion, and altered the first, by another Act he made: for when another went about to have a Law made, to distribute Corne unto every Citizen without payment of any penny, he was vehemently against it, and overthrew it: so that thereby he came to be alike honoured and esteemed of either party, as he that would neither pleasure the one, nor the other, to the prejudice of the Common-wealth. After he had bene Tribune, he sued for the chiefe Office of *Edilis*. Of the *Ediles* there are two sorts: the first is called *Ædilitas Curulis*, so named, because of certaine Chaires that have crooked feete, upon which they sit when they give audience. The other is of lesse dignity, and that is called *Ædilitas Popularis*. And when they have chosen the first and greater *Edilis* at Rome, they presently proceede the same day also in the Market-place unto election of the lesser. *Marius* seeing plainly that he was put by the chiefe of the *Ediles*, turned againe straight yet to demand the second: but this was misliked in him, and they tooke him for too bolde, too shamelesse, and too presumptuous a man. So that in one selfe day he had two denials and repulses, which never man but himselfe before had. And nevertheless, all this could not cut his combe, but shortly after he sued also for the Prætorship, and he lacked but a little of the deniall of that: yet in the end, being last of all chosen, he was accused to have bribed the People, and bought their voyces for Money. And surely amongst many other, this presumption was very great: that they saw a man of *Cassius Sabacon* within the Barres where the election is made, running to and fro among them that gave their voyces; because this *Sabacon* was *Marius* very great friend. The matter came before the Judges, and *Sabacon* was examined upon it: whereunto he answered, that for the great extreme heate he felt, he was very dry, and asked for cold water to drinke, and that his man had brought him some in a pot where he was, howbeit that he went his way as soone as ever he had drunke. This *Sabacon* was afterwards put out of the Senate by the next Censors, and many judge that he was worthy of

of this infamy, for that he was perjured in judgement, or because he was so subject and given to his pleasure. *Caius Herennius* was also called for a witnesse against *Marius*: but he did alledge for his excuse, that the Law and custome did dispense with the Patron, to be a witnesse against his follower and Client; and he was quit by the Judges. For the ROMANES alwaies call those Patrons, who take the protection of meaneer then themselves into their hands: saying, that *Marius* Predecessors, and *Marius* himselfe, had ever bene followers of the House of the *HERENNIAN*s. The Judges received his answer, and allowed thereof. But *Marius* spake against it, alledging that since he had received this honour to beare Office in the Common-wealth, he was now growne from this base condition, to be any more a follower of any man: the which is not true in all. For every Office of a Magistrate doth not exempt him that hath the Office nor yet his Posterity to be under the Patronage of another, nor doth discharge him from the duty of honouring them: but of necessity he must be a Magistrate, which the Law doth permit to sit in the crooked Chaire called *Curulis*, that is to say, carried upon a Chariot through the City. But notwithstanding that at the first hearing of this Cause, *Marius* had but ill successe, and that the Judges were against him all they could: yet in the end for all that, at the last hearing of this matter, *Marius*, contrary to all mens opinions, was discharged, because the Judges opinions with and against him fell to be of like number. He used himselfe very orderly in his Office of Prætorship, and after his yeare was out, when it came to divide the Provinces by lot, *SPAIN*e fell unto him, which is beyond the River of *Batis*: where it is reported, that he scowled all the Countrey thereabouts of Theeves and Robbers, which notwithstanding was yet very cruell and savage, for the rude, barbarous, and uncivill manner and fashion of life of the Inhabitants there. For the *SPANIARDS* were of opinion even at that time, that it was a goodly thing to live upon theft and robbery. At his returne to Rome out of *SPAIN*e, desiring to deale in matters of the Common wealth, he saw that he had neither eloquence nor riches, which were the two meanes, by the which those that were at that time in credit and authority, did carry the People even as they would. Notwithstanding, they made great account of his constancy and noble minde they found in him, of his great paines and travell he rooke continually, and of the simplicity of his life: which were causes to bring him to honour and preferment, inso much as he married very highly. For he married *Julia*, that was of the noblest House of the *Cæsars*, and Aunt unto *Julius Cæsar*: who afterwards came to be the chiefe man of all the ROMANES, and who by reason of that alliance betweene them, seemed in some things to follow *Marius*, as we have written in his Life. *Marius* was a man of great temperance and patience, as may be judged by an act he did, putting himselfe into the hands of Chyrurgions. For his shankes and legges were full of great swollen veines, and being angry because it was no pleasant thing to behold, he determined to put himselfe into the hands of Chyrurgions to be cured. And first, laying out one of his legges to the Chyrurgion to worke upon, he would not be bound as others are in like case: but patiently abode all the extreme paines a man must of needfull keele being cut, without stirring, groaning, or sighing, still keeping his countenance, and said never a word. But when the Chyrurgion had done with his first legge, and would have gone to the other, he would not give it him: Nay, said he, I see the Cure is not worth the paine I must abide. Afterwards *Cæcilius Metellus* the Consull, being appointed to go into *AFRICKE* to make Warre with King *Jugurth*, tooke *Marius* with him for one of his Lieutenants. *Marius* being there, seeing notable good service to be done, and occasion to shew his manhoode, was not of minde in this Voyage to increase *Metellus* honour and reputation, as other Lieutenants did: and thought that it was not *Metellus* that called him forth for his Lieutenant, but Fortune herselfe that presented him a fit occasion to raise him to greatnesse, and (as it were) did leade him by the hand into a goodly Field, to put him to the proove of that he could do. And for this cause therefore, he endeavoured himselfe to shew all the possible proofes of valiantnesse and honour he could. For the Warres being great continually there, he never for feare refused any attempt or service, how dangerous or painfull soever it were, neither disdained to take any service in hand, were it never so little: but exceeding all other his fellowes and companions in wisdom and foresight in that which was to be done, and striving with the meanest Souldiers in living hardly and painfully, he wanne the good-will and favour of every man. For to say truly, it is a great comfort and refreshing to Souldiers that labour, to have companions that labour willingly with them. For that they thinke, that their company labouring with them, doth in manner take away the compulsion and necessity. Furthermore, it pleaseth the ROMANE Souldier marvellously to see the Generall eate openly of the same breade he eateth, or that he lieth on a hard bed as he doth, or that himselfe is the first man to set his hand to any worke when a Trench is to be cast, or their Campe to be fortified. For they do not so much esteeme the Captaine that honour and reward them, as they do those that in dangerous attempts, labour and venture their lives with them. And further, they do farre better love them that take paines with them, then those that suffer them to live idly by them. *Marius* performing all this, and winning thereby the love and good-wills of his Souldiers: he straight filled all *LYBIA* and the City of Rome with his glory, so that he was in every mans mouth. For they that were in the Campe in *AFRICKE*, wrote unto them that were at Rome, that they should never see the end of those Wars against this barbarous King, if they gave not the charge unto *Marius*, and chose him Consull. These things misliked *Metellus* very much, but specially the misfortune that came upon *Turpillius* did marvellously trouble him: which fell out in this sort: *Turpillius* was *Metellus* friend, yea he and all his Parents had followed *Metellus* in this Warre, being Master of the Workes in his Campe. *Metellus* made him Governour over the City of *VACCA*, a goodly great City: and he using the

Caius Herennius pleaded in *Marius* behalfe touching the Patron and Client.

Marius acts in *Spain*. The opinion of *Spaniards* in old time. Eloquence and riches raised men to authority. How *Marius* credit and estimation grew. *Julia*, *Marius* Wife. *Marius* temperance and patience.

Cæcilius Metellus Consull. *Marius* *Metellus* Lieutenant in the Warre against *Jugurth*.

The labour and presence of the Generall maketh the Souldiers work willingly.

Marius the author of *Turpillius* false accusation and death.

See a great City.
The cause of the supposed treason against *Turpilius*.

Turpilius wrongfully put to death.

Displeasure betwixt *Metellus* and *Marius*.

Marius first time of being Consul.

Marius offended the Nobility.

Marius deprived *Metellus* of the honour of conquering of King *Jugurth*.

Bocchus King of Numidia, delivered *Jugurth* unto *Sylla*.

the Inhabitants of the same very gently and courteously, mistrusted nothing till he was fallen into the hands of his Enemies through their Treason. For they had brought King *Jugurth* into their City unknowne to him, howbeit they did him no hurt, but onely begged him of the King, and let him goe his way safe. And this was the cause why they accused *Turpilius* of Treason. *Marius* being one of his Judges in the Councell, was not contented to be bitter to him himselfe, but moved many of the Councell besides to be against him: so that *Metellus* by the voyces of the People, was driven against his will to condemne him to suffer as a Traytor: and shortly after it was found and proved, that *Turpilius* was wrongfully condemned and put to death. To say truly, there was not one of the Councell but were very sorry with *Metellus*, who marvellously impatiently tooke the death of the poore innocent. But *Marius* contrarily rejoiced, and tooke it upon him that he pursued his death, and was not ashamed to make open vaunts, that he had hanged a fury about *Metellus* necke, to revenge his friends blood, whom he guiltlesse had caused to be put to death. After that time they became mortall enemies. And they say, that one day *Metellus* to mocke him withall, said unto him: O good man, thou wilt leave us then, and returne to Rome to sue for the Consulship: and canst thou not be contented to tarry to be Confull with my Sonne? Now his Sonne at that time was but a boy. But howsoever the matter went, *Marius* left him not so, but laboured for leave all he could possible. And *Metellus* after he had used many delays and excuses, at the length gave him leave, twelve daies onely before the day of election of the Consuls. Wherefore *Marius* made haste, and in two daies and a night came from the Campe to UTICA upon the Sea side, which is a marvellous way from it: and there before he tooke Ship, did Sacrifices unto the gods, and the Soothsayer told him, that the gods by the signes of his Sacrifices, did promise him incredible prosperity, and so great, as he himselfe durst not hope after. These words made *Marius* heart greater: whereupon he hoisted Saile, and having a passing good gale of winde in the poepe of the Shippe, passed the Seas in foure daies, and being landed, rode poste to Rome. When he was arrived, he went to shew himselfe unto the People: who were marvellous desirous to see him. And being brought by one of the Tribunes of the People unto the Pulpit for Orations, after many accusations which he objected against *Metellus*, in the end he befought the People to choose him Confull, promising that within few daies he would either kill, or take King *Jugurth* Prisoner. Whereupon he was chosen Confull without any contradiction. And so soone as he was proclaimed, he began immediately to levie men of Warre, causing many poore men that had nothing, and many Slaves also, to be enrolled against the order of ancient custome: where other Captaines before him did receive no such manner of men, and did no more suffer unworthy men to be Souldiers, then they did allow of unworthy Officers in the Common-wealth: in doing the which every one of them that were enrolled, left their Goods behind them, as a pledge of their good service abroad in the Warres. Yet this was not the matter that made *Marius* to be most hated, but they were his stout proud words full of contempt of others, that did chiefly offend the Noblemen in the City. For he proclaimed it every where abroad as it were, that his Consulship was a spoile he had gotten of the effeminate rich Noblemen through his valiantnesse, and that the wounds which he had upon his body for the service of the Common-weale, were those that recommended him to the People, and were his strength, and not the Monuments of the dead, nor the Images and Statues of others. And oft times naming *Albinus*, and otherwhile *Besius*, both Noblemen, and of great Houses, who having bene Generals of the ROMANE Army, had very ill fortune in the Countrey of LYBIA: he called them cowards and simple Souldiers, asking them that were about him, if they did not thinke that their Ancestors would rather have wished to have left their Children that came of them like unto himselfe, then such as they had bene: considering that they themselves had wonne honour and glory, not for that they were defended of noble blood, but through their deserved vertue and valiant deedes. Now *Marius* spake not these words in a foolish bravery, and for vaine glory onely, to purchase the ill will of the Nobility for nothing: but the common People being very glad to see him shame and despight the Senate, and measuring alwaies the greatnesse of his courage with his haughty fierce words, they egged him forward still not to spare the Nobility, and to reprove the great men; so that he ever held with the Commonalty. And furthermore, when he was passed over againe into AFRICKE, it spighted *Metellus* to the heart, because that he having ended all the Warre, that there remained almost no more to take or winne, *Marius* should come in that sort to take away the Glory and Triumph out of his hands, having sought to rise and increase by unthankfulnesse towards him. He would not come to him therefore, but went another way, and left the Army with *Rutilius* one of his Lieutenants, to deliver the same unto him. Howbeit, the revenge of this ingratitude, lighted in the end upon *Marius* owne necke: for *Sylla* tooke out of *Marius* hands the honour of ending this Warre, even as *Marius* had taken it from *Metellus*. But how, and after what sort, I will repeat it in few words, because we have written the particularities more at large in the life of *Sylla*. *Bocchus* King of high NUMIDIA, was Father-in-law unto King *Jugurth*, unto whom he gave no great aide, whilst he made Warres with the ROMANS, because he hated his unfaithfulnesse, and feared lest he would make himselfe greater then he was: but in the end, after *Jugurth* had fled, and wandred up and downe in every place, he was constrained of very necessity to call his last hope and anker upon him, as his finall refuge, and so repaire unto him. King *Bocchus* received him rather for shame, because he durst not punish him, then for any love or good will he bare him: and having him in his hands, seemed openly to intreate *Marius* for him, and secretly to write the contrary unto him. But in the meane time, he practised Treason under-hand, and sent privily for *Lucius Sylla*, who then was Quaestor (to say, high Treasurer) under *Marius*, and

and of whom he had received certaine pleasures in those Warres. *Sylla* trusting to this Barbarous King, went at his sending for to him. But when he was come, King *Bocchus* repented him of his promise, and altered his minde, standing many daies in doubt with himselfe how to resolve, whether he should deliver King *Jugurth*, or keepe *Sylla* himselfe: yet at the last he went on with his purpose and intended treason, and delivered King *Jugurth* alive into *Sylla* hands. And this was the first originall cause of the pestilent and mortall enmity that grew afterwards betwixt *Marius* and *Sylla*, and was like to have utterly overthrowne the City of Rome, and to have razed the foundation of the Empire unto the ground. For many envying the glory of *Marius*, gave it out every where, that this Act of the taking of King *Jugurth*, appertained onely unto *Sylla*: and *Sylla* himselfe caused a Ring to be made, which he wore commonly, and had graven upon the Stone of the same, how *Bocchus* delivered *Jugurth* into his hands. And afterwards he made it alwaies his Seale to dispise *Marius* withall, who was an ambitious and proud man, and could abide no companion to be partaker of the glory of his doings: and *Sylla* did it especially at the procurement of Enemies and ill willers, who gave the glory of the beginning and chiefe exploits of this Warre, unto *Metellus*; and the last and finall conclusion unto *Sylla*, to the end that the People should not have *Marius* in so great estimation and good opinion, as they had before. But all this envy, detraction and hatred against *Marius*, was soone after extinguished and troden under foot, by reason of the great danger that fell upon all ITALY out of the West: and they never spake of it afterwards, knowing that the Common-wealth stood in need of a good Captaine, and that they began to looke about, and consider who should be that great Wise Pilot, that might save and preserve it from so great and dangerous a storme of Warre. For there was not a Noble man of all the ancient Houses of Rome, that durst undertake to offer himselfe to demand the Consulship: but *Marius* being absent, was chosen Confull the second time. For *Jugurth* was no sooner taken, but news came to Rome of the coming down of the TEUTONS, and of the CIMBRES, the which would not be beleaved at the first, by reason of the infinite number of the fighting men which was said to be in their company, and for the incredible force and Power of the Armies which was justified to come: but afterwards they knew plainely, that the rumour that ran abroad was lesse then the truth fell out indeed. For they were three hundred thousand fighting men all Armed, who brought with them also another multitude as great (or more) of Women and Children: which wandred up and downe seeking Countries and Townes to dwell and live in, as they heard say the GAULES had done in old time, who leaving their owne Countrey, came, and had possessed the best part of ITALY, which they had taken away from the THUSCANS. Now to say truly, no man knew of what Nation they were, nor from whence they came: as well for that they had no friendship with any other People, as also because they came out of a farre Countrey, as a Cloud of People that was spread all over GAULE and ITALY. It was doubted much they were a People of GERMANY, dwelling about the North side: and this they conjectured by view of the greatnesse of their Bodies, and also for that they had dark blew eyes and red, besides that the GRECIANS in their Tongue do call Theeves and Robbers, Cimbres. Other say, Celtica, for the great length and largenesse of the Countrey, stretching it selfe from the Coast of the great Ocean Sea; and from the North parts, drawing towards the Marishes MOEOTIDES, and the East, runneth into SCYTHIA, or TARTARIA PONTICA: and that for neighbourhood these two Nations joyned together, and went out of their Countrey, not that they made this great voyage all at one time, but at many sundry times, marching yearly in the Spring further and further into the Countrey. And thus by continuance of time, they passed by force of Armes through all the firme Land of EUROPE: and that for this cause, although they had many particular Names according to the diversity of their Nations, yet all this Masse and multitude of People gathered together, were called notwithstanding, the Army of the CELTOSCYTHES, as who would say, the CELTOTARTARES. Other hold opinion that the Nation of the CIMMERIANS, who were known in old time for ancient GRECIANS, the one part of them were not very great in respect of the whole, the which being fled (or driven out of their Countrey for some civill diffention) were compelled by the TARTARES to passe beyond the Marishes MOEOTIDES, into the Countries of ASIA, under the conduction of a Captaine called *Ligdamis*. But the residue of them, which were a far greater number, and more Warlike men, they dwelt in the furthest parts of the Earth, adjoining to the great Ocean Sea, in a darke shadowed Countrey covered with wonderfull Forrests, of such length, and so great and thick, and the Trees so high, that the Sun can have no Power upon the ground, and they joyne hard upon the great Forrest of HERCYNIA. And furthermore, they are under such a climate, where the Pole is of such a height by the inclination of the Circles equidistant, which they call Paralleles, that it is not farre from the Point that answereth directly to the plummet upon the head of the Inhabitants: and where the daies are Equinoctiall. They do devide all their time in two parts, the which giveth *Homer* occasion to faigne, that when *Ulysses* would call upon the dead, he went into the Countrey of the CIMMERIANS, as into the Countrey of Hell. And this is the cause why they say these Barbarous People left their owne Countries to come into ITALY, which from the beginning were called CIMMERIANS, and afterwards they say, (and not without great likelihood) that they were surnamed CIMBRES: howbeit that is spoken rather by a likely conjecture, then by any assured troth of History. And as for the multitude of men, the most part of Historiographers do Write, that they were rather more then lesse, then we have spoken of: and that they were so hardy and Valiant, that nothing could stand before them, they did so great things by the strength of their hands, where

Lucius Sylla Quaestor under *Marius*.

The originall cause of the civill Warres betwixt *Marius* and *Sylla*.

The coming into Italy of the Teutons and Cimbres. The Army of the Teutons and Cimbres. Three hundred thousand men.

Cimbri.

Cimmerij.

they fought with any, so violently and so sodainly that they seemed to be like a Lightning Fire all about where they came. By means whereof, they met with no man that durst resist them, but scraped together and carried away all that they found, hand over head: and there were many ROMANE Captaines appointed Governours to keepe that which the ROMANES held in GAULE beyond the Mountaines, who with great Armies were shamefully overthrowne by them. The cowardlinesse of those whom they had overcome, was the chiefeft cause that moved them to direct their journey to ROME. For when they had vanquished the first they had fought withall, and gotten great riches also: they were so fleshed by this, that they determined to stay no where, before they had destroyed ROME, and sacked all ITALY. the ROMANES hearing of this out of all parts, sent for Marius to give him the conduction and leading of these Warres, and chose him Consull the second time: notwithstanding that it was directly against the Law, that did expressely forbid any man to be chosen being absent, and untill also a certaine time appointed had past betwene the vacation and Election, before they could chuse him Officer twice in one Office. Some alledged this Law, of intent to hinder the Election: but the People repulled them, objecting to the contrary, that this was not the first time the Law had given place to the benefit of the Common-wealth, and that the occasion offered to abrogate the Law at that present, was no lesse then former occasions by the which they chose Scipio Consull, against the course and time appointed by the Law, not for any feare they stood in to lose their owne Countrey, but for the desire they had to destroy the Countrey of the CARTHAGINIANS, by reason whereof the People proceeded to Election. And Marius bringing home his Army againe out of LYBIA into ITALY, tooke possession of his Consullship the first day of January (on which day the ROMANES begin their yeare) and therewithall made his Triumph into the City of ROME, shewing that to the ROMANES, which they thought never to have seene: and that was, King Jugurth Prisoner, who was so subtil a man, and could so well frame himselfe unto his fortune, and with his craft and subtilty was of so great courage besides, that none of his Enemies ever hoped to have had him alive. But it is said, that after he was led in this Triumph, he fell mad straight upon it: and the Pompe of Triumph being ended, he was carried into Prison, where the Sergeants for hast to have the spoile of him, tore his apparell by force from off his back: and because they would take away his rich Gold Eare-rings that hung at his Eares, they pulled away with them the tippe of his Eare, and then cast him naked to the bottom of a deepe Dungeon, his wits being altogether troubled. Yet when they did throw him downe, laughing he said: O Hercules, how cold are your Stoves? He lived there yet six daies, fighting with hunger, and desiring alwaies to prolong his miserable Life unto the last houre: the which was a just deserved punishment for his wicked Life. In this Triumph Marius caused the Senate to Assemble within the Capitoll, where he entred into the company with his Triumphant Robe, either because he forgot it, or else of too grosse and uncivill arrogancy: but perceiving that all the Assembly misliked of it, he rose suddenly, and tooke his long Consuls Gown, and then returned quickly againe into his place. Furthermore, Marius departing to goe to the Warres, thought to traine his Army by the way, and to harden his Souldiers unto labour, causing them to run every way, making great long journeys, compelling each Souldier to carry his owne Furniture, and to prepare him necessary Victuals to finde himselfe withall: so that ever after they made a Proverbe of it, and called such as were painfull and willing to do that which they were commanded without grudging, Marius Moiles. Other notwithstanding doe shew another cause and beginning of this Proverbe: for they say, that Scipio lying at the siege of the City of NUMANTIA, would not onely take view of the Armour and Horfes of Service that were in his Army, but also of the Moiles and other Beasts of burden, because he would see how they were kept and furnished. So Marius brought his Horfe and Moile to the Muster which he kept himselfe, fat, faire, and very well drest; and his Moiles haire so slick and smooth, and therewithal so lusty and trim, as none of the rest were like unto them. Scipio tooke great pleasure to see these Beasts so well kept, and in so good plight: insomuch as he spake of it afterwards many a time and oft. And upon his words, this manner of talke was taken up ever after, and became a common Proverbe: when they meane to mock any man that is painfull, and given to fore labour, making as though they would praise him, they call him Marius Moile. Furthermore, it was a happy turne for Marius (in mine opinion) that these Barbarous People (like in force to the beating back of the raging Seas) turned their first fury towards SPAIN: and that he in the meane space had time and leasure to traine and exercise his Souldiers to make them bold, and withall, himselfe to be thoroughly known amongst them. For when by little and little they had learned not to offend, nor disobey, then they found his rough commanding, and sharpe severity in punishing such as slacked their duty, both profitable and very necessary, besides that it was also just and reasonable. Againe his great fury, his sharpe words, and his fierce looks, after they had a while bene used to them, by little and little they seemed nothing so fearefull to them, as to their Enemies. But the thing that pleased the Souldiers more then all the rest, was his justice and upright dealing: whereof they report such an example: Marius had a Nephew of his in his Campe, called Caius Lucius, who had charge of men in the Army. This Lucius was taken for a marvellous honest man, saying that he had this foule Vice in him, that he would be suddenly in love with fair young Boyes: and as at that time he fell in love with a trim young stripling, called Tre-

Marius chose
Consull the se-
cond time a-
gainst the
Law.

Law must
give place to
common bene-
fit.

Marius Tri-
umph into
Rome for King
Jugurth.

How Marius
trained his
Souldiers.

Marius Moiles.

Marius com-
manded for his
justice.

bonius, that served under him, and having many times lewdly enticed him, and never could ob-
taine his purpose, at the last sent for him one night by his Servant. The young man might not dis-
obey his Captaine being sent for, but presently went unto him. When he was come into his Tent,
and that his Captaine did strive with all his force to doe him villany: he drew out his Sword, and
killed him in the place. And this was done when Marius was out of his Campe: who so soone as
he returned, caused the Marshall to bring the young man before him. Many stepped forth straight
to accuse him, but no man to defend him. Wherefore he boldly began to tell his tale himselfe,
and to Name many Witneses, who had both seene and known how his dead Captaine had of-
tentimes offered him dishonour, and how that he had continually resisted his abominable mo-
tion, and would never yeeld himselfe unto him, for any Gift or Present he could offer him. Where-
fore Marius commending him greatly, and being very glad of it, caused presently one of those
Crownes to be brought unto him, which are used to be given to them, that in a day of Battell have
done some Valiant deed, and he himselfe did Crown Trebonius withall, as one that had done a
Noble Act, and at such a time, as good and honest examples were requisite. This judgement of
Marius being carried to ROME, stood him to great good purpose towards the obtaining of his
third Consullship: beside also that they looked for the coming backe of these Barbarous People
about the Spring, with whom the ROMANE Souldiers would not fight under any other Cap-
taine then Marius. Howbeit they came not so soone againe as they looked for them, but Ma-
rius passed over also the year of his third Consullship. So time coming about againe for the
Election of the new Consuls and his companion also being dead, he was driven to goe himselfe
unto ROME, leaving the charge of his Campe in his absence unto Marius Acilius. At that time
there were many Noble men that sued for the Consullship: but Lucius Saturninus one of the Tri-
bunes, who had the Commonalty under his Girdle as he would himselfe, more then any of the
other Tribunes, and being wonne under hand by Marius, made many Orationes, in the which
he perswaded the People to chuse Marius Consull the fourth time. Marius to the contrary, seem-
ed to refuse it, saying, that he would none of it, though the People chose him. Whereupon
Saturninus called him Traitor, crying out, That his refusal in such a danger and time of necessity,
was an apparant part to betray the Common-wealth. It was found straight that this was a grosse
pack betwixt Saturninus and Marius, by such as could see day at a little hole. Nevertheless, the
People considering that their Present troubles required Marius skill and good Fortune in the Warres,
they made him Consull the fourth time, and joynd Catulus Lullatius Consull with him, a man
that was greatly honoured of the Nobility, and not misliked also of the common People. Marius
having Newes of the approaching of the Barbarous People, passed over the Alpes with great speed,
and fortifying his Campe by the River of RHODNE, he brought great provision of all kinds of Victu-
als thither with him, lest being straitened by lacke thereof, he should be forced to come to Battell
at any other time but even as he would himselfe, and as it should seem good unto him. And where
before that time the transporting of Victuals unto his Campe by Sea was very long, and dangerous,
and a marvellous great charge besides: he made it very short and easie by this means. The mouth
of the River of RHODNE had gathered together so much Mud, and such store of Sand, which the
waves of the Sea had cast on heapes together, that the same was become very high and deep: so
as the banks made the entry into it very narrow, hard, and dangerous for great Ships of burden that
came from the Sea. Marius considering this matter, set his men on worke while they had nothing to
do, and made them digge a large Trench, and deep Channell, into the which he turned a great part
of the River, and carried it to a convenient place of the Coast, where the Water fell into the Sea by
an open gulf, whereby he made it able to carry the greatest Ships that were: and besides that, it
was in a very still quiet place, not being troubled with windes nor waves. The Channell carrieth yet
his Name, and is called Marius Channell or Trench. These Barbarous People divided themselves in-
to two Armies to passe into ITALY, so that it fell out to the one part which were the CIMBRES,
to go through high GERMANIE, and to force that passage which Catulus kept: and unto the other
part, which were the TEUTONS and AMBRONS, to passe through the Countrey of the GENE-
VESIANS by the Sea side against Marius. Now the CIMBRES having the greater compass to
fetch about, stayed longer, and remained behind: but the TEUTONS and the AMBRONS going
their way first, had in few daies dispatched their journey they had to go, to bring them to the Campe
where the ROMANES lay, unto whom they presented themselves by infinite numbers, with ter-
rible faces to behold, and their cries and voices farre contrary unto other mens. They tooke in a
marvellous deale of Ground in length to Campe upon, and so came forth to defie Marius, and pro-
voke him to Battell in open Field. Marius made no reckoning of all their bragging defiance, but
kept his men together within his Campe, taking on terribly with them that would rashly take upon
them to move ought to the contrary, and which through impatience of choler would needs go
forth to fight, calling them Traitors to their Countrey. For said he, we are not come to fight for
our private glory, neither to win Triumphs nor Victories for our selves: but we must seeke by all
means to divert and put by this great shower of Warres from us, and this Lightning and Tempest,
that it overcome not all ITALY. These words he spake unto the private Captaines which were un-
der him, as unto men of behaviour and quality: but as for the common Souldiers, he made them
stand upon the Trenches of his Campe, one after another to behold the Enemies, and to acquaint
themselves with figat of their faces, their countenance, and marching, and not to be afraid of
their voices, and the manner of their speech, which was wonderfull strange and beastly: and also that

Marius third
Consullship.
Marius Acilius
Licutenant of
the Army, un-
der Marius.
Lucius Saturni-
nus Tribune.

Marius fourth
Consullship
with Catulus
Lullatius.
Rhodanus fl.

Marius Chan-
nell.
The Cimbres
went through
Germany into
Italy.
The Teutons
and Ambrons
fall upon Ma-
rius to passe
into Italy,
through the
territory of
Genoa.

they might know the fashion of their Weapons, and how they handled them. And by this order and ordinary viewing of them, in time he made the things that seemed fearful unto his men at the first sight, to be afterwards very familiar: so that they made no more wondering at them. For he judged the thing which indeed is true, that a rare and new matter never seene before, for lack of judgement and understanding maketh things unknown to us, more horrible and fearefull then they are: and to the contrary, that custome taketh away a great deale of feare and terror of those things, which by nature are indeed fearefull. The which was seene then by experience. For they being daily acquainted to looke upon these Barbarous People, it did not onely diminish some part of the former feare of the ROMANE Souldiers: but furthermore, they whetting their coler with the fierce untolerable threats and braggs of these Barbarous brutish People, did set their hearts afire to fight with them, because they did not onely waste and destroy all the Countrey about them, but besides that, came to give assault even unto their Campe, with such a boldnesse, that the ROMANE Souldiers could no longer suffer them, and they letted not to speake words that came to Marius eares himselfe. What cowardlinesse hath Marius ever known in us, that he keeps us thus from fighting, and under locke and Key as it were, in the guard of Porters, as if we were Women? Let us therefore shew our selves like Men; and goe aske him if he looke for any other Souldiers, besides our selves to defend ITALY: and if he have determined to employ us as Pioners onely, when he would cast a trench to rid away the mud, or to turne a River contrary. For therein hath he onely hitherto employed us in great labour, and they are the notable workes he hath done in his two Consulships, whereof he maketh his boast unto them at ROME. Is he afraid they should take him as they did *Carbo* and *Cepio*, whom the Enemies have overthrowne? He must not be afraid of that: for he is a Captaine of another manner of valour and reputation then they were, and his Army much better then theirs was. But howsoever it be, yet were it much better (in proving) to lose something, then to be idle, and to suffer our friends and confederates to be destroyed and sacked before our eyes. Marius was marvellous glad to hear his men complaine thus, and did comfort them, and told them that he did nothing mistrust their courage and valientnesse: howbeit that through the Counsell of certaine Prophecies and Oracles of the gods, he did expect time and place fit for Victory. For he ever carried a SYRIAN Woman in a Litter about with him, called *Martha*, with great reverence, whom they said had the spirit of Prophecy in her: and that he did ever Sacrifice unto the gods by her order, and at such time as she willed him to doe it. This SYRIAN Woman went first to speake with the Senate about these matters, and did foretell and Prognosticate what should follow: but the Senate would not hear her, and made her to be driven away. Whereupon she went unto the Women, and made them see prooffe of some things she vaunted of, and specially Marius Wife, at whose feet she was set one day in Assembly of the common Playes, to see the Sword Players fight for Life and death: for the told her certainly which of them should overcome. Whereupon this Lady sent her unto her Husband Marius, who made great reckoning of her, and carried her ever in a Litter with him wheresoever he went. She was always at Marius Sacrifices, apparelled in a Gown of Purple in graine, clasped to her with Claspes, and held a Speare in her hand wound all about with Nosegayes and Garlands of flowers tied on with Laces. This manner of gift made many doubt whether Marius shewed this Woman openly, believing indeed that she had the gift of Prophecy: or else that knowing the contrary, he made as though he did beleieve it, to helpe her faining. But that which *Alexander* the MINDIAN wrote touching Vultures, is a thing greatly to be wondered at: For he said, there were two of them followed Marius in his Warres, and that they ever shewed themselves, and missed not, when he should win any great Battell, and that they did know them by Lattin collars they wore about their neckes, which the Souldiers had tied about them, and afterwards let them goe where they would: by reason whereof, they did know the Souldiers againe, and it seemed also that they saluted them, and were very glad when they saw them, and perswaded themselves, that it was a signe and token of good luck to follow. Many signes and tokens were seen before the Battell: howbeit all the rest were ordinary sights, saving that which was reported to be seen at TUDERTUM, and AMERIA, two Cities of ITALY. For they say, there were seen Speares and Targets in the night, burning like fire in the Element, which first were carried up and down here and there, and then met together even as men move and stirre that fight one with another, untill at the length, the one giving back, and the other following after, they all vanished away, and consumed towards the West. About the selfe same time also, there came from the City of PESSINUNTA, *Barabaces*, the chiefe Priest of the great Mother of the gods, who brought Newes, that the goddesse had spoken to him within her Sanctuary, and told him that the Victory of this War should fall out on the ROMANE side. The Senate beleevied it, and ordained that they should build a Temple unto the goddesse, to give her thanks for the Victory which she did promise them. *Barabaces* also would have presented himselfe unto the People in open Assembly to tell them as much. But there was one *Aulus Pompeius* a Tribune, that would not suffer him to do it, calling him tumbler or juggler, and violently thrust him behind the Pulpit for Orations: but the mischance that fell upon Pompeius afterwards, made them the more to beleieve *Barabaces* words. For Pompeius the Tribune no sooner came home to his House, but a great vehement Ague tooke him, whereof he died the seventh day after, as all the world could witnesse. Now the TEBUTONS perceiving that Marius stirred not at all out of his Campe, they proved to assault him: howbeit they were so well received with Shot and slings, that after they had lost certaine of their men, they gave it over, and determined to goe further, perswading themselves that they might easily passe the Alpes without danger. Wherefore trussing up all their baggage, they passed by Marius Campe: at which time it appeared

Martha a Wife
Woman or
Prophetesse.

The attire of
Martha in time
of Sacrifice.

A wonder of
the Vultures
shewed to Ma-
rius.

Wonders seen.

Barabaces the
Priest of the
Mother of the
gods.

Aulus Pompeius
Tribunes.

appeared more certainly then before, that they were a marvellous great multitude of People, by the length of time which they tooke to passe their way. For it is said, they were passing by his Campe six daies continually together. And as they came raking by the ROMANE Campe; they asked them in mockery, If they would write to send home any thing to their Wives; for they would be with them ere it were long. When they were all passed and gone, and continued on their journey still, Marius also raised his Campe, and followed them fair and softly foot by foot, and ever kept hard at their taile as neare as he could, alwaies fortifying his Campe very well, and ever chusing strong places of situation and advantage to lodge in, that they might be safe in the night time. So they marched on in this fort, untill they came unto the City of AIX, from whence they had not far to goe, but they entred straight into the Mountaines of the Alpes: wherefore Marius prepared now to fight with them, and chose out a place that was very strong of situation to lodge his Campe in, howbeit there lacked Water. And they say he did it of purpose, to the end to quicken his mens courage the more thereby. Many repined at it, and told him that they should stand in great danger to abide marvellous thirst if they lodged there. Whereunto he made answer: shewing them the River that ran hard by the Enemies Campe; saying withall, That they must goe thither and buy Drinke with their Blood. The Souldiers replied againe: And why then doe ye not leade us thither, whilst our Blood is yet moist? He gently answered them againe: Because the first thing we doe, we must fortifie our Campe. The Souldiers though they were angry with him, yet they obeyed him: but the slaves having neither Drinke for themselves, nor for their Cattell, gathered together a Troope of them, and went towards the River: some of them carrying Axes, other Hatchets, other Swords and Speares, with their Pots to carry Water, determining to fight with the Barbarous People, if otherwise they could not come by it. A few of the Barbarous People at the first fought with them, because the most part of their company were at Dinner, after they had bathed; and others were still in the Bathe washing themselves, finding in that place many Springs of hot naturall Bathes. Thus the ROMANE found many of the Barbarous People making merry, and taking their pleasure about these Bathes, for the great delight they tooke to consider the pleasantnesse of their pleasure about these Bathes, for the great delight they tooke to see one after another unto the place from whence the noise came. Wherefore it was a hard thing for Marius any longer to keepe the ROMANE Souldiers in from going to their helpe, for that they feared their slaves should have bene slaine of the Barbarous People: and moreover, because the valiantest Souldiers of their Enemies, called the AMBRONS (who before had overcome *Manlius* and *Cepio*, two ROMANE Captaines with their Armies, and that made of themselves Thirty thousand fighting men) ran to Armes, being very heavy of their Bodies, as having filled their bellies well, but otherwise Valiant and couragious fellows, and more lively then they had wont to be, by reason of the Wine they had drunk; they ran not furiously to fight out of order, neither did they cry out confusedly, but marching all together in good array, making a noise with their harness all after one sort, they oft rehearsed their owne Name, AMBRONS, AMBRONS, AMBRONS: which was, either to call one another of them, or else to feare the ROMANE with their Name onely. The ITALIANS also on the other side, being the first that came down to fight with them, were the LIGURIANS, dwelling upon the coast of GENOVA, who hearing this noise and cry of theirs, plainly understanding them: answered them againe with the like noise and cry, LIGURIANS, LIGURIANS, LIGURIANS, saying, that it was the true surname of all their Nation. And so before they joyned together, this cry was redoubled many a time one either side: and the Captaines of both parts made their Souldiers cry out all together, contending for envy one against another; who should cry it loudest. This contention of crying, inflamed the Souldiers courages the more. Now the AMBRONS having the River to passe, were by this means put out of order, and before they could put themselves in Battell ray againe, after they had passed the River, the LIGURIANS ran with great fury to set upon the foremost: and after them, (to aid the LIGURIANS that had begun the charge) the ROMANE themselves fell also upon the AMBRONS, coming down from the places of advantage upon these Barbarous People, and compelled them by this means to turn their backs, and flye. So the greatest slaughter they made, fortunated upon the banke of the River, whereinto they thrust one another in such sort, that all the River ran bloud, being filled with dead Bodies. And they that could get over the River againe, and were on the other side, durst not gather together any more to stand to defence: so as the ROMANE slew them, and drave them into their Campe, even unto their carriage. Then their Women came out against them with Swords and Axes in their hands, grinding their teeth: and crying out for sorrow and anger, they charged awell upon their own People that fled, as upon them that chafed them: the one as Traitors, and the other as Enemies: Furthermore, they thrust themselves amongst them that fought, and strove by force to plucke the ROMANE Targets out of their hands, and tooke hold of their naked Swords bare handed, abiding with an invincible courage to be hacked and mangled with their Swords. And thus was the first Battell given (as they say) by the Rivers side, rather by chance unlooked for, then by any set purpose, or through the Generals counsell. Now the ROMANE after they had overcome the most part of the AMBRONS, retiring backe by reason the night had overtaken them, did not (as they were wont after they had given such an overthrow) sing Songs of Victory and Triumph, nor make good cheer in their Tents one with another, and least of all sleepe: (which is the best and sweetest refreshing for men that have fought happily) but contrarily, they watched all that night with great feare and trouble, because their Campe was not entrenched and fortified, and because they knew

Marius bold
words to his
Souldiers, and
their answer.

Battell betwixt
the Ambrons
and Marius.

Marius over-
came the Am-
brons.

The manifi-
nest of the
Women.

also that there remained almost innumerable Thousands of Barbarous People, that had not yet fought: besides also, that the AMBRONS that had fled and escaped from the overthrow, did howle out all night with loud cries, which were nothing like mens lamentations and sighs, but rather like wilde Beasts bellowing and roaring. So that the bellowing of such a great multitude of beastly People, mingled together with threats and wailings, made the Mountaines thereabouts and the running River to rebound againe of the sound and echo of their cries marvellously: by reason whereof, all the valley that lay betwene both, thundred to hear the horrible and fearful trembling. This made the ROMANS Souldiers afraid, and Marius himselfe in some doubt: because they looked to have bene fought withall the same night, being altogether troubled and out of order. Notwithstanding, the Barbarous People did not assault them that night, nor the next day following, but onely prepared themselves unto Battell. And in the meane time Marius knowing that there were above the place where they were camped, certaine Caves and little Valleys covered with Wood: he secretly sent *Claudius Marcellus* thither with Three thousand Footmen well Armed, and commanded him to keepe close in ambush, untill he saw that the Barbarous People were fighting with him, and that then he should come and set upon their rereward. The residue of his Army, they supped when time came, and after supper reposed themselves. The next morning at the breake of day, Marius brought his men into the Field out of his Fort: where he put them in order of Battell, sending his Horsemen before to draw the Enemies out to skirmish. The TEUTONS seeing them come, had not the patience to tarry till the ROMANS were come down into the plaine to fight without advantage, but Arming themselves in haste, and in a rage, ran up the Hill to the ROMANS, where they stood in Battell ray. Marius taking good regard to that they did, sent here and there unto the private Capitaines, charging them they should not stir, and onely to temporize and forbear, untill the Enemies came within a Stones cast of them: and that they should then throw their Darts at them, and afterwards drew their Swords, and repulse the Barbarous People with their Shields. For he did foresee, that when they should climb up against the Hill (upon the hanging whereof the ROMANS had set their Battell) that their blowes would not be of great force, nor their order and ranks could stand close together to any effect or purpose: because they could not have sure footing, nor march assuredly, but would easily be thrown backward if they were never so little repulsed: by reason of the hanging of the Hill. Marius gave this order unto his folke, and therewithall was himselfe the first man that put it in execution: for he was as trim a Warriour, and as valiant a Souldier, as any man in all his Army: besides, not one amongst them all would venture further, and be more bold then himselfe. So when the ROMANS had resisted them, and staied them sodainly, going with fury to have won the Hill, perceiving themselves to be repulsed, they gave back by little and little, untill they came into the Field, and then began the foremost of them to gather together, and to put themselves in Battell ray upon the plaine, when sodainly they heard the noise and charging of them that they were in the taile of their Army. For *Claudius Marcellus* failed not to take the occasion when it was offered him, because that the noise of the first charge coming up against the Hills thereabouts, under the which he lay in ambush, gave him advertisement thereof: wherupon he caused his men presently to shew; and running with great cries, came to give a charge upon those which were in the taile of the Barbarous People, putting the hindmost to the Sword. They made their fellows whose backs were next unto them, to turne their faces, and so from man to man, till at the length in short time all their Battell began to waver in disorder: and they made no great resistance, when they saw they were so charged before and behind, but began straight to flye for life. The ROMANS following them hard at the heeles, killed and tooke Prisoners above a Hundred thousand of them, and tooke moreover their Carts, their Tents, and all their carriage. Which the whole Army by consent agreed to present unto Marius, excepting nothing, saving that which was imbezelled and conveyed away under hand. Now, though this was a marvellous Honourable and right Noble Present, yet they thought it not a recompence sufficient for that he had deserved, for the valour he had shewed of a famous Capitaine, in leading of his Army, and for the good order he kept in this Warre: so happy thought they themselves to have escaped so great a danger. Notwithstanding, some Writers doe not agree, that the spoile of the Barbarous People was given unto Marius: nor that there were also so great a number of men slaine as we have spoken of. But they say, that after this Battell, the MARSILIANS did inclose their Vines, with hedges made of dead mens bones: and that the bodies being rotten and consumed upon the Fields through the great raine that fell upon them the winter following, the ground waxed so fat, and did soake the grease so deepe in the same, that the summer following, they did beare an incredible quantity of all sorts of Fruits. And by this meanes were *Archilocus* words proved true, that the arable Land doth wax fat with such rottenesse or putrifaction. And it is said also, that ordinarily after great Battells, there falleth great store of raine. Either it is by meane of some God, that powring down pure Raine: Water, doth purifie, wash, and cleanse the ground, defiled and polluted with mans blood: or else it happeneth by naturall cause: for that the overthrow of so many dead bodies, and of the blood spilt, ingendreth a moist, grosse, and heavy vapor, which doth thicken the Ayre) that by nature is changeable, and easie to alter) from a very small or little beginning, unto an exceeding great change. After this Battell, Marius caused the harnesse and spoiles of the Barbarous People to be laid aside, that were left whole and faire to sight, to beautifie and enrich the Pompe of his Triumph. Then he caused the rest to be gathered together on a great heape, and laid upon a stack of Wood, to make a Noble Sacrifice unto the gods, all his Army being armed about him, crowned with Garlands of Triumph, and himselfe apparelled

Marius second
Battell with
the Teutons.

Marius Victory
of the Teu-
tons and Am-
brons.

Much raine
followeth after
great Battels.

apparelled in a long Gowne of Purple, according to the custome of the ROMANS in such a case, and holding a Torch burning in both his hands, which he first lifted up unto Heaven. And as he was turning down the Torch to put fire to the stack of Wood, they saw some of his friends a good way off on Horse-backe, coming post unto him: then sodainly there was a great silence made of all the Assembly, every man desirous to hear what good Newes they had brought. When they were come and lighted off their Horses, they ran straight to embrace Marius, and brought him Newes that he was chosen Confull the fift time: and presented him the Letters sent him from ROMES confirming the same. And thus, this new joy falling out besides the Victory, the private Souldiers did shew the great joy and pleasure they tooke in both, with great shouts and Beating upon their harnesse: and the Capitaines also crownd *Marius* againe with new Garlands of Lawrell which they put about his head: and that done, he put fire under the stack of Wood, and ended his Sacrifice. But that which never suffereth men quietly to enjoy the good hap of any Victory clearly, but in this mortall Life doth ever mingle the ill with the good, be it either Fortune or spite of fatall destiny, or else the necessity of the naturall causes of earthly things: did shortly after this great joy bring Newes unto Marius, of his companion *Catulus Lucilius* the other Confull, who was like a Cloud in a fair bright day, and brought the City of ROMES againe into a new feare and trouble. For *Catulus* that went against the CIMBRES, thought it was not for him to keep the straights of the Mountaines, in hope to let the Barbarous People for passing: because that in so doing, he had bene compelled to divide his Army into many parts, and had weakened himselfe very much if he had taken that course: Wherefore coming a little on this side the Alpes towards ITALY, he planted himselfe upon the River of ATHESSIS, and built a Bridge upon it, so passe and repasse over his men when he would, and set up at either end of the Bridge two strong Forts well fortified, that he might more commodiously helpe the places on the other side of the River, if the Barbarous People by chance would offer to force them, after they had gotten out of the straights of the Mountaines. Now, these Barbarous People had such a glory in themselves, and disdained their Enemies so much, that more to shew their force and boldnesse, then of any necessity that compelled them, or for any benefit they got by it: they suffered it to snow upon them being stark naked, and did climb up to the top of the Mountaines, through great heapes of Ice and Snow. And when they were at the very top of all, they laid their long broad Targets under their Bodies, and lay along upon them, sliding down the steepe high Rockes, that had certaine hangings over of an infinite height. In the end, they came to the Campe neare unto the ROMANS by the Rivers side, and considered how they might passe it over: and began to fill it up, tearing down (like Giants) great Hills of earth which they found thereabouts, brought thither great Trees which they pulled up whole by the rootes, threw in great pieces of Rockes which they brake, and whole Towers of earth after them, to stop and breake the course of the River. But besides all this, they threw great Timber into the River, which being carried down the streame, came with such a force, and hit against the posts of the Bridge so violently, that they shaked the ROMANS Bridge marvellously. Whereupon many of the Souldiers of the great Campe were afraid, and forsaking it, began to retire. But then did *Catulus*, like a perfect good Capitaine shew, that he made lesse account of his own private Honour and elimation, then he did of the generall Honour of all his Souldiers. For, seeing that he could not perswade his men by any reason to tarry, and that in this feare they dislodged, in disorder against his will: he himselfe commanded the standard bearer of the Eagle to march on, and ran to the foremost that went their way, and marched himselfe before them all, to the intent that the shame of this retire should altogether light upon him, and not upon his Country: and that it might appeare the ROMANS did follow their Capitaine, and not flye away. The Barbarous People therefore assaulting the fort at the end of the Bridge of the River of ATHESSIS, tooke it, and all the men that were in it. And because the ROMANS defended it like valiant men, and had lustily ventured their lives to the death for defence of their Country: the Barbarous People let them goe upon composition, which they swore to keepe faithfully, by their Bull of Copper. This Bull afterwards was taken when they lost the Battell, and carried (as they say) into *Catulus Lucilius* Houfe, as the chiefest thing of the Victory. Furthermore, the Barbarous People finding the Country open without any defence, scattered here and there, and destroyed all where they came. Whereupon the ROMANS sent for Marius to ROMES to goe against them: and after he was arrived, every man thought he should have entered in Triumph, because also the Senate did grant it him very willingly. But he would no doe it, either because he would not deprive his Souldiers and the Capitaines that had fought under him, of any part of the Honour that was due unto them, they being absent: or because that he would warrant the People from the present danger they were in, by laying aside the glory of his former Victories, into the hands of the good Fortune of ROMES, in certaine hope to take it againe afterwards, by a more honourable and perfect confirmation of the second. Wherefore after he had made an Oration to the People and Senate, according to the time, he went his way immediately towards *Catulus Lucilius*, whose coming did comfort him much: and sent also for his Army that was yet in GALLIA beyond the Mountaines. And after his Army was come, he passed the River of PO, to keepe the Barbarous People from hurting ITALY on this side the Po. Now the CIMBRES still deferred to give Battell, because they looked for the TEUTONS, and said: that they marvelled much what they meant to tarry so long: either because they knew not indeed of their overthrow, or else for that they would not seeme to know it, because they handled them cruelly that brought the Newes of their deaths. At the length, they sent unto Marius to aske him Lands and Town sufficient to keepe them and their

Marius the fift
time Confull.

Abessis.

Catulus Lucilius Confull
fleeth from the
Cimbres.

Marius refused
to enter in
Triumph.

Marius goeth
towards *Catulus*
Lucilius to helpe him;
Po. flu.

Marius mocked
to the Cimbres.

The Cimbres
march against
Marius.
Marius device
for altering the
Dart in fight.

Baerix King
of the Cim-
bres.

Two and fifty
Thousand and
Three hundred
men between
Marius and
Catulus.

The Romans
Battell.

The Battell of
the Cimbres.

A dust raised
that neither
Army could see
one another.

The Sun full
in the Cimbres
faces.

their Brethren. *Marius* asked their Ambassadors what Brethren they meant. They answered that they were the *TEUTONS*. Whereat they standers by began to laugh: and *Marius* finely mocked them, saying: Care not for those Brethren, said he, for we have given them ground enough, which they will keepe for ever. These Ambassadors found his mocke straight, and began to revile and threaten him, that the *CIMBRES* should presently make him repent it, and the *TEUTONS* so soone as they arrived. Why, said *Marius* unto them againe, they are come already: and there were no honesty in you, if you should go your way and not salute them, since they are your Brethren. And as he spake these words, he commanded his men to bring him the Kings of the *TEUTONS* bound and chained, that had beene taken within the Mountaines of the Alpes by the *SEQUANI*. The *CIMBRES* understanding this by report of their Ambassadors, presently marched towards *Marius*, who stirred not at all, but onely fortified and kept his Campe. They say, that it was for this Battell that *Marius* first invented the new device he brought in for the Dart which the *ROMANES* were wont alwaies to throw against the Enemies at the first charge. For, before the staffe of the Dart was fastened unto the Iron, and the Iron unto the staffe, with two little Iron Pins that passed through the Wood: and then *Marius* left one of the Iron Pins as it was before, and taking away the other, put a little thin Pin of Wood easie to be broken, in place of the same; making it craftily, to the end that when the Dart was thrown, and stuck in the Enemies Target, it should not stand right forward, but bow downwards towards the Iron, that the wooden Pin being broken, the staffe of the Dart should hang downwards, holding yet by the Iron Pin running quite through at the point. So *Baerix* King of the *CIMBRES*, coming neare to *Marius* Campe with a small number of Horsemen, sent him defiance, and willed him to appoint a day and place for Battell, that they might try it out, who should be owners of the Countrey. Whereunto *Marius* made answer, that it was not the manner of the *ROMANES* to counsell with their Enemies, of the time and place when they should give Battell: but nevertheless, he would not sticke to pleasure the *CIMBRES* so much. And thus they agreed betwene them, that it should be the third day following, in the plaine of *Veselles*, which was very commodious for the Horsemen of the *ROMANES*: and also for the Barbarous People to put out at will their great number of fighting men. So both Armies failed not to meet according to appointment, but appeared ranged in Battell, one before the other. *Catulus Lucilius* the other Consull, had in his Campe Twenty thousand and Three hundred Souldiers: and *Marius* had in his Campe Two and thirty thousand fighting men, which he placed in the two wings of the Battell, shutting in *Catulus* with his men in the midst; as *Sylla* writeth it, who was present at the same: saying, that *Marius* did it of malice, for the hope he had to overthrow his Enemies with the two wings of the Battell, to the end that the whole Victory should light upon his two wings, and that *Catulus* and his men in the midst should have no part thereof. For he could not so much as front the Enemy, because that commonly when the front of a Battell is of such a breadth, the two wings are ever stretched out before, and are made like the crescent of a Moon, where the middest is thickest and farthest in. And it is written also in other Stories, that *Catulus* himselfe accusing the malice of *Marius*, because he did so, spake it to excuse his owne dishonour. As for the *CIMBRES*, the Troopes of their Footemen coming out of their Forts leasurly, did put themselves into a Squadron, as broad as long, for in every side they occupied almost thirty Furlong: but their Horsemen, which were Fifteene thousand, marched before in sumptuous furniture. For they had Helmets on their heads fashioned like wilde Beasts necks, and strange Bevers or Buffes to the same, and ware on their Helmets great high blumes of Feathers, as they had beene wings: which to fight made them appeare taller and bigger men then they were. Furthermore, they had good Curaces on their backs, and carried great white Targets before them: and for weapons offensive, every man had two Darts in his hand to bestow asfarre off, and when they came to hand strokes, they had great heavy Swords, which they fought withall neare hand. But at that time they did not march directly in ranke against the Army of the *ROMANES*, but turned a little on the right hand, meaning to inclose the *ROMANES* betwene them and their Footemen that were on the left hand. The *ROMANES* Captaines found their policy straight, but they could not keepe their Souldiers back: for there was one that cried, The Enemies fled, and immediately all the rest began to runne after. In the meane time, the Footemen of the Barbarous People that were like to a Sea before them, came forwards still: and then *Marius*, having washed his hands, and lifting them to heaven, promised and vowed a solmne Sacrifice unto the gods of an hundred Oxen. *Catulus* also made a vow, lifting up his hands to Heaven in like manner, that he would build a Temple unto Fortune for that day: and it is reported, that *Marius* having Sacrificed, when they shewed him the intrails of the Beasts Sacrificed, he cried out aloud, The Victory his mine. But when they came to give the charge, *Marius* had a great misfortune happened him, powered upon him by Gods justice, who turned his craft against himselfe, as *Sylla* writeth: for there rose very credibly a great dust, that both Armies lost the sight one of another. And hereupon *Marius* being the first that ranne to begin the charge, and having placed his men about him, missed to meet with his Enemies: and being passed beyond their Battell, wanded a great while up and down the Field, whilst the Barbarous People fought against *Catulus*. So that the greatest fury of the Battell was against *Catulus* and his Army: in the which *Sylla* writeth he was himselfe, and faith, that the heate and the Sun, which was full in the *CIMBRES* faces, did the *ROMANES* marvellous pleasure at that time. For the Barbarous People being very hard brought up to away with cold (because they were borne and bred in a cold Countrey, shadowed altogether with Woods and Trees, as we have said) were to the contrary

The Feld
fought the 27.
of July.

Horrible cru-
elty of Wo-
men.

Prisoners 60
thousand.
Men slaine
sixscore thou-
sand.

Might over-
cometh right.

Metellus
gainst People
pleasers.

rary very tender against the heate, and did melt with sweating against the Sun, and gaped straight for breath, putting their Targets before their faces: for it was also in the heart of Sommer, about the seven and twentieth day of the month of July that this Battell was given; and this dust also made the *ROMANES* the bolder, and kept them that they could not see the innumerable multitude of their Enemies farre from them. And every man running to set upon them that came against him, they were joyned together in fight, before that the sight of their Enemies could make them afraid. And furthermore, they were so good Souldiers, and so able to take paines, that how extreme soever the heate was, no man was seene sweate nor blow, though they ran at the first to set upon them: and this hath *Catulus Lucilius* himselfe left in writing unto the praise of his Souldiers. So were the most part of the Barbarous People, and specially of the best Souldiers, slaine in the Field. And because they should not open and breake their ranks, the foremost ranks were all tied and bound together with Girdles, Leather thongs, and long Chaines of Iron: and they that fled, were chased and followed into their Campe by the *ROMANES*, where they meet with horrible and fearful things to behold. For, their Wives being upon the top of their Carts, apparelled all in black, slew all those that fled, without regard of Persons: some their Fathers, other their Husbands or their Brethren, and strangling the little young Babes with their own hands, they cast them under the Cart wheeles, and betwene the Horse legs, and afterwards slew themselves. And they say, that there was a Woman hanged at the end of a Cart Ladder, having hanged up two of her Children by the necks at her heeles. And that the men also, for lacke of a Tree to hang themselves on, tied slipping Halters about their necks, unto the hornes and feete of the Oxen, and that they did pricke them afterwards with goades to make them sling and leape so long, that dragging them all about, and treading them under feet, at the length they killed them. Now though numbers were slaine by this meane, yet were there Threescore thousand of them taken Prisoners, and the number of them that were slaine, came to twice as many more. In this manner *Marius* Souldiers spoiled the Camp of the *CIMBRES*: but the spoiles of dead men that were slaine in the Field, with their Ensignes and Trumpets, were all brought (as it is said) unto *Catulus* Campe, which was a plaine Testimony to shew that *Catulus* and his Souldiers had won the Field. Strife rising thus betwene the Souldiers of both Campes about it: that the matter might be tried privately betwene them, they made the Ambassadors of *PARMA* their Arbitrators, who were by chance at that time in the Army. *Catulus Lucilius* Souldiers led the Ambassadors to the place where the overthrow was given, shewing them the Enemies bodies pierced through with their Pikes, which were easie to be knowne, because *Catulus* had made them grave their Name upon their Pikes. For all this, *Marius* went away with the Honour of this great Victory, as well for the first Battell he won alone, when he overthrew the *TEUTONS* and the *AMBRONS*, as for his great calling, having been Consull five times. And furthermore, the common People at *ROME*, called him the third founder of the City of *ROME*, thinking them selves now delivered from as great a danger, as before time they had beene from the ancient *GAULES*: And every man Feasting at home with his Wife and Children, offered the best dishes of Meate they had to Supper, unto the gods and unto *Marius*: and would needs have him alone to Triumph for both Victories. But he would not in any case, but Triumphed into the City with *Catulus Lucilius*, meaning to shew himselfe courteous and moderate in so great prosperity: and peradventure also fearing *Catulus* Souldiers, who were in readinesse and prepared (if *Marius* would have deprived their Captaine of that Honour) to let him also of his Triumph. And thus you see how he passed his fifth Consulship. After that, he made more earnest sute for the sixth Consulship, then ever any other did for his first: seeking the Peoples good wills by all the faire meanes he could to please them, humbling himselfe unto them, not onely more then became his Estate and calling, but directly also against his owne nature counterfeiting a courteous Popular manner, being cleane contrary to his disposition. His ambition made him timorous to deale in matters of the State concerning the City. For that courage and boldnesse which he had in Battell against the Enemy, he lost quite when he was in an Assembly of People in the City: and was easily put out of his bias, with the first blame or praise he heard given him. And though they report, that on a time when he made a Thousand *CAMERINES* free of the City of *ROME*, because they had done Valiant service in the Warres, that there were some that did accuse him, saying, that it was a thing done a gainst all Law: he answered them, that for the noise of the Armor, he could not hear the Law. Notwithstanding, it seemeth that indeed he was greatly afraid of the fury of the People in an Assembly of the City. For in time of Warres, he ever stood upon his reputation and Authority, knowing that they had need of him: but in Peace and civil Government, because he would rather be the chiefeest man then the honestest man, he would creepe into the Peoples bosomes to get their favour and good will. And thus through his evil behaviour, he brought all the Nobility generally to be his Enemies. But he feared nor mistrusted none so much, as he did *Metellus*, for the great unthankfull part he remembered he had plaid him: and the rather also, because he knew him to be a just and true dealing man, and one that was ever against these People-pleasers and flatterers. *Marius* therefore practised all the waies he could, to get *Metellus* to be banished *ROME*. Wherefore, to compass his intent, he fell in friendship with *Glancia* and one *Staturninus*, two of the most bold, most desperate, and most harebrained young men that were in all *ROME*, who had all the rabblement of Rogues and beggars, and such tumultuous People at their commandement: by whose meanes he made new Popular Lawes, and caused the Souldiers to be called home out of the Warres, and mingled them with the People of the City in common Assemblies, to trouble and vex *Metellus*. Moreover *Rutilius*, an

Valerius Flaccus
Consul with Marius
the sixth time.
Valerius Corvinus
six times
Consul.

The Law.
Agraria.
An Article for
the Oaths of
the Senate to
confirm what
the People
should passe by
voice.

Marius double
dealing.

To live cunningly,
Marius
take care for a
Verse.

Timoreus Policy
causeth
perjury.
Metellus con-
stant in Ver-
tue.

Metellus wife
saying touch-
ing well doing.
Metellus ban-
ishment.

Marius double
dealing
betweene the
Nobility and
People.
Marius pro-
cureth sedition
at Rome.

an honest and true Writer, (howbeit an Enemy unto *Marius*) writeth, that he obtained his sixth Consulship by corruption of Money, which he caused to be distributed amongst the Tribes of the People: and that he bought it for ready Money to put by *Metellus*, and to have *Valerius Flaccus* not for his fellow and companion in the Consulship, but rather for a Minister of his Will. There was never *ROMANE* to whom the People granted the Consulship six times, except it were unto *Valerius Corvinus* onely. But for him, they say that there was Five and forty yeares betweene his first Consulship and the last. Where *Marius* since the first yeare of his Consulship, continued five yeares together by good Fortune one after another. But in his last Consulship, he wanne himselfe great hate and malice, because he did many foule faults to please *Saturninus* withall: as amongst others, when he bare with *Saturninus*, who murdered *Nonius* his Competitor in the Tribuneship. Afterwards when *Saturninus* was chosen Tribune of the People, he preferred a Law for distribution of the Lands among the common People, and unto that Law he had specially added one Article: that all the Lords of the Senate should come openly to sweare, that they should keepe and observe from point to point, that which the People by their voices should decree, and should not deny it in any jot. But *Marius* in open Senate, made as though he would withstand this Article: saying, that neither he nor any other Wife man of judgement would take this Oath: for said he, if the Law be evill, then they should doe the Senate open wrong to compell them by force to grant it, and not for their own good wills. But he spake not that, meaning to doe as he said: for it was but a bait he had laid for *Metellus* onely, which he could hardly escape. For, imagining that to tell a fine lye, was a piece of Vertue, and of a good wit: he was thoroughly resolved with himselfe, not to passe for any thing he had spoken in the Senate. And to the contrary also, knowing well enough that *Metellus* was a grave wise man, who esteemed that to be just and true (as *Pindarus* said) is the beginning and foundation of great Vertue: he thought he would overreach him, making him affirm before the Senate that he would not sweare, knowing also that the People would hate him deadly, if he would refuse afterwards to sweare. And so indeed it happened. For *Metellus* having assured them then that he would not sweare, the Senate brake up upon it. And shortly after, *Saturninus* the Tribune calling the Senators unto the Pulpit for Orations, to compell them to sweare before the People: *Marius* went thither to offer himselfe to sweare. Whereupon the People making silence, listened attentively to hear what he would say. But *Marius* not regarding his large promise and brags made before the Senate, said then, his neck was not so long that he would prejudice the Common-wealth in a matter of so great importance: but that he would sweare, and obey the Law, if it were a Law. This shifting subtilty he added to it, to cloke and cover his shame: and when he had said so, he tooke his Oath. The People seeing him sweare were marvellous glad, and praised him with clapping of their hands: but the Nobility hanging down their heads, were ashamed of him, and were marvellous angry in their hearts with him, that he had so cowardly and shamefully gone from his word. Thereupon all the Senate tooke their Oathes, one after another against their wills, because they were afraid of the People: saving *Metellus*, whom, neither Parents, nor friends perswasion and intreaty could once move to sweare, for any punishment that *Saturninus* had imposed upon them which refused to take the Oath, but continued one man still according to his nature, and would never yeeld unto it, offering to abide any paine, rather then to be brought to consent to a dishonest matter unbefitting his Estate. And thereupon went out of the Assembly, and talking with them that did accompany him, told them, that to doe evill it was too easie a thing: and to doe good without danger, it was also a common matter: but to doe well with danger, that was the part of an honest and Vertuous man. *Saturninus* then commanded the Consuls by Edict of the People, that they should banish *Metellus* by sound of Trumpet, with special commandement, that no man should let him have Fire nor Water, nor lodge him privately nor openly. The common People, they were ready to have fallen upon him, and to have killed him: but the Noble men being offended for the injury they had offered him, gathered together about him to save him, if any would offer him violence. *Metellus* himselfe was so good a man, that he would not any civill diffention should rise for his sake: and therefore he absented himselfe from *ROME*, wherein he did like a wife man. For said he, either things will amend, and the People then repenting themselves of the wrong they have done me, will call me home againe; or else things standing as they do now, it shall be best for me to be furthest off. But for his travell in his exile, how much he was beloved and honoured, and how sweetly he passed his time studying Philosophy in the City of *HYDRES*, shall be declared more at large in his Life. Now on the other side, *Marius* to recompence the pleasure *Saturninus* had done him, being driven to let him have his will in all things, did not foresee what an intollerable plague he brought unto the Common-wealth, giving the bridle to a desperate man, who every way, by force, by Sword and murder, plainly sought to usurpe Tyrannicall Power, with the utter destruction and subversion of the whole Common-wealth. And so bearing reverence on the one side unto the Nobility, and desiring on the other side to gratifie the common People: he played a shamefull part, and shewed himselfe a double dealing man. For one night the Nobility and chiefe Citizens coming to his House, to perswade him to bridle *Saturninus* in his insolency and boldnesse: at the selfe same time also *Saturninus* going thither to speake with him, he caused him to be let in at a back doore, the Noble men not being privy to his coming. And so *Marius* telling the Nobility, and then *Saturninus*, that he was troubled with a loosnesse of his Body, under this pretence whipped up and down, now to the one, then to the other, and did nothing else but set them further out one against another, then they were before. Nevertheless, the Senate

Senate being marvellous angry with his naughty double dealing, and the order of Knights taking part with the Senate, *Marius* in the end was compelled to Arme the People in the Market-place, to suppress them that were up, and drave them into the Capitoll: where for lack of Water, they were compelled to yeeld themselves at the length, because he had cut off the Pipes and Conduits, by the which the Water ranne unto the Capitoll. By reason whereof, they being unable to continue any longer, called *Marius* unto them, and yeelded themselves to him, under the assurance of the faith of the common People. But although *Marius* did what he could possible to his uttermost Power to save them, he could not prevaile, nor do them pleasure: for they were no sooner come downe into the Market-place, but they were all put to death. Whereupon he having now purchased himselfe the ill will of the People and Nobility both, when time came about that new Censors should be chosen, every man looked that he would have been one of the futers: howbeit he sued not for it, for feare of repulse, but suffered others to be chosen of farre lesse dignity and calling then himselfe. Wherein notwithstanding he gloried, saying, that he would not sue to be Censor, because he would not have the ill will of many, for examining too straightly their lives and manners. Againe, a decree being preferred to repeale *Metellus* banishment, *Marius* did what he could possible, by word and deed to hinder it: howbeit, seeing in the end he could not have his will, he let it alone. The People having thus willingly revoked *Metellus* banishment, *Marius* heart would not serve him to see *Metellus* returne againe, for the malice he bare him: wherefore he tooke the Seas to goe into *CAPPADOCIA* and *GALATIA*, under colour to pay certaine Sacrifices to the Mother of the gods, which he had vowed unto her. But this was not the very cause that made him to undertake this journey, for he had another secret meaning in it. For his nature not being framed to live in Peace, and to governe civill matters, and having attained to his greatnesse by Armes, and supposing that his glory and Authority consumed and decreased altogether living idly in Peace, he sought to devise new occasion of Warres; hoping if he could stir up the Kings of *ASIA*, and specially *Mithridates*, (who without his procurement was feared much, that one day he would make Warres against the *ROMANES*) that he should then undoubtedly without let of any man be chosen Generall to make Warres with him; and withall also, that by that meanes he should have occasion to fill the City of *ROME* with new Triumphes, and his House with the spoiles of the great Kingdom of *PONT*, and with the riches of the King. Now *Mithridates* disposing himselfe to entertaine *Marius*, with all the Honour and courtesies he could possible shew him: *Marius* in the end notwithstanding would not once give him a good looke, nor a courteous word againe, but churlishly said unto *Mithridates* at his departure from him: Thou must determine one of these two, King *Mithridates*: either to make thy selfe stronger then the *ROMANES*, or else to looke to doe what they command thee, without resistance. These words amazed *Mithridates*, who had heard say before, that the *ROMANES* would speake their minds freely: howbeit he never saw nor proved it before, untill that time. After *Marius* was returned unto *ROME*, he built a House neare unto the Market-place, because he would not (as he said himselfe) that such as came unto him, should trouble themselves in going far to bring him home to his House: or else for that he thought this would be an occasion that divers would come to salute him, as they did other Senators. Howbeit, that was not the cause indeed: but the onely cause was, for that he had no naturall grace nor civility to entertain men courteously that came unto him, and that he lacked behaviour besides to rule a Common-wealth: and therefore in time of Peace they made no more reckoning of him then they did of an old rusty harnesse or implement, that was good for nothing but for the Warres onely. And for all other that professed Armes as himselfe did, no man grieved him so much to be called forward to Office and State before himselfe, as *Sylla* did. For he was ready to burst for spite, to see that the Noble men did all what they could to prefer *Sylla*, for the malice and ill will they bare him: and that *Sylla* first rising and perferment grew, by the quarrels and contentions he had with him. And specially when *Bocchus* King of *NUMIDIA* was Proclaimed by the Senate, a friend and confederate of the *ROMANE* People, he offered up Statues of Victories, carrying tokens of Triumph into the Temple of the Capitoll: and placed neare unto them also, an Image of Gold of King *Pharnaces*, which he delivered by his owne hands unto *Sylla*. And this made *Marius* stark mad for spite and jealousy, who could not abide that another should take upon him the glory of his doings: in such sort as he determined to pluck those Images down and to carry them away by force. *Sylla* on the other side stomached *Marius*, and would not suffer him to take them out of the place where they were: so that this civill sedition had taken present effect, had not the Warres of their confederates fallen out betwene, and restrained them for a time. For the best Souldiers and most Warlike People of all *ITALY*, and of greatest Power, they altogether rose against the *ROMANES*, and had wellnere overthrowne their whole Empire. For they were not onely of great force and Power, and well Armed: but their Captaines also, for Valiantnesse and Skill, did in manner equal the worthinesse of the *ROMANES*. For this Warre fell out wonderfully, by reason of the calamity and misfortune that happened in it: but it wanne *Sylla* as much fame and reputation, as it did *Marius* shame and dishonour. For he shewed himselfe very cold and flow in all his enterprises, still delaying time, either because age had mortified his active heate, and killed that quick ready disposition of body that was wont to be in him, being then above threescore and five yeares old: or else as he said himselfe, because he was waxen gowty, and had achi in his veins and sinewes, that he could not well stir his body, and that for shame: because he would not tarry behind in this War, he did more then his yeares could away withall. Notwithstanding, as he was, yet he wanne a great Battell, where-

No trust to
the faith of the
common
People.

Metellus return
from banish-
ment.

Marius jour-
ney into *Cap-
padoxia* and
Galatia.

Marius proud
words to *Mi-
thridates*.

The cause of
the diffention
betwixt *Mari-
us* and *Sylla*.

The Warre
of the confede-
rates.

Siloes stout
challenge, and
Marius an-
swer.

Mons Wife-
him.

Marius am-
bition.

Sulpitius guard
of six hundred
Knights-
Sulpitius bold-
ness.

Marius le-
action.

in were slain six thousand of their Enemies: and so long as the Warres endured, he never gave them advantage of him, but patiently suffered them sometime to intrench him, and to mock him, and gave him vile words, challenging him out to fight, and yet all this would not provoke him. It is said also, that *Pompeius Silo*, who was the chiefeft Capitaine of reputation and Authority the Enemies had, said unto *Marius* one time: If thou be *Marius*, so great a Capitaine as they say thou art, leave thy Campe and come out to Battell. Nay, said *Marius* to him againe: If thou be a great Capitaine, pluck me out by the Eares, and compell me to come to Battell. Another time when the Enemies gave them occasion to give a great charge upon them with advantage: the *ROMANS* were faint-hearted, and durst not set upon them. Wherefore, after both the one and the other were retired, *Marius* caused his men to Assemble, and spake unto them in this fort: I cannot tell which of the two I should reckon most cowards: you your selves, or your Enemies: for they durst not once see your backs, nor you them in the faces. In the end notwithstanding, he was compelled to resigne his charge, being able to serve no longer for the weaknesse and debility of his Body. Now all the Rebels of *ITALY* being put downe, many at *ROME* (by the Orators meanes) did sue to have the charge of the Warres against *Mithridates*: and among them, a Tribune of the People called *Sulpitius*, (a very bold and rash man) beyond all mens hope and opinion preferred *Marius*, and perwaded them to give him the charge of these Warres, with title and Authority of Vice-consull. The People thereupon were divided in two parts: for the one side stood for *Marius*, and the other would have *Sylla* take the charge, saying, that *Marius* was to thinke now upon the hot Bathes at *BATHES*, to looke to cure his old Body, brought low with rewme and age, as himselfe said. For *Marius* had a goodly stately House in those parts neare unto the Mount of *MI SENE*, which was far more fine and curiously furnished then became a Capitaine that had been in so many foughten Battells and dangers. They say that *Cornelia* afterwards bought that fine House for the summe of seven thousand five hundred Crowns; and shortly after also, *Lucullus* bought it againe for two hundred and fifty thousand Crowns: to so great exceeße was vanity and curiosity growne in very short time at *ROME*. Notwithstanding all this; *Marius* too ambitiously striving like a passionate young man against the weaknesse and debility of his age, never missed day but he would be in the Field of *Mars* to exercise himself among the young men, shewing his Body disposed and ready to handle all kinde of Weapons, and to ride Horses: albeit that in his latter time, he had no great health of Body, because he was very heavy and said. There were that liked that passing well in him, and went of purpose into the Field to see what paines he tooke, striving to excell the rest. Howbeit those of the better sort were very sorry to see his avarice and ambition, considering specially, that being of a poore man become very rich, and of a right meane Person a great Estate, that he could not now containe his prosperity within reasonable bounds, nor yet content himselfe to be esteemed and honoured, quietly enjoying all he had wonne, and which at that present he did possesse: but as if he had beene very poore and needy, after he had received such great Honour and Triumphs, would yet carry out his age so stoutly, even into *CARPADOZIA*, and unto the Realme of *PONT*, to goe fight there against *Archelaus*, and *Neopolemus*, Lieutenants of King *Mithridates*. Indeed he alledged some reasons to excuse himselfe, but they were altogether vaine: for he said that he desired in Person to bring up his Sonne in exercise of Armes, and to teach him the discipline of Warres. That discovered the secret hidden plague, which of long time had lurked in *ROME*, *Marius* specially having now met with a fit Instrument and Minister to destroy the Common-wealth, which was the insolent and rash *Sulpitius*: who altogether followed *Saturninus* doings, saying that he was found too cowardly and fainthearted in all his enterprises, and for that did *Marius* justly reprove him. But *Sulpitius*, because he would not dally nor delay time, had ever six hundred young Gentlemen of the order of Knights, whom he used as his guard about him, and called them the guard against the Senate. And one day as the Consuls kept their common Assembly in the Market-place, *Sulpitius* coming in Armed upon them, made them both take their heeles, and get them packing: and as they fled, one of the Consuls Sons being taken tardy, was slain. *Sylla* being the other Consull, and perceiving that he was followed hard at hand unto *Marius* House, ranne into the same against the opinion of all the world: whereof they that ran after him not being aware, passed by the House. And it is reported that *Marius* himselfe conveyed *Sylla* safely out at a back doore, and that he being escaped thus, went unto his Campe. Notwithstanding, *Sylla* himselfe in his Commentaries doth not say, that he was saved in *Marius* House when he fled: but that he was brought thither to give his consent unto a matter which *Sulpitius* would have forced him unto against his will, presenting him naked Swords on every side. And he writeth also, that being thus forcibly brought unto *Marius* House, he was kept there in this feare, untill such time as returning into the Market-place, he was compelled to revoke againe the Adornment of justice, which he and his companion by Edict had commanded. This done, *Sulpitius* then being the stronger, caused the Commissions and charge of this Warre against *Mithridates* to be assigned unto *Marius* by the voice of the People. Therefore *Marius* giving order for his departure, sent two of his Colonels before to take the Army of *Sylla*: who having won his Soldiers hearts before, and stirred them up against *Marius*, brought them on with him directly towards *ROME*, being no lesse then five and thirty thousand fighting men: who setting upon the Capitaine *Marius* had sent unto them, slew them in the Field. In revenge whereof *Marius* againe in *ROME* put many of *Sylla*'s friends and followers to death, and proclaimed open liberty by found of Trumpet, to all slaves and bondmen that would take Armes for him: but there were never but three onely

Marius flyeth
from Rome.

Marius the son
flyeth into Af-
ricke.

Marius found
an airy of
Eagles.

How many
eggs the Eagle
layeth.

only that offered themselves. Whereupon, having made a little resistance unto *Sylla* when he came into *ROME*, he was soon after compelled to run his way. *Marius* was no sooner out of the City, but they that were in his company forsaking him, dispersed themselves here and there being darke night: and *Marius* himselfe got to a house of his in the Country, called *Salonium*, and sent his Son to one of his Father in Law *Mutius Farnes*, nor far from thence, to make some provision for victuals. But *Marius* in the meane time, went before to *OSTIA*, where one of his friends *Numerius* had prepared him a ship, in the which he embarked immediately, not tarrying for his Son, and hoisted saile, having onely *Granius* his Wives Son with him. In the meane time the younger *Marius* being at his Father in Law *Mutius Farnes*, staid so long in getting of provision, in trussing of it up, and carrying it away, that broad day light had like to have discovered him: for the enemies had advertisement whither he was gone, whereupon certain horsemen were sent thither supposing to have found him. But the keeper of the house having an inkling of their coming, and preventing them also before they came, suddenly yoked his Oxen to the Cart, which he loded with Beanes and hid this younger *Marius* under the same. And pricking the Oxen forward with his Gode, set out, and met them as they went towards the City, & delivered *Marius* in this fort into his Wives house: and there taking such things as he needed, when the night following came, went towards the sea, and took ship, finding one croffe-sailed, bound towards *AFRIKE*. *Marius* the Father sailing on still, had a very good wind to point along the coast of *ITALY*: notwithstanding being afraid of one *Geminus*, a chief man of *TERRACINE*, who hated him to the death, he gave the Mariners warning thereof betimes, & willed them to take heed of landing at *TERRACINE*. The Mariners were very willing to obey him, but the wind stood full against them coming from the main, which raised a great storme, and they feared much that their vessel which was but a boat, would not brook the seas: besides that, he himselfe was very sick in his stomacke, and fore sea-beaten: notwithstanding at the length with the greatest difficulty that might be, they recovered the coast over against the City of *CIRCES*. In the meane time, the storme increased still, and their victuals failed them: whereupon they were compelled to land, and went wandering up and downe not knowing what to do, nor what way to take. But as it falleth out commonly in such like cases of extremity, they thought it alwayes the best safety for them, to flee from the place where they were, and to hope of that which they saw nor for: if the sea were their enemy, the land was so likewise. To meet with men they were afraid: and not to meet with them on the other side lacking victuals, was indeed the greater danger. Nevertheless, in the end they met with herd-men that could give them nothing to eat, but knowing *Marius* warned him to get him out of the way as soon as he could possible, because it was not long since that there passed by a great Troop of Horsemen that fought him all about. And being brought unto such perplexity, that he knew not where to bestow himself, and specially for that the poor he men had in his company were almost starved for hunger: he got out of the high way notwithstanding, and sought out a very thick Wood, where he passed all that night in great sorrow, and the next morning being compelled of necessity, determined yet to employ his body before all his strength failed. Thus he wandered on along on the sea coast, still comforting them that followed him the best he could, and praying them not to despaire, but to refer themselves to him, even untill the last hope, trusting in certain Prophecies which the Soothsayers had told him of long time before. For when he was but very young, and dwelling in the Country, he gathered up in the lap of his Gown, the airy of an Eagle, in the which were seven young Eagles: whereat his Father and Mother much wondering, asked the Soothsayers what that meant. They answered, that their Son should one day be one of the greatest men in the world, and that out of doubt he should obtain seven times in his life the chiefe Office of dignity in his Country. And for that matter, it is said, that so indeed it came to passe. Other hold opinion, that such as were about *Marius* at that time, in that present place, and elsewhere, during the time of his flying: they hearing him tell this tale, believed it, and afterwards put it down in writing, as a true thing, although of troth it is both false and fained. For, they say that the Eagle never hath but two young ones: by reason whereof it is maintained also, that the Poet *Musaem* hath liyd, in that which he hath written in these verses:

The Eagle layes three egges, and two she hatcheth forth:
But yet she bringeth up but one, that any thing is worth.

Howsoever it was, it is certaine that *Marius* many times during the time of his flying said, that he was assured he should come unto the seventh Consulship. When they were come neare now to the City of *MINTURNIS*, about two miles and a halfe from it, they might perceive a Troope of horsemen coming by the sea side, and two ships on the sea that fell upon the coast by good hap. Wherefore they all began to run (so long as they had breath and strength) towards the seas, into the which they threw themselves, and got by swimming unto one of the ships where *Granius* was: and they croffed over unto the Ille that is right against it called *ENARIA*. Now for *Marius*, who was heavy and sicke of body, two of his servants holpe to hold him up alwayes above water, with the greatest paine and difficulty in the world: and at the last they laboured so thoroughly, that they put him into the other ship at the selfe same present when the horsemen came unto the sea side; who cried out aloud to the Mariners to land againe, or else throw *Marius* over-board, and then to go where they would. *Marius* on the other side humbly besought them with tears, not to do so: whereby the Masters of the ship in a short space were in many minds whither to do it, or not to do it. In the end notwithstanding, they answered the horsemen, they would not throw him over board: so the horsemen went their way in a great rage. But as soone as they were gone, the Master of the ship changing minde, drew towards land;

Lib. II.

Marius set a-
land, and for-
saken of the
Mariners.Marius hidden
in the Marshes.

Marius taken.

Fannias cur-
relle unto Ma-
rius.One hired to
kill Marius.

land, and cast Anchor about the mouth of the River of Liris; where it leaveth her banks, and maketh great Marshes: and there they told *Marius* he should do well to go on land to eat somewhat, and refresh his sea-sick body, till the wind served them to make saile, which doubtlesse said they, will be at a certain hour when the sea-wind falls and becomes calme, and that there riseth a little wind from the land, ingendred by the vapors of the Marshes, which will serve the turn very well to take seas again. *Marius* following their counsel, and thinking they had meant good fairly, was set on land upon the Rivers banks: and there laid him down upon the grasse, nothing suspecting that which happened after to him. For the Mariners presently taking their ship againe, and hoisting up their Anchors sailed straight away, and fled: judging it no honesty for them to have delivered *Marius* into the hands of his enemies, nor safety for themselves to have saved him. *Marius* finding himself all alone, and forsaken of every man, lay on the ground a great while, and said never a word: yet at the length taking heart a little to him, got up once again on his feet, and painfully wandered up and down: where was neither way nor path at all, overthwart deep Marshes and great Ditches full of water and mudde, till he came at the length to a poor old mans Cottage, dwelling there in these Marshes; and falling at his feet, besought him to help to save and succour a poor afflicted man, with promise that one day he would give him a better recompence then he looked for, if he might escape this present danger wherein he was. The old man, whether for that he had known *Marius* aforetime, or that seeing him (by conjecture onely) judged him to be some great personage, told him that if he meant but to lie downe and rest himself a little, his poor Cabine would serve that turne reasonably well: but if he meant to wander thus, to flee his enemies that followed him, he would then bring him into a more secret place, and farther off from noise. *Marius* prayed him that he would do so much for him: and the good man brought him into the Marsh, unto a low place by the Rivers side, where he made him lie downe, and then covered him with a great deale of Reed and Bent, and other such light things as could not hurt him. He had not long been there, but he heard a great noise coming towards the Cabine of the poor old man: for *Geminus* of *TERRACINE* had sent men all about to seek for him, whereof some by chance came that way, and put the poor man in a feare; and threatened him that he had received and hidden an enemy of the ROMANS. *Marius* hearing that, rose out of the place where the old man had laid him, and stripping himselfe stark naked, went into a part of the Marsh where the water was full of mire and mud, and there was found of those that searched for him: who taking him out of the slime all naked as he was, carried him into the City of *MINTURNES*, and delivered him there into the Governors hands. Open Proclamation was made by the Senate through all *ITALY*, that they should apprehend *Marius*, and kill him wheresoever they found him. Notwithstanding, the Governours and Magistrates of *MINTURNES* thought good first to consult thereupon among themselves, and in the meane time they delivered him into the safe custody of a woman called *Fannia*, whom they thought to have been a bitter enemy of his, for an old grudge she had to him, which was this. *Fannia* sometime had a husband called *Tinnius*, whom she was willing to leave, for they could not agree, and required her Dower of him againe, which was very great. Her husband againe said, he had plaid the whoore. The matter was brought before *Marius* in his sixth Consulship, who had given judgement upon it. Both parties being heard, and the Law prosecuted on either side, it was found that this *Fannia* was a naughty woman of her body, and that her Husband knowing it well enough before, yet he tooke her with her faults, and long time lived with her. Wherefore *Marius* being angry with them both, gave sentence that the husband should repay backe her dower, and that for her naughty life, she should pay four farthings. This notwithstanding, when *Fannia* saw *Marius*, she grudged him not for that, and least of all had any revenging minde in her towards him, but contrarily did comfort and help him what she could with that she had. *Marius* thanked her marvellously for it, and bad her hope well: because she met with so good lucke as he was coming to her house, and in this manner. As they were leading of him, when he came neare unto *Fannias* house, her door being open, there came an Ass running out to go to drinke at a Conduit not far from thence: and meeting *Marius* by the way, looked upon him with a livefull countenance, first of all stopping sodainely before him, and then beginning to bray out aloud, and to leape and skip by him. Whereupon *Marius* straight conjecturing with himself, said, that the gods did signifie unto him, that he should save himself sooner by water then by land: because the Ass leaving him, ran to drinke, and cared not to eate. So when he had told *Fannia* this tale, he desired to rest, and prayed them to let him alone, and to shut the Chamber door to him. But the Magistrates of the City having consulted together about him, in the end resolved they must deferre no longer time, but dispatch him out of the way presently. Now when they were agreed upon it, they could not finde a man in the City that durst take upon him to kill him: but a man of Armes of the GAULES, or one of the CIMBRES (for we finde both the one and the other in writing) that went thither with his sword drawn in his hand. Now, that place of the Chamber wherein *Marius* lay was very darke, and as it is reported, the man of Armes thought he saw two burning flames come out of *Marius* eyes, and heard a voice out of that darke corner, saying unto him: O fellow, thou darrest thou to kill *Caius Marius*? The barbarous GAULE hearing these words, ran out of the Chamber presently, casting his sword in the middle of the floor, and cryed out these words onely: I cannot kill *Caius Marius*. This made the *MINTURNIANS* afraid in the City at the first, but afterwards it moved them to compassion. So they were angry with themselves, and did repent them that they converted their counsel to so cruell and unkind a deed, against one that had preferred all *ITALY*: and to deny him aide in so extreme necessity, it was too great a sin. Therefore let us let him go, said they to themselves, where he will, and suffer him to take his fortune appointed him elsewhere: and

The *Minturni-
ans* suffered.
Marius to go
his way with
safety.
Marcia *Sylla*.Marius the el-
der flieth into
Africa.Marius wife
answer of for-
tunes incon-
stancy.Marius the
younger escape
peth *Hiempsall*
hands.Cinna driven
out of Rome by
Octavius.

let us pray to the gods to pardon this offence of ours, to have thrust *Marius* naked and beggarly out of our City. For these considerations, the *MINTURNIANS* went all together to *Marius* where he was, and stood about him, determining to see him safely conducted unto the sea side. Now though every man was ready & willing to pleasure him, some with one thing, some with another, and that they did hasten him all they could possibly, yet they were a good while a going thither: because there was a wood called *Marcia*, that lay right in their way between their City & the Sea coast, which they greatly reverence, and think it a Sacrilege to carry any thing out of that Wood, that was once brought into it. On the other side, to leave to go through this Wood, and to compass it round about, it would aske a marvellous long time. So they standing all in doubt what they should do, one of the ancientest men of the City spake aloud unto them, and said: that there was no way forbidden them, that went about to save *Marius* life. Then *Marius* himself being the foremost man, taking up some of the fardels which they carried with him to pleasure him in the ship, went through the Wood. All other things necessary being thus readily prepared for him with like good will, and specially the ship which one *Bellauus* had ordained for him: he caused all this story to be painted in a Table at large, which he gave unto the Temple, out of the which he departed when he took ship. After he was departed thence, the winde by good fortune carried him into the Isle of *ENARIA*, where he found *Granius* and some other of his friends, with whom he took sea again, and pointed towards *AFRICKE*. But lacking water, they were compelled to Land in *SICILIA*, in the territory of the City of *ERIX*: where by chance there lay a ROMANE Quæstor, who kept that coast. *Marius* being landed there, escaped very narrowly that he was not taken of him: for he slew sixteen of his men that came out with him to take water. So *Marius* getting him thence with all speed, crossed the seas, untill he arrived in the Isle of *MENYNGE*, where he first understood that his Son was saved with *Citibegus*, and that they were both together gone to *Hiempsall* King of the *NUMIDIANS* to beseech him for aide. This gave him a little courage, and made him bold to passe out of that Isle, into the coast of *CARTHAGE*. Now at that time, *Sextilius* a ROMANE Prætor was Governour of *AFRICKE*, unto whom *Marius* had never done good nor hurt, and therefore he hoped, that for pity onely he might perhaps have help at his hand. Howbeit he was no sooner landed with a few of his men, but a Sergeant came and said unto him: *Sextilius*, Prætor and Governour of *LYBIA*, doth forbid thee to land in all this Province: otherwise he telleth thee, that he will obey the Senates commandement, and pursue thee as an enemy of the ROMANS. *Marius* hearing this commandement, was so angry and forry both, that he could not readily tell what answer to make him, and pawed a good while, and said never a word, still eyeing the Sergeant with a grim look: untill he asked him what answer he would make to the Prætors commandement. *Marius* then fetching a deep sigh from his heart, gave him this answer: Thou shalt tell *Sextilius*, that thou hast seen *Caius Marius* banished out of his Countrey, sitting amongst the ruines of the City of *CARTHAGE*. By this answer, he wisely layed the example of the ruine and destruction of that great City of *CARTHAGE*, before *Sextilius* eyes, and the change of his fortune, to warne *Sextilius* that the like might fall upon him. In the mean time, *Hiempsall* King of the *NUMIDIANS*, not knowing how to resolve, did honourably intreate young *Marius* and his company: but when they were willing to go their way, he alwayes found new occasion to stay them, and was very glad to see that he started not for any opportunity or good occasion that was offered notwithstanding there fortunated a happy mean unto them, whereby they saved themselves. And this it was. This *Marius* the younger being a fair complexioned young man, it pittied one of the Kings Concubines to see him so hardly dealt withall. This pity of hers was a shadow to cloak the love she bare him; but *Marius* would not hearken at the first to her inticements, and refused her. Yet in the end, perceiving that there was no other way for him to escape thence, and considering that she did all things for their avails, more diligently and lovingly then she would have done, if she had not meant further matter unto him, then onely to enjoy the pleasure of him: he then accepted her love and kindness, so as at the length she taught him a way how to flye, and save himself and his friends. Hereupon he went to his father, and after they had embraced and saluted each other, and going along the sea side, they found two Scorpions fighting together. *Marius* took this for an ill signe: whereupon they quickly took a sifter boat, and went into the Isle of *CERCINA*, which is no great distance off from firme land. They had no sooner hoisted up Anchor, but they saw the horsemen which King *Hiempsall* had sent unto the place from whence they were departed: and that was one of the greatest dangers that *Marius* ever escaped. In the mean time there was news at *ROME*, that *Sylla* made war against King *Mithridates* Lieutenant: and furthermore, that the Consuls being up in Arms the one against the other, *Octavius* wan the battell; and being the stronger, had driven out *Cinna* who sought to have usurped tyrannical power, and had made *Cornelius Merula* Consul in his place: and that *Cinna* on the other side leavied men out of other parts of *ITALY*, and made wars upon them that were in *ROME*. *Marius* hearing of this diffention, thought good to return as soon as he could possibly into *ITALY*. And assembling certain horsemen of the Nation of the MAURUSIANS in *AFRICKE*, and certain *ITALIANS* that had saved themselves there, unto the number of thousand men in all: he took sea, and landed in a Haven of *TUSCANE* called *TELAMON*; and being landed, proclaimed by sound of Trumpet, liberty to all slaves and bondmen that would come to him. So the laborers, herdmen and neat-herds of all that Marsh, for the onely name and reputation of *Marius*, ran to the sea side from all parts: of the which he having chosen out the stoutest and lustiest of them; wan them so by faire words, that having gathered a great company together in few dayes, he made forty saile of them. Furthermore, knowing that *Octavius* was a marvellous honest man; that would have no authority otherwise then Law and reason,

Marius joyn-
eth his force
with Cinna.

Othavius neg-
ligence in de-
fence of the
City of Rome
against Cinna
and Marius.

Othavius too
much given to
Soothsayers.
Othavius vertue
and imper-
fection.

Othavius slain
by Marius
souldiers.
A great con-
trariety in A-
stronomy.

Cinna and Ma-
rius enter into
Rome.

Bardili.
Marius caused
great murther
in Rome.

Marius cruelty.

would: and that Cinna to the contrary was suspected of Sylla, and that he fought to bring in change and innovation to the Common-wealth: he determined to joyn his force with Cinna. So Marius sent first unto Cinna, to let him understand that he would obey as Consull, and be ready to do all that he should command him. Cinna received him, and gave him the Title and Authority of Vice-consull, and sent him Sergeants to carry Axes and Rods before him, with all other signes of Publike Authority. But Marius refused them, and said, that pompe became not his miserable fortune: for he ever went in a poor thread-bare Gown, and had let his haire grow still after he was banished, being about three-score and ten years old, and had a sober gate with him, to make men pity him the more that saw him. But under all this counterfeit pity of his he never changed his naturall look, which was ever more fearful and terrible then otherwise. And where he spake but little, and went very demurely and soberly, that shewed rather a cankered courage with him, then a minde humbled by his banishment. Thus when he had saluted Cinna, and spoken to the souldiers, he then began to set things a-broach, and made a wonderful change in few dayes. For first of all, with his ships he cut off all the victuals by Sea, and robbed the Merchants that carried Corne and other victuals to Rome: so that in short space he was master Purveyor for all necessary provision and victuals. After this he went along the coast, and took all the Cities upon the sea side, and at the length wan O S T I A also by treason, put the most part of them in the Town to the sword, and spoiled all their goods: and afterwards making a Bridge upon the River of T I B E R, took from his enemies all hope to have any manner of Provision by Sea. That done, he went directly towards Rome with his Army, where first he wan the hill called Janiculum through Othavius fault: who overthrew himself in his doings, not so much for lacke of reasonable skill of warres, as through his unprofitable curiosity and strictnesse in observing the Law. For when divers did perswade him to set the bondmen at liberty to take Armes for defence of the Common-wealth: he answered, that he would never give bondmen the Law and Priviledge of a ROMAN Citizen, having driven Caius Marius out of Rome, to maintain the Authority of the Law. But when Caelius Metellus was come to Rome, the Son of that Metellus Numidicus, that having begun the warres in LY B I A against King Jugurth, was put out by Marius: the souldiers forsooke Othavius immediately, and came unto him, because they took him to be a better Captain, and desired also to have a Leader that could tell how to command them to save the City, and the Common-wealth. For they promised to fight valiantly, and perswaded themselves that they should overcome their enemies, so that they had a skilfull and valiant Capitaine that could order them. Metellus mistaking their offer, commanded them in anger to return againe unto the Consull: but they for spite went unto the enemies. Metellus on the other side, seeing no good order taken in the City to resist the enemies, got him out of Rome. But Othavius being perswaded by certain Soothsayers and CHALDEAN Sacrificers, who promised him all should go well with him, tarried still in Rome: for that man being otherwise, as wise as any ROMAN of his time, and one that dealt as uprightly in his Consullship, not carried away with flattering tales, and one also that followed the Ancient Orders and Customes as infallible rules and example, neither breaking nor omitting any part thereof: he thinks yet had this imperfection, that he frequented the Soothsayers, Wisemen, and Astronomers, more then men skilfull in Armes and Governmt. Wherefore, before that Marius himself came into the City, Othavius was by force plucked out of the Pulpit for Orations, and slaine presently by Marius souldiers whom he had sent before into the City. And it is said also, that when he was slaine, they found a figure of a CHALDEAN Prophecie in his bosome: and here is to be noted a great contrariety in these two notable men, Othavius and Marius. The first lost his life by trusting to Soothsaying, and the second prospered, and rose again, because he did not despise the Art of Divination. The state of Rome standing then in this manner, the Senate consulting together, sent Ambassadors unto Cinna and Marius, to pray them to come peaceably into Rome, and not to imbrue their hands with the blood of their Citizens. Cinna sitting in his chaire as Consull, gave them audience, and made them a very reasonable and courteous answer. Marius standing by him spake never a word: but shewed by his fowre look that he would straight fill Rome with murder and blood. So when the Ambassadors were gone, Cinna came into Rome environed with a great number of souldiers: but Marius staid suddenly at the gate, speaking partly in anger, and partly in mockery, that he was a banished man, and driven out of his Country by Law: and therefore if they would have him come into Rome again, they should first by a contrary Decree abolish and revoke that of his banishment, as if he had a Religious observer of the Laws, and as though Rome had at that present enjoyed their Freedome and Liberty. Thus he made the people assemble in the Market-place to proceed to the confirmation of his calling home againe. But before three or four Tribes had time to give their voices, disguising the matter no longer, and shewing plainly that he meant not to be lawfully called home againe from exile: he came into Rome with a Guard about him, of the veriest Rascals and most flamelesse slaves, called the BARDIANS, who came to him from all parts: and they for the least word he spake, or at the twinkling of his eye, or at a nod of his head made to them, slew many men through his commandment, and at the length slew Ancharius a Senator (that had been Prætor) at Marius feet with their swords, because onely that Marius did not salute him when he came one day to speak with him. After this murther, they continued killing all them that Marius did not salute, and speak unto: for that was the very sign he had given them to kill them openly in the streets before every man; so that his very friends were afraid of being murdered, when they came to salute him. Thus a great number of men being slaine, Cinna in the end began to be satisfied and to appease his anger. But Marius anger and unsatiable desire of revenge increased more and more, so that he spared not one if he suspected him never so little: and there was nei-

ther Town nor high way, that was not full of Scouts and Spies to hunt them out that hid themselves and fled. Then experience taught them, that no friend is faithful, and to be trusted, if fortune frown never so little: for there were very few that did not betray their friends that fled to them for succour. And therefore do Cornutus servants so much the more deserve praise, who having secretly hidden their Master in his house, did hang the dead body of some common person by the neck, and having put a Gold Ring on his finger, they shewed him to the BARDIANS, Marius Guard, and buried him in stead of their own Master, without suspicion of any man that it was a fained thing: and so Cornutus being hidden by his servants, was safely conveyed into the Country of GAULE. Marke Anthony the Orator had also found out a faithfull friend, yet was he unfortunate. This faithfull friend of his, was a poor simple man, who have received one of the chieftest men of Rome into his house to keep him close there: he being desirous to make him the best cheer he could with that little he had, sent one of his men to the next Tavern to fetch wine, who tasting the wine more curiously then he was wont to do, called for better. The Drawer asked him why the new ordinary Wine would not serve him, but he must needs have of the best and dearest: the foolish fellow simply answered him (telling him as his familiar friend) that his master did feast Marke Anthony, who was hidden very secretly in his house. He was no sooner gone with his Wine, and his back turned, but the vile traiterous Drawer ranne unto Marius, who was set at Supper when he came. The Drawer being brought unto him, promised him to deliver Marke Anthony into his hands. Marius hearing of that, was so jocond, that he cried out and clapt his hands together for joy, and would have risen from the boord, and gone thither himself in person, had not his friends kept him backe. But he sent Annius one of his Captains thither with a certain number of souldiers, and commanded them to bring him his head quickly. So they went thither, and when they were come to the house which the Drawer had brought them to, Annius tarried beneath at the door, and the souldiers went up the staires into the Chamber, and finding Anthony there, they began to encourage one another to kill him, not one of them having the heart to lay hands upon him. For Anthonies tongue was as sweet as a Syrene, and had such an excellent grace in speaking, that when he began to speak unto the souldiers, and to pray them to save his life: there was not one of them so hard hearted, as once to touch him, no not onely to look him in the face, but looking downwards, fell a weeping. Annius perceiving they tarried long, and came not down, went himself up into the Chamber, and found Anthony talking to his souldiers, and them weeping, his sweet eloquent tongue had so melted their hearts: but he rating them, ran furiously upon him, and strake off his head with his own hands. And Catulus Lucilius also, that had been Consull with Marius, and had triumphed over the CIMBRES with him, seeing himselfe in this perill, set men to intreate Marius for him: but his answer was ever, He must needs die. So Catulus locked himselfe into a little Chamber, and made a great fire of Charcole to be kindled, and with the smoake thereof choaked himself. Now after their heads were cut off, they threw out the naked bodies into the streets, and trode them under their feet: the which was not onely a pittifull, but a fearful sight to all that saw them. But after all this yet, there was nothing that grieved the people so much, as the horrible lechery and abominable cruelty of his Guard of the BARDIANS, who coming into mens houses by force, after they had slaine the Masters, defiled their young children, and ravished their Wives and Maides: and no man would once reprove their cruelty, lechery, and unsatiable avarice: until Cinna and Verrius in the end set upon them as they slept in their Campe, and slew them every one. But in this extremity, as if all things had been restored unto their first estate, news came againe from all parts to Rome, that Sylla having ended his warre against King Mithridates, and recovered the Provinces which he had usurped, returned into ITALY with a great power. This caused these evils and unspeakable miseries to cease a little, because the wicked doers of the same, looked they should have warres on their backes ere it were long. Whereupon Marius was chosen Consull the seventh time. He going out of his house openly the first day of January, being the beginning of the year, to take possession of his Consullship, caused one Sextus Lucilius to be thrown down headlong from the Rocks of A R P E I A N, which seemed to be a great signe and certain token of the evils and miseries that fell out afterwards the selfe same year upon them for their faction, unto all the City beside. But Marius being fore broken with his former troubles, and his minde oppressed with extreme sorrow and griefe, could now now at this last time of need pluck up his heart to him againe, when he came to think of this new war toward that threatened him, and of the dangers, griefs, and troubles he should enter into, more great and perillous then any he had passed before. For through the great experience he had in warres, he trembled for fear when he began to thinke of it, considering that he had to fight, not with Othavius, nor with Mervla, Captaines of a Company of rebels gathered together: but with a noble Sylla, that had driven him out of Rome before, and that came now from driving the puissant King Mithridates, unto the furthest part of the Realm of PONT, and of the sea Euxinum. Thus, deeply weighing and considering the same, and specially when he looked back upon his long time of banishment, how vagabondlike he wandered up and down in other Countries, and remembered the great misfortunes he had passed, and the sundry dangers he fell so often into, being pursued still by sea and by land: it grieved him to the heart, and made him so unquiet, that he could not sleep in the night, or if he slept, had fearfull dreams that troubled him, and still he thought he heard a voice buzzing in his ears:

A Lions very Denne is dreadful to behold,
I though he himself be gone abroad, and be not there in hold.

But fearing most of all that he should no more sleepe and take his rest, he gave himselfe to make.

Small trust of
friends in ad-
versitie.
The faithfull-
ness of Cor-
nutus servants to
their master.

M. Antonius the
Orator, be-
trayed by a
Taverner.

The force of
eloquence.

Catulus Luc-
ilius killed him-
self.

The Bardi-
ans slaine of
their Captains
for their cruel-
ty.

Marius seventh
Consullship.

Marius
thoughts and
fears.

Device to win sleep.

Marius the fathers death.

Marius mad ambition.

A note against the ambitious.

Platoes words at his death.

Note, that in *Syllas* Life following, it appeareth that *Marius* the younger was besieged in the City of *Præneste*, and not in *Perusia* as ye read here. So as the City seemeth to be mistaken in one of the lives

unreasonable banquets, and to drink more then his years could bear, seeking to win sleep by this means, to avoid care the better. But at the length there came one from the Sea, that gave him certaine intelligence of all: and that was an increase of a new fear unto him. And thus he being now extremely troubled, partly for feare of the thing to come, and partly also for the over heavy burden of his present ill, there needed but little more aggravation, to fall into the disease whereof he died, which was a Plurisie: as *Pofidonius* the Philosopher writteth; who saith plainly, that he went into his Chamber when he was sicke, and spake unto him about matters of his Ambassade, for the which he came to *ROME*. Yet another Historiographer *Caius Piso* writeth, that *Marius* walking one day after supper with his friends, fell in talke of his fortune from the beginning of his Life, telling them at large how often fortune had turned with and against him: concluding, that it is no wife mans part to trust her any more. So when he had done, he took his leave of them, and laid him down upon his bed, where he lay sicke seven dayes together, and on the seventh day died. Some write that his ambition appeared plainly, by a strange raving that took him in his head during his sickness: for he thought that he made wars with *Mithridates*, and shewed in his bed all the gestures and movings of his body, as if he had been in a battell, crying the same cries out aloud, which he was wont to cry when he was in the extremest fight. The desire he had to have taken this charge in hand against *Mithridates*, was so deeply settled in his mind through extream ambition and jealousy that posselt him, that being then threecore and ten year old, after he had been the first man that ever was chosen seven times Consull in *ROME*, and also after that he had gotten a world of goods and riches together that might have sufficed many Kings: yet for all this he died for sorrow, lamenting his hard fortune, as if he had died before his time, and before that he had done and ended that which he had desired. But this was clean contrary unto that the wife *Plato* did, when he drew neere to his death. For he gave God thanks for his fatal end and good fortune. First, for that he had made him a reasonable man, and no brute beast: secondly, a Greeke and no barbarous man: and furthermore, for that he was borne in *Socrates* time. It is reported also, that one *Antipater* of *THAKSIS*, calling to minde a little before his death the good fortune he had in his Life time, did not forget among other things, to tell of the happy Navigation he made, coming from his Country unto *ATHENS*: which did witnesse that he put upon the file of his good accounts for a singular great grace, all favour fortune had shewed him, and that he kept it in perpetual memory, being the onely and most assured treasure a man can have, to keep those gifts that nature or fortune do bestow upon him. But contrariwise unthankfull fooles unto God and nature both, do forget with time the memory of their former benefits, and laying up nothing, nor keeping it in perpetuall memory, are alwayes voide of goods and full of hope, gaping still for things to come, and leaving in the mean time the thing present, though reason persuades them the contrary. For fortune may easily let them of the thing to come, but she cannot take that from them which is already past: and yet they utterly forget the certain benefit of fortune, as a thing nothing belonging unto them, and dream alwayes of that which is uncertaine. And sure it changeth to them by great reason: for, having gathered outward goods together, and locking them up before they have built and laid a sure grounded foundation of reason through good Learning, they cannot afterwards fill nor quench their unsatiable greedy covetous mind. Thus ended *Marius* his Life, the seventeenth day of his seventh Consulship, whereof all the City of *ROME* was not a little glad, and took heart againe unto them, supposing they had then been delivered from a bloody cruell tyranny. But within few dayes after they knew it to their cost, that they had changed an old master taken out of the world, for a younger that came but newly to them: such extreme unnatural cruelties and murders did *Marius* the younger commit, after the death of his father *Marius*, murdering in manner all the chiefe nobles of *ROME*. At the first, they took him for a valiant and hardy young man, whereupon they named him the Son of *Mars*: but shortly after his deeds did shew the contrary, and then they called him the Son of *Venus*. In the end he was shut in, and besieged by *Sylla* in the City of *PERUSIA*, where he did what he could possible to save his life, but all was in vain: and lastly, seeing no way to escape, the City being taken, he slew himselfe with his owne hands.

The end of Caius Marius Life.

THE LIFE OF LYSANDER.



Ann. Mund.
3546.

Ant. Christ.
203.

IN the treasury of the *ACANTHIANS*, which is in the Temple of *Apollo* at *DELPHES*, there is this inscription: *Brasidas*, and the *ACANTHIANS*, with the spoile of the *ATHENIANS*. That inscription maketh many men think, that the image of stone that standeth within the chamber by the door thereof, is the image of *Brasidas*: howbeit in truth it is the lively image of *Lysander* himselfe, made with a great bush of haire, and thicke long Beard after the old ancient fashon. And where some say that the *ARGIVES*, after they were overcome and had lost a great battell, did all of them shave themselves in token and signe of common sorrow: and that the *LACEDÆMONIANS* on the other side shew the joy of their Victory, did let all their hairs grow, that is not true, no more then this is true which other do report of the *BACCHIADS*: who being fled from *CORINTH* unto *LACEDÆMON*, the *LACEDÆMONIANS* found them so ill favouredly disguised and deformed, because their heads were all shaven, that thereupon they had a desire to let their haire and beards grow. For that was one of the Ordinances of *Lycargus*, who said, that the long bush of haire maketh them that are naturally fair, the pleasanter to look upon: and upon those that are ill favoured, more ugly and fearful to see to. And furthermore, it is said that *Aristoclitus*, the Father of *Lysander*, was not of the Royall blood of the Kings of *SPARTA*, though he came of the Race of the *Heraclides*: and that his Son *Lysander* was very meanly and poorly brought up, being as obedient to the Laws and Statutes of his Country, as any other man was, shewing himselfe alwayes very strong and constant against all vanity and pleasure, saving onely in matters of honor and courtesie, which they offer unto those that deserve well. For they think it no shame nor dishonesty in *SPARTA*, that the young men do suffer themselves to be overcome with that delight and pleasure: but do bring up their children, that from their youth they would have them to have some taste and feeling of honour, delighting to be praised, and sorry to be discommended. For they make no account of him that is not moved with the one nor the other, but take him to be of a base cowardly nature, that hath no manner of minde to do good. And therefore it is to be thought, that the ambition and stoutnesse that was bred in *Lysander*, proceeded of the *LACONICAN* discipline and education he had, and not so much of his own nature. But indeed of his own nature he was a right Courtier, and could tell how to entertain and flatter great States and Nobilitie; far better then the common manner of the naturall *SPARTANS*: and moreover for his private benefit, he could easily bear with the stoutnesse of greater men of Authority then himselfe, which some judge to be a great point of wisdom, to know how to deale in matters of State.

Lysanders image.

Lycargus the Author of wearing long haire.

The commodity of wearing long haire.

Lysanders kindred.

The education of the Lacedæmon children.

Lysanders manners.

Aristotle

Wifemen be ever melancholy
Lysander a defender of riches.

Lysander
Nysius liberality

Lysander Ad-
miral for the
Lacedaemonians
by sea.

Lysander en-
largeth the Ci-
ty of Ephesus.

Sardis a City in
Lydia.

Lysander took
money for pay
of his souldi-
ers.

Lysanders vi-
ctory of the
Athenians by
sea.

Aristotle in a place where he saith, that the greatest wits commonly are subject unto Melancholie (as *Socrates*, *Plato*, and *Hercules* were) writeth, that *Lysander* in his latter age fell into the Melancholy disease, but not in his youth. He had also this singular gift above all other, that in his poverty he alwayes kept that honest modesty with him; as he would never be overcome nor corrupted with Gold nor Silver: and yet he filled his Country with riches and covetousnesse, which lost him the reputation he had won, because himself made none account of riches nor getting. For, bringing store of Gold and Silver into his Countrey after he had overcome the *ATHENIANS*, he reserved not unto himself one Drachma onely. And furthermore, when *Dionysius* the Tyrant of *SYRACUSA* had on a time sent goodly rich Gowns out of *SICILIA* to his Daughters: he refused them, saying, that he was afraid such Gowns would make them fowler. Nevertheless, shortly after being sent Ambassadour out of his Countrey to the same Tyrant, *Dionysius* having sent him two Gownes, praying him to choose which he would, and to carry to his Daughter: he answered that she herself could best chuse which was the fitter, and so carried both with him. But now to come to his doings in warlike causes, the wars of *PELOPONNESUS* fell out marvellous long. For after the overthrow of the Army which the *ATHENIANS* had sent into *SICILIA*, when every man thought they had utterly lost all their force by sea, and that by all conjecture they should soon after lose all by land also: *Alcibiades* returning from his exile to deale again in matters of the State, made an exceeding great change and alteration. For he set the *ATHENIANS* afloat again, and made them as strong by sea as the *LACEDAEMONIANS*: who thereupon began to quake for fear, and to look effoonces for a fresh war, perceiving that they stood in need of a great power, and of a better Capitaine then ever they had before. Whereupon they made *Lysander* their Admirall, who arriving in the City of *EPHESUS*, found them very well affected towards him, and marvellous willing and ready to take the *LACEDAEMONIANS* part: howbeit otherwise in very poor state, and ready almost to take up all the barbarous manners and fashions of the *PERSIANS*, because they did continually frequent them, being environed round about with the Countrey of *LYDIA*, where the King of *PERSIAES* Captaines were ever resident. Wherefore, having planted his Campe there, he brought thither Merchants ships out of all parts, and set up an arsenal or store-houfe to build Gallies in: so that in short space, by oft recourse of Merchants that began to trade thither, he quickened their Havens, and set up their staple again for the Traffick of Merchandise, and filled every private Artificers house with an honest trade to make them rich by, so that ever after it grew in continual hope to come unto that flourishing state and greatnesse, in the which we see it at this present. Furthermore, *Lysander* being advertised that *Cyrus*, one of the great Kings of *PERSIAES* Sons, was come unto the City of *SARDIS*, he went thither to speake with him, and to complaine of *Tisaphernes*: who having commandment given him from the King to aide the *LECEDEMONIANS*, and to helpe to expulse the *ATHENIANS*, and to drive them from the sea, seemed to deal but coldly and faintly against them: for the favour he bare to *Alcibiades*. For, in furnishing the *LECEDEMONIANS* very scantily with money, he was the cause that all their Army by sea went to wracke. *Cyrus* for his owne part was very glad that he heard complaints of *Tisaphernes*, and that they spake against him: because he was an ill man, and the rather for that he had himselfe a little odd grudge to him. Wherefore he loved *Lysander* marvellous well, as well for the complaints he made of *Tisaphernes*, as also for the pleasure he took in his company, because he was a man that could wonderfully please and delight Noble men: by which meanes having wonne the favour of this young Prince, he did perswade, and also encourage him to follow this warre. And when *Lysander* was upon his departure to take his leave of him, *Cyrus* feasted him, and afterwards prayed him not to refuse the offer of his liberality: and that was, that he would freely aske him what he would, assuring him he should not be denied any thing. Whereunto *Lysander* answered him. Sithence I see (*Cyrus*) you are so willing to pleasure us, I beseech you, and do also counsell you then to increase the ordinary pay of our Mariners, one halfe penny a day: to the end that where now they have but three halfe pence, they may henceforth receive two pence a day. *Cyrus* was glad to hear *Lysanders* bounty, and the increase that he would make, and caused ten thousand *Dariicks* to be delivered him: by meane whereof he added to the ordinary pay of the Mariners, the increase of a halfe penny a day. This liberality, within few dayes after emptied all their enemies Gallies of their men. For the most part of their Mariners and Gally-men went where they might have the best pay: and such as remained behind, became very dull, lazy, and seditious, daily troubling their Captaines and Governors. Now though *Lysander* had drawn his enemies men from them by this policy, and had done them this great hurt, yet he durst not fight it out by sea, fearing the worthinesse of *Alcibiades*: who was a valiant man, and had greater store of ships then he had; and besides that, was never overcome by land nor by sea in any battell where he was Generall. So it chanced that *Alcibiades* went out of the Isle of *SAMOS* unto the City of *PHOCIA*, which standeth upon firme land directly over against *SAMOS*, and leaving the whole charge of his Fleet in his absence, with *Antiochus* his Pilot: he being more hardy then wise, in scorne and derision of *Lysander*, went with two Gallies onely into the Haven of *EPHESUS*, and went by the Arsenal (where all their ships lay in Dock) with great noise and laughing. This put *Lysander* in such a heat and chafe, that first of all he put a few Gallies to the sea, and had him in chafe with them. But afterwards, perceiving that the other Captaines of the *ATHENIANS* came out one after another to the rescue, he armed other Gallies also: so that supplying still with a few on either side, at length they came to maine battell, which *Lysander* wan, and having taken fiftene of their Gallies, he set up a token of triumph and victory. When the people of *ATHENS* heard the news of this overthrow; they

they were so angry with *Alcibiades*, that they deposed him presently of his charge: and the souldiers also that lay in Campe in the Isle of *SAMOS*, began to milke him, and to speak ill of him. Whereupon he presently left his Campe, and went into the Countrey of *CHERRONNESUS* in *THRACIA*. This battell was more spoken of then there was cause, by reason of *Alcibiades* reputation. Furthermore, *Lysander* causing the stoutest and boldest men of every City, above the common fort to come to *EPHESUS* unto him: laid their secret foundations of great change and alteration, which he established afterwards in the governments of Cities. For he perswaded his private friends to make Tribes amongst themselves, to winne them friends, and to practise to get the rule of their Cities into their hands: promising them, that so soon as the *ATHENIANS* were overthrowne, they themselves also should be delivered from subjection of their people, and every one of them should beare chiefe rule in their Countrey. And this he performed to them all, and made every one of them prove his words true: for he preferred all them that had been his old friends, unto the best offices and charges, not sparing to do against all right and reason: so that they were advanced by it. And for this cause every man came to take his part, and they all fought and desired to gratifie and please him: hoping, that what great matter soever fell out, they might assure themselves that they should obtaine it of him, when he came to have the Government in his owne hands. And therefore they nothing rejoiced at *Callicratidas* coming, who came to succeed him in the office of the Admirall: neither afterwards also, when they saw by experience that he was as honest and just a man as could be. Neither did they like his manner of governing, which was plaine and without any Art or cunning. But they commended the perfection of his Vertue, as they would have done the image of some demi-god made after the old fashion, which had been of singular beauty. But in the mean time, they wished for *Lysander*, as well for the tender love and goodwill he bare to his friends and them, as also for the profit and commodity they got by him. So when *Lysander* took the seas to return home againe, all they that were in the Campe, were as sorry as could be possible, in as much as the teares stood in their eyes: and he on the other side studied to make them worse affected unto *Callicratidas*. For amongst many other things, he sent the rest of the money backe againe to *SARDIS*, which *Cyrus* had given him to pay the Mariners: saying, that *Callicratidas* should goe himselfe to aske it, if he would have it, and finde the meanes to entertaine his men. And lastly, when he was ready to imbarke, he protested before all them that were present, that he did deliver, leave, and assigne over the Army into his hands, commanding all the Sea. But *Callicratidas*, to overcome his false ambition, and soule boasting lye, answered him againe and said: If that be true thou sayest, come then and deliver me the Gallies in the City of *MILETUM*, as thou goest by, before the Isle of *SAMOS*: for sith thou commandest all the sea, we shall not neede to feare our enemies that are in *SAMOS*. *Lysander* thereto replied, that the Army was no more at his commandement; and that he had the charge over them: and so departed thence, taking his course directly unto *PELOPONNESUS*, and left *Callicratidas* in great perplexity: for he had brought no money out of his Countrey with him, neither could he compell the Cities to furnish him with any, seeing that they were at that time too much troubled already. Then had he no other way but to go to the Lieutenants of the King of *PERSIA*, to aske them money, as *Lysander* had done. But he was the unmeetest man for it that could be possible: for he was of a noble and liberall Nature, and thought it lesse dishonour and reproach unto the *GRECIANS*, to be overcome by the *GRECIANS*, then to go flatter the barbarous people, and seek to them that had Gold and Silver enough, but otherwise no goodnesse nor honesty. In the end notwithstanding, making vertue of necessity, he tooke his journey towards *LYDIA*, and went directly to *Cyrus* Court: where at his first coming, he willed them to let him understand, that *Callicratidas* the Admirall of the *LACEDAEMONIANS* would speak with him. One of the souldiers that warded at the gate, told him: My friend, sir stranger, *Cyrus* is not at leisure now, for he is set at dinner. *Callicratidas* answered plainly againe: No force, I will tarry here till he have dined. The barbarous *PERSIANS* hearing this, took him for some plaine lout, and so he went his way at the first time with a mocke at their hands. But the second time, when they would not let him come in at the Gate, he fell in a rage, and returned backe (as he came) to the City of *EPHESUS*, cursing and banning them that at the first had so much imbased themselves, as to go sue to the barbarous people, teaching them to be proud and stately for their goods and riches: swearing before them all that were present, that so soon as he came to *SPARTA* againe, he would do all that he could possible to pacifie the *GRECIANS*, and set them at peace one with another, to the end they might be fearfull to the barbarous people, and also that they should meddle with them no more, nor need their aide to destroy one another. But *Callicratidas* having the noble heart of a *SPARTAN*, and being to be compared in justice, valiancy, and greatnesse of courage, with the most excellent *GRECIANS* in his time, dyed shortly after in a battell by sea, which he lost upon the Isles *ARGI-NUSES*. Wherefore, the confederates of the *LACEDAEMONIANS* seeing that their state was in declining, they all together sent an Ambassade unto *SPARTA*, by which they made request to the Councell, that they would send *Lysander* againe for their Admirall: promising that they would do all things with better courage and good will under his conduction, then they would under any other Capitaine they could send them. So much did *Cyrus* also write unto them. But because there was an expresse Law, forbidding that one man should be twice Admirall, and besides, they being willing to grant the request of their confederates, made one *Arachus* their Admirall, but in effect gave *Lysander* the whole authority of all things: who was marvellous welcome unto them, and

Cherronnesus a
Country in
Thracia.

Callicratidas
Lysander suc-
cessor in his
Office of Ad-
miralty. Plainnesse com-
mended for a
vertue, but lik-
ed as an old
image of a god
that had been
excellent fair.
The spite of
Lysander to
Callicratidas.

Nothing es-
teemed with
the Barbarians
but money.

Callicratidas
patience.

The death of
Callicratidas.

Lyfander crafty and deceitfull.

A wife saying of Lyfander.

The wicked dissembling and double dealing of Lyfander.

Lyfander regarded no perjury, following the example of Polycrates the Tyrant of Samos.

Cyrus liberality to Lyfander.

Lyfanders acts by sea.

Philoctes cruell advice unto the Athenians.

and specially unto the heads and Rulers of Cities, which long before had wished for his coming: because that by his means they hoped to make their authority greater, and altogether to take away the authority from the people. But they that loved plain dealing, and open magnanimity in the manners of a Governour and Generall, when they came to compare *Lyfander* with *Callicratidas*, they found that *Lyfander* had a fine subtil head, and did more in wars with his policy and subtilty, then by any other means. And moreover, that he esteemed justice, when it fell out profitable: and took profit, for justice and honesty, not thinking that plain dealing was of better force then craft, but measuring the value of the one and the other, by the profit that came out of them, and mocking of them that said, that the race of *Hercules* should not make wars with craft and subtilty. For, said he, when the Lions skin will not serve, we must helpe it with the cufe of a Fox. And hereunto agreeth that which they write he did in the City of *MILETUM*. For his friends and familiars to whom he had promised aide for destruction of the peoples authority, and to drive their enemies out of the City: they having changed their mindes, and being reconciled unto their adversaries, he openly made great shew of gladnesse, and seemed as though he would helpe to agree them together: but secretly being alone, he took them up sharply, and told them that they were cowards to do it, and did procure them to the contrary, to set upon the people. And then when he understood that there was commotion among them in the City, he ran thither suddenly as it were to appease it. But when he was also come into the City, the first he met with of them that would alter the state of the Government, and take the Authority from the people, he fell out withall, and gave them rough words, commanding with extremity that they should follow him, as though he would have done some great punishment. And againe, meeting with them of the contrary part, he willed them also that they should not be afraid, nor doubt that any man should do them hurt where he was. This was a wicked and malicious practise of him, to stay the chiefeft of them that were most affected to the popular faction, to the end that afterwards he might put them all to death, as he did: for they that trusting to his words remained quiet in the City, were all put to death. Moreover, *Androclidas* touching this matter, hath left in writing that which *Lyfander* was wont to say: by the which it appeareth, that he made very little reckoning to be perjured. For he said, that children should be deceived with the play of Kayles, and men with Oathes of men, following therein *Polycrates* the Tyrant of *SAMOS*, but without reason: for he was a lawfull Capitaine, and the other a violent usurper of Tyrannicall power. Furthermore, it was not done like a true *LACONIAN*, to behave himself towards the Gods none otherwise, then towards men, but rather worse, and more injuriously. For he that deceiveth his enemy, and breaketh his Oath to him, sheweth plainly that he feareth him, but that he careth not for God: *Cyrus* therefore having sent for *Lyfander* to come to *SARDIS* to him, gave him money largely, and promised him more: and because he would more honourably shew the goodwill he had to gratifie him, told him, that if the King his Father would give him nothing, yet he would give him of his own. And furthermore, when all other meanes failed to help him with money, that rather then he should lacke, he would melt his own chaire to make money of (which he fate in when he gave audience in matters of Justice) being altogether of Gold and Silver. And to be short, when he was going into *MEDIA* to the King his Father, he gave *Lyfander* power to receive the Taxes and ordinary tributes of the Cities under his Government, and made him Lieutenant of all his Country. And lastly, bidding him farewell, prayed him that he would not give battell by sea unto the *ATHENIANS*, untill he returned from the Court: and that before his coming againe, he would have authority to leavy a great number of ships, as well out of *PHOENICIA*, as out of *CILICIA*. Wherefore whilst *Cyrus* was in his journey, *Lyfander* not being able to fight with his enemies with like number of ships, nor also to lie still and do nothing with so good a number of Gallies, went and scoured the seas, where he took certain Islands, and robbed also *EGINA* and *SALAMINA*. From thence he went and landed on the firme Land in the Countrey of *ATTICA*, and did his duty there unto *Agis* King of *LACEDÆMONIA*, who came purposely from the Fort of *Decelea* to the sea side to see him, because their Army by land also should see what power they had by sea, and how it ruled more by sea then they would. Neverthelesse, being advertised that the fleets of the *ATHENIANS* followed hard after him, he took another course to flie back againe into *ASIA* by the Isles: and returning againe, found all the Countrey of *HELLESPONT* without men of war. So he laid siege before the City of *LAMPACUS*, and did assault it with his Gallies by sea: and *Thorax* being come thither also at the selfe same time in great hast, with his Army by land gave the assault on his side. Thus was the City taken by force, which *Lyfander* left to the spoile of the souldiers. Now in the mean time the fleet of the *ATHENIANS* (which was an hundred and fourescore sail) came to an Anchor before the City of *ELEUNTE*, in the Countrey of *CHERRONESUS*: and news being brought them that the City of *LAMPACUS* was taken, they came with all speed possible unto the City of *SESTOS*, where getting fresh Cates and Victuals, they coasted all along the coast unto a certaine place called the Goates River, directly over against the fleet of their enemies, which lay yet at Anchor before the City of *LAMPACUS*. Now there was a Capitaine of the *ATHENIANS* amongst other, called *Philoctes*, he that perswaded the *ATHENIANS* to cut off the prisoners Thombes of their right hands that were taken in the warres, to the end they should no more handle the Pike, but onely serve to pull the Ower. Both the one and the other rested that day, hoping to have battell without faile the next morning. But *Lyfander* having another meaning with him, commanded the Masters and Mariners notwithstanding, that they should

should have their Gallies ready to give battell the next morning by break of day, because every man should get aboard beimes, and should keepe themselves in order of battell, making no noise at all, attending what he would command them: and further, made the Army by land also to be ranged in battell ray, by the sea side. The next morning at Sunne rising, the *ATHENIANS* began to row with all their Gallies in order of battell in a front. But *Lyfander*, though he had his ships in order to fight, the prores lying towards the enemies before day, rowed not for all that against them, but sending out Pinnaes unto the first Gallies, commanded them straightly that they should not stirre at all, but keepe themselves in order, making no noise, nor rowing against the enemy. Though the *ATHENIANS* also were retired in the night, he would not give the souldiers leave to comoroland out of the Gallies, before he had sent first two or three Gallies to destroy the fleet of his enemies: who brought him word that they had seen the *ATHENIANS* take land. The next morning they did the like, the third day, and the fourth also all in one sort: so that the *ATHENIANS* began to be bold of themselves, and to despise their enemies, imagining they lay thus close for fear of them, and durst not come forward. In the mean time, *Alcibiades* (who lay at that time in the Countrey of *CHERRONESUS*, in certain places which he had conquered) came riding to the Campe of the *ATHENIANS*, to tell the Captaines and Generals of the Army, the great faults they committed. First, for that they had cast Anchor, and kept their ships in an open place, where there was no manner of succour, nor harbor to retire unto upon any storme: and worst of all, because that they were to fetch their victuals far off, at the City of *SESTOS*, unto which Haven they should rather draw themselves, considering that they had but a little way to go, and also they should have the City to backe them, which would furnish them with all things necessary: and beside that, they should be further off from their enemies, which were governed by one Generall onely that did command them all, and were so well trained that at a whistle they were ready straight to execute his commandement. *Alcibiades* perswasions to these Captaines of the *ATHENIANS* were not onely misliked, but furthermore there was one called *Tydemus*, that answered him very leudly: That he had nothing to do to command the Army, but other that had the charge of them. *Alcibiades* mistrusting thereby some treason, quietly went his way. The fifth day, the *ATHENIANS* having made the same countenance to present battell unto their enemies, and retiring the same night as of custome, very negligently, and in ill order, as men that made no reckoning of their enemies, *Lyfander* sent againe certaine Gallies to destroy them, commanding the Captaines of the same, that when they perceived the *ATHENIANS* had left their Gallies and taken land, they should then return back with all possible speed they could, and being midway over the straights, that they should lift up a Copper Target into the aire, upon the top of a Pike in the fore-deck, for a signe to make all the whole fleet to row in battell. Now *Lyfander* himselfe in the meane time went in person from Gallie to Gallie, perswading and exhorting every Capitaine, that they should put their Gallies, Mariners, and souldiers in good readinesse, to the end that when the signe should be lifted up, they should row with all their might in battell against the enemies. Wherefore, so soon as the Copper Target was set up in the aire, and that *Lyfander* had made his Trumpet sound out of the Admirall, for a token to hale out into the sea: the Gallies immediately began to row for life in envy one of another, and the footmen that were upon the land, ranne with speed also to the top of a high cliffe neare unto the sea, to see what would be the end of the fight, because the distance from one side to the other in that place was not fully two miles; which they had soon cut over, and in a little space, through the great diligence and force of rowing with their Oars. So *Conon* the chiefe Capitaine of the *ATHENIANS* perceiving from the shore this great Fleet coming with a full force to assault them: he thence cryed out to the souldiers that they should runne to their ship, and being in a rage to see things in this danger, called some by their names, others he intreated, and the rest he compelled to take their Gallies. But all his diligence was to no purpose, because the souldiers were wholly scattered here and there. For so soone as they were set a land out of their Gallies at their returne, some went to buy provision, other went a walking in the fields, some were set at Supper in their Cabins, and other were laid down to sleepe, nothing mistrusting that which happened to them, through their Captaines ignorance and lacke of experience. But when the enemies were ready to joyne and fall upon them with great cries and noise of Oars, *Conon* having eight Gallies, stole secretly out of the fleet, and flying unto *Enagoras*, saved himself in the Isle of *CYPRUS*. In the mean time, the *PELOPONNESIANS* falling upon the other Gallies, tooke some of them empty, and brake the others as the souldiers began to come aboard upon them. And as for the men, some were slaine by their ships as they ranne unto them like naked men without weapon, and out of order, thinking to have saved themselves: other were killed in flying, because the enemies landed and had them in chafe. And there were taken alive of them, three thousand prisoners with the Captaines. *Lyfander* moreover took all the whole fleet of their ships, the holy Gally excepted, called *Paralos*, and the eight that fled with *Conon*: and after he had destroyed all the Campe of the *ATHENIANS*; he fastned the Gallies that were taken, unto the Keele of his Gallies, and returned with songs of triumph, with the sound of Flutes and Hoboyes, towards the City of *LAMPACUS*, having wonne a great victory with little labour, and had cut off in a small time, the long continuing and most divers warre that ever was; and had brought forth so many sundry strange events of fortune, as are uncredible. For there had been infinite battels fought both by sea and land, and had altered many sundry times; and there was slaine at that time moe Captaines then

Lyfanders craft in marine fight.

Alcibiades gave good advice to the Captaines of the Athenians.

A Copper Target lift up, the sign of battell by sea.

Conon Admiral of the Athenians.

Lyfanders victory of the Athenians.

Paralos, the holy Gally of Athens.

The Stars of
Gaster and
Pollux.

A Stone fell
out of the Ele-
ment.
Egeus's An-
axagoras' opi-
nion of the
Stars.

What falling
Starres be.

Damachus testi-
mony of the
fiery Stone seen
in the Element.

Another opi-
nion of the
Stone that fell.

Philotes con-
stancy, Cap-
taine of the A-
thenians.

Lysander cru-
city.

then in all the other wars of GREECE together: all which were at length brought to end and determined, by the good wisdom and conduction of one onely man. And therefore some thought, that this great overthrow was given by the gods, and said: That at the departure of *Lysander's* Fleet out of the Haven of LAMPACUS, to go set upon the Fleet of the enemies, they perceived over the side of the Gallie, and the other on the other side. They say also, that the fall of the stone was a to-ken, that did signifie this great overthrow. For about that time (as many hold opinion) there fell out of the aire a marvellous great stone, in the place they call the Goates River, which stone is seen yet unto this day, holden in great reverence by the inhabitants of the City of CHERRONISUS. It is said also, that *Anaxagoras* did Prognosticate, that one of the bodies tied unto the vault of the Heaven, should be plucked away, and should fall to the ground by a sliding and shaking that should happen. For he said, that the Stars were not in their proper place where they were first created, considering that they were heavy bodies, and of the nature of stone: howbeit that they did shine by reflection of the fire Elementary, and had been drawn up thither by force, where they were kept by the great violence of the circular motion of the Element, even at the beginning of the world they had been staid and let from falling downe beneath, at that time when the separation was made of the cold and heavy bodies, from the other substance of the Univerfall world. There is another opinion of certain Philosphers, where there is more likelihood then in that. For they say, that those which we call falling Starres, be no fluxions nor derivations of the fire Elementary, which are put out in the aire, in a manner so soone as they be lighted: nor also an inflammation or combustion of any part of the aire, which by overmuch quantity thereof doth spread upwards: but they are Celestiall bodies, which by some slacknesse of strength, or falling from the ordinary course of Heaven, are throwne and cast downe here beneath, not alwaies in any part of the earth inhabited, but more often abroad in the great Ocean sea, which is the cause that we do not see them. Notwithstanding, *Anaxagoras* words are confirmed by *Damachus*, who writeth in his booke of Religion, that the space of three-score and fifteen years together, before that this stone did fall, they saw a great lump of fire continue in the aire like a cloud inflamed, the which carried not in any one place, but went and came with divers broken removings, by the driving whereof there came out lightnings of fire that fell in many places, and gave light in falling, as the Starres do that fall. In the end, when this great body of fire fell in that part of the earth, the inhabitants of the Country, after that they were a little boldned from their feare and wonder, came to the place to see what it was: and they found no manner of shew or appearance of fire: but onely a very great stone lying upon the ground, but nothing in comparison of the least part of that which the compass of this body of fire did shew, if we may so name it. Sure herein, *Damachus* words had need of favourable hearers. But againe if they be true, then he utterly confuteth their arguments, that maintaine that it was a piece of a Rocke, which the force of a boisterous wind did tear from the top of a mountaine, and carried in the aire, so long as this whirlwind continued: but so soone as that was downe, and calmed againe, the stone fell immediately. Neither do we say, that this lightning body, which appeared so many dayes in the Element, was very fire indeed, which comming to dissolve and to be put out, did be-geat this violent storme and boisterous wind in the Element, that had the force to tear the stone in sunder, and to cast it downe. Nevertheless, this matter requireth better discourse in some o-ther Booke then this. But now to our story. When the three thousand *ATHENIANS* that were taken prisoners at that overthrow, were condemned by the Councell to be put to death: *Lysander* calling *Philotes*, one of the Captaines of the *ATHENIANS*, asked him what paine he would judge him worthy of, that gave the Citizens so cruell and wicked counsell. *Philotes* being nothing a-bashed to see himselfe in that misery, answered him: Accuse not them that have no judge to heare their cause: but since the gods have given thee grace to be Conqueror, do with us, as we would have done with thee, if we had overcome thee. When he had said so, he went to wash himselfe, and then put on a faire cloake upon him, as if he should have gone to some feast: and went lustily the foremost man to execution, leading his Countreymen the way, as *Theophrastus* writeth. After this done, *Lysander* with all his Fleet went by all the Cities of the sea coast, where he commanded so many *ATHENIANS* as he found, that they should get them to *ATHENS*, letting them under-stand that he would not pardon a man of them, but put them all to death as many as he found out of their City. And this he did of policy to bring them all within the precinct of the walls of *ATHENS*, because he might so much the sooner famish them for lacke of victuals: for otherwise they would have troubled him fore, if they had had wherewithall to have maintained a long siege. But in all the Cities as he passed by, if they were governed by the Authority of the People, or if that there were any other kinde of Government, he left in every one of them a *LACEDÆMONI-AN* Captaine or Governor, with a Councell of ten Officers, of whom that had been before in league and amity with him: the which he did aswell in the Cities that had ever been confederates and friends unto the *LACEDÆMONIANS*, as in them that not long before had been their enemies. So he went failing all along the coasts, faire and softly making no haile, stablishing in manner a generall principa- lity over all GREECE. For he did not make them Officers that were the Richest, the Noblest, or Ho- nestest men, but such as were his friends, out of those Tribes which he had placed in every City: and to them he gave authority to punish, and reward such as they liked of, and would be present himselfe in person to helpe them to put those to death whom they would execute, or otherwise expulse or banish their Country. But this gave the *GRECIANS* small hope of good or gracious govern- ment

ment under the rule of the *LACEDÆMONIANS*. Wherefore me thinks that *Theopompus* the Comi- call Poet doted, when he compared the *LACEDÆMONIANS* unto Tayerners, saying, that they had given the *GRECIANS* a taste of the sweete Drinke of Liberty, and that afterwards they had mingled it with Vineger. For, the taste they gave the *GRECIANS* of their Government from the beginning, was very sharpe unto them: because *Lysander* tooke the Rule and Authority of Govern- ment out of the Peoples hands, and gave it unto a few of the boldest; and most feditious men in every City. Thus having spent a great time in this Voyage, to make these alterations; he sent news before to *LACEDÆMON*, that he was coming with two hundred Saile. He spake also with the Kings, *Agis* and *Paulanias*, in the Countrey of *ATTICA*, perswading himselfe that he should winne the City of *ATHENS* at the first assault. But when he saw that his expectation failed, and that the *ATHENI- ANS* did valiantly resist him, he returned once againe with his Fleete into *ASIA*, where he made an end of changing and altering the manner of Government through every City in equall manner, stablishing a Councell of tenne Officers onely in every one of them, and putting every where many Ci- tizens to death, and banishing many also. Among others, he drave all the *SAMIANS* out of their Countrey, and restored againe all them that had been banished before: and the City of *SESTOS* also, being yet in the *ATHENIANS* hands, he tooke it from them. And furthermore, he would not suffer the naturall *SESTIANS* to dwell there, but drave them away, and gave their City, their Hou- ses and Lands, unto Ship-masters, Officers of Gallies, and Galley-slaves, that had bene in the Warres with him. But therein the *LACEDÆMONIANS* were against him, and this was the first thing that they did forbid him: for they restored the *SESTIANS*, against his will, unto their Lands and Goods againe. But as the *GRECIANS* were very much offended, to see the parts *Lysander* played: so were they all very glad againe, to see these others which he afterwards did. For he restored the *EGINE- TES* againe to their Lands and Houses, who had bene put from them a long time. He restored also the *MELIANS*, and the *SCIONÆIANS* to their Lands againe, which the *ATHENIANS* had gotten from them, and drave out the *ATHENIANS*. Furthermore, *Lysander* being advertised, that the Citizens and Inhabitants of *ATHENS* were pinched sore for lacke of Victuals, he returned againe, and came into the Haven of *PIREÆ*: by meanes whereof he kept the City so straight, that he made them yeeld upon such Conditions as he himselfe would. Howbeit there are certaine *LACEDÆMONI- ANS* that say, *Lysander* wrote unto the *Ephores*: The City of *ATHENS* is taken: and that the *E- phori* wrote againe unto him: It is well that it is taken. But this is but a tale devised to make the mat- ter seeme better: for indeed the capitulations which the *Ephori* sent unto him, were these: The Lords of the Councell of *LACEDÆMON* have thus decreed: That ye do raze the Fortification of the Ha- ven of *PIREÆ*: That ye doe overthrow also the long Wall that joyneth the Haven to the City: That ye yeelde up and redeliver all the Cities which ye doe hold, and content your selves with your lives and Countrey onely. This doing ye shall have peace, so that ye performe our demands. That ye shall receive those which are banished: and for the number of Ships, ye shall dispose of them as we shall will you. The *ATHENIANS* agreed upon the Articles contained in that Bill, following the counsell of *Theramenes* the Sonne of *Agnon*. Who when a young Orator called *Cleomenes*, did openly aske him in anger, if he were so bold to dare to do, or say, anything contrary unto that, which *Themistocles* had done before time, to assent unto the *LACEDÆMONIANS*, that the Wall which he built in despite of them, should by their commandment now be razed: he answered him openly againe: Young man, my friend, I doe nothing contrary to *Themistocles* doings: for like as he heretofore did build the Wall, for the safety and benefit of all the Citizens and People that were in *ATHENS* at that time: even so doe we that are here now, for the self-same cause plucke it downe and raze it. And if it be true that Walls doe make Cities happy, then it must needs follow that the City of *SPARTA* which never had any Walls, should be the unfortunatest of all other. So *Lysan- der* having received all the *ATHENIANS* Ships but twelve, and the Walls of the City also to use them at his pleasure: on the sixteenth day of March (on which day in old time the *ATHENIANS* had wonne the Battell by Sea, within the Straight of *SALAMINA*, against the King of *PERSIA*) he counselled them straight to change the forme of their Government. The People could not brooke that motion, and were marvellously offended withall. Whereupon *Lysander* sent to declare unto them, that they had broken the Articles of the Peace made betwene them, for that their Walls were yet standing; the tenne daies being expired in which they had promised to overthrow them: and there- fore that he would once againe refer it to the determination of the Councell, how they should be used, that had broken the Articles and Covenants of the first Peace. Other say, that immediately he refer- red it unto the deliberation of the Councell of their Confederates, that is to say: whether they should altogether destroy the City, and make the Inhabitants thereof Slaves and Bondmen, or no. In this Councell, it is reported that there was a *THEBAN* called *Erianthus*, whose opinion was, that they should utterly raze the City, and make the Countrey a Desert: so that it should never after serve for other thing, but for pasturage of Beasts. But during this diet and Councell, there was a Banquet made, whereunto all the Captaines and chiefe Officers of the Army being bidden, there was a *PHO- CIAN*, a Singer of Songs, that sang the entry of the *Chorus* to the Tragedie of *Electra*, made by the Poet *Enripides*, which began in this sort:

Electra noble Dame, and Daughter to a King,
Even Agamemnon, King of Greece, whose fame so wide did ring:
I come now to your Courts, which lye both wide and vast.
By spoile of Warres depopulate, destroyed and disgrast.

K K

These

Theopompus the
Comicall Poet
saying of the
*Lacedæmo-
nians*.

The *Athenians*
yeeld up *Athens*
to *Lysander*.

The manner
of peace offer-
ed by the *Lace-
dæmonians* to
the *Athenians*.

A notable say-
ing for the
walls of Cities.

Erianthus con-
cill advice a-
gainst the *A-
thenians*.

The (sweet music softened their cruel hearts, and moved them to pity. *Lysander* overthrew the walls of the City of Athens.

Calibius Captain of the Castle of Athens. *Autolycus* a cunning wrestler.

Autolycus put to death. *Lysander* sent Money to Sparta by *Gylippus*.

Gylippus robbed part of the Money he carried to Sparta.

The Greekish Coyne was marked with an Owle. *Gylippus* banishment. Coverteusse of Money corrupted *Gylippus*, one of the chiefest men of Lacedæmon. The Iron Money of Lacedæmonia.

At what time the Lacedæmonians received Gold and Silver againe.

The ill life of the Magistrates, the cause of disorder in a Common-wealth.

These words moved all the hearers with compassion, so that the most part of them thought it were too great a sinne to destroy so noble a City, which brought forth so many famous wife men, and great persons. Wherefore *Lysander*, when the ATHENIANS had submitted themselves altogether to his will, caused all the Women-players of Pipes or Shalmes to come out of the City, and gathered all those together which he had in his owne Campe also, and with the sound of their Instruments he made the Walls and Fortifications of the City of ATHENS to be pulled downe to the very ground, and set all their Gallies on fire, and burnt them in the presence of the Confederates of the LACEDÆMONIANS, who danced and played in the meane season with Garlands of Flowers on their heads, in token that that day was a beginning of their full and perfect liberty. Immediately after he changed also the state of the Government, establishing a Councell of thirty Magistrates in the City, and other tenne also in the Haven of PIRÆA, having all equal and like authority: and therewithall made *Calibius* a Gentleman of SPARTA Captaine of the Castle there, and left a good Garison of the LACEDÆMONIANS with him. This *Calibius* one day lift up his staffe he had in his hand to strike *Autolycus* withall, a strong made man to wrestle: whereupon *Xenophon* the Philosopher made his Booke in old time, called *Conviuium*. But *Autolycus* that was a cunning wrestler, having all the sleights of wrestling, suddenly tripped *Calibius* with his leg, and lifting him up at the armes end, cast him to the ground. Howbeit *Lysander* was not angry with *Autolycus* for it, but reproved *Calibius*, telling him that he should have remembered (if he had bene wife) that he had the government of freemen, and not of Bondmen. Notwithstanding, shortly after the thirty Governours of the City, to satisfie *Calibius*, put this *Autolycus* to death. When *Lysander* had done all these things, he tooke Sea againe, and went into the Countrey of THRACIA, and sent by *Gylippus* before unto SPARTA (who had bene Captaine and Generall of the SYRACUSANS in SICILIA) all the Gold and Silver that was left in his hands, with all the Prefents besides which had bene privately given him, and with the Crowns also that had bene presented him: which were marvellous in number, as it is to be thought, for that many came to present him, considering the great power he had, and that in manner he was chief and sole Prince of all GREECE. This *Gylippus* did rip the seames of every bag in the bottome where the Money was, and tooke a good summe out of every of them: and afterwards sewed them up againe, not thinking that there had bene a border upon every bag, upon the which was declared, the number and kindes of Gold and Silver that were therein. Now when he was come to SPARTA, he hid the Money he had stolne under the house eavings, and went and delivered the bags he had brought into the hands of the Ephori, shewing them *Lysanders* Seale, which he had set to every one of them. The Ephori having opened the bags, and told the Money, found that the summe agreed not with the borders of the contents: and yet could not tell where the fault was. But a Servant of *Gylippus* told them in darke words, saying: that under the tiles of his Masters house there lay a great number of Owles. Now the greatest part of the Coyne of Gold and Silver which was currant through GREECE, was stamped with the marke of an Owle, by reason of the ATHENIANS. Thus *Gylippus* after so many noble exploits done in Wars, committing so shamefull and vile a deede, was banished out of his Countrey of LACEDÆMONIA. But the wisest men of SPARTA, and of deepest judgement, fearing the power of Gold and Silver, and seeing by proof of *Gylippus* doings, that it had such power to make one of their chiefest men fall through covetousnesse: they greatly blamed *Lysander* for bringing of it into LACEDÆMON, beseeching the Ephori that they would send all his Gold and Silver out of SPARTA, as a plague, provocation, and wicked baite, to make them do evill: declaring unto them, that they should use no other Money, but their owne onely. Whereupon they referred all to the wisdom and determination of the Councell. *Theopompus* writeth, that *Sciraphidas* was he that did move the Councell of the Ephori in it. Howbeit *Ephorus* calleth him *Phlogidas*, who was the first that spake against it in the Councell, that they should not admit nor receive into the City of SPARTA any Money of Gold or Silver: but should onely content themselves with their owne Countrey Iron Coyne, the which first of all, coming from the fire-red hot, was quenched with Vineger, to the end they should be forged no more, nor employed unto any other use. For it was so eager and brittle by meanes of this temper, that they could no more convert it to any other purpose: and beside, it was very heave and unhandsome to remove, considering that a great heape and quantity of it, was but of small value. And it seemeth they did use of old time, certaine little Iron Money, and in some places Copper Money, called Obelisci, from whence the small pieces of Money now extant are called Oboli, whereof fixe made a Drachma, so feared for that it was as much as the hand could gripe. Nevertheless, at the earnest suite of *Lysanders* friends that stood against it, and held hard with him, it was decreed in the Councell, that the Money should remaine in the City, and ordained that it should be currant onely but for the affaires of the Common-wealth. And if it were found, that any private man did either locke up, or keepe any Money, that he should suffer death for it: as if *Lycurgus* when he made his Lawes, feared Gold or Silver, and not the covetousnesse and avarice which the Gold and Silver bringeth with it. The which was not taken away so much, prohibiting private men to have it: as it was engendered onely by a toleration of getting it. For, the profit which they saw it brought withall, made it to be esteemed and desired. For it was impossible they should despise a thing privately for unprofitable, which they saw reckoned of commonly, as a thing very necessary: and that they should thinke it would not serve their turne privately, seeing it so commonly esteemed and desired. But we are rather to thinke, that private mens manners are confirmed according to the common uses and customes of Cities, then that the faults and vices of private men doe fill Cities and Common-wealths with ill qualities. And it is more likely, that the parts are marred and corrupted with an infection of the whole, when it falleth out ill: then

then that the parts corrupted should draw the whole to corruption. For to the contrary, the faults of a part destroyed, which might be prejudiciall unto the whole; are oftentimes redressed and corrected by the other parts, whole and entire. But they that tooke this resolution in their Councell at that time, to have Money in the Common-wealth, made feare of punishment, and of the Law, to be the outward watchmen of Citizens houses, to keepe that no Money should come into them. But all this while they made no inward provision, to keepe the entry of their soules from all passion and greedy desires of Money: but to the contrary, they made them all to have a covetous desire to be rich, as if it were a great and honourable thing. But for that we have heretofore in other places reproved the LACEDÆMONIANS. And moreover *Lysander* caused a Statue of Brasse to be made like himselfe of the spoile he had gotten of the Enemies, to set it up in the City of DELPHES, and for every private Captaine of the Gallies in like case, and the two Stars of *Castor* and *Pollux* in Gold besides, which vanished away a little before the Battell of LUCTRES: and no man knew what became of them. Again, in the Chamber of the Treasury of *Brasidas*, and of the ACANTHIANS, there was also a Galley made of Gold and Ivory, of two cubits long; which *Cyrus* sent unto him after the Victory he had wonne by Sea of the ATHENIANS. And furthermore, *Alexandrides* the Historiographer borne at DELPHES, writeth, that the self-same *Lysander* had left there to be kept safe, a Talent of Silver, two and fifty Mina's, and eleven pieces of Gold called State-res. But all this accordeth not with that which all the other Historiographers write, agreeing of his poverty. But *Lysander* being aloft then, and of greater power then ever any GREEKIAN was before him, carried a greater port and countenance then became his ability. For as *Dorus* writeth, he was the first of the GREEKIANs unto whom they did ever erect any Altars, and offer Sacrifice unto as a god, and in honour of whom they did first sing any Hymnes: and at this day there is yet good memory of one which began in this manner:

*The noble Captaines praise, We meane to celebrate
Of Greece: that Land which is divine in every kinde of state:
Even he which was both borne, and brought to high renowne,
Within the noble wealthy walls of Sparta stately Towne.*

The SAMIANS by publick Decree ordained, that the Feasts of *Juno*, which were called in their City *Heræa*, should be called *Lysandria*. *Lysander* had ever one *Charilus* a SPARTAN Poet about him, to write and set forth all his doings in verse. Another Poet called *Antilochus*, one day made certaine Verses in his praise: which pleased him so well, that he gave him his hat full of Silver. There were two other Poets, *Antimachus* COLOPHONIAN, and *Niceratus* borne at HERACLEA, which did both write Verses to honour him, striving whether of them should do best. *Lysander* judged the Crowne and Victory unto *Niceratus*: wherewith *Antimachus* was so angry, that he razed out all that he had written of him. But *Plato* who at that time was young, and loved *Antimachus* because he was an excellent Poet, did comfort him, and told him that ignorance did blinde the understanding of the ignorant, as blindness doth the sight of the blinde. *Ariston* an excellent Player of the Citherne, and one that had six times wanne the Prizes of the Pythian Games: to winne *Lysanders* favour, promised him, that if ever he wanne the prize of his Art againe, he would cause himselfe to be proclaimed *Lysanders* slave. This ambition of *Lysander* was very odious and grievous, onely unto great persons, and men of his estate: but besides his ambition, in the end he became very proud and cruell, through the flatteries of his followers, and them that courted him: so that he exceeded in recompensing his friends, as also in punishing of his enemies. For, to gratifie his friends and familiars, he gave them absolute power and authority of life and death in their Townes and Cities: and to pacifie and appease his anger where he once hated, there was no other way but death, without all possibility of pardon. And that he plainly shewed afterwards in the City of MILETUM, where, fearing lest they would fie that tooke part with the People, and because he would have them appeare that hid themselves: he gave his word, and sware that he would doe them no hurt at all. The poore men gave credit to his word: but so soone as they came out and did appeare, he delivered them all into the hands of their adversaries, (which were the chiefest of the Nobility) to put them all to death: and they were no lesse then eight hundred men one with another. He caused great murders of People also to be done in other Cities: for he did not onely put them to death that had privately offended him, but numbers besides, onely to satisfie and revenge the private quarrels, enmities and covetousnesse of his friends, whom he had in every place. And therefore was *Eteocles* LACEDÆMONIAN greatly commended for his saying: That GREECE could not abide two *Lysanders*. *Theophrastus* writeth also, that the very like was spoken of *Alcibiades* by *Archestratus*. Howbeit in *Alcibiades* there was nothing but his insolvency and vaine-glory that men misliked: but in *Lysander*, a severe nature, and sharpe conditions, that made his power fearfull and intolerable. Nevertheless, the LACEDÆMONIANS passed over all other complaints exhibited against him, saving when they heard the complaints of *Pharnabazus*, who purposely sent Ambassadors unto them, to complaine of the wrongs and injuries *Lysander* had done him, spoyling and destroying the Countrey under his Government: then the Ephori being offended with him, clapped up *Thorax* in prison, one of his friends and Captaines that had served under him: and finding that he had both Gold and Silver in his House contrary to the Law, put him to death. And to himselfe they sent immediately that which they call *Scytala*, (as who would say, the scroll written upon a round staffe) commanding him, that he should returne immediately upon receipt thereof. The *Scytala* is in this sort: When the Ephori do send a General, or an Admirall to the Warres, they cause two little round staves to be made of the like bignesse and length, of which the Ephori do keepe the one, and the other they give to him whom

A Galley of Gold and Ivory.

Platoes saying of the ignorant Ignorance compared with blindness. *Lysanders* ambition, pride, and cruelty.

Lysander brake his word and oath, and procured the death of eight hundred People. *Eteocles* words of *Lysander*.

Thorax put to death for offending the Law.

The Lacedæmonian Scytala what manner thing it is, and how used.

whom they send to the Warres. These two little staves they call Scytalæ. Now when they will advertise their Generall secretly matters of importance, they take a scroll of parchment, long and narrow like a leather thong, and wreath it about the round staves, leaving no void space between the borders of the scroll. Afterwards when they have bound them fast together, then they write upon the Parchment thus rolled what they will, and when they have done writing, unfold it and send it to their Generall, who cannot else possibly read it to know what is written (because the letters are not joyned together, nor follow in order, but are scattered here and there) until he take his little roll of woode which was given him at his departure: and then wreathing the scroll of parchment about it which he receiveth, the folding and wreaths of the parchment falling just into the self-same place as they were first folded, the letters also come to joyne one with another, as they ought to do. This little scroll of parchment also is called as the roll of woode, Scytala, even as we commonly see in many places, that the thing measured, is also called by the name of the measure. When this parchment scroll was brought unto *Lysander*, who was then in the Countrey of *Hellepont*, he was marvellously troubled withall, fearing above all other things, the accusations of *Pharnabazus*: so he fought meanes to speake with him before he departed, hoping thereby to make his peace with him. When they were together, *Lysander* prayed him he would write another Letter unto the Lords of *SPARTA*, contrary to his first, how that he had done him no hurt at all, and that he had no cause to complaine of him: but he did not remember that he was a *CRETAN* (as the common Proverbe saith) that could deceive another *CRETAN*. For *Pharnabazus* having promised him that he would performe his desire, wrote a Letter openly, purporting the effect of *Lysanders* request: but behinde he had another of contrary effect, so like on the outside unto the other, that by sight no man could discern the one from the other. And when he came to put to his Seale, he changed the first with the last that was hidden, and gave it him. When *Lysander* came unto *SPARTA*, he went as the manner is, straight to the Palace where the Senate kept, and gave his Letters unto the *Ephores*, thinking that by them he should have beene cleared from all danger of the greatest accusations they could have burdened him withall: because that *Pharnabazus* was very well thought on of the Lords of *LACEDÆMONIA*; for that he did ever shew himselfe willing and ready to helpe them in all their Warres, more then any other of the Kings Lieutenants of *PERSIA*. The *Ephori* having read this Letter, they shewed it unto him. Then did *Lysander* plainly see, that the common Proverbe was true:

That Ulysses was not subtil alone.

Thereupon he went home to his house marvellously troubled: but within few daies after returning to the Palace again to speake with the Lords of the Councell, he told them that he must needs make a voyage unto the Temple of *Jupiter Ammon*, to discharge certaine Sacrifices, which he had vowed and promised to him before he had wonne the Battels. Some say, that indeed *Jupiter Ammon* appeared to him in a dreame as he did besiege the City of the *APHYGIANS*, in the Countrey of *THRACIA*, and that by his commandment he raised the Siege, and charged them of the City, that they should thanke *Jupiter Ammon*, and do Sacrifice unto him: by reason whereof they thinke that he meant good faith, when he sued for license to make this Voyage into *LYBIA*, to performe the vowes which he had made. But the most part did certainly believe, that he made suite to go this journey, for a cloake and colour onely to absent himselfe, because he feared the *Ephores*, and that he could not indure the yoke and subjection which he must abide remaining at home, neither could like to be commanded. And this was the true cause of his suite to go this voyage: much like unto a Horse taken out of a fresh Pasture and goodly Meadows, to bring him into a stable, and make him to be journeyed as he was before. Nevertheless, *Ephorus* writeth another cause, the which I will recite hereafter. In the end, *Lysander* having hardly obtained license, tooke Ship and hoised Saile: but during his absence, the Kings of *LACEDÆMON* remembering that he kept all the Cities at his commandment, by meanes of the friends he had in every City, whom he had made chiefe Governours of the same, and that by their meanes he came in manner to be absolute Prince over all *GREECE*, they tooke upon them to redeliver the Government of the Townes and Cities againe into the hands of the People, and also to put downe his friends whom he had established there. And hereupon fell out great insurrection againe: for first of all, they that were banished from *ATHENS*, having surpris'd and taken the Castle of *Phyla*, upon the sudden did set upon the thirty Governours Tyrants (whom *Lysander* had placed there) and overcame them in Battell. Whereupon *Lysander* straight returned to *SPARTA*, and perswaded the *LACEDÆMONIANS* to refer the Government to the number of a few, and to punish the insolency of the People. So by his procurement, they sent first an hundred Talents unto the thirty Tyrants for an aide to maintaine this Warre, and appointed *Lysander* himselfe Generall. But the two Kings of *SPARTA* envying him, and fearing lest he should take the City of *ATHENS* againe, they determined that one of them would go. Whereupon *Pausanius* went thither immediately, who in appearance seemed to maintaine the Tyrants against the People: but in effect, he did his endeavour to appease this Warre, for feare lest *Lysander* by meanes of his friends and followers should once againe come to have the City of *ATHENS* in his power, the which he might easily doe. And thus having agreed the *ATHENIANS* againe one with another, and pacified all faction and commotion among them, he plucked up the roote of *Lysanders* ambition. But shortly after the *ATHENIANS* rebelling againe against the *LACEDÆMONIANS*, *Pausanius* himselfe was reproved, because he yielded so much to the boldnesse and insolency of the People, which were bridled and restrained before, by the Authority of the small number of the Governours: and to the contrary, they gave *Lysander* the honour to be Generall, who ruled not in this rebellion to please mens mindes and to content them, neither with fond ostentation of glory, but severely, for the profit and commodity of *SPARTA*. It is true, he would

Lysander goes to Jupiter Ammon.

King *Pausanius* as reconciled the *Athenians* with the *Spartans*.

would give great words, and was terrible to them that resisted him. As he answered the *ARGIVES* one day, who contended for their Confinnes with the *LACEDÆMONIANS*, and seemed to alledge the best reasons. Even they (said he) that shall prove the stronger hereby (shewing them his Sword) shall be they that shall pleade their cause best for their confines. Another time, when a *MEGARIAN* had told his minde boldly enough in open Councell, he answered him: Thy words (good friend) had neede of a City, meaning thereby that he was of too meane a Towne to use so great words. And to the *BOEOTIANS* also, who were in doubt to professe themselves friends or enemies: he sent unto them, to know if he should passe through their Countrey with his Pikes upwards or downwards. And when the *CORINTHIANS* also were revolted from their alliance, he brought his Army hard unto their walls: but when he saw his men were afraid, and made courtesie whether they should go to the assault or not: by chance spying a Hare coming out of the Towne-ditches, he said unto them: Are ye not ashamed to be afraid to go and assault your Enemies, that are so cowardly and slothfull, that Hares do keepe their formes at ease within the circuit of their walls? Now King *Agis* being deceased, he left behinde him his Brother *Agefilauus*, and his supposed Sonne *Leotychides*. Wherefore *Lysander* that had loved *Agefilauus* aforetime, gave him counsell to stand for the right of the Crowne, as lawfull heire and next of the blood, descending of the race of *Hercules*: because it was suspected that *Leotychides* was *Alcibiades* Sonne, who secretly had kept *Timæa Agis* Wife, at what time he was banished out of his Countrey, and came then to remaine in *SPARTA*. And *Agis* selfe also, concluding by reckoning of the time of his absence, that his Wife could not be with childe by him, made no reckoning of *Leotychides*: (and had openly shewed it all the rest of his life time) that he did not acknowledge him for his Sonne, until such time as falling sicke of that disease whereof he died, he was carried to the City of *HERBIA*: and there lying in his death bed, at the humble suite of *Leotychides* himselfe, and partly at the instant request of his friends, who were importunate with him, he did acknowledge *Leotychides* for his Sonne in the presence of divers, whom he prayed to be witnesses unto the Lords of *LACEDÆMON*, of his acceptance and acknowledging of him to be his Sonne: which they all did in favour of *Leotychides*. For all that, *Agefilauus* tooke it upon him, by the support and maintenance of *Lysanders* favour. Howbeit, *Diopithes* a wife man, and knowne to be skillfull in ancient Prophecies, did great hurt to *Agefilauus* side, by an ancient Oracle which he alledged against a defect *Agefilauus* had, which was his lamenesse:

*O Spartan People you, which beare high haughty hearts,
And looke aloft: take heede I say, looke well unto your Marres:
Lest whiles you stand upright, and guide your State by grace,
Some halting Kingdome privily come creeping in apace.
By that meanes might you move, great troubles, carke and care,
And mischief: beape upon your head, before you be aware:
And plunged should you be, even over head and eares,
With waste of Wars, which here on Earth doth perishe many Peeres.*

Many by occasion of this Oracle, fell to take *Leotychides* part: but *Lysander* declared unto them, that *Diopithes* did not construe the meaning of the Oracle well. For God, said he, cared not whether he hated of one leg or no, that should come to be King of *LACEDÆMON*: but indeed the Crown and Kingdome should halt and be lame, if bastards not lawfully begotten, should come to reigne over the true naturall issue and right line of *Hercules*. By these perswasions, *Lysander* with his great countenance and authority besides, wanne all mento to his opinion: so that *Agefilauus* by this meanes was proclaimed King of *LACEDÆMON*. This done, *Lysander* began straight to counsell him to make Wars in *ASIA*, putting him in hope that he should destroy the Kingdome of *PERSIA*, and should come to be the greatest man of the world. Moreover, he wrote unto his friends in the Cities of *ASIA*, that they should send unto the *LACEDÆMONIANS* to require King *Agefilauus* for their Generall, to make wars against the barbarous People. Which they did, and sent Ambassadors purposely unto *SPARTA* to sue that they might have him: the which was no lesse honour procured unto *Agefilauus* by *Lysanders* meanes, then that he did, in making him to be chosen King. But men ambitious by nature, being otherwise not unapt nor unfit to command, have this imperfection: that through the jealousie of glory, they do commonly envie their equals, the which doth greatly hinder them from doing any notable things. For they take them for their enemies, envying their vertue, whose service and meanes might helpe them to great matters. Thus *Agefilauus* being chosen Generall of this Enterprize, tooke *Lysander* with him in this Journey, among the thirty Counsellors which were given unto him to assist him: and made speciall choice of him, as by whose counsell he hoped most to be governed, and to have him nearest about him, as his chiefe friend. But when they were arrived in *ASIA*, they of the Countrey having no acquaintance with *Agefilauus*, feldome spake with him, or but little: and to the contrary, having knowne *Lysander* of long time, they followed him, and waited upon him to his Tent or Lodging, some to honour him, because they were his friends; others for feare, because they did mistrust him. Even much like as it falleth out oftentimes in the Theaters, when they play Tragedies there, that he that shall play the person of some Messenger or Servant, shall be the best Player, and shall have the best voyce to be heard above all others: and to the contrary, that he which harh the Royall Bande about his head, and the Scepter in his hand, a man doth scant heare him speake. Even so it fell out then: for all the Dignity due unto him that commanded all, was shewed onely to the Counsellor: and there remained to the King no more, but the Royall Name onely of a King, without any Power. Therefore methinks that this undiscreeet and importunate

KK 3

ambition

The death of King *Agis*. *Lysander* depriveth *Leotychides* of his Kingdome.

Through *Lysanders* working, *Agefilauus* was made King.

Ambition abideth no equall.

Agefilau privie
grudge to *Ly-*
sander.

Lyfander wil-
dome.

Lyfander Sur-
veyor of the
Vitualls.
Lyfander talke
with King *A-*
gefilau after the
Lacedaemonian man-
ner of speaking

Lyfander seek-
eth innovation
in the State of
Sparta.

The Families
of the Kings of
Lacedaemon.

Lyfander devi-
feth false Ora-
cles, and corrup-
teth South-
fayers with
Money.

ambition of *Lyfander*, did well deserve reproofe, even to make him to be contented onely with the second place of honour next unto the King. But for *Agefilau* againe, through extreame covetousnesse and jealousie of glory, to cast *Lyfander* altogether off, and to set so light by his friend and Benefactor, that surely became not him neither. For first of all, *Agefilau* never gave *Lyfander* occasion to do any thing, neither did commit any matter of weight unto him, that might be honourable for him: but which is worst of all, if he perceived that he had taken any mens causes in hand, and that he did favour them, he did alwaies send them backe againe into their Countrey, denying their suite, without that they could obtaine any thing they sued for, lesse then the meaneest persons that could have come, extinguishing *Lyfander*'s credit by little and little, and taking from him all authority by this meanes. Wherefore, *Lyfander* perceiving how he was thus refused and rejected in all things, seeing that the countenance and favour which he thought to shew unto his friends, fell out hurtfull unto them: left off to sollicite their matters any more, and prayed them to forbear to come unto him, or to follow him, but to go to the King, and unto those that could do them better pleasure then himselfe, and specially those that honoured him. When they heard that, many defighted to trouble him any more in matters of importance, but not to do him all the honour they could, and continued still to accompany him, when he went out to walke, or otherwise to exercise himselfe: the which did aggravate and increase *Agefilau*'s anger more against him, for the envie he bare unto his glory. And where he gave very honourable charge and commission in the Warres, oftentimes unto very meane Souldiers to execute, or Cities to governe: he appointed *Lyfander* Surveyor generall of all the ordinary Provision of Vitualls, and distributor of ffeish. And then mocking the *IONIAN*s that did honour him so much: Let them go now, said he, and honour my ffeish-distributor. Wherefore *Lyfander* seeing it high time to speake, went unto *Agefilau*, and told him in few words after the *LACEDAEMONIAN* manner: Truly *Agefilau*, thou hast learned well to abase thy friends. Indeede, said he againe, so have I, when they will be greater then my selfe: and to the contrary, they that maintaine and increase my Honour and Authority, it is reason that I esteeme of them. Yea marry, said *Lyfander*, but perhaps I have not done as thou sayest, yet I pray thee give me such an Office, as I may be least hated, and most profitable for thee: though it be but in respect of strangers eyes that looke upon us both. After this talke betweene them, *Agefilau* sent him his Lieutenant into the Countrey of *HELLESPONT*, where *Lyfander* still kept this anger secret in his heart against him, but for all that, did not leave to do all that he could for the benefit of his Masters affaires. As amongst many other things, he caused a *PERSIAN* Captain called *Spithridates*, to rebell against his Master, who was a valiant man of his hands, and a great Enemy of *Pharnabazus*, and had an Army also, which he brought with him unto *Agefilau*. Now concerning this Warre, this was all that he did in that Journey. Wherefore he returned againe to *SPARTA* not long after, with little honour, being marvelously grieved and offended with *Agefilau*, and hating more then before, all the State and Government of the City of *SPARTA*: by reason whereof, he determined to put that in practise, which he had long time thought upon concerning the alteration of Government, and his enterprize was this: Amongst the off-spring and Issue of *Hercules*, who were mingled with the *DORIAN*s, and returned againe into the Countrey of *PELOPONNESUS*, the greatest number and chiefest of them, dwelled in the City of *SPARTA*: howbeit all they that came of that race had no right of succession to the Crowne, saving two Families onely, the *Eurytionides*, and the *Agides*. The other Families, albeit they were all for nobility of blood descended out of one selfe-house, yet had they no more right nor interest unto the Realme, then the residue of the People: for the Dignities that were attained unto by vertue, were given unto the Inhabitants that could deserve them. *Lyfander* then being one of those which was descended of the true race of *Hercules*, who notwithstanding had no interest in the Crowne: when he saw himselfe aloft, and called to great honour through his famous acts and merits, and that he had wonne many friends, and great credit and authority by dealing in matters of the State: it grieved him much, to see that they which were no nobler then himselfe, should be Kings in that City which he had increased by his vertue, and that he could not have so much power as to take from these two Houses, the *Eurytionides* and the *Agides*, the Prerogative that the Kings should be chosen onely out of one of these two Houses, and to cast it upon the off-spring of *Hercules*. Some say againe, that he would not onely have enlarged that Prerogative unto the Issue of *Hercules*, but unto all the natural *SPARTAN*s also: because that *Hercules* race should not onely desire this reward of honour, but even they also that followed his steps in vertue, which had made him equall with the gods in honour. For he doubted not, but if they would dispose the Crowne in this sort, that there was no man in the City of *SPARTA* that should sooner be chosen King then himselfe: whereupon he attempted first to perswade his Citizens by very good reasons, and to bring this about the better, he conned an Oration without Booke, penned by *Cleon Halicarnassens*, made him for this purpose. But afterwards weighing with himselfe, that so great and strange a change as he would bring in, had neede of some better and stronger helpe: he began to frame a device, as they say, to move the People by, much after the manner they use in Tragedies, framing engines to bring some god to come downe from Heaven unto them; and this was his feigned invention. He devised certaine Oracles and Prophecies, thinking that all *Cleons* rhetoricke would stand him in no stead, if first of all he did not fill the Citizens hearts with some superstition and feare of the gods, that he might bring them afterwards more easily unto reason. And *Ephorus* saith, that he proved first to corrupt the Nunne with Money, that giveth all the Oracles and Answers in the Temple of *Apollo* at *DELPHE*s: and that afterwards, he would have wonne the Nunne also at the Temple of *DIONA* with Money, by *Pherecles* practise. And that he

he being rejected by them both, went lastly unto the Temple of *Jupiter Ammon*: and that there he spake unto the Priests, and offered them great store of Money for the same purpose. But they were so offended with *Lyfander*, that they sent men of purpose to *SPARTA*, to accuse him, that he would have corrupted them with Money. The Councell clearing *Lyfander* of this accusation, the *LYBIAN*s his accusers at their departing said: We will one day judge more justly, then you my Lords of *LACEDAEMON* have done now, when you shall come to dwell in our Countrey of *LYBIA*: supposing there was an ancient Prophecy that said, the *LACEDAEMONIAN*s one day should come to dwell in the Countrey of *LYBIA*. But we shall do better to write the whole Story at large of this practise, subtilty, and malicious device, which was no matter of small importance, nor lightly grounded: but as in a Mathematicall Proposition, there were many great conjectures and presuppositions, and many long circumstancials to bring it to conclusion, the which I will dilate from point to point, delivering that which an Historiographer and Philosopher both hath written. There was in the Marches of the Realme of *PONT*, a woman that said, she was gotten with childe by *Apollo*, the which many (as it is to be thought) would not believe at all, and many also did believe it: so that she being delivered of a goodly Sonne, divers Noblemen and of great estate were carefull to bring him up, and to have him taught. This childe I know not whereupon, nor how, was named *Silenus*: and *Lyfander* fetching the plot of his device from thence, added to all the rest of himselfe, to go on with his practise. Now he had many (and they no small men) that made his way to frame this jest, giving out a rumour of the birth of this childe, without any suspicion gathered out of the intent of this rumour. And furthermore, they brought other newes from *DELPHE*s, which they dispersed abroad through the City of *SPARTA*, to wit, that the Priests of the Temple kept secret Bookes of very ancient Oracles, which they themselves durst not touch nor handle, neither might any man reade them, unlesse he were begotten of the seede of *Apollo*, who should come after a long time, and make his birth appeare unto the Priests that kept these Papers, and that by some secret marke and token, which they had amongst them: and thereby being knowne for *Apollo*'s Sonne, he might then take the Bookes and reade the ancient Revelations and Prophecies of the fame. These things prepared in this sort, there was order taken, that *Silenus* should come and aske for these Bookes, as though he were the Sonne of *Apollo*: and that the Priests which were privie to this practise, should make as though they did diligently examine him of every thing, and how he was borne. And that at the length, after they had seemed to know all, they should deliver these Prophecies unto him, as if he had beene indeede *Apollo*'s Sonne: and that he should openly reade them in the presence of many witnesses. And among the rest of the Prophecies, that he should reade that specially, for the which this long paltry feigned drift was framed, touching the Kingdome of *LACEDAEMONIA*: that it was better, and meetlier for the *SPARTAN*s they should choole them for their Kings, whom they found the meetest men of all their Magistrates. But when *Silenus* was come to full age, and brought into *GREECE* of purpose to performe this practise, all the mystery was marred by the faint heart of one of the players and companions of *Lyfander*, who holpe him to countenance this device: who when the matter should have taken effect, shrunk for feare, and let the mystery alone. This notwithstanding, nothing was betrayed in *Lyfander*'s life time, till after his death. For he died before King *Agefilau* returned out of *ASIA*, being fallen into Warres with *BOEOTIA* before his death, or rather having himselfe made *GREECE* to fall into Warres. They do report it either way: and some lay the fault upon him, other upon the *THEBANS* and other upon them both: and they burthen the *THEBANS* withall, because they did utterly overthrow the common Sacrifices which *Agefilau* made in the City of *AULIDE*. And they say also, that *Androclides* and *Amphitruus* did raise this Warre among the *GRECIAN*s, being before corrupted with Money by the King of *PERSEA*, to bring Warres upon the *LACEDAEMONIAN*s in *GREECE*: and began to invade and destroy the Countrey of the *PHOCIAN*s. Other say, that *Lyfander* was very angry with the *THEBANS*, because they onely of all other their confederates, did aske the tenth part of all the spoile which was wonne in the Warre against the *ATHENIAN*s: and that they were not pleased that *Lyfander* had sent the Money away unto *SPARTA*. But above all, *Lyfander* did malice them most, because they were the first that made way for the *ATHENIAN*s to be delivered from the oppression of thirty Tyrants, whom he had stablished Governours in *ATHENS*, and in whose favour (to make them to be dreaded the more) the *LACEDAEMONIAN*s had ordained by a common Edict, that they that were banished, and did flee from *ATHENS*, might lawfully be taken and apprehended in what place soever they fled unto; and that whosoever should resist or lett them to do it, they should be proclaimed Rebels, and open Enemies unto the *LACEDAEMONIAN*s. Againe, to contrary this Edict, the *THEBANS* made another very like, and meete for the glorious deedes of *Bacchus* and *Hercules* their Ancestors, for whom it was made: that every House and City through the Countrey of *BOEOTIA*, should be open for the *ATHENIAN*s that would come thither; and that he that would not helpe a banished man from *ATHENS*, against him that would take him away by force, should be fined and amerced at a talent. And also if there were any Souldiers that went unto *ATHENS*, through the Countrey of *BOEOTIA*, that the *THEBANS* should not see nor hear of. This was no dissimulation to speake of, that they should ordaine things with so gentle words, and so meete for the People of *GREECE*; and then that the deedes should not answer unto their Edicts and Proclamations. For *Thrafsbulus*, and his fellows of the Conspiracy, who kept the Castle of *Phyla*, they departed from *THEBES*, with Armour and Money, and the *THEBANS* did helpe them to begin and practise their enterprise so secretly, that it was not discovered. These were the causes why *Lyfander* was so earnestly bent against the *THEBANS*, and his choler being so extreme, by reason of his melancholicke that

Lyfander feign-
ed device to
possesse the
Kingdome.

The Warres of
Boeotia.

Divers causes
turnished of the
beginning of
these Warres.

An Edict a-
gainst the ban-
ished men
from *Athen*.

An Edict made
by the *Thebans*
in favour of
the banished
men.

grew

grew daily upon him more and more through his age, he solicited the *ΒΡΟΤΙΑ* so, that he perswaded them to send a Garison thither: and himselfe taking the charge of them, undertooke the Journey straight with his men. But afterwards they sent King *Pausanias* also with an Army thither, who was to fetch a great compassse about to enter into the Countrey of *ΒΟΡΟΤΙΑ*, by Mount *Citharon*: and *Lysander* should go to meete him through the Countrey of *ΦΟΚΙΔΕΣ*, with a great Company of Souldiers besides. Now as *Lysander* went, he tooke the City of the *ΟΡΧΟΜΕΝΙΑΝΣ*, who willingly yielded themselves to him as soone as he came thither. From thence he went to the City of *ΛΕΒΑΔΙΑ*, which he spoiled: and from thence he wrote unto King *Pausanias*, that departing from *ΠΛΑΤΕΕΣ*, he should march directly to the City of *ΑΛΙΑΡΤΕ*, where he should not faile to meete him the next morning by breake of day at the Towne Walls. These Letters were intercepted by certaine Scouts of the *ΤΗΒΑΝΣ*, who met with the Messenger that carried them. Thus the *ΤΗΒΑΝΣ* having intelligence of their purpose, left their City in custody unto the *ΑΘΗΝΙΑΝΣ* who were come to aide them, and departed out of *ΤΗΒΕΣ* about midnight, and marched all night with great speed, that they came to *ΑΛΙΑΡΤΕ* in the morning a little before *Lysander*, and put halfe their men into the City. Now for *Lysander*, he was determined at the first to keepe his men upon a hill which is neare to the City, and there to tarry the coming of King *Pausanias*. But afterwards when he saw that the day was far spent, and that he came not, he could tarry no longer, but arming himselfe, after he had made an Oration unto the Confederates which he had brought with him, he marched on with his men in Battell ray, longer then large, by the high way that went unto the City. In the meane season, the *ΤΗΒΑΝΣ* that were left without the City, leaving *ΑΛΙΑΡΤΕ* on the left hand, did set upon *Lysanders* Rereward of his Army against the Fountaine called *Cissia*: where the Poets feigne that the Nurfes of *Bacchus* did wash him, when he came out of his Mothers wombe, because the water that cometh out of it (though it be very cleare and sweete to drinke) hath notwithstanding (I cannot tell by what meanes) a colour like wine: and not far from thence there grow great plenty of Sytrap-trees. The which the *ΑΛΙΑΡΤΙΑΝΣ* do alledge, to prove that *Rademantibus* heretofore dwelt in that part, and do shew his Sepulcher there yet to this day, which they call *Alea*. And hard by that also, there is the Monument of *Alcmena*, which was buried (as they say) in that place, and was married to *Rademantibus*, after the death of *Amphitryon*. But the *ΤΗΒΑΝΣ* who were within the City with the *ΑΛΙΑΡΤΙΑΝΣ*, stirred not untill they saw that *Lysander* with the first of his Troupe was neare unto the Towne Walls: and then opening the Gates on the sudden, they made a Salley out upon *Lysander*, and slew him with his Soothsayer and a few other, because the most part of the Voward fled into the strength of the Battell. Howbeit the *ΤΗΒΑΝΣ* gave them not over so, but followed them so valiantly, that they brake their order, and made them all flie through the Mountaines, after they had slaine three thousand of them in the Field: so were there three hundred *ΤΗΒΑΝΣ* also slaine there, who followed their Enemies so fiercely, till they recovered straight narrow waies, of great strength for them. These three hundred were in manner all those that were suspected in *ΤΗΒΕΣ* to favour the *ΛΑΚΕΔΑΜΟΝΙΑΝΣ* secretly: wherefore, for the desire they had to take away this opinion from their Citizens, they hazarded themselves to no purpose, and were cast away in this chafe. King *Pausanias* heard newes of this overthrow, going from *ΠΛΑΤΕΕΣ* unto *ΤΗΣΠΙΕΣ*, and went on further, marching still in Battell ray towards *ΑΛΙΑΡΤΕ*, where *Thrafsybulus* also arrived at the selfe-same time, bringing the aide of the *ΑΘΗΝΙΑΝΣ* from *ΤΗΒΕΣ*. And when *Pausanias* was purposed to send to aske license of the Enemies to take away the bodies of their men which they had slaine, to the intent to bury them: the old *ΣΠΑΡΤΑΝΣ* that were in his Army, misliking it much, at the first were angry in themselves. But afterwards they went unto the King himselfe, to tell him that he dishonoured *ΣΠΑΡΤΑ*, to offer to take up *Lysanders* body by his Enemies leave and favour, and that he should valiantly recover him by force of Armes, and honourably bury him, after that he had overcome their Enemies: or else if it were their fortune to be overthrowne, that yet it should be more honourable for them to lie dead in the Field by their Captaine, then to aske leave to take up his body. But notwithstanding all these words of the old men, King *Pausanias* seeing that it was a hard matter to overcome the *ΤΗΒΑΝΣ* in Battell, now that they had gotten the victory, and furthermore, that the body of *Lysander* lay hard by the walls of *ΑΛΙΑΡΤΕ*, and that he could not come to take it away without great danger, although they should winne the Battell: he sent a Herauld to the Enemies; and having made truce for certaine daies, he led his Army away, and tooke up *Lysanders* body with him, and buried him after they were out of the confines of *ΒΟΡΟΤΙΑ*, within the Territory of the *ΠΑΝΟΡΒΙΑΝΣ*: where untill this day his Tombe remaineth upon the high way, going from *ΔΕΛΦΕΣ* unto the City of *ΧΑΛΚΕΔΩΝΕΑ*. Thus *Pausanias* Campe being lodged there, it is said there was a *ΦΟΚΙΑΝ*, who reporting the Battell unto one that was not there, said that the Enemies came to give a Charge upon them, as *Lysander* had passed the Oplites. The other wondring at that, there was a *ΣΠΑΡΤΑΝ* a very friend of *Lysanders*, by having heard all their talke, asked him what that was which he called Oplites: for that he had not heard that word named before. What? answered the *ΦΟΚΙΑΝ* to him againe. Even there it was where the Enemies did overthrow the first of our men which were slaine in the Fields: for the River that runneth by the walls of the City, is called Oplites. The *ΣΠΑΡΤΑΝ* hearing that, burst out in weeping for sorrow, saying: Then I see it is impossible for a man to avoide his destiny. For *Lysander* aforetime had an Oracle that told him thus:

*Lysander, take good heede, come not I thee advise,
Neare Oplites that Rivers bankes, in any kinde of wise.
Nor neare the Dragon he, which is the Earth her Sonne,
Who as the length will thee assault, and on thy backe will runne.*

Howe

Howbeit some take it, that this River of Oplites is not that which passeth by the Walls of *ΑΛΙΑΡΤΕ*, but it is the River that runneth neare unto the City of *ΧΟΛΟΝΕΣ*, and falleth into the River of *Φηλιurus*, hard by the City; and they say that in old time it was called *Hoplia*, but now they call it *Isonmantus*. He that slew *Lysander*, was an *ΑΛΙΑΡΤΙΑΝ* called *Neochorus*, who carried a Dragon painted upon his Target: and this was that which the Oracle of likelihood did signifie. They say also, that in the time of the Warres of *ΠΕΛΟΠΟΝΝΕΣ*, the *ΤΗΒΑΝΣ* had an Oracle from the Temple of *Apollo Ismenias*: which Oracle did prophesie the Battell which they wanne, by the Castle of *ΔΕΛΙUM*, and the Battell of *ΑΛΙΑΡΤΕ* also, which was thirty yeares after that. The effect of that Oracle was this:

*When thou thy nets shalt spreade, the Woolves for to intrap,
Beware thou come not neare unto a little hill by hap,
Of Orchalide. Nor neare to any his confines:
For there the crafty foxes keepe, their dens and privie mines.*

He calleth the Territory that is about *ΔΕΛΙUM*, the uttermost confines, because *ΒΟΡΟΤΙΑ* doth confine there with the Countrey of *ΑΤΤΙΚΑ*, and the hill *Orchalide* which is now called *Alopecon* (to say, the Foxe denne) which lieth on that side of the City of *ΑΛΙΑΡΤΕ*, that looketh towards Mount *Helicon*. *Lysander* being slaine, the *ΣΠΑΡΤΑΝΣ* tooke his death so ill, that they would have condemned King *Pausanias* of Treason by Law: who durst not abide the trial, but fled unto the City of *ΤΕΓΕΑ*, where he ended the rest of his life within the Sanctuary of the Temple of *Minerva*. When *Lysander* was dead, his poverty appeared to the world, which made his Vertue farre more famous, then when he lived. For when they saw, that for all the Gold and Silver which had passed through his hands, for all his great Authority and countenance that he had carried, and for all that so many Cities and Townes did come to honour him: and briefly, for all that he had had so great and puissant a Kingdome in manner in his hands: yet he did never enrich nor increase his House with so much as one farthing. So witteeth *Theopompus*, whom we should rather believe when he praifeth, then when he discommendeth: for commonly he taketh more delight to dispraise, then to praise any. It fortuned not long after, as *Ephorus* writeth, that the *ΛΑΚΕΔΑΜΟΝΙΑΝΣ* and their Confederates fell at variance together, whereupon *Lysanders* Letters were to be seene that were in his House. King *Agesslaus* going thither to peruse them, amongst other Writings, found the Oration penned by *Cleon Halicarnassus*, which *Lysander* had prepared to perswade the *ΣΠΑΡΤΑΝΣ* to change their Government, and to declare unto them that they should revoke the Prerogative which the *Eurytionides* and the *Agides* had: that the Kings of *ΣΠΑΡΤΑ* could not be chosen but out of those two Families, and to leave the Prerogative at liberty, that the chiefest Magistrates might be lawfully chosen Kings of *ΣΠΑΡΤΑ*. *Agesslaus* stood indifferent to have shewed this Oration openly to the People, that the *ΣΠΑΡΤΑΝΣ* might see what manner a Citizen *Lysander* had bene in his heart. But *Lacratidas*, a grave wise man, and President at that time of the Councell of the *Ephori*, would not suffer him: saying, that he should not dig *Lysander* out of his grave againe, but rather bury his Oration with him, that was so passingly well and eloquently penned to perswade. Yet notwithstanding, they did him great honour after his death: and amongst others, condemned two Citizens in a great summe of Money, that were made sure to two of his Daughters while he lived, and refused to marry them when he was dead, seeing their Father died so poore: because they sought to match in his House, supposing he had bene rich, and forooke them afterwards for their Fathers poverty, when they saw he died a good and just man. Thus we see, that at *ΣΠΑΡΤΑ* there was a punishment for them that did not marry, or that married too late, or that married ill: and unto this punishment were they most subject that fought great Matches for covetousnesse of Goods.

This is all we have to write of *Lysanders* Life and Acts.

The end of the Life of *Lysander*.

*Philiurus fl.
Hoplia, Isonmantus.
Neochorus slew
Lysander.*

Orchalide Mons.

*Helicon Mons.
Pausanias exile.*

*Lysanders clean
hands and po-
very commen-
ded after his
death.*

*Lysanders coun-
sell for altering
of the King-
dome.*

*Lacratidas with-
dome, forbear-
ing to shew
extremity to
the dead.
Lysander hon-
oured by the
Spartans after
his death.
Singlenesse of
life, late marri-
age, and ill
marriage, pun-
ished by the
Lacedaemonians.*

THE

THE LIFE OF S Y L L A



Ann. Mund.
3860.

Ant. Christ.
88.

Sylla's kiared.



Ulcium Cornelius Sylla was of the race of the Patricians, who be the Noblemen and Gentlemen of Rome: and there was one of his Ancestors called *Rufinus*, that obtained the Dignity of Consul. He notwithstanding his Consulship, wanne more dishonour by defame, then he obtained honour by Dignity of Consul. For they finding in his house above tenne pounds worth of Plate, contrary to the Law at that time expressly forbidding it, he was expelled the Senate, and lost his place there, after which dishonour once received, his Issue never rose, nor yet recovered it. And Sylla himselfe had very little left him by his Father: so that in his youth he was faine to hire another mans house, and sate at a small rent, as afterwards he was twitted in the teeth withall, when they saw him richer

Sylla's honestie
reproved, by
meanes of his
great weal.h.

then they thought he had deferved. For when he gloried and boasted of the Victory at his returne from the Warres of AFRICKE, there was a Nobleman that said unto him: Why, how is it possible thou shouldest be an honest man, that having nothing left thee by thy Father, thou art now come to have so much? Now, though Rome had left her ancient iustice and purenesse of life, wherewith the brought up her People in former times, and that their hearts were poysoned with covetous desire of vaine superfluous delights: yet notwithstanding it was a foule reproach to them that did not maintaine themselves in the poverty of their Fathers, as unto them that did consume their Patrimony, and bring all to naught which their Parents had left them. But afterwards also when he carried the whole sway in Rome, and that he had put so many men to death: a Freeman being borne of the Slaves infranchised, and being ready to be throwne downe the rocke Tarpeian, because he had saved and hidden one of the outlawes and men proclaimed to be put to death wheresoever they were found, cast it in Syllaes teeth, how that they had lived and dwelt together a long time in one selfe-house, he having payed a thousand Nummo's for the rent of the uppermost roomes of the same house, and Sylla three thousand for all the neathermost roomes. So that betwene both their wealths, there was but onely two thousand and fifty Drachma's of ATHENS difference. And this is that we finde in writing of his first wealth. As for his stature and person, that appeareth sufficiently by the Statues and Images that were made for him which yet remaine. But for his eyes, they were like fire, and wonderfull red: and the colour of his face withall, made them the more fearfull to behold. For he was copper-nosed, and that was full of white streakes here and there: whereupon they say that the Surname of Sylla was given him, by reason of his colour. And there was a Jester at ATHENS that finely mocked him in his Verse:

Sylla is like a black-berry sprinkled with meale.

It is not amisse to search out the naturall disposition of this man by such outward markes and tokens. It is said also, that he was so naturally given to mocke and jest, that being a young man unknowne, he would never be out of the company of Players, Fooles, and Tumblers, but still eating and tipping with them in dissolute manner. And afterwards also when he was in his chiefe Authority, he would

would commonly eate and drinke with the most impudent jesters and scoffers, and all such rake-hells, as made profession of counterfeit mirth, and would strive with the baddest of them to give the finest mocks: wherein he did not onely a thing uncomely for his yeares, and dishonoured the Majesty of his Office and Dignity, but thereby also grew careless and negligent in matters of great importance, whereunto he should have taken good regard. For after he was once set at his Table, he was not to be moved any more in matters of weight. Now, though from the Table he was commonly found both very active, painfull, and severe: yet falling into such company, by drinking, bowling, and making good cheere, he suddenly became another manner of man. So that without all compasse of modesty and judgement, he was too familiar and conversant with players, jesters, tumblers, and dancers: who when they had him in that veine, might do what they would with him. Of this rioting came (in mine opinion) his vice of lechery, whereunto he was greatly given, and easily drawne after love and pleasure, in such sort, as his gray haire could not restraîne his voluptuous life. His unlawfull lusting love began in his young yeares, with one *Metrobius* a common player, which stretched on increasing his amorous desire untill his latter age. For at the first he loved *Nicopolis* a rich Curtizan: and frequenting her company by oft access, besides that he spent the prime of his beauty and youth in feasting her with great delight and passing pleasure, she afterwards became in love with him, so that when she died, she made Sylla her Heire of all she had. He was Heire also unto his Mother-in-law, who loved him as her owne begotten Sonne: and by these two good haps he was stept up to prety wealth. Afterwards being chosen Quæstor (to say Treasurer) the first time that *Marius* was Consul, he embarked with him in his Journey into AFRICKE, to warre with King *Jugurth*. When he was arrived at the Campe, he shewed himselfe a man of great service in all other things, but in this especially, that he could wisely use the benefit of any occasion offered him, and thereby wanne *Bocchus* King of the NUMIDIANS to be his fast and faithfull friend: whose Ambassadors, that scaped from a company of NUMIDIAN thieves, he courteously entertained, and having given them goodly Presents, sent them backe againe with a safe Convoiy. Now concerning King *Bocchus*, he had of long time both hated and feared King *Jugurth* his Sonne-in-law: inso much, that after he was overcome in Battell, and came to him for succour, *Bocchus* practised Treason against him, and for this cause sent secretly for Sylla, desiring rather that *Jugurth* should be taken by Sylla, then by himselfe. Sylla brake this matter unto *Marius*, of whom having received a small number of Souldiers to accompany him (without respect of perill or danger) went and committed himselfe to the faith and fidelity of one barbarous King, to take another: considering also that the King whom he trusted, was so unjust of his word, even unto his nearest friends and confederates. Now *Bocchus* having *Jugurth* and Sylla both in his power, and brought himselfe to that pitch, that of necessity he must betray the one or the other: after he had taken good breath to resolve which of the two he should deale withall, in the end went on with his first plot and device of Treason, and so delivered *Jugurth* into Sylla's hands. Indeece *Marius* triumphed for taking of King *Jugurth*: but his evil willers, for the spite and grudge they bare him, did attribute the glory and honour of *Jugurth*'s taking wholly unto Sylla. That secretly went to *Marius* heart, and specially for that Sylla being high minded by nature (coming then but newly from a base, obscure, and unknowne life, to be knowne and well accepted of the People of Rome, and to taste also what honour meant) became so ambitious and covetous of glory, that he caused the story to be graven in a Ring, which he did ever after use to weare and seale withall: wherein King *Bocchus* was delivered of *Jugurth* unto Sylla, and Sylla also receiving *Jugurth* Prisoner. These things misliked *Marius* much: but notwithstanding, judging that Sylla was not so much envied as himselfe, he tooke him with him unto the Warres. *Marius* in his second Consulship, made Sylla one of his Lieutenants: and in his third Consulship, he had charge under him of a thousand Footemen, and did many notable and profitable exploits for him. When Sylla was his Lieutenant, he tooke one *Copillus*, a Generall of the GAULES Tectosages. And when he was Colonell of a thousand Footemen, he so wrought the MARSIANS (a populous Nation of ITALY) that he perswaded them to remaine good friends and confederates of the ROMANES. For this his good service, he found that *Marius* grew in great misliking with him, because from thenceforth he never gave him any honourable charge, or occasion to shew good service: but to the contrary, did what he could to hinder his rising. Wherefore, Sylla afterwards tooke *Catulus Lucatius* part, who was companion with *Marius* in his Consulship. This *Catulus* was a very honest man, but somewhat slacke and cold in Martiall matters, which was the cause that indeede he did commit unto Sylla all the specciall service and matters of weight in his charge: whereupon he gave him occasion not onely to increase his estimation, but also his credit and power. For by force of Armes, he conquered the most part of the barbarous People which inhabited the Mountaines of the Alpes: and *Catulus* Campe lacking Victuals, having Commission, he made a marvellous great quantity of Provision to be brought thither, inso much as *Catulus* Campe being plentifully victualled, they sent their fore and surplussage unto *Marius* Souldiers, the which Sylla himselfe writeth, did much mislike *Marius*. And this is the first cause of their enmity: The which being grounded upon so light occasion, was followed with Civill Warres, great effusion of blood, and with incurable factions and dissensions, that it ended at the length with a cruell tyranny, and confusion of all the ROMANE State and Empire. This doth prove that *Euripides* the Poet was a wise man, and one that foresaw the ruines of Common-weales, when he counselled, and also commanded Governours to flye ambition, as a most pestilent and mortall fury unto them that are once infected withall. Now Sylla being dead, as a thinking that the Reputation he had gotten already in the Warres, would have made his way open to

Sylla's scoffing.

Sylla's voluptuousness.

Sylla Quæstor.

The cause of Bocchus friendship unto Sylla.

Jugurth delivered unto Sylla by King Bocchus. The honour of Jugurth's taking attributed unto Sylla.

Sylla's noble deeds under Marius.

Sylla's doings under Catulus.

The first cause of enmity betwixt Sylla and Marius.

Ambition to be fled, as a mortall fury.

to prefer him to some honourable Office in the City of Rome: he was no sooner returned from the Warres, but he would needs prove the Peoples good wills unto him, and procured his name to be billed among them that sued for the Pratorship of the City (that is to say) the Office of the ordinary Judge that ministreth Justice unto the Citizens) but he was rejected by the voyce of the People. For the which he laid the fault upon the meaner sort, saying, that the Commonalty knew well enough the friendship he had with King *Bocchus*, and that therefore they hoping that if he were made *Edilis* before he came to be Prator, he would make them see noble huntings and great fightings of wilde Beasts of *LYBIA*: and that therefore they did choose other Prators, and put him by his suite, in hope to compell him by this meanes to be first of all *Edilis*. Howbeit it seemeth that he doth not confesse the truth of his refusal: for his owne act doth condemne himselfe: because the next yeare following he was chosen Prator, partly for that he wanne the People with courtesie, and partly with Money. So he falling out with *Cæsar* upon that occasion, in his anger threatened him that he would use the Power and Authority of his Office upon him. But *Cæsar* smiling, answered him, Thou hast reason to call it thine Office, for indeede it is thine, because thou hast bought it. But after the time of his Pratorship was expired, he was sent with an Army into *CAPPADOCIA*, colouring his Voyage thither with Commission to restore *Ariobarzanes* into his Kingdome againe: howbeit the onely cause of his Journey was indeede to suppress King *Mithridates* a little, who tooke too many things in hand, and increased his Power and Dominion with a new Signiory. of no lesse greatnesse then that which he had before. In truch he brought no great Army out of *ITALY* with him, but he was faithfully holpen by the Confederates of the *ROMANES* in every place, through whose aide he overthrew a great number of the *CAPPADOCIANS*; and afterwards also a great number of the *ARMENIANS*, which came in like case to aide them: so that he expelled *Gordius* King of *PHRYGIA* out of *CAPPADOCIA*, and restored *Ariobarzanes* to his Realme againe. After which Victory, *Sylla* remained by the River of *Euphrates*, and thither came unto him one *Orobazus* a *PARTHIAN*, Ambassadour of *Arfaces* King of the *PARTHIANS*. Now these two Nations, the *ROMANES* and the *PARTHIANS* were never friends before: and that with other things shewed the great good fortune *Sylla* had, that the *PARTHIANS* came first to him by his meanes to seeke friendship with the *ROMANES*. They say, that receiving this Ambassadour *Orobazus*, he made three Chaires to be brought out, the one for King *Ariobarzanes*, the other for *Orobazus* the Ambassadour, and the third for himselfe, which he placed in the middelt betwene them both, and sitting downe in the same, gave audience unto the Ambassadour: for which cause the King of *PARTHIA* afterwards put *Orobazus* to death. Some doe commend *Sylla* for this act, for that he kept his State in such Majesty among the barbarous People. Other doe reprove his ambition in it, shewing himselfe flatly out of time, and to no purpose. We doe reade that a Soothsayer of *CHALDEA* being in *Orobazus* Trainee, having diligently viewed and considered the physiognomy of *Sylla*, and all his other movings and gestures of minde and body, to judge not by the climate of the Countrey, but according to the rules of his Art, what his nature should be: all well considered of, he said that *Sylla* one day must needs come to be a great man, and that he marvelled how he could suffer it, that he was not even then the chiefest man of the World. When *Sylla* was returned againe to *ROME*, one *Censorinus* accused him of Extortion, that he had carried away a great summe of Money with him, contrary to the Law, out of one of their Confederates Countrey: howbeit he profuted not his accusation, but gave it over. In the meane time the enmity begun betwixt him and *Marius*, kindled againe upon a new occasion of King *Bocchus* ambition: who partly to creepe further into the Peoples favour of *ROME*, and partly also for to gratifie *Sylla*, gave and dedicated certaine Images of Victory, carrying tokens of Triumph unto the Temple of *Jupiter Capitolin*, and next unto them also the Image of *Jugurth*, which he delivered into the hands of *Sylla*, being all of pure Gold. This did so offend *Marius*, that he attempted to take them away by force: but others did defend the cause of *Sylla*. So that for the quarrell of these two, the City of *ROME* taking Armes, had like to have brought all to ruine: had not the Warres of the Confederates of *ITALY* bene, which of long time did kindle and smoke, but at the length brake out into open flame and sedition for that time. In this marvellous great Warre which fell out very dangerous, by sundry misfortunes and great losses to the *ROMANES*, *Marius* did no notable exploit: whereby it appeareth, that the vertue of warlike Discipline hath neede of a strong, lusty, and able body. For *Sylla* to the contrary, having done notable service, and obtained many profitable Victories, wanne the fame and estimation among the *ROMANES*, of a noble Souldier, and worthy Captaine: and among the Enemies themselves, of a most fortunate man. Notwithstanding, *Sylla* did not as *Timotheus* *ATHENIAN*, the Sonne of *Canon* had done: who, when his adversaries and ill willers did attribute his noble deedes unto the favour of Fortune, and did paint Fortune in Tables, that brought him all the Cities taken and snared in nets whilest he slept, he tooke it in very ill part, and was marvellous angry with them that did it, saying, that they robbed him of the glory that justly belonged unto him. Wherefore one day when this *Timotheus* was returned from the Warres with great Victories, after he had openly acquainted the *ATHENIANS* with the whole discourse of his doings in his Voyage, he said unto them: My Lords of *ATHENS*, Fortune hath had no part in all this which I have told unto you. Hereupon the gods, it should seeme, were so angry with this foolish ambition of *Timotheus*, that he never afterwards did any worthy thing, but all went utterly against the haire with him: untill at the length he came to be so hated of the People, that in the end they banished him from *ATHENS*. But *Sylla* to the contrary, did not onely patiently abide their words, that

Sylla chosen
Prator.

Crelagus Ambassadour from the King of the *Parthians* unto *Sylla*.

Sylla accused of
Extortion.

Civill Warres.

Timotheus *Athenian* would not attribute the glory of his doings to Fortune.
Sylla gave Fortune the honour of all his doings.

that said, he was a happy man, and singularly beloved of Fortune: but also increasing this opinion, and glorying as at a speciall grace of the gods, did attribute the Honour of his doings unto Fortune, either for a vaine glory, or for that he had in fancy, that the gods did prosper him in all his doings. For he wrote himselfe in his Commentaries, that the enterprises which he hazarded most hotly according to the sudden occasion offered, did better prosper with him, then those which by good advice he had determined of. Furthermore, when he said that he was better borne unto Fortune, then to the Warres: it seemeth that he confessed all his prosperity came rather by Fortune, then by his worthinesse. And to conclude, it appeareth that he did wholly submit himselfe unto Fortune, acknowledging that he did altogether depend upon her: considering that he did attribute it to the speciall grace and favour of the gods, that he never disagreed with *Metellus* his Father in Law, who was a man of like Dignity and Authority as himselfe was. For where it was thought he would have bene a great hinderer of his doings, he found him very courteous and gentle in his behalfe, in all that they had to deale in together by reason of the society of their Office. And furthermore, in his Commentaries which he dedicated unto *Lucullus*, he counselled him to thinke nothing more certaine and assured, then that which the gods should reveale unto him, and command him in his nights Dreame. Hewrieth also, that when he was sent with an Army unto the Warres of the confederates, the Earth suddenly opened about *LAVERNA*, out of the which immediately came a marvellous bright flame of Fire that ascended up to the Element. The Wife men being asked their Opinions about the same, made answer, that a very honest man, and also a marvellous fair man of complexion taking soveraigne Authority in his hands, should pacifie all tumults and seditions which were at that time in *ROME*. Whereupon *Sylla* said it was himselfe whom the gods meant, because that amongst other things he had the singular gift of beauty, that his haire was as yellow as Gold: and he was not ashamed to name himselfe an honest man, after he had wonne so many notable great Victories. Thus have we sufficiently spoken of the trust he had in the favour of the gods. And Furthermore he seemed to be very contrary in his manners, and unlike to himselfe. For if he tooke away much in one place, he gave as much more also in another. Some he preferred without cause: and others he put downe without reason. Hewould be very gentle unto them of whom he would have ought: and unto those that fought of him, he would stand much upon his Honour, and looke for great reverence. Whereby men could hardly discern his nature, whether pride or flattery did more abound in him. And as for the inequality he used in punishing of them that had offended him: sometimes he hanged up men for very small and light causes: some other times againe to the contrary, he patiently abode the most grievous offences in the world, and lightly pardoned and forgave such faults as were in no wise to be forgiven: and afterwards againe would punish right small crimes, with murders, effusion of blood, and confiscation of goods. This judgement may be given of him: that by nature he had a malicious and a revenging minde: yet notwithstanding he qualified that naturall bitterness with reason, giving place to necessity, and his benefit. For in this Warre of the confederates, his Souldiers slew *Albinus* one of his Lieutenants, beating him to death with Staves and Stons, being a man of goodly quality, and one that had bene Prator. This great offence he passed over with silence, using no manner of punishment, and turned it to a boast in the end, saying that his men were the more obedient and diligent in any piece of service that was to be done, and that he made them amend their faults by worthy service. And furthermore, he did not regard them that did reprove him: but having determined with himselfe to destroy *Marius*, and to procure that he might be chosen Generall in the Warres against King *Mithridates*, because that this Warre of the confederates was now ended: for this cause he flattered and curried favour with his Souldiers that served under him. At his returne to *ROME* from these Warres of the confederates, he was chosen Consull with *Pompeius*, being then fifty yeares old and married with *Cecilia* a Noble Lady, and *Metellus* Daughter, who was then chiefe Bishop of *ROME*, for which marriage the common People sang Songs and Ballads up and down *ROME* against him: and many of the Noble men envied him for it, thinking him unworthy of so Noble a Lady, whom they thought worthy to be Consull, as *Titus Livius* saith. Now she was not his onely Wife, for he had a young Wife before called *Mia*, by whom he had a Daughter. After he had married *Alia*, then a third called *Celia*, whom he put away because she brought him no Children. But notwithstanding the went honourably away from him, with very good words of her, besides many other goodly rich Gifts he gave her: howbeit shortly after he married *Metella*; which made the world suspect that *Celia* was put away for her naughtinesse. Howsoever it was, *Sylla* did ever Honour and love *Metella*: in so much as the People of *ROME* afterwards making sure, that they that were banished for *Marius* faction, might be called home againe: and being denied, and refused by *Sylla*, they cried out with open voice for *Metella*, praying her to helpe them to obtaine their request. And it seemeth also that when he had taken the City of *ATHENS*, he dealt more cruelly with them, because that some of them had scoffed at *Metella* from the Walls: howbeit that was afterwards. So *Sylla* making his reckoning at that time that was marvellous desirous to go against *Mithridates*. But herein *Marius* also, of a mad furious ambition and covetousnesse of glory, stood against him, and sued to go that journey in like manner, being subject to those passions, which never wax old, as we may daily see by experience. For being now a heavy man, sickly of Body, and broken in service abroad in the Warres, from the which he came but newly home, and bruised moreover with age: did notwithstanding yet aspire to have the charge

Sylla's beleefe
in Dreames.

A strange sight
appeared to
Sylla.

Sylla's strange of
conditions.

Sylla chosen
Consull.
Metellus chiefe
Bishop of
Rome a married
man.

Sylla's Wives.

Marius fond
ambition.

Wonderfull
signes seene be-
fore the civill
Warres.

The *Thuscans*
Opinion of
eight worlds.

The wicked-
nesse of *Sul-*
pitius the Tri-
bune.

Marius and
Sulpitius re-
dition.

All Law cea-
sed for a time
by reason of
Sulpitius op-
pressions and
wicked Lawes.

charge of the Warres so farre off beyond the Seas. Wherefore to obtaine his purpose whilst *Sylla* was gone a little unto the Campe to give order for certaine things that were to be done, he remaining in the City, did practise this pestilent mortall fedition, which alone did more hurt unto the City of Rome, then all the Enemies that Rome ever had: the which the gods themselves had fore-shewed by many signes and tokens. For Fire tooke of it selfe in the Staves of the Ensignes, which they had much ado to quench. Three Ravens brought their young ones into the high way, and did eate them up in the sight of many People, and afterwards carried the garbage they left of them into their Nests. Rats also having known some Jewels of Gold in a Church, the Sextens setting a Trap for them, as a Rat was taken full of young, and kindled five young Rats in the Trap; of the which she eate up three. But more yet, on a faire bright day when there was no Cloud seene in the Element at all, men heard such a sharpe sound of a Trumpet, that they were almost all out of their wits, for feare of so great a noise. Whereupon the Wife men and Soothsayers of *Thuscans* being asked their Opinions, they answered: that this so strange and wonderfull a signe did foreshew the change of the world, and the departure out of this into another Life: for they hold opinion, that there should be eight worlds, all contrary one unto another, in manners and fashions of Life: unto every one of the which, said they, God hath determined a certaine time of continuance: but that they should all end their course within the space of the revolution of the great yeare: and when the one is ended, and the other ready to begin, there shall appeare such strange signes on the Earth, or in the Element. So that such as have studied that science, doe certainly know, as soone as men be borne, which are meere contrary unto the first in their lives and manners, and which are either more or lesse acceptable unto the gods, then those which lived in former age. For they say, that amongst great changes and alterations which are done in those places from one age unto another, the science of divination and foretelling of things to come, doth grow in reputation, and meeteth in their predictions, when it pleaseth God to send most certaine and manifest signes, to know and foretell things to come. And in contrarywise also in another age it groweth to contempt, and loseth her reputation, for that it is very rash, and faithless to meete with the most part of her predictions, because she hath but obscure meanes, and all her Instruments defaced, to know what should come. And these be the fables which the wisest Soothsayers of *Thuscans* reported abroad, and they specially who seemed to have some singular speculation above others. But as the Senate were talking with the Soothsayers of these wonders, being Assembled together within the Temple of the goddesse *Bellona*, a Sparrow came flying into the Church in sight of them all, and carried a Grasshopper in her bill, and parted it in the midst, and left one part within the Temple, and carried the other away with her. Whereupon the Wife men and Interpreters of such wonders, said, that they doubted a commotion and a rising of the Countrey-men against the Commons of the City, because the common People of the City doe cry out continually like Grasshoppers, and the Husbandmen do keepe themselves upon their Lands in the Countrey. Thus *Marius* grew great and very familiar with *Sulpitius*, one of the Tribunes of the People, who in all kinds of wickednesse and mischief that a man can reckon, would give place to no living creature: so that a man need not to seeke or demand any where for worse then he, but the question is rather wherein he himselfe was not the worst of all others. For he was full repleat with all kinds of cruelty, avarice, and rafhnesse, and that so extremely, as he cared not what villany and wickednesse he openly committed, so that the same might turne to his profit. For he had set up a Table in the open Market-place, where he sold freedome, making slaves and strangers denizens of Rome for their Money: and for that purpose he entertained a guard of three thousand about him, besides a band of young Gentlemen of the order of Knights that attended alwaies upon his Person ready at his commandement, whom he called the guard against the Senate. And furthermore, himselfe having passed a Law by the voice of the People, that no Senatour should borrow nor owe above two thousand Drachmas: it was found that at the houre of his death, he dyed three millions of Drachmas in debt. This man now like a furious raging beast, being left by *Marius* amongst the People, turned all things topsie turvey, by force of Armes and maine strength. He made also many wicked Lawes to passe by voice of the People, and amongst others, that one specially, whereby he gave *Marius* Commis-sion to make Warres against King *Mithridates*. For which extreme oppressions and dealings of *Sulpitius*, the two Consuls (*Sylla* and *Quintus Pompeius*) left off to hear publique causes, and ceased the common course of Law and justice. And as they were one day occupied about the adjournment of the Law, in an open Assembly in the Market-place, before the Temple of *Castor* and *Pollux*: *Sulpitius* the Tribune came upon them with his Souldiers, and slew many People, and among others, the Consull *Pompeius* owne Sonne, and the Father himselfe being Consull, had much ado to save his Life by flying. And *Sylla* the other Consull, was also pursued even into *Marius* House, where he was compelled to promise before his departure, presently to go and revoke the adjournment of the Law which he had before commanded. Thus *Sulpitius* having deprived *Pompeius* of his Consullship, did not depose *Sylla*, but onely tooke from him the charge he had given him to make Warres against *Mithridates*, and transferred that unto *Marius*. And sending Colonels to the City of *NOLA* to receive the Army that lay there, and to bring them unto *Marius*, *Sylla* prevented them, and fled to the Campe before them, and told the Souldiers all what had past, as it was indeed: who when they heard it, fell all to a tumult, and slew *Marius* Colonels with Stones. *Marius* on the other side put all *Sylla*'s friends to death at Rome, and tooke the spoyle of their goods and Houses: so was there nothing else but flying from the Campe to Rome, and from

Rome

Rome to the Campe againe. The Senate were in manner besides themselves, not being able to governe as they would, but driven to obey *Marius* and *Sulpitius* commandements. Who being advertised that *Sylla* was coming towards Rome, sent straight two Prætors unto him, *Brutius* and *Servilius*, to command him as from the Senate, to approach no nearer. These two Prætors spake a little two boldly unto *Sylla*: whereupon the Souldiers fell to a mutiny, in such sort, that they stood indifferent whether to kill them presently in the Field, or no: howbeit they brake their Axes and bundles of Rods, which were carried before them, and tooke their Purple Robes wherewith they were apparelled as Magistrates, from them, and sent them home thus shamefully handled and intreated. Upon their returne now to Rome, their sad silence onely, and themselves so stripped besides of all their markes and tokens of Prætoriall dignity, made all men then to judge that they brought no other Newes, but such as were the worst that possible could be: and that there was no way then left to pacifie the fedition, which was now altogether incurable. Wherefore *Marius* and his followers began to make himselfe strong by force: and *Sylla* with his Companion *Quintus Pompeius*, departed in the meane time from the City *NOLA*, and brought six entire Legions on with him, who desired no other thing but to make haft to march to Rome-ward. Howbeit *Sylla* stood in doubt with himselfe what to doe, thinking of the great danger that might follow. Untill such time as his Soothsayer *Pasphurnius* having considered the signes and tokens of the Sacrifices, which *Sylla* had made upon this determination, gave him both his hands, and bad him bind them hard, and shut him up fast, untill the day of Battell should be past: saying, that he was contented to suffer death, if he had not good successe, and that out of hand, to his great Honour. And it is said also, that the same night there appeared unto *Sylla* in a Dreame the goddesse *Bellona*, whom the Romans do greatly Honour, following therein the *CAPPADOCIANS*: and I know not whether it be the *Moone*, *Minerva*, or *Enyo* the goddesse of Battels. So he thought, that the coming to him did put lightning into his hand, commanding him that he should lighten upon his Enemies, naming them one after another by their proper Names: and that they being stricken with this lightning, fell downe dead before him, and no man knew what became of them. This Vision encouraged *Sylla* very much, and having reported the same to *Pompeius*, his fellow Consull and Companion, the next morning he marched with his Army to Rome. When he was at *PRÆNES*: there came other Ambassadors unto him, to pray him in the Name of the Senate that he would not come to Rome in this heate and fury, declaring therewithall that the Senate would grant him all things that should be meete and reasonable. When *Sylla* had heard the message, he answered them, that he would Campe there: and so commanded the Marshals to divide the squadrons according to their manner. The Ambassadors beleeving that he would have done so indeed, returned againe to Rome: howbeit their backs were no sooner turned, but *Sylla* straight sent *Lucius Bassillus*, and *Caius Mammilius*, before to seize one of the Gates of Rome, and the Walls which were on the side of Mount *Equilin*, and he himselfe also in Person with all possible speed marched after them. *Bassillus* entered Rome, and wan the Gate by force. But the common People unarmed, got them up straight to the top of their Houses, and with Tiles and Stones stayed and kept him, not onely for entering any further: but also drave him back againe, even to the very Walls of the City. In this hurly burly came *Sylla* himselfe to Rome, who seeing apparently in what state things stood, cryed out to his men, and bade them set fire on the Houses: and himselfe taking a Torch light in his hand, shewed them the way what they should doe, appointing his Archers and Darters to hurle and besow their Darts and other fiery Instruments, to the tops of the Houses. Herein he was too much overcome with unreasonable choler, passion, and desire of revenge: for seeking onely to plague his Enemies, he tooke no regard to friends, to Parents or confederates, neither had he yet any manner of remorse or pity: such and so fiery was his anger then, that he put no kinde of difference betwene those that had offended, and them that had done him no hurt at all. By this meanes was *Marius* driven into the City, unto the Temple of the Earth, where he made open Proclamation by sound of Trumpet, that he would make free all the slaves that would come to his part. But forthwith came his Enemies, set upon him, and prest him so neare, that he was constrained utterly to flye and forsake the City. Then *Sylla* assembling the Senate, caused *Marius* and certain others, together with *Sulpitius* Tribune of the People, to be condemned to death: *Sulpitius* was betrayed by a slave of his owne, whom *Sylla* made free according to his promise past by publique Edict: but when he had made him free, he caused him to be throwne downe headlong from the *Rocke Tarpeian*. And not contented with this, he promised by Proclamation a great summe of Money to him that would kill *Marius*: a very ingrate and unthankfull part, considering that *Marius* not many daies before, having *Sylla* in his owne House, in his hands and custody, delivered him from perill, and set him in safety. Which if at that time he had not done, but had suffered *Sulpitius* to have slaine him, himselfe had bene soveraigne Lord of the whole without all contradiction, and might have ruled all things at his owne will and pleasure. But *Sylla* shortly after upon the like advantage, used no such manner of requittall or gravity towards him, which bred a secret mistaking amongst the Senate: howbeit the common People made open shew of the evil will they bare unto *Sylla*, by rejecting one *Nonius* his Nephew, and one *Servilius*, who upon confidence of his favour, presented themselves to sue for certaine Offices. And besides the shame of this refusal, to spite him the more, they chose others in their steads, whose Honour and preferment they right well knew that *Sylla* would not onely mislike, but be much offended withall. Howbeit he wisely dissembling the matter, seemed to be very glad, saying that by this meanes

Lil 2

the

Sylla marcheth
towards Rome
with six Legi-
ons.

Pasphurnius th-
divine, eid...
Prognosticate
Victory unto

Sylla.
Sylla's Vision
in his Dreame.

Sylla set the
Houses on fire
in Rome.

Marius and
Sulpitius con-
demned to
death.
Treason justly
rewarded.
The ingra-
titude of *Sylla*
reproved

Lucius Cinna
Consull.
Cinna went to
be Sylla's
friend.

Sylla went a-
gainst Mithri-
dates.

Mithridates
Power.

Sylla besieged
the City of A-
thens.

Sylla took the
Jewels and
ready Money
out of all the
Temples of
Greece, and
brought it to
him to Athens.

the People of ROME enjoyed a full and perfect liberty, that in such cases of election they might freely doe what themselves listed. And to mitigate somewhat the Peoples ill will towards him, he determined to chuse *Lucius Cinna* Consull, who was of a contrary faction unto him: having first bound him by solemn Oath and curse to favour his doings and whole proceedings. Whereupon *Cinna* went up to the Capitoll, and there holding a Stone in his hand, did solemnly sweare and promise, that he would be *Sylla's* faithfull friend: beseeching the gods if he did the contrary, that he might be throwne out of ROME, even as he threw that Stone out of his hand: and with those words, threw it to the ground before many People. But notwithstanding all these curses, *Cinna* was no sooner entered into his Consulship, but presently he began to change and alter all. For amongst other things, he would needs have *Sylla* accend: and procured *Verminus* one of the Tribunes of the People, to be his accuser. But *Sylla* left him with his Judges, and went to make Warres against *Mithridates*. And it is said, that about the time that *Sylla* tooke Ship, and departed out of ITALY, there fortun'd many tokens and warnings of the gods unto King *Mithridates*, who was at that present in the City of PERGAMUS: as amongst others that the PERGAMENIANS to Honour *Mithridates* withall, having made an Image of Victory, carrying a Garland of Triumph in her hand, which was let downe from aloft with Engines: so foone as she was ready to put the Garland upon his head, the Image brake, and the Crowne fell to the ground in the midst of the Theater, and burst all to pieces. Whereby all the People that were present, were stricken with a marvellous feare, and *Mithridates* himselfe began to mislike this evill lucke: although all things at that time fell out more fortunately then he looked for. For he had taken ASIA from the ROMANES, and BITHYNIA and CAPPADOCIA, from the Kings which he had driven out: and at that time remained in the City of PERGAMUS, to divide the riches and great Territories amongst his friends. As touching his Sonnes, the eldest governed the Realme of PONTUS, and BOSPHORUS which he inherited from his predecessors, even unto the deserts beyond the Marishes of Maeotides, without trouble or molestation of any man. The other also, *Ariarathes*, was with a great Army in Conquering of THRACIA, and MACEDON. His Captaines and Lieutenants moreover, did many notable Conquests in divers places, with a great Power: amongst the which, *Archelaus* being Lord and Master of all the Sea for the great number of Ships he had, Conquered the Isles CYCLADES, and all those beyond the head of MALEA, and specially amongst others, the Isle of EUROEA. And beginning at the City of ATHENS, had made all the Nations of GREECE to rebell, even unto THESSALY, saying that he received some losse by the City of CHERONEA. Where *Brutius Sura*, one of the Lieutenants of *Sentius* Governour of MACEDON (a man of great Wisedome and Valiantnesse) came against him, and stayed him from going any further, overturning the whole Countrey of BOEOTIA like a furious raging River. And setting upon *Archelaus* by the City of CHERONEA, overthrew him in three severall Battels: repulsed, and enforced him to take the Seas againe. But as *Brutius* was following him in chase, *Lucius Lucullus* sent him commandement to give place unto *Sylla*, to follow those Warres against *Mithridates*, according to the charge and Commission in that behalfe given him. Whereupon *Brutius Sura* went out of the Countrey of BOEOTIA, and returned towards his Generall *Sentius*, notwithstanding his affaires prospered better then he could have wished, and that all GREECE were very willing to revolt, for the reputation of his wisdome and goodnesse. Howbeit the things that we before have spoken of, were the most notable matters that *Brutius* did in those parts. *Sylla* now upon his arrivall, recovered immediatly all the other Cities of GREECE: who being advertised of his coming, sent presently to pray him to come to their aide, the City of ATHENS onely excepted, which was compelled by the Tyrant *Aristion*, to take part with *Mithridates*. *Sylla* thereupon with all his Power went thither, besieged the Haven of PIRAEA round, causing it to be battered and assaulted on every side, with all sorts of Engines and Instruments of battery: whereas if he could have had patience but a little longer, he might have had the high Town by famine, without putting himselfe in any manner of danger, the same being brought to such extreme dearth and scarcity of all kinde of Victuals. But the hast that he made to returne againe to ROME, for feare of the new change which he heard of daily from thence, compelled him to hazard this Warre in that fort with great danger, many Battels, and infinite charge: considering also, that besides all other provision and Furniture, he had twenty thousand Mules and Mules labouring daily to furnish his Engines of battery. And when all other Wood failed him, because his Engines were oftentimes marked after they were made, some breaking of themselves by reason of their weight, others consumed with Fire throwne from the Enemies: at the length he fell to the holy Wood, and cut down the Trees of the *Academia*, being better stored and furnished, then any other Parke of pleasure in all the Suburbs of the City, and felled downe all the Wood of the Parke LYCAEUM. And standing in need of a great summe of Money to entertaine this Warre withall, he dealt also with the holiest Temples of all GREECE, causing them to bring him from the Temples of EPIDAUUM and OLYMPUS, all the richest and most precious Jewels they had. He wrote moreover unto the Counsell of the AMPHICTYONS holden in the City of DELPHES, to bring him the ready Money they had in the Temple of *Apollo*, for that it should be kept in better safety with him, then if it still remained there: promising besides, that if he should by occasion be compelled to use it, he would restore as much againe unto them: and for this purpose he sent *Caphis* PHOEBIAN, one of his very friends and familiars, and commanded him to weigh all that he tooke. So *Caphis* went unto DELPHES: but when he came thither, being afraid to touch the holy things,

things, in presence of the Counsell of the AMPHICTYONS he wept, that the teares ran down by his cheekes, as a man compelled to doe such an Act against his will. And when some that were present, told *Caphis* that they heard the sound of *Apollos* Cithern, in the Temple: whether he believed it was so indeed, or because he would put this superstitious feare into *Sylla's* head, he wrote to him of it. But *Sylla* mocking him, sent him word, that he marvelled he could not consider, that Singing and Playing on the Cithern, were tokens rather of joy then of anger, and therefore that he should not faile to proceed further, and bring him those things which he commanded, for that (said he) *Apollo* did give them him. Now for the other Jewels of the Temple of *Apollo*, the common People knew not that they were sent unto *Sylla*: but the Silver tunne, which only was that, that remained of the offerings of the Kings, the AMPHICTYONS were faine to breake that in pieces, because it was so great and Massie, that the Beasts of draught could not draw it whole as it was. This Act made them to remember the other ancient ROMAN Captaines, as *Flaminius*, *Manius Acilius*, and *Paulus Aemilius*: of the which, the one having driven King *Antiochus* out of GREECE, and the rest also having overthrowne the Kings of MACEDON, they never once touched the Gold and Silver of the Temples of GREECE: but contrarily sent their offerings thither, and had them all in great Honour and reverence. But as to them, they were all Captaines lawfully chosen and sent to their charges: their Souldiers well trained, and obedient at commandement, void of rebellion, or any manner of mutiny. And for themselves, were Kings in greatnesse of courage and magnanimity of minde: but in expence of their Persons, very spare and scant, without any lavish, but needfull and necessary, proportioned by reason, and thinking more shame to flatter their Souldiers, then feare their Enemies. Now the Captaines contrarily in *Sylla's* time, sought not their perfectment in the Common wealth by Vertue, but by force, and having greater Warres one with another, then with strangers their Enemies, were compelled to flatter their Souldiers whom they should command, and to buy their paines and service, feeding them still with large and great expences, to please and content them. Wherein they did not consider, that they brought their Countrey into bondage, and made themselves slaves of the vilest People of the world, whilst that in the meane time they sought to command by all means possible those which in many respects were farre better then themselves. And this was the cause that both drave *Marinus* out of ROME, and made him also to returne againe against *Sylla*. This selfe same cause made *Cinna* to kill *Octavius*, and *Fimbria* to slay *Flaccus*: of which evils *Sylla* was the very first and onely Author, spending out of all reason, and giving the Souldiers largely that served under him, to win their good will the more, and thereby also to allure them. By reason whereof, *Sylla* had need of Mountaines of Money, and specially at the siege where he was: both to make strangers Traytors, and besides, to furnish and satisfie his owne dissolute Souldiers: for he had such an earnest desire to take the City of ATHENS, that he could not possibly be dissuaded from it. And either it was of a certaine vaine ambition he had to fight against the ancient reputation of that City, being then but a shadow to that it had been: or else of a very anger, for the mockes and gibes which the Tyrant *Aristion* gave in his speeches from the Walls, against him and *Adella*, to spite him the more withall. This Tyrant *Aristion* was full of all cruelty and wickednesse, having taken up all the worst qualities and great imperfections of King *Mithridates*, and heaped them wholly together in himselfe: by reason whereof the poore City of ATHENS, which had escaped from so many Warres, Tyrannies, and civill diffentions until that present time, was by him, as by an incurable disease, brought unto all extremity: for a bushell of Wheate was worth a thousand Drachmas, and men were driven for famine to eate Feverfew that grew about the Castle: and they caused old Shoos and old Oyle Pots to be foddren, to deliver some savour unto that they did eate, whilst the Tyrant himselfe did nothing all day long but cram in Meate, and Drinke drunke, dance, maske, scoffe, and flout at the Enemies, suffering the holy Lampe of *Minerva* in the meane season to go out for lacke of Oyle. And when the Nun of the same Temple sent unto him for a quarter of a bushill of Wheate, he sent a quarter of a bushill of Pepper. And when the Counsellors of the City, the Priests and Religious came to the Castle, holding up their hands, and beseeching him to take some pity of the City, and fall to composition with *Sylla*: he made them to be driven away and scattered with Slings. In the end, very late and yet with great ado, he sent two or three of his quaffing Companions unto *Sylla*, who when they were come to him, made no demand of Composition for the Towne but began to praise and magnifie the deeds of *Thesius*, of *Eumolpus*, and of the ATHENIANS against the MEDES. Whereupon *Sylla* made them this answer: My goodly Orators, returne you againe with all your rhetoricks: for the ROMANES sent me not hither to learn nor to study, but to overcome and conquer those that are rebelled against them. In the meane time there were certaine spies in the City, that heard old men talking together in a place called *Ceramicus*, blaming the Tyrant because he kept no better Watch on that side of the Wall that was directly over against the Heptrachalchon, which was the onely place where the Enemies might easiliest get up upon the Walls. Those spies went straight unto *Sylla* and told him what they had heard the old men say. *Sylla* tracted no time, but came to the place in the night to see it: and perceiving that it was to be taken, set the matter straight abroach. And himselfe writes in his Commentaries, that the first man that scaled the Walls, was *Marcus Teius* who finding a Souldier ready to resist him, gave him such a fore blow with his Sword upon his Headpiece, that this Sword brake in two; and yet notwithstanding that he saw himselfe naked and disarmed of a Sword, did not for all that give backe, but stood still to it, and kept the place so long, till through him the City was taken, and all upon the talke of these old men. So *Sylla* caused the

L1 3

Caphis Super-
dition for
touching the
holy things.

The commen-
dation of the
ancient Romane
Captaines for
ordering of
their Souldiers,
and also for
their modest
expences.

Sylla the first
man that spoil-
ed all good ser-
vice of Sould-
iers, by over-
much liberty
and sufferance.

The wicked-
nesse of the
Tyrant *Aristi-
on*.

The great
valiantnesse of
Marcus Teius.
Aristion taken
by *Sylla*.

Wall

The slaughter
of the Atheni-
ans after the
taking of the
City.

Antheſterion
March.
The time of
Noes Flood.

Arifion the
Tyrant yield-
ed.

The Haven of
Piræa won.
Ethiops Arme-
ny burnt by
Sylla.

Taxilles Army
a hundred
thousand Foot-
men, ten thou-
sand Horſemen,
fourſcore and
ten thousand
Carts with
Sithes.

The force of
the Barbarians
conſiſted in
Horſemen and
in their Carts
with Sithes.
The Straite
of Thermopyles.

Parnassus Hill.
The City of
Thibora.

Sylla and Hor-
tenſius met at
Parnassus.
The plaine of
Elatea
Philoſtratus
Mons.
Their whole
Army together
fiftene hun-
dred Horſe,
fiftene thou-
ſand Footmen.

Wall to be pulled downe betwene the Haven of PIRÆA, and the holy Haven: and having before made the breach very plaine, entred into the City about midnight with a wonderfull fearefull order, making a marvellous noise with a number of Hornes, and founding of Trumpets, and all his Army with him in order of Battell, crying, To the ſacke, to the ſacke: kill, kill. For he had given them the Towne in spoile, and to put all to the Sword. The Souldiers therefore ran through the Streets with their Swords drawne, making an incredible slaughter: so that to this day they be not known, nor doe not declare what number of Persons were slain: but to shew the greatnesse of the murder that there was committed, the place is yet extant to be seene where the Blood ranne. For besides them that were slain through all the City, the Blood of them onely that were slain in the Market-ſeed, did wet all the ground of CERAMICUS, even unto the very place called Dipylon: and some say also, that it ranne by the Gates into the Suburbs of the City. But if the multitude of the People that were slain in this fort were great, much more (or so many at the least) it is said were those that slew themselves, for the sorrow and compassion they had to see their Countrey in such pitifull state, supposing certainly that their City was now come to utter ruine and destruction. This opinion made the Nobleſt men of the City to despaire of their owne safety, and feared to live any longer, because they thought they should finde no mercy, nor moderation of cruelty in Sylla. Notwithstanding, partly at the requests of *Midias* and *Calliphon*, who were banished men from ATHENS, and fell at Syllaes feet upon their knees: and partly also at the requests of the ROMANE Senators that were in his Campe, who prayed him to pardon the Body of the City, and the rather, for that he had already quenched the thirst of his ravening minde sufficiently well: after that he had said somewhat in praise of the ancient ATHENIANS, he concluded in the end, to give the greater number unto the smaller, and the living to the dead. Sylla writeth himselfe in his Commentaries, that he tooke the City of ATHENS on the very selfe day of the calend of *March*, which cometh to agree with the first day of the Moneth that we call Antheſterion, on the which day by chance many things are done at ATHENS in memory of *Noes Flood*, and of the universall destruction of the whole world, that was in Old time by rage of Waters, falling out even in that very Moneth. When the City was thus taken, the Tyrant *Arifion* fled into the Castle, where he was besieged by *Curio*, whom Sylla left there of purpose about that matter. And after he had a great time kept it, at the last constrained thereunto for lacke of Water, he yielded. The Castle was no sooner given up, but immediately by Gods providence, the weather miraculously altered. For the selfe same day, and the very selfe instant that *Curio* carried the Tyrant *Arifion* out of the Castle, the Element being very faire and cleare, the Cloudes suddenly gathered together, and there fell such a marvellous glut of raine, that all the Castle was full of Water. Shortly after also, Sylla having gotten the Haven of PIRÆA, burnt the greatest part of the Buildings: amongst others was the Arsenall and Armory, which *Philo* in Old time had caused to be built, being of a strange and wonderfull edifice. In the meane time, *Taxilles*, one of the Lieutenants of King *Mithridates*, coming from THRACIA and MACEDON, with a hundred thousand Footmen, ten thousand Horſemen, and fourescore and ten thousand Carts of Warre all Armed with Sithes: sent unto *Archelaus* to joyne with him, lying yet at Anker in the Haven of MUNYCHIA, and not willing to leave the Sea, nor come to fight with the ROMANES, but seeking rather to draw these Warres out in length, and to cut off all Victuals from his Enemies. Sylla understanding this drift better then himselfe, departed out of the Countrey of ATTICA (a very barren soyle, and indeed not able to keepe him in time of Peace) and went into BOEOTIA: wherein most men thought he committed great errour to leave ATTICA, which is a very hard Countrey for Horſemen, and to go into BOEOTIA, a plaine Champion: and so much the rather, because he knew well enough that the chiefest strength of the Barbarous People consisted in their Horſemen, and their Armed Carts with Sithes. But to avoide famine, and lacke of Victuals as we have said, he was compelled to seeke Battell. Furthermore, he had another cause also that made him afraid, and compelled him to goe: and that was *Hortenſius* a famous Captaine, and very valiant also, who brought him aide out of THESSALIE; and the Barbarous People lay in waite for him in his way, in the Straite of THERMOPYLES. And these were the causes that made Sylla take his way into BOEOTIA. But in the meane time, *Cuphis* that was our Countrey-man, deceiving the Barbarous People, guided *Hortenſius* another way by Mount PARNASSUS, and brought him under the City of TITHORA, which was not then so great a City as now at this present it is, but was a Castle onely, situated upon the point of a Rocke, hewn all about: whether the PHOCIANS in Old time flying, King *Xerxes* coming upon them, retired themselves for their safety. *Hortenſius* lodged there, and there did also both defend and repulse his Enemies, so long as day-light lasted: and when the night came on, got down through very hard Stony waies, unto the City of PATRONIDE, where he joyned with Sylla, who came to meete him with all his Power. Thus being joyned together, they Camped upon a Hill that standeth about the middest of the plaine of ELATEA: the soyle was very good, and well replenished with great store of Trees and Water at the foote of the same. The Hill is called PHILOBEOTUS, the nature and situation whereof, Sylla doth marvellously commend. When they were Camped, they seemed but a handfull in the Eye of their Enemies: and no more they were indeede, for they had not above fiftene hundred Horſe, and lesse then fiftene thousand Footmen. Whereupon the other Capitaines their Enemies, against *Archelaus* minde, brought out their bands into the Field, and filled all the Valley and plaine thereabouts with Horſemen, with Carts, with Shields and Targets, so that the Ayr was even cut asunder as it were with the violence

violence of the noise and cries of so many sundry Nations which all together did put themselves in Battell ray. The sumptuousnesse of their Furniture moreover, was not altogether superfluous and unprofitable, but served greatly to feare the beholders. For the glistering of their Harneſſe, so richly trimmed and set forth with Gold and Silver, the colours of their Arming Coates upon their Curaces, after the fashion of the MÆDES and SCYTHIANS, mingled with the bright glistering Steele and shining Copper, gave such a shew as they went and removed too and fro, that made a light as cleare as if all had beene on a very Fire, a fearefull thing to looke upon. Inſomuch as the ROMANES durst not so much as once go out of the Trenches of their Campe, nor Sylla with all his perswasion could take away this great conceived feare from them: wherefore (and because also he would not compell them to go forth in this feare) he was driven not to fir, but close to abide, (though it grieved him greatly) to see the Barbarous People so proudly and villainously laugh him and his men to ſcorne. Howbeit the disdaigne and scoffing of his Enemies, stood him to great good purpose afterwards: for they making now no account of him, kept small Watch and Ward, strayed up and down disorderly besides, though otherwise they were not very obedient unto their Capitaines, being many Commanders, and few good followers: by reason whereof, a small number kept in the Campe, and all the rest of the great multitude enticed with the gaine they made by spoiling and ſacking of Townes thereabouts, diſperſed themselves many daies journey from their Campe. For it is said, that at that very time they destroyed the City of PANOPÆIA, sacked the City of LEBADIA, and spoiled the Temple without commandment or licence of any of all their Capitaines to doe it. In the meane while, Sylla seeing so many Cities and Towns spoiled and destroyed, tooke it both grievously and also angrily: howbeit he suffered not his men to lye idle, but kept them in labour, to turne the course of the River of Cephissus, and to cast great Trenches, not suffering any man to take ease or rest, but contrarily with great severity punished such as went faintly and lazily to worke, to the end that being wearied with the paine they tooke after so many workes, they would rather prove to hazard Battell, as it fell out indeed. For the third day after they had begun thus to labour, as Sylla passed by them, they cried out unto him, to leade them again their Enemies. But this answer was unto them againe: That those were but cries of men wearied rather with labour, then desirous to fight. Notwithstanding, if it be so indeed, and that you have so good a will to fight as you make shew of: then I will, said he that you Arme your selves presently, and get you to yonder place; shewing them therewithall where the Castle of the PARAPOTAMIANS stood in Old time, which then (the City being destroyed) was no more but the top of a Stony Mountaine cut all about, and severed from the Mount of Edylium by the breadth of the River of Aſſus that runneth betwixt, and which at the very foote of the same Mountaine falleth into the River of Cephissus, and both these Rivers running in one, carrying a swift Streame, doe make the knap of the said Hill very strong of situation to lodge a Campe upon. And therefore Sylla seeing the Souldiers of his Enemies Campe, marching with their Copper Targets to take up that place to lodge in: to prevent them, and to get it before them (as indeed he did) he marched thither in all hast possible, and got it even with the earnest good will of all his Souldiers. *Archelaus* being so repulsed from thence, turned his way towards the City of CHOERONEA. Whereupon certaine of the CHOERONEANS that were in Syllaes Campe, besought him that he would not forsake their City, and leave it to their Enemy. Sylla desiring to gratifie them therein, sent *Gabinus* one of his Colonels with a Legion, and therewithall gave the CHOERONEANS leave to goe thither, who did what they could possible to get into the City before *Gabinus*: but that they could not, such was their diligence and honesty of the man, as he seemed more desirous of their safety, then they were themselves. Neverthelesse, *Jubas* doth not call the Colonell that was sent thither *Gabinus*, but *Hircius*. And thus was the City of CHOERONEA preserved from the danger it stood in at that time. In the meane time came very good Newes to the ROMANES, both of Oracles and Prophecies, which promised them Victory from the Temple of LEBADIA, and the Cave of *Trophonius*: of which Prophecies, those Countrey-men make great mention. But Sylla in the tenth Booke of his Commentaries writeth, that *Quintus Titus*, a man of quality and Name amongst them that trafficked into the Countrey of GRECE, came unto him after he had wonne the Battell of CHOERONEA, to tell him that *Trophonius* gave him to understand, that shortly after he should have a second Battell, and that he should yet againe have another Victory in the same place. After him another man of Warre called *Salvenius*, told him also what successe he should have in the Warres of ITALY, saying, that he knew it by revelation: and both these men agreed in the manner of the revelation. For they said, that they had seene a god, in Majesty, beauty and greatnesse, like unto the Image of *Jupiter Olympius*. Sylla having passed the River of Aſſus, went to lodge at the foot of Mount Edylium, hard by *Archelaus*, who had placed and fortified his Campe between the two Mountaines of Acontium and of Edylium, joyning to the City of the ASSIANS. The place where *Archelaus* Camped beareth his own Name *Archelaus* unto this day. One day after Sylla had changed his lodging, he left *Murena* in his Campe with a Legion, and two Cohorts, to keepe the Enemies still occupied that were in great trouble and he himselfe in the meane time went and Sacrificed by the River of Cephissus. His Sacrifice being ended, he marched towards the City of CHOERONEA, to take the force he had there under *Gabinus*, and to know the Mountaine also called *Thurium*, which the Enemies had taken. It is a knap of a Mountaine very steepe and sharpe of all sides, with a narrow point like a Pine Apple, by reason whereof we doe call it *Orthopagum*. At the foot of the same runneth the River called *Morion*, and there is also the Temple of *Apollo* Surnamed *Thurinus*: and they say, that this Surname of *Thurinus* was

The brave Ar-
mour and Fur-
niture of the
THRACIANS and
MACEDONIANS,
serving under
Taxilles King
Mithridates
Lieutenant.

Many Com-
manders make
disobedient
Souldiers.

Cephissus fl.
Syllaes straight-
nesse to his
Souldiers.

A good policy
to weary feare-
full Souldiers
with extreame
labour, where-
by to make
them desirous
to fight.

Edylium mons.
Aſſus fl.

Sylla sendeth
Gabinus with
a Legion to
aide Charonea.

Oracles and
Prophecies of
Victory unto
Sylla.

Salvenius a
Souldier.

Jupiter Olympi-
us.
Acontium,
Edylium
Mountaines;

Thurium mons.
aliter Orthopa-
gum.
Morion fl.
Apollo Thurinus.

was

Charon the
Founder of the
City of Choro-
ronea.

was given unto him of the Name of *Tharus*, who was Mother of *Charon*, the Founder and Builder of the City of *CHORONEA*. Other thinke that the Cow which was given to *Cadmus* for a guide, came to him in that place: which hath ever since kept the Name, for that the *PHOENICIANS* call a Cow, *Thor*. Now when *Sylla* came neare unto *CHORONEA*, the Colonell *Gabinus* whom he had sent thither with a Garrison to defend the same, went to meet him, with his men very well Armed, wearing a Laurell Garland: and *Sylla* after he had saluted him and his Souldiers, made an Oration unto them, exhorting them to do their duty in fighting. And as he was in his Oration, there came two Citizens of *CHORONEA* to him, one his Name was *Omolochus*, and the other *Anaxidamus*, who promised him to drive the Enemies from Mount *Thurium* which they had taken, if he would but give them some small number of Souldiers. For there was a little Path-way, which the Barbarous People mistrusted not beginning at a place called *Petrochus*, hard by the Temple of the *Muses*, by the which they might easily goe to the top of this Mountaine *Thurium*: so that following that Path, it would bring them over the Barbarous Peoples heads, and they might easily kill them with stones, or at the least they should drive them maugre their heads down into the Valley. *Gabinus* assuring *Sylla* that they were both very valiant men, and such he might boldly trust unto: *Sylla* gave them men, and commanded them to execute their enterprize: and he himselfe in the meane season went and set his men in order of Battell in the plaine, deviding his Horsemen on the wings, placed himselfe in the right wing, appointing the left unto *Murena*. *Galba* and *Hortensius* his Lieutenants, were placed in the taile with certaine bands of the reregard, which they kept upon the Hills, to watch and let that the Enemies should not enclose them behind: because they perceived a farre off that the Enemies put forth a great number of Horsemen and Footmen light Armed in the wings, to the end that the Points of their Battell might the more easily bow and enlarge themselves, to compasse in the *ROMANES* on the back side. Now in the meane time, these two *CHORONEANS* whom *Sylla* had sent under *Hircius* their Captaine, having compassed about the Mountaine *Thurium*, before the Enemies were aware of them, sodainly came to shew themselves upon the top of the Mountaine, which did so feare the Barbarous People, that they began immediatly to flye, one of them for the most part killing another. There was no resistance, but flying down the Mountaine, fell upon the Points of their own Partisans and Pikes, and one of them thrusting in anothers neck, tumbled headlong down the Mountaine together, having their Enemies besides on their backs, which drave them from the Hill, and strake them behind where they lay open unto them: so as there were slaine three thousand of them about this Mountaine *Thurium*. And as for them that sought to save themselves by flight, *Murena* that was already set in Battell ray, met with some, cut them off by the way, and slew them downright. The other fled directly to their Campe, and came in great companies, thrusting into the Battell of their Footmen, put the most part of them quite out of order, and marvellously troubled their Captaines before they could set them againe in order: which was one of the chieftest causes of their overthrow. For *Sylla* went and gave a charge upon them in this trouble and disorder, and had quickly won the ground that was betweene both Armies, whereby he tooke away the force of all their Armed Carts with Sithes, which are then of greatest force, when they have the longest course, to give them a swift and violent stroke in their chale: whereas when their course is but short, the blow is so much the weaker and of lesse strength, even as Arrowes are, that as far off enter nor deepe into the thing they be shot at: as at that time it fell out with the Barbarous People. For their first Carts set forth so faintly, and came on with so feebly a force, that the *ROMANES* sent them backe, and easily repulsed them, with great slaughter, and clapping of hands one to another, as they commonly use in the ordinary Games of Horse-running at *ROME*. When they had thus repulsed the Carts, the Battell of *Syllas* Footmen began to charge the Barbarous People, who basing their Pikes, stood close one to another, because they would not be broken: and the *ROMANES* on the other side, bestowed first their Darts among them, and then sodainly drew out their Swords in the heate they were in, and put aside the Enemies Pikes, whereby they might come nearer to their Bodies. There were fifteene thousand slaves in the front of the Battell of the Barbarous People, whom *Mithridates* Lieutenant had made free by open Proclamation, and had divided them by bands, amongst the other Footmen. By occasion whereof, there was a *ROMAN* Centurion spake pleasantly at that time, saying, That he never saw slaves before have liberty to speake and doe like free men, but onely at *Saturnes* Feasts. Nevertheless, they against the nature of slaves, were very valiant to abide the shooke, and the *ROMAN* Footmen could not so readily breake nor enter into them, nor make them give backe, because they stood very close one to another, and their ranks were of such a length besides: untill such time as the *ROMANES* that were behind the first ranks, did so pelt them with their Slings, hurling Stones, bestowing their Darts and Arrowes upon them, that in the end they compelled them all to turne their backs and flye amaine. And when *Archelaus* did first thrust out the right wing of his Army, supposing to enclose the *ROMANES* behind, *Hortensius* straight waies caused the bands he had with him to run and charge upon the Flaaks: which *Archelaus* perceiving, made the Horsemen he had about him, turne their faces forthwith, which were in number above two thousand: inso much as *Hortensius* being set up with all his Troope, was compelled to retire by little and little towards the Mountaine, perceiving himselfe farre from the Battell of his Footmen, and environed round about with his Enemies. *Sylla* seeing that, being in the right wing of his Battell, and having not yet fought, went straight to the rescue of *Hortensius*. But *Archelaus* conjecturing by the dust which the Horses raised, what the matter was: left *Hortensius* there, and with speed returned againe

Sylla ordereth
his Battell.

Sylla drave *Archelaus* sid
from the Hill.

The force of
the Armed
Carts with
Sithes consist
in long course.

Syllas combat
with *Archelaus*
at *Thurium*.

Slaves made
free by authority
of the Lieutenants in the
Field.

againe towards the right wing of his Enemies, from whence *Sylla* was gone, hoping he had left it unfurnished of a sufficient Captaine to command them. *Taxillus* on the other side, caused his Copper Targets also to march against *Murena*: so as the noise they made on both sides, caused the Mountaines to ring againe: wherewithall *Sylla* stayed, standing in doubt which way to take. At the last he resolved to returne to the place from whence he came, and sent *Hortensius* with foure Ensignes to aide *Murena*: and himselfe with the fifth in great speed went towards the right wing of his Army, the which was now already bickering, and joynd with their Enemies, fighting hand to hand with *Archelaus*. By reason whereof, when *Sylla* was come with his aide, they did easily distresse them: and after they had broken their array, they chased them, flying for Life to the River, and unto the Mountaine *Acontium*. But *Sylla* notwithstanding forgot not *Murena*, but went againe to his relief: and finding that he on his side had also put the Enemies to flight, followed him with the chase of them that fled. There was a marvellous slaughter made in that Field of the Barbarous People, and many of them supposing to have recovered their Campe, were slaine by the way: so as of all that infinite multitude of fighting men, there escaped onely ten thousand, who saved themselves by flying unto the City of *CHALCIDE*. *Sylla* for his part writeth, that he could make reckoning of no more but foureteene of his Souldiers onely that were slaine, whereof there came two againe to him the same night: Wherefore in the markes of Triumph which he set up for tokens of that Victory, he caused to be written on the top thereof, *Mars*, *Victory*, and *Venus*: signifying thereby, that he had overcome in these Warres as much by good fortune, as by force, policy, or Martiall discipline. These markes of Triumph were set up for the Battell which he wan in the plaine Field, in that place where *Archelaus* began to flye, even unto the River of *Molus*. And he set up another also on the top of Mount *Thurium*, where the Barbarous People were set upon behind: and there is written in Greeke Letters: That the valiant deedes of *Omolochus* and *Anaxidamus*, gave way to the winning of this Victory. *Sylla* for the joy of this great wonne Battell, caused Musicians to Play in the City of *THEBES*, where he builded a Stage for all the Musicians neare unto the Fountaine *Oedipus*, and certaine Noble *GREEKES* were appointed Judges of that Musicke, whom he caused to be sent for out of other Cities, because he mortally hated the *THEBANS*: inso much as he tooke from them half their Lands, which he consecrated unto *Apollo Pythias*, and *Jupiter Olympias*, appointing that of the revenue thereof, they should redeliver and pay back the Money which he had taken and carried away from out of their Temples. *Sylla* after this having intelligence that *Flaccus*, one of his Enemies, was chosen Consull at *ROME*, and had passed the Sea Ionian with an Army, under pretence to make Warre against King *Mithridates*, but indeede to make Warre with himselfe: tooke his journey towards *THESSALY* to meete him. But when he was in the City of *MELITEA*, there came News to him out of all parts, that there was a new and second Army of the Kings arrived, no lesse then the first, the which spoiled and destroyed all the Countrey which he had left behind him. For *Dorylaus* one of King *Mithridates* Lieutenants, was arrived in the City of *CHALCIDE* with a great fleet of Ships, having brought thither with him fourescore thousand fighting men, the best trained, the best Armed and appointed Souldiers that were in all his Kingdome of *PONTUS* in *ASIA*: and from thence went into *BOEOTIA*, had all that Countrey at commandement, and fought to fight with *Sylla*, notwithstanding that *Archelaus* alleged many reasons to dissuade him from it: and furthermore, gave it out in every place, that so many thousands of Souldiers could not have bene cast away in the first Battell, without some notable treason. Whereupon *Sylla* returned with all possible speed, and made *Dorylaus* know before many daies passed oyer his head, that *Archelaus* was a wife man, and knew well enough the worthinesse and valiant courage of the *ROMANES*. And *Dorylaus* having had but a little prooffe onely in certaine light skirmishes which he made against *Sylla*, about *TILPHOSION* in *THESSALY*: himselfe was the first that could say then, it was not for them to hazard Battell, but rather to draw out the Warres in length, and supplant the *ROMANES* with charge and expence. And yet notwithstanding, the commodity of the great large plaine that lyeth all about *ORCHOMENE*, where they were encamped, gave great encouragement to *Archelaus*, who judged it a very fit place to give Battell in, specially because he was the stronger of Horsemen in the Field. For all the plaines that are within the Countrey of *BOEOTIA*, the greatest and largest of them, is the plaine neare to the City of *ORCHOMENE*, which is altogether without Trees, and runneth out in length unto the Marthes where the River of *Melas* disperseth it selfe abroad. The head of the same River is not far from the City of *ORCHOMENE*, and that River of all other Rivers of *GREECE*, from the very head whence it cometh, is navigable: and hath besides another singular property, that it riseth and swellth even in the longest Sommer daies, as the River of *Nilus* doth, and bringeth forth the selfe same Plants and Trees, saying that they beare no Fruit, neither are they so great as those of *EGYPT*. This River hath no long course, because that the most part of the Water runneth into lakes and Marishes covered with brambles and Briars, and there is but a very little part of it that falleth into the River of *Cephissus*, in the place that the Reeds grow where they make good Flutes withall. When they were camped one neare to another, *Archelaus* lay quietly and stirred not: but *Sylla* presently cast great Trenches from one side to another, to stop the way against their Enemies, that they could not come into that great plaine, where they might have taken what ground they would for their men of Armes, and have driven the *ROMANES* into the Marishes. The Barbarous People not being able to endure that, so soone as their Captaines had given them liberty, discharged with such a fury, that they did not onely scatter them that wrought in *Syllas* Trenches, but put the most part

Syllas Victory
of *Archelaus*
Liceutenants.

The field was
won in the
plaine of *E-lacea*.
Molus fl.

Apollo Pythias.
Jupiter Olympias.
Flaccus Consul went against *Sylla*.

Dorylaus Mithridates General against *Sylla*.

The goodly
plaine before
the City of
Orchomene.
The River of
Melas and
nature thereof.

of their guard also that stood in Battell ray to defend them, in a marvellous feare, who also began to flye. Which *Sylla* perceiving, lighted straight from his Horse, and taking an Ensigne in his hand, ranne through the middelt of his men that fled, untill he came to his Enemies, and crying out, said unto them: O my ROMANE Souldiers, mine Honour commandeth me to dye here, and therefore when any man asketh you where you forooke your Capitaine, remember that you answer, it was at ORCHOMENE. They were so ashamed at these words, that he made them turne: besides that, there came two Cohorts unto him from the right wing of his Battell, who under his leading gave such a hot charge upon their Enemies, that they fled forthwith upon it. That done, *Sylla* retired with his men, and made them dine: and thereupon by and by set them againe to the Trenches to enclose his Enemies Campe, who then came out in better order then they did before. There was *Diogenes*, *Archelaus* Wives Sonne slaine, fighting valiantly before them all, in the right wing of their Battell. And the bow-men being pressed so neare by the ROMANES, that their Bowes would doe no good, tooke their Arrows in their hands in stead of Swords, and strake their Enemies with them, to force them to give back, untill such time as at the last they were all driven into their Campe, where they passed that night in great sorrow, as well for the losse of them that were slaine, as also for the number of those that were hurt. The next morning, *Sylla* leading his men againe towards the Campe of his Enemies, went on still continuing his Trenches: and certaine of them being come out to skirmish with them, he set upon them so lustily, that at the first charge he put them to flight. That brought such a feare to all the whole Campe of the Enemies, that not a man durst abide any longer: so as *Sylla* valiantly following on his Victory, shuffled in among them as they fled, and in the end tooke altogether. Straightway all the Marishes were filled with blood, and the lake full of dead Bodies: so that untill this present day they finde there in that place many Bowes of the Barbarous People, Morians, pieces of Tassels, and Swords drowned in the mud of the Marishes, notwithstanding that it is well neare two hundred yeares ago since this Battell was stricken. And thus much for the Warres about the Cities of CHOERONEA and ORCHOMENE. Now the Warres being past in this sort in GREECE, *Cinna*, and *Carbo* dealt very cruelly and unnaturally at ROME with the Noblemen and greatest Persons: by reason whereof, many flying their Tyranny, went to *Syllas* Campe, as unto the Haven of their health and fullnesse of felicity, so that in short time *Sylla* had an Assembly of a ROMANE Senate about him. *Metella* her selfe, his Wife, having stolen away very hardly with her Children, came to bring him Newses that his Houses in the City and Countrey both, were all burnt and destroyed by his Enemies: praying him that he would goe and helpe them that yet remained at ROME. *Sylla* upon hearing of these Newes, fell in great perplexity. For on the one side, it grieved him to see his Countrey so miserably afflicted: and on the other side, he knew not well how he might goe, leaving so great an enterprise as that Warre was, and specially against a King of such might and Power as *Mithridates* shewed himselfe to be. And being in these dumes, there came one *Archelaus* a Merchant to him, borne in the City of DELIUM, who brought him a secret message from the other *Archelaus*, King *Mithridates* Lieutenant: to the which pleased *Sylla* so well, that he desired that *Archelaus* and himselfe might meete and talke together. So at the length they met by the Sea side, neare unto the City of DELIUM, where there is a Temple of *Apollo*. *Archelaus* began to enter the talke with him, declaring unto *Sylla*, that he would wish him to leave the Conquest of ASIA, and of the Realme of PONT, and to returne into his Countrey to the civill Warres at ROME: and in so doing, the King would furnish him, not onely with as much Money, but with as many Ships and men, as he himselfe would desire. *Sylla* upon this motion told him againe, that he would wish him to forsake *Mithridates* service, and to make himselfe King, offering to Proclaime him a friend and confederate of the ROMANES, so that he would deliver him all the Navy which then he had in his hands. *Archelaus* seemed much to abhorre to hear him speake of treason. But *Sylla* going on with his tale, replied againe unto him: Why *Archelaus*, said he, thou that art a CAPPADOCIAN, and Servant to a Barbarous King, or his Friend at the least: hast thou so good a heart with thee, that for all the benefits I offer thee, thou wilt not once commit an ill Act? And art thou indeed so bold to speake to me of treason, which am the ROMANES Lieutenant General, and *Sylla*? As if thou wert not he, that at the Battell of CHOERONEA diddest save thy selfe by flying, with a small number left thee of six score thousand fighting men, which thou before hadst in thy Campe: and that hid thy selfe two daies together in the Marishes of ORCHOMENE, leaving the Fields of BOEOTIA with such heapes of dead Bodies, that no man could passe for them? After this reply, *Archelaus* altered his speech, and falling downe at *Syllas* feete, humbly besought him to end this Warre, and to make Peace with *Mithridates*. Whereunto *Sylla* answered, that he was very well contented withall. And thereupon Peace was concluded betweene them under conditions: that *Mithridates* should depart from ASIA the lesse, and from PAPHLAGONIA, that he should restore BITHYNIA unto *Nicomedes*, and CAPPADOCIA unto *Ariobarzanes*, that he should pay two thousand Talents to the ROMANES, and gave them threecore and ten Gallies, with all their Furniture. And upon this, *Sylla* would also assure him the rest of his Realme: and would cause him to be Proclaime a friend of the ROMANES. These Articles being past by agreement betwixt them, *Sylla* taking his journey through THESSALY and MACEDON, into the Countrey of HELLES PONT, carried *Archelaus* with him, whom he honourably intreated. For *Archelaus* falling dangerously sicke of a disaile in the City of LARISSA, he stayed there for him, and was very carefull to recover him, as if he had been one of his chiefe Captaines and Companions. And this was the cause that made

Archelaus

Archelaus to be blamed for the Battell of CHOERONEA, as if he had not faithfully fought it out, nor *Sylla* truly won it, but by treason. And againe, *Archelaus* was the more suspected, because *Sylla* redelivered *Mithridates* all his Servants and Friends which he had Prisoners, saving the Tyrant *Aristion* that kept ATHENS, whom he paysoned, because he was *Archelaus* Enemy: but specially for the Lands *Sylla* gave unto this CAPPADOCIAN. For he gave him ten thousand Jugera, (or Acres of Land) within the Ile of EUBOEA, and gave him moreover the title of a Friend of the ROMANES for ever. But *Sylla* denyeth all these things in his Commentaries. In the meane time, Ambassadors came from King *Mithridates* unto *Sylla*, who told him that the King their Master did ratifie and accept all the Articles of Peace, saving that he onely prayed him he would not take the Countrey of PAPHLAGONIA from him: and as for the Gallies, he would not so much as once say he would promise them. *Sylla* being offended herewith, angrily answered them againe: Then *Mithridates* (as ye say) meaneth to keepe PAPHLAGONIA still, and refuseth to give the Ships I demanded: where I looked that he would have humbly thanked me on his knees, if I left him his right hand onely, with the which he put so many ROMANE Citizens to death. But I hope to make him tell me another Tale, if I come once into ASIA: but now at PERGAMUS, he speaketh his pleasure of this Warre which he hath not feene. The Ambassadors being afraid of his words, replied not againe. Whereupon *Archelaus* spake, and besought him with teares in his eyes to be contented, and tooke him by the hand. By intreaty, in the end he obtained of *Sylla* to send him unto *Mithridates*: promising that he would either bring him to agree to all the Articles and conditions of Peace that he demanded, or if he could not, he would kill himselfe with his owne hands. Upon this promise *Sylla* sent him away, and in the meane while entred with his Army into the Countrey of MEDICA: and after he had destroyed the most part thereof, returned back againe into MACEDON, where *Archelaus* being returned from *Mithridates*, found him neare unto the City of PHILIPES, bringing him Newses that all should be well: howbeit that his Master *Mithridates* prayed him he might speake with him in any case. Now the matter that made *Mithridates* so earnest to speake with *Sylla*, was chiefly for *Fimbria*: who having slaine *Flaccus* the Consul, being of the contrary faction unto *Sylla*, and certaine of *Mithridates* Lieutenants also, went himselfe against him to fight with him. *Mithridates* fearing his coming, chole rather to make himselfe *Syllas* friend. So *Mithridates* and *Sylla* met together in the Countrey of TROADE, in the City of DARDANE, *Mithridates* being accompanied with a flecte of two hundred fale of Ships with Oares at Sea, with twenty thousand Footmen, six thousand Horse, and a number of Armed Carts with Sithes besides by Land, *Sylla* having onely but foure Ensignes of Footmen, and two hundred Horsemen. *Mithridates* went to *Sylla*, and offering to take him by the hand: *Sylla* asked him first, if he did accept the Peace with the conditions which *Archelaus* had agreed unto. *Mithridates* made him no answer. *Sylla* following on his Tale, said unto him: It is for futers to speake first, that have request to make: and for Conquerours, it is enough to hold their peace, and hear what they will say. Then began *Mithridates* to excuse himselfe, and to lay the occasion of the War, partly upon the ordinance of the gods that so had appointed it, and partly also upon the ROMANES themselves. Whereunto *Sylla* replied, that he had heard of long time that *Mithridates* was an Eloquent Prince, and that he knew it now by experience, seeing that he lacked no comely words to cloke his foule and shamefulle deedes: but withall he sharply reproved him, and drave him to confesse the cruelties he had committed. And afterwards asked him againe, if he did confirme that which *Archelaus* had done. *Mithridates*, made answer, that he did. Then *Sylla* saluted, embraced, and kissed him: and calling for the Kings *Nicomedes* and *Ariobarzanes*, reconciled them together, and made *Mithridates* their friend againe. In conclusion, after *Mithridates* had delivered *Sylla* threecore and ten Gallies, and five hundred Bow-men, he returned by Sea into his Realme of PONTUS. But *Sylla* hearing that his Souldiers were angry with this Peace made with *Mithridates*, because they could not abide to behold that King, whom they accounted for their most cruell and mortall Enemy, (having in one selfe day caused a hundred and fifty thousand ROMANE Citizens to be slaine, that were dispersed abroad in divers places of ASIA) so to depart, and go his way safe, with the riches and spoyles of the Countrey, which he had bereft them of, and used at his pleasure, the space of forty yeares together: answered them in excuse of himselfe, that he was not able to make Warres with *Mithridates*, and *Fimbria* both, if once they were joyned together against him. And so *Sylla* departing thence went against *Fimbria*, who then was encamped neare to the City of THYATIRA, and lodged himselfe as neare unto him as he conveniently might. Now whilest he was compassing in his lodging with a Trench, *Fimbriaes* Souldiers came out of their Campe in their Coates without any Armour or Weapon, to salute *Syllas* Souldiers, and holpe them very friendly to make up their Trench: which *Fimbria* seeing, and perceiving his Souldiers mindes so changed, of an extreame feare which he had of *Sylla*, at whose hands he looked for no mercy, killed himselfe in his owne Campe. *Sylla* hereupon condemned the whole Countrey of ASIA the lesse, to pay the summe of twenty thousand Talents amongst them, and presently also he undid many poore Householders through his insolent Souldiers, lying long upon their charge, which he left in Garrison there. For he ordained that every Householder should give the Souldier that lodged in his House, foure Tetradrachmaes a day, and should be bound to give him and his friends (as many as he would bring with him) their Supper also: and that every Capitaine should have fifty Drachmaes a day, a night Gowne for the House, and a Garment to goe abroad into the City when he thought good. When he had given this order, he departed from the City of EPHESUS with all his flect, and in three daies

Archelaus suspected of treason. *Aristion* Tyrant of Athens, paysoned by *Sylla*.

Mithridates exception to the conditions.

Archelaus sent from *Sylla* to *Mithridates*.

Sylla and *Mithridates* meet at Dardane.

The stoutnesse of *Sylla*.

Mithridates excuse himselfe to *Sylla*. *Syllas* answer to *Mithridates*. *Nicomedes* King of Bithynia. *Ariobarzanes* King of Cappadocia.

A hundred and fifty thousand ROMANES slaine in one day in Asia, by *Mithridates* commandement. *Fimbria* Camped at Thyatira.

Fimbria slaine.

Sylla very hardly intreated them of Asia.

Syllas words to animate his Souldiers.

Diogenes slaine.

Syllas Victory of *Mithridates* Lieutenants in Orchomene.

Sylla overcame *Archelaus* in two famous Battels, at Carboeua and at Orchomene.

Talke betwixt *Sylla* and *Archelaus* at their meeting.

Peace concluded betwixt *Sylla* and *Archelaus* in *Mithridates* behalf upon conditions.

Aristotle and Theophrastus
Books.

Sylla went to
the Baths at
Ardipum for
the gout in his
Legs.

Bubbles of fire
rising out of a
Meadow by
Dyrachium.
A Satyre taken
sleeping and
brought to Syl-
la.

Sylla went a-
gainst threene
Generals, and
four hundred
and fifty En-
signes.
Sylla's returne
into Italy.
Epheum Mon.

Sylla overthrew
the Consul
Norbanus and
Marius the
younger, neare
to the Moun-
taine Epheum.
A Rave fore-
saweth Sylla's
Victory, and
the burning of
the Capitoll,
which fell out
truly.

Awinde that
blew
Flowers out of
a Meadow upon
Lucullus Scul-
diers by the
City of Fiden-
tia.

daies sayling arrived in the Haven of PIRÆA at ATHENS, where he was received into the fraternity of the Mysteries, and reserved for himselfe the Library of *Appellicon Teian*: in the which were the most part of *Aristotle* and *Theophrastus* Workes, not then thought meete to come in every mans hands. And they say, that this Library being brought to ROME, *Tirannion* the Gram-
marian found the meanes to extract a great part of them: and that *Andronicus* the RHODIAN having recovered the originals into his hands, published them, and wrote the summaries which we have at this present: For the ancient Peripateticke Philosophers were of themselves very Wise and Learned men, but they had not all *Aristotles* Works, nor *Theophrastus* amongst them, and yet those few they had, were not by them seene all whole and perfect together: because that the goods of *Nelus* SCEPTIAN (to whom *Theophrastus* left all his Bookes by will) came to fall into the hands of meane ignorant men, who knew not the Vertue and estimation of them. And furthermore, *Sylla* being at ATHENS, had such a paine and numnesse in his Leggs, and was so heavy withall, that *Sirabo* calleth it a spice of the gout, that is to say, a feeling or entering thereinto, which then began to roote and take hold of him. Upon which occasion he tooke the Seas, and went unto a place called ANDIPSUM, where there are naturall hot Bathes: and there remained a while solacing himselfe all the day long with Musick, seeing of Playes, and entertaining such kinde of People. Upon a day as he walking by the Sea side, certaine Fisher-men made him a Present of Fish, which pleased him marvellous well: and demanding of them whence they were: they answered him againe, that they were of the City of ALES. What? of ALES said he: is there any of them yett left alive? speaking it, because that after the Battell of ORCHOMENE, when he followed the chase of his Enemies, he had taken and destroyed three Cities of BOEOTIA all at one selfe time, to wit, ANTHEDON, LARYMNA, and ALES. The poore Fisher-men were so amazed with these words, that they stood still, and could not tell what to say, *Sylla* fell a laughing thereat, and bad them go their waies a Gods Name, and not be afraid, for they brought no small intercessours with them, which were worth the reckoning of. When *Sylla* had given them these words, the ALEIANS went home with a merry heart, to gather themselves together againe in their City. *Sylla* so passing through THESSALY and MACEDON, came to the Sea side, intending to go from the City of DYRRACHIUM unto BRUNDISIUM with a hundred and twenty sail. The City of APOLLONIA is hard by DYRRACHIUM, and thereabouts is a Park consecrated unto the Nymphs, where in a faire goodly green Meadow in many places there cometh out great bubbles of Fire that Flame continually: and it is said, that there was a Satyre taken sleeping, even in the very selfe same forme the Painters and Image-gravers have set him out. He was brought unto *Sylla*, and being asked by all sorts of Interpreters what he was, he made no answer that a man could understand, but onely put forth a sharpe voice like the neying of a Horse, or whinnying of a Goate. *Sylla* wondering at it, abhorred him, and made him to be carried from him as a monstrous thing. Furthermore, when *Sylla* had imbarcked his men to passe the Sea, he was afraid that so soone as they had landed in ITALY, they would shrinke from him, and every man go home to his owne City. But they sware and promised first of themselves, that they would tarry and keepe together, and by their wils would doe no hurt in ITALY. Moreover, perceiving that he stood in need of Money, they offered him of theirs, and every man to lend him as his ability served. But *Sylla* would none, yet thanked them for their good will: and after he had exhorted them to fight like Valiant Souldiers, he went against fifteen Generals of Armies of his Enemies, who had foure hundred and fifty Ensignes of Footmen well Armed, as he himselfe writeth in his Commentaries. But the gods promised him good fortune in his Warres, by many sundry apparent signes. For in a Sacrifice he made by TARENTUM, after he was come on Land, the Liver of a certaine Beast sacrificed, was altogether fashioned after the manner of a Crowne or Garland of Lawrell, out of the which did hang two Bands or Rolles. And a little before he went into CAMPANIA, neare unto the Mountaine Epheum, there appeared two great Goates in the day time fighting together, even as two men do when they fight: which nevertheless was no matter of truth, but a Vision onely that appeared, and rising from the Earth, dispersed it selfe by little and little here and there in the Ayre, and in the end vanished quite away as Clouds which come to nothing. Shortly after, in the selfe same place, *Marius* the younger, and *Norbanus* the Consul, who brought two great Armies against him, were overthrowne by him, before he had set his men in Battell, or had appointed any man in his place where he should fight: and this proceeded onely upon the courage and Life of his Souldiers, whose good will to serve against them was such, as following this Victory, he compelled the Consul *Norbanus* after he had slaine six thousand of his men, to take the City of CAPUA for his refuge. This Noble exploit (as himselfe reported) was the cause that his men kept so well together, that they went neither home to their Houses, nor made any reckoning of their Enemies, although they were many against one. And he saith furthermore, that in the City of SYLVIVM, there was a slave of one *Pontius* a Citizen, who being inspired with a Propheticall Spirit, came to tell him of the goddesse *Bellona*, that he should grow in strength, and carry away the Victory of these Warres: howbeit that if he did not hie him the sooner, the Capitoll at ROME should be burnt. And so it fell out the same day according to his words, being the sixteenth day of the Moneth called *Quintilis*, and now *July*. And furthermore also, *Lucullus* (one of *Syllas* Captaines) being neare unto the City of FIDENTIA with sixteen Ensignes onely, against fifty Ensignes of his Enemies, knowing his men to be very well affected to serve, because the most part of them were naked and unarmed, was afraid to hazard the Battell: and as he was even bethinking himselfe what was best to determine thereof, there rose a little winde out of a goodly Meadow, that blew a wonderfull sort of Flowers upon the Souldiers

souldiers on every part of them. These flowers staid of themselves as they fell, some upon their Targets, and others upon their Morians, without falling to the ground: so that it seemed to their enemies a far off, as if they had been Garlands of Flowers upon their heads. This made *Lucullus* souldiers more lusty a great deale then they were before, and with this good will they determined to give a charge upon their enemies: whom they overthrew, slew eighteen thousand of them in the field, and tooke their Campe. This *Lucullus* was brother unto the other *Lucullus*, that afterwards overthrew the Kings *Mithridates* and *Tigranes*. Nevertheless, *Sylla* perceiving that his enemies lay round about him with many great puissant Armies, thought good to use policy with force: and therefore practised with *Scipio* one of the Consuls, to make peace with him. *Scipio* was willing to it: and thereupon were oft meetings and assemblies of both sides. Now *Sylla* drove off the conclusion of the peace as long as he could, still seeking occasion of delay, to the end that his souldiers which were thoroughly acquainted with craft and subtilty as well as himselfe, might in the meane time corrupt *Scipios* souldiers by repaire into his campe: for they coming into *Scipios* Campe, being very conversant with them, straight corrupted some of them with ready money, other with promises, and other with faire flattering words, and many goodly tales they told them. At the length, after this practise had continued a while, *Sylla* coming neare unto *Scipios* Campe with twenty Ensignes onely: all his men saluted *Scipios* souldiers, and they resaluting them againe, yielded themselves unto *Sylla*. So as *Scipio* was left post alone in his Tent, where he was taken, but they afterwards let him go. So *Sylla* with his twenty Ensignes, like to the Fowlers, that by their stales draw other Birds into their Nets, having gotten forty Ensignes from his enemies by his craft, brought them away with him into his Campe. There it was that *Carbo* said of *Sylla*, that he had to fight with a Foxe, and a Lyon both: but that the Foxe did him more hurt and mischief then the Lion. After this, *Marius* the younger having foure score and five Ensignes in his Campe neare unto the City of STONIVM, presented battell unto *Sylla*: who having very good desire to fight, and specially on that day, because the night before he had seen this vision in his dreame, that he thought he saw *Marius* the Father (who was deceased long before) warning his Son that he should come to him. *Sylla* for this respect desired marvellously to fight that day: and thereupon caused *Dolabella* to come unto him, that was before lodged farre from him. But the enemies kept between him and home, and stopped his passage to keep him from joyning with *Sylla*. *Syllas* souldiers to the contrary, fought to keepe the way open for him, with so great labor and paine, that they were all weary and over harried. And furthermore, there fell a marvellous great shower of raine upon them as they were busie opening the way, that troubled them more then the labour they had in hand. Whereupon the private Captaines of the bands went to make *Sylla* understand it, and to pray him to deierre the battell untill another day: shewing him how the souldiers wearied with labour, lay down upon their Targets on the ground to take their ease. *Sylla* perceiving this, was contented withall, though greatly indeed against his will. But when he had given the signall to lodge, and that they began to trench and fortifie their Campe, *Marius* the younger cometh on horseback marching bravely before all his company, hoping to have surprisid his enemies in disorder, and by that meanes to have overthrowne them easily. But far otherwise did fortune then perform the Revelation which *Sylla* had in his foresaid dreame: for his men falling in a rage withall, left their work in the Trench where they wrought, stucke their darts upon the banke, ran upon their enemies with their swords drawn, and with a marvellous cry set upon them so valiantly, that they were not able to resist their fury, but suddainly turned their backs and fled, where there was a great and notable slaughter made of them. *Marius* their Captaine fled to the City of PRÆNESTE, where he found the Gates shut: but they threw him down a Rope from the wall, which he tyed about his middle, and so was triced up by it. Yet some writers say, and *Fenestella* among other, that *Marius* never saw the battell: for being wearied with labour, and very sleepey, he lay under some tree in the shadow to rest a little, after he had given the signall and word of the battell, and slept so soundly, that he could scant awake with the noise and flying of his men. *Sylla* himself writeth, that he lost at this battell but three and twenty men, slew twenty thousand of his enemies, and took eight thousand prisoners. His Lieutenants also had the like good successe in other places. *Pompeius*, *Crassus*, *Metellus*, and *Servilius*: which without any losse of their men, or but with a very small, overthrew many great mighty Armies of their enemies. Insumuch as *Carbo*, the hard and chief of all the contrary faction, and he that most maintained it, fled one night out of his Campe, and went beyond the seas into AFRICKE. The last battell that *Sylla* had, was against *Thelesinus* SAMNITE, who coming like a fresh Champion to set upon him, when he was already wearied and had fought many battels, had almost slaine him even at ROME Gates. For *Thelesinus* having gathered together a great number of souldiers; with one *Lamponius* LUCANIAN, marched with all speede towards the City of RÆNESTE, to deliver *Marius* the younger that was besieged there. But understanding that *Sylla* on the other side came in great haste also to meet him, and that *Pomponius* came behind him on the other side; and perceiving moreover that the way was so shut up, that he could goe neither forward nor backward, being a valiant souldier, and one that had bene in many great foughten fields, most dangerously ventured to go straight to ROME. And so stole away by night with all his whole power, and marching to ROMEward, had almost taken it at his first coming, for that there was nither watch nor ward kept: but he stayed happily tenne furlongs from the Gate Collina, bragging with himselfe, and believing that he should do wonders, for that he had mocked so many great Captaines. The next morning betimes came divers young Noblemen and Gentlemen out of the City to skirmish with *Thelesinus*: who slew a great number of them, and among o-

Lucullus victo-
ry at Fidentia.

Syllas policy
with *Scipio*.

Sylla wan 40
Ensignes from
Scipio by poli-
cy.

Carboes saying
of *Sylla* touch-
ing the Foxe
and Lion.
Marius the
younger with
85. Ensignes
presenteth Syl-
la Battell
by the Cry
of *Signum*.
Syllas vision
in his dreame.

Marius fled to
Præneste.

Carbo fled into
Africk.

Thelesinus the
Samnite pur-
sues *Sylla* in great
danger.

others one *Appius Claudius* a young Gentleman of a Noble house, and very honest. Whereupon (as you may easily imagine) the City trembled for fear, and especially the women, who fell a shrieking, and running up and downe, as if they had been all taken. But in this great feare and trouble, *Bulbus* (whom *Sylla* had sent) came first with seven hundred horse upon the spurre, and staying but a little to cool and give them breath, bridled straight again, and went to set upon the enemies, thereby to slay them. Soone after him came *Sylla* also, who commanded his men that came first, quickly to cate somewhat, and that done, put them straight in battell ray: notwithstanding that *Dolabella* and *Torquatus* perswaded him to the contrary, and besought him not to put his souldiers wearied with their journey, to so great and manifest a danger: and the rather, because they had not to fight with *Carbo* and *Marius*, but with the *SAMNITES* and *LUCANS* who were both warlike Nations and good souldiers; and those besides that most deadly hated the *ROMANS*. But for all that, *Sylla* lent them backe, and commanded his Trumpets to sound the Alarme, being almost within foure houres of night: and this battell was sharper and more cruell, then any other that ever he fought before. The right wing where *Crassus* was, had the better much: but the left wing was very sore distressed, and stood in great perill. *Sylla* hearing thereof, and thinking to helpe it, got up upon a white courser that was both swift and very strong. The enemies knew him, and there were two that lifted up their Armes to throw their darts at him, whom he saw not: but his Page gave his horse such a lash with his whippe, that he made him so to gird forward, as the very points of the darts came hard by the horse taile and stucke fast in the ground. Some say, that *Sylla* had a little golden image of *Apollo*, which he brought from the City of *DELPHES*, and in time of warres wore it alwayes in his bosome, which he then tooke in his hand, and kissing it, said: O *Apollo Pythias*, haile thou so highly exalted *Cornelius Sylla*, so fortunate hitherto through so many famous victories, and wilt thou now with shame overwhelm him wholly, even at the very Gates of his own naturall City amongst his Countreimen? And so crying out to *Apollo* for helpe, thrust into the prease among his men, intreating some, threatening others, and laying upon the rest to slay them. But for all he could do, all the left wing of his Army was broken and overthrown by his enemies: And himselfe amongst them that fled, was compelled to recover his Campe with speed, having lost many of his friends and familiars. There were moreover many Citizens slaine and troden under feete (both with horse and men) that came onely to see the battell fought: so that they within the City thought themselves verily undone. *Lucretius Offella* furthermore (he that besieged *Marius* in the City of *PRÆNESTE*) had almost raised his siege, upon the words of them that fled and came thither from the battell, who wished him to remove with all speed possible, for *Sylla* was slaine, and *Thelphus* had taken *ROME*. Now about midnight came certain souldiers from *Crassus* to *Sylla*'s Campe, and asked for meat for *Crassus* supper, and his mens, who having chased his flying enemies whom he had overthrown unto the City of *ANTENNA* (which they tooke for refuge) had lodged his Campe there. *Sylla* understanding that, and being advertised that the most part of his enemies were overthrown at this battell, went himselfe the next morning betimes unto *ANTENNA*, where three thousand of his enemies sent to know if he would receive them to mercy if they yielded themselves unto him. His answer was, that he would pardon their lives, so as they would do some mischief to their fellows before they came to him. These three thousand hereupon trusting to his promise, fell upon their companions: and for the most part one of them killed another. Notwithstanding *Sylla*, having gathered all those together that remained of his enemies, as well the three thousand, as the rest, amounting in all to the number of six thousand, within the Shew-place where they used to run their horses: whilest he himselfe held a councill in the Temple of the goddesse *Bellona*, and was making his Oration there, he had appointed certaine to set upon those six thousand, and put them to the sword every man. Great and terrible were the cries of such a number of men slaine in so small a roome, as may easily be conjectured: inso much as the Senators sitting in councill heard them very easily, and marvelled what the matter was. But *Sylla* continuing on his Oration which he had begun with a set steady countenance, without changing of colour, willed them onely to hearken what he said, and not to trouble themselves with any thing done abroad, for they were but certaine offenders and leud persons that were punished by his commandement. This was enough to shew the simplest *ROMANE* in *ROME*, that they had but onely changed the Tyrant, and not the tyranny. Now for *Marius*, that had ever been of a churlish and severe nature, even from his childhood, he never changed for any authority, but did rather harden his naturall stubbornesse. Where *Sylla* contrarily in the beginning, was very modest and civill in all his prosperity, and gave great good hope, that if he came to the Authority of a Prince, he would favour Nobility well, and yet love notwithstanding the benefit of the people. And being moreover a man in his youth given to all pleasure, delighting to laugh, ready to pitty, and weepe for tender heart: in that he became after so cruell and bloody, the great alteration gave manifest cause to condemne the increase of honour and authority, as the onely meanes whereby mens manners continue not such as they were at the first, but still do change and vary, making some fooles, others vaine and phantasticall, and others extream cruell and unnaturall. But whether that alteration of nature came by changing his state and condition, or that it was otherwise a violent breaking out of hidden malice, which then came to shew it selfe, when the way of liberty was laid open: this matter is to be decided in some other Treatise. So it came to passe, that *Sylla* fell to shedding of blood, and filled all *ROME* with infinite and unspeakable murders: for divers were killed for private quarrels, that had nothing to do with *Sylla* at any time, who suffered his friends and those about him to worke their

Sylla's danger.

Sylla fled.

Lucretius Offella besieged *Marius* in *Prænestine*. In the end of *Marius*'s life it is reported contrary, that *Sylla* besieged *Marius* the younger in *Persia*, and not in *Prænestine*. Three thousand saved themselves in *Antenna*: and yielded to *Sylla* upon promise of life. *Sylla* against the Law of Armes and his promise caused six thousand men to be slain.

Honour changed conditions. *Sylla* the example. Infinite murders committed in *Rome* by *Sylla* and his favourers.

their wicked wills: untill at the length there was a young man called *Cains Metellus*, that was so bold to aske *Sylla* in open Senate, when all these miseries should end, and when they should know that all the miseries were finished the which they daily saw. For, said he, we will not intreate you to pardon life, where you have determined death: but onely to put them out of doubt whom you have determined to save. Whereunto *Sylla* made answer, that he was not resolved whom he would save. *Metellus* replied, Then tell us (quoth he) who they are that shall die. *Sylla* answered, he would. Howbeit some say, it was not *Metellus*, but *Anfidius*: one of his flatterers, that spake this last word unto him. Wherefore *Sylla* immediately, without making any of the Magistrates privy, caused fourescore mens names to be set up upon posts, whom he would put to death. Every man being offended with all, the next day following he set up two hundred and twenty mens names more: and likewise the third day as many more. Hereupon, making an Oration to the people, he told them openly, that he appointed all them to dye, that he could call to remembrance: howbeit that hereafter he would appoint them that should die, by dayes, as he did call them to mind. Whosoever saved an Outlaw in his house, for reward of his kindnesse, he himselfe was condemned to die: not excepting them that had received their Brothers, their Sons, their Fathers, nor Mothers. And the reward of every homicide and murder that killed one of the Outlawes, was two Talents: though it were a slave that had killed his Master, or the Son that had slaine the Father. But the most wicked and unjust Act of all was, that he deprived the Sons, and Sons Sons of them whom he had killed, of all credit and good name: and besides that, had taken all their goods as confiscate. And this was not only done in *ROME*, but also in all the Cities of *ITALY* throughout: and there was no Temple of any god whatsoever, no Altar in any bodies house: no liberty of Hospitall, nor Fathers house, that was not embrued with blood and horrible murder. For the Husbands were slaine in their Wives armes, and the children on their Mothers laps: and yet they which were slaine for private hatred and malice, were nothing in respect of those that were murdered onely for their goods. And they that killed them, might well say, His goodly great house made that man die, his goodly fair Garden the other, and his hot bathes another. As amongst others, *Quintus Aurelius*, a man that never medled with any thing, and least looked that these evils should light upon him, and that onely pitied those which he saw so miserably murdered, went one day into the Market-place, and reading the Bill set up of the Outlawes names, found his own name amongst the rest, and cried out aloud: Alas the day that ever I was borne, my house of *ALBA* maketh me be put to death. He went not far from the Market-place, but met with one that killed him presently. In the meane time *Marius* the younger seeing he could by no means escape if he were taken, slew himselfe. And *Sylla* coming to *PRÆNESTE*, did first execute them by one and by one, keeping a certaine forme of justice in putting them to death: but afterwards, as if he had no longer leisure to remaine there, he caused them all to be put in a place together, to the number of twelve thousand men, whom he caused to be put to the sword every man, saving his Host onely; unto whom he said, that he shewed him speciall favour to save his life. But his Host answered him stoutly againe, that he would not be beholding unto him for his life, seeing he had slaine all the rest of his Countreimen: and so thrusting in amongst the Citizens, was willingly slaine with them. They thought the Act of *Lucius Catiline* also very strange, who had slaine his owne Brother before the Civil war was ended: and then prayed *Sylla* to put him in the number of the Outlawes, as if his Brother had been alive. *Sylla* performed his desire. *Catiline* thereupon to shew his thankfulness for the pleasure *Sylla* had done him, went presently and slew *Marcus Marius*, who was of the contrary faction, and brought him his head for a present before all the people, in the midst of the Market-place where he was sitting. When he had so done, he went and washed his hands all bloodied in the hallowed Font of the Temple of *Apollo*, that was hard by. But besides so many murders committed, yet were there other things also that grieved the people marvellously. For he proclaimed himselfe Dictator, which Office had not been of sixscore yeeres before in use, and made the Senate discharge him of all that was past, giving him free liberty afterwards to kill whom he would, and to confiscate their goods: to destroy Cities and to build up new as he listed: to take away Kingdomes, and to give them where he thought good. And furthermore, he openly sold the goods confiscate, by the Cryer, sitting so proudly and stately in his Chaire of State, that it grieved the people more to see those goods packt up by them to whom he gave and disposed them then to see them taken from those that had forfeited them. For some times he would give a whole Country, or the whole Revenues of certaine Cities, unto women for their beauty, or unto pleasant Jesters, Minstrels, or wicked slaves made free: and unto some he would give other mens wives by force, and make them to be married against their wills. For he desiring (howsoever it happened) to make alliance with *Pompey* the Great, commanded him to put away his wife he had married: and taking *Æmilia* (the Daughter of *Æmilius Scipio*, and of *Metella* his wife) from the great *Glabbio*, caused him to marry her great with child as she was by *Glabbio*: but she died in childbed in *Pompey*'s house. *Lucretius Offella* also that had brought *Marius* the younger to that distresse at the City of *PRÆNESTE*, suing to be Confiscall, *Sylla* commanded him to cease his suite: but he notwithstanding that expresse commandement, went one day into the Market-place, with a great traine of men following him that favoured his cause: whither *Sylla* sent one of his Centurions that slew *Offella* before all the people, himselfe sitting in a Chaire of estate in the Temple of *Castor* and *Pollux*, and seeing from above the murder done. The people that were about *Offella*, laid hold of the murthrer straight, and brought him before *Sylla*: but *Sylla* bad them be quiet that brought the Centurion with tumult, and that they

The boldnesse of *Cains Metellus*, to tell *Sylla* his cruelty in open Senate.

Sylla's profcription.

The murder of Outlawes general through Italy. *Quintus Aurelius*: a quiet man that medled not, slaine for his house. *Marius* the younger slew himself at *Prænestine*. *Sylla* slew twelve thousand men in *Prænestine*, being all put into one place together. *Lucius Catiline* slew his owne brother.

Sylla Dictor.

Lucretius Offella slaine.

The order of
Sylla's tri-
umph.

Sylla's twins,
named Fau-
stus and Fausta

Sylla leaveth
his Dictator-
ship.

Marcus Lepidus
chosen Consul

Sylla feasted
the people.
Wine of forty
years old and
upward.

Sylla brake his
owne Lawes
he made.

Valeria, desi-
rous to be par-
taker of Sylla's
happinesse.
Sylla married
Valeria, the
sister of Hor-
tensius the O-
rator.

Sylla's Impos-
tume turned
to lice.

they should let him go, because he commanded them to do it. Further more, as touching his Tri-
umph, it was a sumptuous sight to behold, for the rareness of the riches, and Princely spoiles which
were shewed at the same. But yet was it so much the better set out, and worth the sight, to see the
banished ROMANES, who were the chiefest Noblemen of all the City of ROME, following his
Chariot triumphant wearing Garlands of flowers on their heads, calling Sylla their Father and savi-
our: because that by his means they returned to their Country, and recovered their goods, wives and
children. In the end of his triumph, he made an Oration, in open assembly of the people of ROME, in
the which he did not only declare unto them (according to the custome) what things he had done,
but did also carefully tell them also as well of his good fortune and successe, as of his valiant deeds be-
sides: and to conclude his Oration, told them that by reason of the great favour fortune had shewed
him, he would from thenceforth be called by them, *Felix*, to say, happy or fortunate. And he himself
when he wrote unto the GRECIANS, or that he had any thing to do with them, furnished himself
Epaphroditus, as who would say, a pleasant man, beloved and favoured of *Venus*. His tokens of
triumph which are yet in our Countrey, have this superscription: *Lucius Cornelius Sylla Epaphrodi-
tus*. And when his wife *Metella* had brought him two twinnes, a Son and a Daughter: he named his
Son *Faustus*, signifying fortunate, and his daughter *Fausta*: because the ROMANES call *Faustum*
that which falleth out prosperously and happily. To be short, he trusted so much unto his good for-
tune and doings, that notwithstanding he had killed and put so many men to death, and had made so
great a change and innovation in the Common-wealth, yet of himself he left off his Office of Dicta-
tor, and restored the people to the authority of election of Consuls again, without his presence at the
election: and frequented the Market-place as a private man among the Citizens, offering himself to
every man that would aske him account of his doings past. It happened that a stout and rash enemy of
his was chosen Consull against his will, called *Marcus Lepidus*, not for any devotion the people had
to *Lepidus*, but only to gratifie *Pompey*, who gave countenance and favour unto him. *Sylla* seeing
Pompey come merry homewards from the Election, and joyfull that he had obtained his friends sute
from all other suters: took him aside, and told him: Indeed thou hast great cause to rejoyce, young
man my friend, for thou hast done a goodly act, to choose *Marcus Lepidus* Consull, the veriest Asse
in all ROME, before *Catulus* the honestest man. But I tell thee one thing, thou hadst not need to sleep:
for thou hast strengthened an enemy, that will be thy own destruction. And *Sylla* proved a true Pro-
phet: for *Lepidus* being bent to all cruelty immediately after, flatly fell at defiance with *Pompey*. Now
Sylla consecrating the dimes of all his goods unto *Hercules*, made exceeding sumptuous feastes. Now
the ROMANES, the provision whereof was so unreasonable great, that every day they threw a great
deal of meat into the River, and they dranke wine of forty years old and above. During these feasts
which continued many dayes, his wife *Metella* sickened, and died, and in her sicknesse the Priests and
Soothsayers willed *Sylla* he should not come neare her, nor suffer his house to be polluted and defiled
with mourning for the dead. Whereupon *Sylla* was divorced from her in her sicknesse, and caused
her to be carried into another house, whilst she lived. And thus did *Sylla* curiously observe the super-
stition and ordinance of the Soothsayers: but yet he brake the Law which he made himselfe, touching
the order of Funerals, sparing no cost at *Metellae* buriall. So did he also breake another order
himselfe had made, touching the reformation of bankets: comforting his sorrow with ordinary
feasts, full of all vanity and lasciviousnesse. Within a few moneths after, he had Fencers games at the
sharpe: and the roomes of the Theater being open and unfenced, men and women sitting together,
it fortuned that there was a faire Lady, and of a noble house, that sate hard by *Sylla*, called
Valeria: she was the Daughter of *Messala*, and sister of *Hortensius* the Orator, that had been
divorced not long before from her husband. This Lady passing by *Sylla* behind him, did softly
put her hand on his shoulder, and took a hair from off his Gown, and so went on to her place, and
sate her downe. *Sylla* marvelling at this familiarity, looking earnestly upon her: It is nothing
my Lord (quoth she) but that I desire with others to be partaker a little of your happinesse. Her
words misliked not *Sylla*, but contrarily he shewed that she had tickled him with them: for he
sent straight to aske her name, and enquired of what house she was, and how she had lived.
But after many flie looks betwene them, they turned their faces one to another upon every
occasion, with pretty smiling countenances: so that in the end, they came to promise and
contract marriage together, for the which *Valeria* was not to be blamed. For though she was as
wise, as honest, and as vertuous a Lady as could be possible, yet the occasion that made *Sylla*
marry her, was neither good nor commendable, because he was taken straight with a looke
and a fine tongue, as if he had been but a young Boy: which commonly shew forth the filthiest
passions of the minde, to be so carried, and with such motions. Now, notwithstanding he had
this faire young Lady in his house, he left not the company of women Minstrels and Tumblers,
and to have pleasant Jestors and Musicians about him: with whom he would lye wallowing and
drinking all the day long, upon little Couches made for the nonce. For, his companions that
were in greatest estimation with him at that time, were these three: *Roscus* a maker of com-
mon Playes, *Sorax* a Prince of Scoffers, and one *Metrobius* a Singing man, whom he was in love
withall while he lived, and yet did not dissemble his love, though he was past his Age to be beloved.
This wicked life of his was cause of increasing his disease, the originall cause whereof had
light foundation at the first. For he lived a great time before he perceived that he had an Im-
postume in his body, the which by proceffe of time came to corrupt his flesh in such sort, that
it turned all to lice: so that notwithstanding he had many men about him, to shift him continu-
ally

nually night and day, yet the Lice they wiped away were nothing, in respect of them that multiply-
ed still upon him. And there was neither apparell, linnen, bathes, washing, nor meate it selfe, but
was presently filled with swarms of this vile vermine. For he went many times in the day into the
Bath to wash and cleanse himself of them, but all would not serve: for the changing of his flesh into
this putrature was it straight againe, that there was no cleansing, nor shifting of him, that could keep
such a number of lice from him. Some say, that in old time (amongst the most ancient men, where-
of there is any memory) *Acaus* the Son of *Pelias*, died of the lowlie evil: and long time after also,
the Poet *Alcman*, and *Phericles* the Divine: and so did *Callisthenes* OLYNTHIAN in prison, and
Marius a wife Lawyer. And if we shall make mention of those that are famous, although it be not
in any good matter: we finde that a bondman called *Ennus*, he was the first procurer of the warres
of the bondmen in SICILIA, being taken and carried to ROME, died also of the same disease. Fur-
thermore, *Sylla* did not only foresee his death, but he wrote something of it also: for he made an
end of writing the two and twentieth Book of his Commentaries, two dayes before he died. In that
Booke he saith, that the wife men of CHALDEA had told him long before, that after he had lived
honourably, he should end his dayes in the flower of all his prosperity. And there he saith also, that
his Son who departed a little before his Mother, *Metella* appeared to him in his sleepe, apparelled in
an ill favoured Gowne, and that coming unto him, he prayed him he would go with him unto *Me-
tella* his Mother, thenceforth to live in peace and rest with her. But for all his disease, he would
not give over to deale in matters of State. For ten dayes before his death, he pacified a sedition and
tumult risen among the inhabitants of the City of PUTEOLANUM (in Italian called Pozzolo) and
there he gave them Lawes and Ordinances, whereby they should governe themselves. And the
day before he died, hearing that *Granius* who was in debt to the Common-wealth, deferred payment
of his money looking for his death: he sent for him, and made him come into his Chamber, and there
caused his men to compasse him about, and commanded them to strangle him in his sight. The passion
of his anger was so vehement against him, that by the extreme straining of himselfe, he brake the Im-
postume in his body, so as there gushed out a wonderfull deale of blood: by reason whereof his
strength failing him, he was full of paine and pangs that night, and so died, leaving the two little
children he had by *Metella*. For *Valeria*, was brought to bed of a Daughter after his death, which
was called *Posthumia*, because the ROMANES call those children that are borne after the death of
their Fathers, *Posthumi*. Now when *Sylla* was dead, many gathered about the Consull *Lepidus*, to
let that his body should not be honourably buried, as they were accustomed to bury Noblemen and
men of quality. But *Pompey*, though he was angry with *Sylla*, because he had given him nothing in
his Will, and had remembered all his other friends: yet he made some for love, some by intreaty, and
others with threatening to let it alone, and accompanying the Corpses into ROME, gave both safety
and honour unto the performance of his funerals. And it is said also, that the ROMANE Laides a-
mongst other things, bestowed such a quantity of perfume and odoriferous matter towards the same:
that besides those which were brought in two hundred and ten great Baskets, they made a great image
to the likenesse of *Sylla* himselfe, and another of a Sergeant carrying the Axes before him, all of
excellent Incense and Cinamon. When the day of the Funerals came, fearing lest it would raine in the
forenoone, all the Element being so cloudy, they deferred to carry forth the body to be burnt, un-
till past three of the clocke in the afternoone. And then rose there such a sudden boisterous wind, that
it set all the stake of wood straight on fire, that the body was burnt at a trice; and the fire going
out, fell a great shower of raine that held on till night: so that it seemed good fortune follow-
ing him even to his end, did also helpe his obsequies after his death. His Tombe is to be seene
in the field of *Mars*: and they say that he himselfe made his own Epitaph that is written
upon it, which was: That no man did ever passe him, neither in doing good
to his friends, nor in doing mischief to his enemies.

The end of Sylla's Life.

Divers fam-
ous men that
died of lice.

Sylla's Com-
mentaries con-
taine 22 books.
Sylla's son that
was dead ap-
peared to him
in his dreame
in ill favoured
apparell

Granius strangled
in Sylla's
sight, by his
own com-
mandement.

Sylla's death.

Posthumi.

Sylla's funerals

Sylla's Epitaph

THE COMPARISON OF LYSANDER with SYLLA.



Now that we have at large also set forth the Life of the ROMANE, let us come to compare them both together. In this they are both alike, that both of them grew to be great men, rising of themselves through their own virtue: but this only is proper to *Lysander*, that all the Offices and Dignities which he attained unto in the Common-wealth, were laid upon him through the peoples good wills and consents: for he compelled them to nothing, neither usurped he any extraordinary Authority upon them, contrary to the Law: for as the common saying is:

*Where partiality, and discord once do raigne:
There wicked men are most esteem'd, and rule with greatest gaine.*

As at that time in ROME, the people being corrupted, and the state of Government utterly subverted and brought to nought: to day there rose up one Tyrant, to morrow another. And therefore we may not wonder if *Sylla* usurped and ruled all, when such fellows as *Glancius* and *Saturninus*, did both banish and drive out of ROME such men as *Metellus* was: and where also in open assembly they slew the Consuls Son in the Market-place, and where force of Armes was bought and sold for Gold and Silver, with the which the souldiers were corrupted: and where they made new Lawes with fire and sword, and forced men to obey the same. Yet I speak not this in reproach of him that in such troublesome times found means to make himselfe the greatest man: but to shew that I measure not his honesty by the dignity he grew unto in so unfortunate a City, although he became the chiefe. And as touching him that came from SPARTA (at what time it flourished most, and was the best governed Commonweale) he in all great causes, and in most honourable Offices, was reputed for the best of all bests, and the chiefe of all chieftes: whereof it came to passe, that the one did often resigne up his Authority to his Citizens, which they had given him, who also restored it to him again many and sundry times; for the honour of his vertue did alwayes remaine, and made him justly accounted for the Worthiest man: where the other being onely once chosen Generall of an Army, remained ten yeares continually in warres and hostility, making himself by force, sometime Confull, sometime Vice-consull, and sometime Dictator, but alwayes continued a Tyrant. Indeed *Lysander* attempted to change and alter the state of Government in his Countrey, howbeit it was with great lenity, and more lawfully then *Sylla* did. For he fought it by reason, and good persuasion, not by the sword: neither would he make a change of the whole at one self time as *Sylla* did, but fought onely to reform the Election of Kings. The which thing according to nature, doubtlesse seemed very just: that he which was the best amongst good men, should be chosen King of that City, which was the chiefe over all GREECE, not for her Nobility, but for her vertue onely. For like as a good hunter doth not seek for the Whelp of a good Dog, but for the good Dog himselfe: nor like as a good husband doth not seek for the Colt that cometh of a good Horse, but the good Horse himselfe. E-a wife man of Armes also, the Colt that cometh of a good Horse, but the good Horse himselfe. If he ven so, he that taketh upon him to establish a Civil Government, committeth a foule fault, if he looke of whom his Prince should be borne, and not what the Prince himself should be, considering that the LACEDÆMONIANS themselves have deprived diverse of their Kings from their Crowne and Realme, because they were not Princely, but unprofitable, and good for nothing. Vice, although it be in a Noble man, yet is alwayes ill of it self: but vertue is honoured for her selfe alone, and not because she is placed with Nobility. Now for the wrongs and injuries they both committed,

The chief person is not always the best.

Lysanders and Syllas faults.

the one did worke onely to pleasure his friends, and the other to offend them to whom he was bounden. For it is certaine that *Lysander* did great wrongs to gratifie his familiars: and the most part of them whom he put to death, was to establish the Tyrannicall power of certaine his friends. Where *Sylla* fought for spite to take away his Army from *Pompey* and the Admiralty from *Dolabella*, which himselfe had given him, and caused *Lucretius Offella* to be slaine openly in his owne fight, because he sought to be Consull, for recompence of the good service he had done: for which cruelty of his, causing his owne friends to be slaine in such sort, he made every man afraid of him. Furthermore, their behaviours touching covetousnesse and pleasure doth shew, that the intent of the one was the desire of a good Prince, and the other that of a Tyrant. For we do not finde that *Lysander*, for all his great Princely Authority, did ever use any insolency or lasciviousnesse in his deeds, but alwayes avoided as much as a man might, the reproach of this common Proverbe: *Lyons at home, and Foxes abroad*: he led such a true LACONIAN life, straightly reformed in all points. Where *Sylla* could never moderate his unlawfull lusts, neither for poverty when he was young, nor for age, when it came upon him. But whilest he gave Lawes to the ROMANES, touching Matrimoniall honesty and chastity, himselfe in the meane time did nothing but follow love, and commit adulteries, as *Salust* writeth. By meanes whereof he so much impoverished ROME, and left it so void of Gold and Silver, that for ready money he sold absolute freedome unto the Cities, their confederates, yet was it his daily study to confiscate and take for forfeit, the richest and most wealthy houses in all the whole City of ROME. But all this spoile and havock was nothing in comparison of that which he daily cast away upon his jesters and flatterers. What sparing, or measure may we thinke he kept in his gifts and private bankers, when openly in the day time (all the people of ROME being present, to see him sell the goods which he had caused to be confiscated) he made one of his friends and familiars, to trust up a great deale of household stuffe, for a very little price: and when any other had outbidden his price, and that the Cryer had cried it out aloud: then he was angry, and said: My friends, I have great wrong done me here, not to suffer me sell the spoile I have gotten, at mine owne pleasure, and dispose it as I list my self. Where *Lysander* contrarily sent to the Common-wealth of SPARTA, with other money, the very presents that were given to himselfe. And yet I do not commend him in that deed. For, peradventure he did more hurt to SPARTA, bringing thither that Gold and Silver, then *Sylla* did to ROME, in wasting and consuming that he consumed. Howbeit I alledge this onely for prooffe and declaration, that *Lysander* was nothing covetous. They both have done that unto their City, which never any other but themselves did. For *Sylla* being a riotous and licentious man, brought his Citizens notwithstanding to good order and government: and *Lysander* contrarily filled his City with vice, yet not infected withall himselfe. Thus were they both offenders, the one for breaking the Law he commanded to be kept, and the other in making the Citizens worse then he was himself: for he taught the SPARTANS to desire those things, which he above all things had learned to despise. And thus much concerning peace and Civil government. Now for matters of warre and battels fought, there is no comparison to be made of *Lysander* to *Sylla*, neither in number of victories, nor in hazard of battell. For *Lysander* wanne onely but two battels by sea, besides the taking of the City of ATHENS: which (though I grant him) being rightly considered, was no great exploit of warre, howbeit it was a noble Act, considering the fame he wanne by it. And as for things which happened to him in BOEOTIA, hard by the City of ALIARTE: a man might say peradventure that he had ill lucke. But yet me thinkes also there was a fault in him, for that he staid not for King *Pausanias* aide (the which came from PLATEES immediately after his overthrow) and because he went in a gaire, in fury, and in a vaine ambition to run his head against a wall: so that men of all sorts making a desperate lally out of ALIARTE upon him, slew him there to no purpose. Farre unlike to *Cleombrotus* that died at the battell of LEUCTRES, resisting his enemies that distressed his men: nor yet like *Cyrus*, nor *Epaminondas*, who to keep his men from flying, and to give them assured victory, received his deadly wound: for all these men died like noble Kings, and valiant Captaines. Where *Lysander* rashly cast himself away, to his great dishonor, by too much venturing: proving thereby, that the ancient SPARTANS did like wise men, to avoid the fight with walls. For the noblest and valiantest man that is, or possible can be, may easily be so slaine, not onely by the first souldier that cometh, but by every silly woman or child. As they say, that the worthy *Achilles* was killed by *Paris* within the very Gates of TROIA. Now to the contrary againe, the victories that *Sylla* wanne in set battels, and the thousands of enemies which he slew, are not easily to be numbred, besides also that he took the City of ROME twice: and the haven of ATHENS, not by famine as *Lysander* did, but by force, after he had by many great battels driven *Archelus* out of firme land into the maine sea. It is to be considered also, against what Captaines they made warres. For me thinkes it was but a pastime, as a man might say, for *Lysander* to fight with *Antiochus*, a Pilot of *Alcibiades*, or to surprize and deceive *Philocles*, a common Orator at ATHENS:

*Whose busie tongue much worse then two edged sword did seeme:
Which prated still, and honesty did never once esteeme.*

And whom *Mithridates* (in my opinion) would not vouchsafe to compare with his horse-keeper, nor *Marius* with one of his Sergeants or Mace-bearers. But to leave aside the particular names of all other Princes, Lords, Consuls, Prators, Captaines, and Governours that made warres with *Sylla*: what ROMANE Captaine was there more to be feared, then *Marius*? what King living was there of such power as King *Mithridates*: And of Generals and Lieutenants of Armies in

Lysanders temperance and moderate life Syllas licentious and prodigall life.

Syllas tyrannical saying.

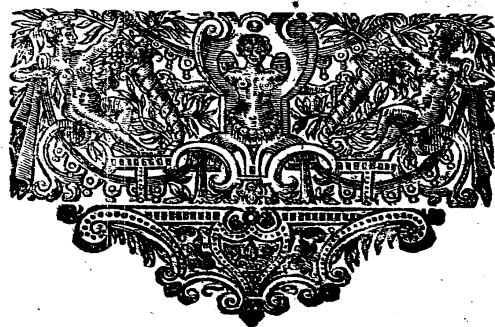
Sylla for wars to be preferred before Lysander

Sylla fought with men of greater power and overcame them.

ITALY, were there any ever more valiant, then *Lamponius* and *Thelephus*: of the which *Sylla* drave the one away, and brought the other to obey him, and slew the two last. But the greatest matter of all that we have spoken of yet, in my opinion was, that *Lysander* did all his Noble Acts, with the aide of his whole Country, where *Sylla* to the contrary did his (being banished from his Country) by his enemies. And at the selfe same time they drave *Syllas* wife out of *ROME*, that they overthrew his houses, and slew his friends also in *ROME*: he notwithstanding made warres in the meane time with infinite thousands of fighting men in *BOROTIA*, and ventured his person in manifold dangers, so that in the end he conquered them all, to the honour and benefit of his Country. Furthermore, *Sylla* would never stoope to King *Mithridates*, for any particular Alliance he offered him, neither yeeld unto him for any aide of men, or money, to warre against his enemies: but (a thing most chiefly to be noted above the rest) he would not vouchsafe to speake to *Mithridates*, nor to take him by the hand onely, before he had spoken it with his own mouth, and faithfully promised, that he would forgoe *ASIA*, deliver him his Gallies, and give up the Realmes of *BITHYNIA* and *CAPPADOCIA* unto their naturall Kings. This me thinks was the goodliest Act that ever *Sylla* did, and proceeded of the greatest magnanimity, to have preferred the benefit of the Common-wealth in that sort, before his private commodity. For therein he was like unto a good Greyhound, that first pincheth the Deare, and holdeth him fast till he have overthrown him, and then afterwards followeth the pursue of his own private quarrell. And lastly, me thinks it is easily judged, what difference there was betweene their two Natures, in that they did both towards the City of *ATHENS*: For *Sylla* having taken it, after the Citizens had made fierce warres with him for the increase of King *Mithridates* greatnesse: yet he left it free unto them, enjoying their owne Lawes. Where *Lysander* to the contrary, seeing such a mighty State and Empire as that overthrown from the great rule it bare, had no pity of it at all, but tooke away the Liberty of popular government, whereby it had been governed of long time before, and established there very cruell and wicked Tyrants. And therefore in mine opinion, we shall not much swarve from the troth, if we give judgement that: that *Sylla* did the greater Acts, and *Lysander* committed the fewer faults. And that we give to the one the honour of a continent and modest man: and to the other, the commendation of a Valiant and skilfull Souilder.

Sylla magnanimity.

Plutarchs judgement of *Sylla* and *Lysander*.



THE

THE LIFE OF CIMON.



Ant. Mund.
3480.

Ant. Christ.
88.



P*eripoltas* the Soothfayer, he that brought King *Opheltas* out of *THE* *SALY* into the Country of *BOROTIA*, with the people which were under his obedience: left a posterity after him that long time flourished in that Country, the more part of the which were ever resident in the City of *CHERONEA*, because it was the first City that was conquered from the barbarous people whom they expelled thence. All they that came of that race were commonly men of great courage, and naturally given to the wars: who were so forward and adventurous in all dangers thereof (in the invasions of the *MEDES* into *GREECE*, and in the battels of the *GAULES*) that they were slain all of them, but onely *Damon* (a little childe left fatherlesse and motherlesse) surnamed *Peripoltas* that escaped; who for goodly personage and noble courage excelled all the lusty youths of his time, though otherwise he were very rude, and of a severe nature. Now it fortuned, that when *Damon* was growne of full age, a *ROMANE* Capitaine of an Ensigne of footemen (lying in Garrison for the Winter season in the City of *CHERONEA*) fell in great love with *Damon*: and because he could not reape the fruites of his dishonest love by no intreaty nor gifts, there appeared vehement presumptions, that by force he went about to abuse him, for that *CHERONEA* at that time (being my naturall City where I was borne) was a small thing, and (being of no strength nor power) little regarded. *Damon* mistrusting the Capitaines villany, and detesting his abominable desire, watched him a shrewd turne, and got certain of his companions (not many in number, because he might the more secretly compasse his enterprise) to be of counsell with him, and take his part against the Capitaine. Now there were sixteene of them in consort together, that one night blacked their faces all with soote, and the next morning after they had drunke together, by the break of day set upon this *ROMANE* Capitaine, that was making sacrifice in the Market-place, and slew him with a good number of his men: and when they had done, fled out of the City, which was straight in a great uproare for the murder committed. Thereupon they called a Councell, and in the Market-place condemned *Damon* and his confederates to suffer paines of death: hoping thereby to have cleared their innocency for the fact done unto the *ROMANS*. But the selfe same night, as all the Magistrates and Officers of the City were at supper together in the Town-house according to their custome: *Damon* and his followers stole upon them suddenly, slew them all, and fled againe upon it. It chanced about that time, that *Lucius Lucullus* being sent on some journey, passed by the City of *CHERONEA* with his Army, and because this murder was but newly done, he stayed there a few dayes to examine the troth and originall thereof: and found that the Commons

Peripoltas and his posterity.

The manners and lewd parts of *Damon Peripoltas*.

of

Lucius Lucullus
examined the
truth of the
murder.

Damon slain
by treason.

A bolomeni,
who they were
and why he cal-
led.

Cheronea indi-
cated for the
murder.

Lucullus called
for a witness
of the troth.

History, is a
certain image
of mens man-
ners and wil-
dome.

A pretty simi-
litude.

How to de-
scribe the life
of man.

Cimon, and
Lucullus in
what things
they were alike

Cimon's lineage.
Thucydides lin-
age.

of the City were in no fault, but that they themselves also had received hurt: whereupon he tooke the souldiers of the ROMANS that remained of the Garrison, and carried them away with him. In the meane time, Damon destroyed all the Country thereabout, and still hovered neare to the City, inasmuch as the inhabitants of the same were driven in the end to send unto him, and by gentle words and favourable decrees handled him so, that they inticed him to come againe into the City: and when they had him amongst them, they chose him Gymnasiarchus, to say, a master of exercises of youth. But shortly after, as they were rubbing of him with oile in his stove or hot-house, stark naked as he was, they flew him by treason. And because there appeared Spirits of long time after in that place, and that there were heard groanings and sighings as our fathers told us, they caused the doore of the hot-house to be walled up: yet for all that, there are visions seene, and terrible voices and cries heard in that selfe place unto this present time, as the neighbors dwelling by do testifie. Now they that were defended of this Damon (for there are yet of his race in the Countrey of PHOCIDES, neare unto the City of STIRIS, who do onely of all other both keepe the Language and manners of the ETOLIANS) are called ASBOLOMENI, signifying Black, and besmeared with soote: because that Damon and his fellows did blacke their faces with soote, when they flew the ROMANE Capitaine. But the ORCHOMENIANS being neare neighbours unto the CHERONEIANS, and therefore their enemies, hired an informer of ROME, a malicious accuser, to accuse the whole City (as if it had been one private person alone) for the murder of the ROMANS, whom Damon and his companions had slain. The Inditement was drawn, and the case pleaded before the Governor of MACEDON, for that the ROMANS did send no Governours at that time into GRECE: and the Counsellors that pleaded for the City of CHERONEA, relied upon the testimony of Lucius Lucullus, referring themselves to his report, who knew the troth and how it was. Thereupon the Governor wrote unto him, and Lucullus in his Letter of answer advertised the verity troth: so was our City cleared of the accusation, which otherwise stood in danger of utter destruction. The inhabitants of the City of CHERONEA, for they had escaped the danger by testimony of Lucius Lucullus, to honour him withall, they set up his image in stone in the Market-place, next unto the image of Bacchus. And we also that be living at this present, though many yeares be gone, and passed since, do notwithstanding reckon our selves partakers of his forepassed benefit. And because we are persuaded, that the image and portraiture that maketh us acquainted with mens manners and conditions, is far more excellent, then the picture that representeth any mans person or shape onely: we will comprehend his life and doings according to the troth, in this volume of Noble mens Lives, where we do compare and fort them one with another. It shall be sufficient for us therefore, that we shew our selves thankful for his benefit: and we think, that he himself would mislike, for reward of his true testimony, to be requited with a favourable lie told in his behalfe. But like as when we will have a passing faire face drawne, and lively counterfeited, and that hath an excellent good grace withall, yet some manner of blemish or imperfection in it, we will not allow the drawer to leave it out altogether, nor yet too curiously to shew it, because the one would deforme the counterfeite, and the other make it very unlikely. Even so, because it is a hard thing (or to say better, peradventure impossible) to describe a man, whose life should altogether be innocent, and perfect: we must first study to write his vertues at large, and thereby seek perfectly to represent the troth, even as the life it selfe. But where by chance we finde certaine faults and errors in their doings, proceeding either of passion of the minde, by necessity of the time or state of the Common-wealth: they are rather to be thought imperfections of vertue not altogether accomplished, then any purposed wickednesse proceeding of vice, or certaine malice. Which we shall not need too curiously to expresse in our History, but rather to passe them lightly over, of reverent shame to the meer frailty of mans nature, which cannot bring forth a man of such vertue and perfection, but there is ever some imperfection in him. And therefore, considering with my selfe unto whom I might compare Lucullus. I thought it best to compare him with Cimon, because they have bene both valiant souldiers against their enemies, having both done notable exploits in warres against the Barbarous people: and moreover, they have both bene courteous and mercifull unto their Citizens, and were both the onely men that pacified the Civill warres and diffention in their Country, and both the one and the other of them was notable victories of the Barbarous people. For there was never GRECIAN Capitaine before Cimon, nor ROMANE Capitaine before Lucullus, that had made warres so farre off from their Country, leaving apart the deeds of Bacchus and of Hercules, and the Acts also of Persus against the ETHIOPIANS, the MEDES, and the ARMENIANS: and the deeds of Jason also, if there remaine any monument extant since that time, worthy of credit in these our dayes. Furthermore, herein they are to be likened together, that they never ended their warres: they onely overthrew their enemies, but never overcame them altogether. Again, we may note in them a great resemblance of nature, for their honesty, curtesie and humanity, which they shewed unto strangers in their Countrey: and for the magnificence and sumptuousnesse of their life and ordinary expence. It may be we do leave out some other similitudes between them: howbeit in the discourse of their Lives they easily appeare. Cimon was the Sonne of Miltiades and of Hegesipyle, a THRACIAN woman born, and the Daughter of King Olorus, as we finde written in certain Poeticall Verses which Melanthius and Archelaus have written of Cimon. The father of Thucydides the Historiographer himself, who was of kin also unto Cimon, was called in like manner Olorus, shewing by the agreeing of the name, that this King Olorus was one of his ancestours, and did also possesse Mines of Gold in the Countrey of THRACIA. It is said moreover, that he died in

a certaine place called the Ditchy Forrest, where he was slaine: howbeit that his ashes and bones were carried into the Countrey of ATTICA, where his Tombe appeareth yet to this day, amongst the Tombes of them of the house and family of Cimon, neare unto the Tombe of Cimon's owne Sister called Elpinice. Notwithstanding, Thucydides was of the Village of ALIMUS, and Miltiades of the Village of LACTIA. This Miltiades, Cimon's Father, being condemned by the state to pay the sum of fifty Talents, was for non-payment cast into prison, and there died: and left Cimon and his Sister Elpinice alive, both Orphanes, and very young. Now, Cimon in his first young yeares had a very ill name and report in the City, being counted a riotous young man, and a great drinker, following his Grandfather Cimon's fashions up and down, as he had also his name: saving that his Grandfather for his beahtinesse was furnished with Coates, as much to say, as fool. Sestimbrotus THRASIAN, who was about Cimon's time, writeth, that Cimon never learned Musicke, nor any other of the liberal Sciences, accustomedly taught to young Noble mens Sons of GRECE, and that he had no sharpe wit, nor good grace of speaking, a vertue proper unto children born in the Countrey of ATTICA: howbeit that he was of a Noble minde, and plain, without dissimulation, so that he rather lived PELOPONNESIAN like, then like an ATHENIAN. For he was even such as the Poet Euripides described Hercules to be:

A simple man he was, and could not well disguise:

As honeste in things of weight, as wit could well devise.

This served fitly to be applied unto Sestimbrotus words written of him: but notwithstanding, in his first young yeares he was suspected of incontinency with his Sister, who indeed otherwise had no very good name. For he was very familiar with the Painter Polygnotus, who painting the TROIAN Ladies prisoners upon the Walls of the Gallery, called the Plesandion, and now Pecile (to say, set out and beautified with divers Pictures) he drew (as they) Laodices face upon Elpinices Picture. This Painter Polygnotus was no common Artificer nor hireling, that painted this Gallery for monies sake, but gave his labour frankly to the Common-wealth, as all the Historiographers that wrote in that time do witness: and as the Poet Melanthius also reciteth in these verses:

At his own proper charge, great cost he hath bestowed,
In decking up our Temples here With gilded Rooves embowed,
For honour of the Gods. And in our tongue likewise,
He hath adorned the common place, with many a fine devise:

Painting and setting forth, in stately shew to see,
The images of demy-gods that here amongst us be.

Yet some say that Elpinice did not secretly company with her Brother Cimon, but lay with him openly as his lawfull married wife, because he could not for her poverty have a husband of like Nobility and parentage to her selfe. Howbeit, that a certaine man called Callias, being one of the richest men in the City, did afterwards fall in fancy with her, and desired to marry her, offering to pay her father Miltiades fine of fifty Talents, wherein he stood condemned a debter to the State, so that he might have her to his wife. Cimon was contented, and upon that condition married his Sister Elpinice unto Callias. This notwithstanding, it is certaine that Cimon was somewhat amorous and given to love women. For Melanthius the Poet in certain of his Elegies, maketh mention for his pleasure of one Astoria born at SALAMINA, and of another called Mnestræ, as if Cimon had been in love with them. But undoubtedly, he loved his lawfull life. Iodice marvellous well, the Daughter of Euryptolemus, Megacles Son, and tooke her death very grievously, as we may conjecture by the Elegies that were written unto him, to comfort him in his sorrow. Panæus the Philosopher is of opinion, that Archelaus the Physitian wrote those Elegies: and sure it is not unlikely, considering the time in which they were written. But furthermore, Cimon's nature and conditions deserved great commendation. For his valiantnesse he gave not place unto Miltiades, and for his wisdom and judgement, he was not inferior unto Themistocles: and it is out of all doubt that he was a juster and honeste man, then either of them both. For he was equall with the best of either of both in the discipline of warres, and for the valiantnesse of a noble Capitaine: and he did much excell them both in properties of a good Governor, and in the administration of the affaires of a City, when he was but a young man, and had no experience of warres. For when Themistocles at the coming in of the MEDES, counselled the people of ATHENS to go out of the City, to leave their Lands and Countrey, and to ship into Gallies, and fight with the Barbarous people by sea in the straight of SALAMINA: as every man was wondering at his bold and venturous counsell, Cimon was the first man that went with a life and jolity through the streete Cerameicus, unto the Cattle, accompanied with his young familiars and companions, carrying a bit of a Bridle in his hand to consecrate unto the goddess Minerva, signifying thereby, that the City had no need of horsemen at that time, but of Mariners and Seamen. And after he had given up his Offering, he took one of the Targets that hung upon the Wall of the Temple, and having made his prayer unto Minerva, came down to the Haven, and was the first that made the most part of the Citizens to take a good heart to them, and courageously to leave the land, and take the Sea. Besides all this, he was a man of a goodly stature, as Ion the Poet testifieth, and had a fair curled hair and thick, and fought so valiantly at the day of battell, that he was immediately great reputation, with the love and good will of every man. So that many were still about him to encourage him to be lively and valiant, and to think thenceforth to do some Acts worthy of the glory that his Father had gotten at the battell of MARATHON. And afterwards, so soon as he began to deal in matters of State, the people were marvellous glad of him, and were wearied with Themistocles: by means whereof Cimon was presently advanced and preferred to the chiefe Offices of honour in the

Miltiades, died
in prison.
Cimon defamed
in his youth.

Coates, or foole.

Cimon's condi-
tions.

Elpinice Cimon's
sister, unchaste
Polygnotus the
Painter.

Elpinice being
poor, had re-
gard to match
according to
her state and
calling.

Cimon subject
to lascivious
life.

The praise of
Cimon's condi-
tions.

Cimon's person-
age commenda-
ed.

Cimon General for the Athenians by sea.

King Pausanias through his insolency and pride, left the Lacedaemonians all their rule of Greece.

Pausanias killed the young Bixantine Virgin.

Butes burneth himselfe, City, and friends, for fear of Cimon.

Statues of Mercury.

the City, being very well thought on of the common people, because of his soft and plaine nature. Moreover, *Aristides* also did greatly further his advancement, because he saw him of good gentle nature, and for that he would use him as a counterpoise to controule *Themistocles* craft and stoutnesse. Wherefore after the *Medes* were fled out of *Greece*, *Cimon* being sent for by the *Athenians* for their Generall by sea, when the City of *Athens* had then no manner of rule nor commandement, but followed King *Pausanias* and the *Lacedaemonians*: he ever kept his Countrey men and Citizens in marvellous good order in all the voyages he made, and they were readier to do good service, then any other Nation in the whole Army whatsoever. And when King *Pausanias* had practised with the barbarous people to betray *Greece*, had written also to the King of *Persia* about it, and in the meane tyme dealt very cruelly and straightly with the confederates of his Countrey, and committed many insolent parts by reason of the great Authority he had, and through his foolish pride whereof he was full: *Cimon* farre otherwise, gently entertained them whom *Pausanias* injured, and was willing to heare them. So that by this his courteous manner, the *Lacedaemonians* having no eye to his doings, he stole away the rule and commandment of all *Greece* from them, and brought the *Athenians* to be sole Lords of all, not by force and cruelty, but by his sweet tongue, and gracious manner of using all men. For the most part of the confederates being no longer able to away with *Pausanias* pride and cruelty, came willingly and submitted themselves under the protection of *Cimon* and *Aristides*: who did not onely receive them, but wrote also to the Councill of the *Ephores* at *Lacedaemon*, that they should call *Pausanias* home, for that he dishonoured *Sparta*, and put all *Greece* to much trouble and warres. And for proofe hereof, they say that King *Pausanias* being on a time in the City of *Byzance*, sent for *Cleoneice*, a young maiden of a Noble house, to take his pleasure of her. Her parents durst not keep her from him, by reason of his cruelty, but suffered him to carry her away. The young gentlewoman prayed the Groomes of *Pausanias* Chamber to take away the lights, and thinking in the darke to come to *Pausanias* bed that was asleep, groping for the bed as softly as she could to make no noise, she unfortunately hit against the Lampe, and overthrew it. The falling of the Lampe made such a noise, that it waked him on the sudden, who thought straight therewithall that some of his enemies had been come traiterously to kill him, whereupon he took his dagger lying under his beds head, and so stabbed it in the young Virgin, that she died immediately upon it. Howbeit he never let *Pausanias* take rest after that, because her spirit came every night and appeared unto him, as he would faine have slept, and spake this angrily to him in verse, as followeth:

*Keep thou thy self upright, and justice see thou fear,
For no and shame be unto him, that justice down doth beare.*

This vile fact of his did so stir up all the confederates hearts against him, that they came to besiege him in *Byzantium* under the conduction of *Cimon*: from whom notwithstanding he escaped, and secretly saved himselfe. And because that this maidens spirit would never let him rest, but vexed him continually, he fled unto the City of *Heraclea*, where there was a Temple that conjured dead spirits, and there was the spirit of *Cleoneice* conjured to pray her to be contented. So she appeared unto him, and told him that he should deliver of all his troubles so soon as he came to *Sparta*: signifying thereby (in my opinion) the death which he should suffer there. Divers writers do thus report it. *Cimon* being accompanied with the confederates of the *Grecians*, which were come to him to take his part: was advertised that certaine great men of *Persia*, and allied to the King himselfe, who kept the City of *Eione*, upon the River of *Strymon* in the Countrey of *Thracia*, did great hurt and damage unto the *Grecians* inhabiting thereabouts. Upon which intelligence he took the Sea with his Army, and went thither, where at his first coming he vanquished and overthrew the barbarous people in battell: and having overthrown them, drave all the rest into the City of *Eione*. That done, he went to invade the *Thracians* that dwelt on the other side of the River of *Strymon*, who did commonly victuall them of *Eione*: and having driven them to forsake the Countrey, he kept it, and was Lord of the whole himselfe. Whereupon he held them that were besieged at *Eione* so straightly from victuals, that *Butes* the King of *Persias* Lieutenant, despairing of the state of the City, set fire on the same, and burnt himselfe, his friends, and all the goods in it. By reason whereof, the spoile taken in that City was but small, because the barbarous people burnt all the best things in it with themselves: howbeit he conquered the Countrey thereabouts, and gave it to the *Athenians* to inhabit, being a very pleasant and fertile soile. In memory whereof, the people of *Athens* suffered him to consecrate and set up openly three *Hermes* of stone (which are four square pillars) upon the tops of the which they set up heads of *Mercury*: upon the first of the three pillars, this inscription is ingraven.

*The people firmly were, of courage stout and fierce,
Who having sent the Medes fast up (as stories do rehearse)
Within the Walled Towne, of Eione that side,
Which on the streame of Strymon stands, they made them their abide
The force of famines pinch, and therewith made them feeble
The dint of warre so many a time, with trusty toles of Steele:
Till in the end, dispaire so pierced in their thought,
As there they did destroy themselves, and so were brought to nought.*

Upon

Upon the second there is such another:

*The Citizens which dwell in Athens stately Towne,
Have here set up these Monuments, and Pictures of renowne,
To honour so the facts, and celebrate the same,
Their valiant Chieftaines did achieve, in many a martiall Game:
That such as after come, when they thereby perceive,
How men of service for their deades, did rich rewards receive,
Encouraged may be, such men for to resemble,
In valiant acts and dreadfull deeds, which makes their foes to tremble.*

And upon the third another:

*When Menestheus did leade forth of this City here,
An Army to the Trojan Warres, (by Homer doth appeare)
He was above the rest, that out of Græcia went,
A valiant Knight, a worthy Wight, a Captaine excellent,
To take in hand the charge, an Army for to guide:
And eke to range them orderly, in Battell to abide.
That praise of prowess then (O grave Athenians)
Is now no newes to fill the eares of these our Citizens,
Since through the World so wide, the fame and worthy praise,
For martiall feats, to you of yore hath judged beene alwaies.*

Now though *Cimons* name be not comprised in these Inscriptions, yet they thought that this was a singular honour to him at that time: for neither *Miltiades* nor *Themistocles* had ever the like. For when *Miltiades* requested the People one day that they would license him to weare a Garland of Olive Boughs upon his head: there was one *Socharis*, borne in the Towne of *Decelea*, that standing up in open Assembly spake against him, and said a thing that marvellously pleased the People, though indeed it was an unthankfull recompence for the good service he had done to the Common-wealth. When you have *Miltiades* (said he) overcome the barbarous People alone in Battell, then aske to be honoured alone also. But how was it then, that *Cimons* service was so acceptable to the *Athenians*? It was in mine opinion, because they had with other Captaines fought to defend themselves and their Countrey onely: and that under the conduction of *Cimon*, they had assaulted and driven their Enemies home to their owne doores, where they conquered the Cities of *Eione* and of *Amphipolis*, which afterwards they did inhabit with their owne Citizens, and wanne there also the Ile of *Scyros*, which *Cimon* took upon this occasion. The *Dolopians* did inhabit it, who were idle People, and lived without labour or tillage, and had bene Rovers on the Sea of a wonderful long time, using Piracy altogether to maintaine themselves withall: so that in the end they spared not so much as the Merchants and Passengers that harboured in their Havens, but robbed certaine *Thessalians* that went thither to traffick. And when they had taken their Goods from them, yet would they cast them in Prison besides. Howbeit the Prisoners found meanes to escape, and after they had saved themselves, repaired to the Parliament of the *Amphictyons*, which is a generall Councill of all the States and People of *Greece*. The *Amphictyons* understanding the matter, condemned the City of the *Scyrians* to pay a great summe of Money. The Citizens refused to be contributaries to the payment of the Fine, and bad them that robbed the Merchants, and had the Goods in their hands, pay it if they would. And therefore, because there was no other likelihood, but that the Thieves themselves should be driven to answer the Fine, they fearing it, wrote Letters unto *Cimon*, and willed him to come with his Army, and they would deliver their City into his hands: the which was performed. And thus *Cimon* having conquered the Island, drave out the *Dolopians* thence, and rid the Sea *Ægeum* of all Pyrates thereby. That done, remembering that the ancient *Thesew*, the Sonne of *Aegæus*, flying from *Athens* came into that Island of *Scyros*, where King *Lycomedes* suspecting his coming, had traiterously slaine him: *Cimon* was marvellous careful to seeke out his Tombe, because the *Athenians* had an Oracle and Prophecy, that commanded them to bring his ashes and bones backe againe to *Athens*, and to honour him as a demy-god. But they knew not where he was buried, for that the Inhabitants of the Island would never afore confesse where it was, nor suffer any man to seeke it out, till he at the last with much ado found the Tombe, put his bones aboard the Admirall-Galley sumptuously decked and set forth, and so brought him againe into his Countrey, foure hundred yeares after *Thesew* death. For this, the People thanked him marvellously, and thereby he wanne exceedingly the *Athenians* good wills, and in memory of him they celebrated the judgement of the Tragicall Playes of the Poets. For when *Sophocles* the Poet, being a young man, had played his first Tragedy, *Aphepsion* the President perceiving there was great strife and contention amongst the lookers on, would not draw them by lots that should be Judges of this Play, to give the Victory unto that Poet that had best deserved: but when *Cimon* and the other Captaines were come into the Theater to see the same (after they had made their accustomed Oblations unto the god, in honour of whom these Playes were celebrated) he stayed, and made them to minister an Oath unto tenne (which were of every Tribe of the People one) and the Oath being given, he caused them to sit as Judges to give sentence, which of the Poets should carry away the Prize. This made all the Poets strive and contend who should doe best, for the honour of the Judges: but *Sophocles* by their sentence bare away the Victory. But *Æschylus* (as they say) was so angry and grieved withall, that he tarried not long after in *Athens*, but went for sight into *Sicilia*, there.

Socharis Decellan spake against Miltiades request for the Gariand of Olive boughs.

Cimon wanne the Isle of Scyros.

The Councill of the Amphictyons.

Thesew bones, brought to Athens foure hundred yeares after his death by Cimon. Sophocles and Æschylus contention for victory.

Æschylus overcome by Sophocles, dwelleth in Sicilia, and dieth there.

N n

where

Cimon sang
passing sweetly

where he died, and was buried neare unto the City of GELA. Ion writeth that he being but a young Boy, newly come from CHIO unto ATHENS, supped one night with Cimon at Laomedons Houfe, and that after Supper when they had given the god thanks, Cimon was intreated by the Company to sing. And he did sing with so good a grace, that every man praised him that heard him, and said he was more courteous then Themistocles far: who being in like company, and requested also to play upon the Citherne, answered them, he was never taught to sing or play upon the Citherne, howbeit he could make a poore Village to become a rich and mighty City. After that done, the Company discoursing from one matter to another, as it falleth out commonly in speech, they entred in talke of Cimon's doings: and having rehearsed the chiefest of them, he himselfe told one, which was the notablest and wisest part of all the rest that ever he played. For the ATHENIANS and their Confederates together, having taken a great number of barbarous People Prisoners, in the Cities of SESTOS and of BIZANTIUM, the Confederates to honour him withall, gave him the preheminence to divide the Spoyle amongst them. Whereupon he made the division, and set out the bodies of the barbarous People all naked by themselves, and laid the Spoyles and their Apparell by themselves. The Confederates found this distribution very unequall: but neverthelesse Cimon gave them the choice to choofe which of the two they would, and that the ATHENIANS should be contented with that which they left. So there was a SAMIAN Captaine called Herophytus, that gave the Confederates counsell, rather to take the Spoyles of the PERSIANS, then the PERSIANS themselves, and so they did: for they tooke the Spoyle of the Prisoners Goods and Apparell, and left the men unto the ATHENIANS. Whereupon Cimon was thought at that time of the common Souldiers to be but an ill divider of Spoyle, because that the Confederates carried away great store of Chaines, Carkanets, and Bracelets of Gold, and goodly rich Purple Apparell after the PERSIAN fashion: and the ATHENIANS brought away naked bodies of men, very tender and unacquainted with paine and labour. But shortly after, the Parents and Friends of these Prisoners, came out of PHRYGIA and LYDIA, and redeemed every man of them at a great Ranfome: so that Cimon gathered such a masse of ready Money together by their Ranfome, as he defrayed the whole charges of all his Galleys with the same for the space of foure Moneths after, and left a great summe of Money besides in the sparing Treasure of ATHENS. Cimon by this meanes being now become rich, bestowed the Goods which he had thus honourably gotten from the barbarous People, more honourably againe, in relieving his poore decayed Citizens: for he brake up all his Hedges and Inclosures and laid them plaine and open, that Travellers passing by, and his owne poore Citizens, might take as much Fruite thereof as they would, without any manner of danger. And furthermore, he kept a continuall Table in his Houfe, not furnished with many Dishes, but with Meate sufficient for many persons, and where his poore Countrey men were daily refreshed, that would come unto that Ordinary: so as they needed not otherwise care to labour for their living, but might be the readier, and have the more leisure to serve the Common-wealth. Yet Arifotle the Philosopher writeth, that it was not for all the ATHENIANS indifferently, that he kept this ordinary Table: but for his poore Townesmen only in the Village of LACIA, where he was borne. Furthermore, he had alwaies certaine young men waiting on him of his Household Servants well apparellled, and if he met by chance as he went up and downe the City, any old Citizen poorly arrayed, he made one of these young men strip himselfe, and change Apparell with the old man, and that was very well thought of, and they all honoured him for it. Moreover these young men carried ever good store of Money about them: and when they met with any honest poore Citizen in the Market-place, or elsewhere, knowing his poverty, they secretly gave him Money in his hand, and said never a word. Which the Poet selfe Cratinus seemeth to speake of, in a Comedy of his intituled the Archiloches:

*I am Metrobius the Secretary, he
Which did my selfe assure (in age) well cherished to be:
At wealthy Cimon's board, where want was never found,
Whose distributions and his almes did to the poore abound.
There thought I for to passe mine aged yeares away,
With that right noble goodly man, which was the Grecians stay.*

Furthermore, Gorgias Leontine said, that Cimon got Goods to use them, and that he used them to be honoured by them. And Critias that was one of the thirty Tyrants of ATHENS, he wisheth and desireth of the gods in his Elegies:

*The goods of Scopas heires, the great magnificence,
And noble heart of Cimon, he who spared none expence:
The glorious Victories and high triumphant Showes.
Of good Agesilaus King: good gods, oh grant me those.*

The hospitality
of Lichas
Spartan;

Cimon's godly
acts.

The Name of Lychas SPARTAN hath beene famous amongst the GRECIANS: and yet we know no other cause why, saving that he used to feast strangers that came to LACEDÆMON on their Festivall day, to see the Sports and Exercises of the young men dancing naked in the City. But the magnificence of Cimon, did far exceede the ancient liberality, courtesie, and hospitality of the ATHENIANS: for they of all other were the first men that taught the GRECIANS throughout all GREECE, how they should sowe Corne, and gather it to maintaine themselves withall, and also shewed them the use of Wells, and how they should light and keepe fire. But Cimon making an Hospitall of his owne Houfe, where all his poore Citizens were fed and relieved, and permitting strangers that travelled by his Grounds, to gather such Fruites there as the time and season of the yeare yielded:

he

he brought againe (as it were) into the World, the Goods to be common amongst them, as the Poets say they were in the old time of Saturnes Reigne. And now, where some accused this honest liberality of Cimon, objecting that it was but to flatter the common People withall, and to winne their good wills by that meanes: the manner of life he led, accompanying his liberality, did utterly confute and overthrow their opinions that way of him. For Cimon ever tooke part with the Nobility, and lived after the LACEDÆMONIANS manner, as it well appeared, in that he was alwaies against Themistocles, who without all compasse of reason increased the Authority and Power of the People: and for this cause he joyned with Arifides, and was against Ephialtes, who would for the Peoples sake have put downe and abolished Areopagus Court. And where all other Governours in his time were Extortioners and Bribe-takers, (Arifides and Ephialtes only excepted), he to the contrary led an uncorrupt life in administration of Justice, and ever had cleane hands, whatsoever he spake or did for the State and Common-wealth, and would therefore never take Money of any man living. And for proofe hereof, we finde it written, that a Nobleman of PERSIA called Refaces, being a Traytor to his Master the King of PERSIA, fled on a time unto ATHENS, where being continually baited and wearied with the common accusations of these tale-bearers and pick-thanks that accused him to the People, he repaired at the length unto Cimon, and brought him home to his owne doore two Bolles, the one full of Daricks of Gold, and the other of Daricks of Silver, which be pieces of Money so called, because that the name of Darius was written upon them. Cimon seeing this offer, fell a laughing, and asked him whether of the two he would rather choofe, to have him his friend or his hireling. The barbarous Nobleman answered him, that he had rather have him his friend. Then said Cimon to him againe, Away with thy Gold and Silver, and get thee hence: for if I be thy friend, that Gold and Silver shall ever be at my commandement, to take and dispose it as I have neede. About that time began the Confederates of the ATHENIANS to be weary of the Warres against the barbarous People, desiring thenceforth to live quietly, and to have leisure to manure and husband their grounds, and to trafficke also, considering that they had driven their Enemies out of their Countrey, and that now they did them no more hurt: by reason whereof they payed the Money they were seffed at, but they would furnish no more men nor Ships as they had done before. But the other Captaines of the ATHENIANS compelled them to do it by all the meanes they could, and prosecuted Law against them that failed payment, condemning them in great Fines, and that so cruelly, that they made the Seigniorie and Dominion of the ATHENIANS hateful unto their Confederates. Howbeit Cimon tooke a contrary course to them: for he compelled no man, but was content to take Money and voide Ships of them that would not, or could not serve in their persons, being very glad to suffer them to become slothfull Mongrels in their Houses, by too much rest, and to transpore themselves from good Souldiers which they had beene, to Labourers, Merchants, and Farmers, altogether altered from Armes and Warres, through the beauly slothfull desire they had to live pleasantly at home. And contrariwise, causing a great number of the ATHENIANS one after another to serve in Galleys, he so acquainted them with continuall paines in his Voyages, that he made them in short space become Lords and Masters over them that gave them pay and entertainment. For they began by little and little to flatter and feare the ATHENIANS, whom they saw trained continually in the Warres, ever bearing Armour, and carrying their Weapons in their hands, becoming expert Souldiers at their charge, by reason of the Pay they gave them: so that in the end, they became Subjects and Contributaries as it were unto them, where before they were their friends and companions. So as there never was GRECIAN Captaine that bridled more the cruelty and Power of that mighty PERSIAN King, then Cimon did: for after he had driven him out of all GREECE, he left him not so, but following him foote-hot, as we commonly say, before the barbarous People could take breath, or give wise and direct order for their doings, he made so great speede, that he tooke some of their Cities from them by force, and other some by practice, causing them to rebell against the King, and turne to the GRECIANS side: inasmuch as there was not a man of Warre left for the King of PERSIA in all ASIA, from the Countrey of IONIA, directly downe to PAMPHYLIA. And furthermore, being advertised that the Kings Captaines were upon the Coast of PAMPHYLIA, with a great Army by Sea, because he would feare them in such sort, that they should not dare any more to shew themselves upon the Sea, on this side of the Isles of the CHELIDONIANS: he departed from the Isle of GNEDOS, and from the City of TRIOPUM, with two hundred Galleys, the which at the first had beene excellently well made and devised by Themistocles, as well for swift sailing, as for easie turning. Howbeit Cimon made them to be enlarged, to the end they might carry the greater number of men of Warre in Battell, to assault the Enemies. And so went first against the PHASELITES (who were GRECIANS borne, and yet notwithstanding would neither take the GRECIANS part, nor receive their Army into their Havens) landed there, destroyed all the Countrey, and then came and camped with his Army hard at their Walls. But the men of CHIO being ancient friends of the PHASELITES, and in Cimon's Army at that Journey, did somewhat pacifie his anger, and gave advertisement to them of the City of their doings, by Letters, which they tied to their Arrows, and shot over the Walls. So as in the end they procured their peace, with condition, that the PHASELITES should pay tenne Talents for a Fine: and furthermore, should also follow the Army of the GRECIANS, and from thenceforth fight with them, and for them, against the barbarous People. Now Ephorus saith, that the PERSIAN Captaine that had charge of the Army by Sea, was called Tibrastus, and the Captain of the Army by Land, Pherendates. But Callisthenes writeth that Ariomandes,

N n 2

Cimon brought
the Golden
World againe.

Cimon's integrity
and cleane
hands.

Refaces attempt-
ed to bribe
Cimon.

Daricks,
whereof so cal-
led.

A noble saying
of Cimon.

The benefit of
paines and fer-
vice, and the
discommodity
of ease and
idleness.

Cimon plagued
the Persians.

Chio an Ile,

Cimon wanne
the City of
Phaselis.

Arimaudes the Kings Lieutenant of his whole Army by Sea, riding at Anker before the River of Eurymedon.

Cimon's Victory of the *Terians* both by Sea and Land. *Cimon* took two hundred Souldiers Prisoners at the Battell fought by the River of Eurymedon.

Cimon overcame the Battell of the barbarous People also by Land.

Cimon brought the King of Persia to condition of peace.

Callias sent Ambassadors to take the Oath of the King of Persia.

Cimon was at the charge of building common buildings.

the Sonne of *Gobrias*, was the Kings Lieutenant, having chiefe Authority over the whole Army that lay at Anker before the River of Eurymedon, and had no desire to fight, because they looked for a new supply of fourescore Sayle of the PHOENICIANS, that should come to them from CYPRUS. But *Cimon* contrarily, fought to fight before these Gallies of the PHOENICIANS, came to joyne with them, and put his Gallies in order of Battell, determining to give a Charge, and compell them to fight, would they, or would they not: which the barbarous People perceiving, drew nearer into the mouth of the River Eurymedon, because they should not compasse them in behinde, nor force them to come to Battell against their wills. Which notwithstanding, when they saw the ATHENIANS come to set upon them where they lay, they made out against them a Fleete of six hundred Sayle, as *Phanodemus* declareth: or as *Ephorus* writeth, three hundred and fifty Sayle onely. But they did nothing worthy of so great a Power, at the least touching the Fight by Sea, but turned their Prores straight to the River: where such as could recover the mouth thereof in time, saved themselves, flying to their Army by Land, which was not farre from that place, set also in order of Battell. But the rest that were taken tardy by the way, they were slaine, and their Gallies funke or taken: whereby we may know that there were a great number of them: for many were saved, as it is likely, and many also were splitted to pieces, and yet the ATHENIANS tooke two hundred of them Prisoners. In the meane season, their Army by Land came neare to the Sea side: which *Cimon* perceiving, stood in some doubt, whether he should land his men or not, because it seemed a hard and dangerous thing unto him, to land in sight of his Enemies: and to put forth the GRECIANS already wearied with the first Battell against the barbarous People, who were altogether whole, fresh, and lusty, and withall many in number against one. Nevertheless, perceiving that his men trusted in their force, besides the courage which the first Victory gave them, and that they desired none other thing but to fight with the Enemies: he put them on Land while they were hot yet with the first Battell. And so with great fury and loud cries they ranne immediately against the barbarous People, who stood still and stirred not, and received their first Charge very valiantly: by reason whereof, the Battell grew sharpe and bloody, inso much as there were slaine all the greatest Personages and men of best account of all the ATHENIANS Army. But the other fought it out so valiantly, that in the end they wanne the Field, and with marvellous difficulty made the barbarous People flee, whereof they slew a great number in the place, and tooke the rest Prisoners, with all their Tents and Pavillions, which were full of all sorts of Riches. Thus *Cimon* like a valiant Champion of the holy Games, having in one selfe-day wonne two Victories, and having excelled the Battell by Sea also which the GRECIANS had wonne within the Channell of SALAMINA, with that which he wanne then upon the Land: and the Battell which the GRECIANS wanne by Land before the City of PLATEES, with that which he wanne the day before on the Sea: yet was he not contented with all this. For after two so famous Victories obtained, he would once againe fight for the honour of the Tokens of Triumph: and being advertised that the fourescore Sayle of the PHOENICIANS (coming too late to be present at the first Battell by Sea) were arrived at the head of *Hydra*, he sayled thither with all possible speede. Now the Captaines of this Fleete knew no certainty of the overthrow of their chiefe Army, but stood in doubt of it, and would not be perswaded that it was overthrowne in that sort: and therefore were they so much the more afraid, when they discried afar off the victorious Army of *Cimon*. To conclude, they lost all their Ships, and the greatest part of their men, which were either drowned or slaine. This Victory against the PERSIANS did so daunt and plucke downe the pride and lofty minde of the barbarous PERSIAN King, as he made that condition of Peace so much spoken of in ancient Histories, in the which he promised and sware, that his Armies thenceforth should come no nearer to the GRECIAN Sea, then the cariage of a Horse; and that he would sayle no farther forward then the Illes CHELIDONIANS, and CYANEANS, with any Gallies or other Ships of Warre. Howbeit the Historiographer *Calisthenes* writeth, that it was no part of any Article comprised within the Condition of Peace, but that the King kept it for the feare he had of this so great an Overthrow: and that afterwards he kept so farre from the GRECIAN Sea, that *Pericles* with fifty Sayle, and *Ephialtes* with thirty onely, did sayle beyond the Illes CHELIDONIAE, and no barbarous Fleete ever came against them. Yet notwithstanding all this, amongst the common ACTS of ATHENS, which *Craterus* hath gathered together, the Articles of this Peace are found written at large, as a thing that was true indeede. And it is said, that for this occasion the ATHENIANS built an Altar of Peace, and that they did *Callias* great honour, for that he was sent Ambassadors unto the King of PERSIA to take his Oath for confirmation of this Peace. So when all these Spoyles of the Enemies were sold to them that would give most, there was such store of Gold and Silver in the sparing Coffers of their Treasury, that there was enough to serve their turne for any service they would employ it to; and besides that, they had sufficient to build up the side of the Wall of the Castle which looketh towards the South, this Voyage and great Spoyle did so enrich them. And it is said moreover, that the building of the long Walls that joyne to the City, with the Haven, which they call the legs, was built and finished afterwards: howbeit the first foundations thereof were built with the Money *Cimon* gave towards it, for that the Worke met with Moorish and watry places, by meane whereof they were driven to fill up the Marshes with force of Flints and great Logs, which they threw unto the bottome. It was he also that first did beautifie and set forth the City of ATHENS, with places of liberrall exercise and honest pastime, which shortly after were much esteemed. For he caused plaine Trees to be set in the Market-place: and the Academy

which

which before was very dry and naked, he made it now a pleasant Grove, and full of goodly Springs which he brought into it, and made fine covered Arbours to walke in, and goodly long smooth Alleys to runne a good course in. On a time he had newes brought him, that certaine PERSIANS dwelling in CHERRONEUS (to say, a demy Isle of the Countrey of THRACIA) would not be gotten out, but sent to the People of high THRACIA, to pray their aide to defend themselves against *Cimon*: of whom they made but little account, because he was departed from ATHENS with a very few Ships, who set upon them onely with foure Gallies, and tooke thirtene of theirs. And so having driven the PERSIANS out of CHERRONEUS, and subdued the THRACIANS, he conquered all the Countrey of CHERRONEUS, from THRACIA unto his owne Countrey: And departing from thence, went against them of the Isle of THASOS, that had rebelled against the ATHENIANS: and having overcome them in Battell by Sea, he wanne three and thirty of their Ships, and besides that tooke their City by Siege, and wanne the Mines of Gold lying beyond the same to the ATHENIANS, with all the Lands that belonged unto them. This Conquest made his way open into MACEDON, and gave him great opportunity to have taken the best part thereof at that present time. But because he let it alone, and followed not that opportunity, he was suspected to have taken Money, and to have beene bribed by Presents of King *Alexander*: whereupon his secret Enemies laid their heads together, and accused him. But *Cimon* to clear himselfe before the Judges of this accusation, said unto them: I have practised friendship neither with the IONIANS, nor yet with the THESSALIANS, both which are very rich and wealthy People: neither have I taken their matters in hand, as some other have done, to receive both honour and profit by them. But indeede I am a friend to the LACEDÆMONIANS; for I confesse I love them, and desire to follow their sobriety and temperance of life, the which I prefer and esteeme above any Riches or Treasure: although I am very glad notwithstanding to enrich our State and Common-wealth with the spoiles of our Enemies. *Stesimbrotus* reporteth this accusation, and saith, that his Sister *Elpinice* went to *Pericles* house, (who was the sharpest and straightest accuser of his) to pray him not to deale so extremely with her Brother: and that *Pericles* laughing on her, said: Alas, thou art too old, *Elpinice*, thou, now to overcome these matters. Yet for all that, when *Cimon* came to hearing, he was a more gentle adversary then any other of his accusers, and rose up but once to speake against him, and that for manners sake onely: so that *Cimon* thereby escaped, and was cleared of this accusation. And furthermore, so long as he was present in ATHENS, he alwaies kept the seditious People in obedience, who would ever crosse and thwart the Authority of the Nobility, because they would have all the sway and rule in their owne hands. But when *Cimon* was sent abroad any whither to the Warres, then the common People having no body to gainsay them, turned and altered the Governement of the City to plebeian survey, and confounded all the ancient Lawes and Customes which they had observed of long time, and that by the procurement and setting on of *Ephialtes*. For they tooke away all hearing of Causes in manner from the Court of * *Areopagus*, and put all Authority of matters judiciall into the hands of the People, and brought the state of the City into a pure Democracy, to say, a Common-wealth ruled by the sole and absolute power of the People, *Pericles* being then in great credit, who altogether favoured the Peoples Faction. Wherefore *Cimon* at his returne, finding the Authority of the Senate and Councell so shamefully defaced and troden under foote, was marvelously offended withall, and sought to restore the ancient state of Judgement againe as it was before, and set up the Governement of the Nobility (called *Optimasia*) that was established in the time of *Clisibenes*. But then began his Enemies againe with open mouth to cry out upon him, reviving the old former naughty rumour that ranne of him before, that he kept his owne Sister: and furthermore accusing him, that he did favour the LACEDÆMONIANS. And amongst other things, there ranne in the Peoples mouths the Verses of the Poet *Eupolis*, which were made against *Cimon*:

No wicked man he was, but very negligent,
And therewithall to Wine much more, then unto Money bent.
He stole sometimes away, at Sparta for to sleepe:
And left poore *Elpinice* his Wife at home alone to weepe

And if it be so, that being thus negligent and given to Wine, he have gotten so many Cities, and wonne such sundry great Battels: it is out of doubt then, that if he had beene sober and careful, there had never beene before him nor since, any GRECIAN Captaine that had passed him in glory of the Warres. Indeede it is true, that from the beginning he ever loved the manner of the LACEDÆMONIANS: for of two twins which he had by his Wife *Clitoria*, he named the one of them *Lacedæmonius*, and the other *Elasus*, as *Stesimbrotus* writeth, saying: that for that cause *Pericles* did ever twit them in the teeth with their Mothers stock. Howbeit *Diodorus* the Geographer writeth, that both these two, and another third called *Thestalus*, were borne of *Isodice*, the Daughter of *Euryptolemus*, the Sonne of *Megacles*. Howsoever it was, it is certaine that *Cimon* credit grew the greater, by the favour and countenance which the LACEDÆMONIANS gave him, who had hated *Themistocles* of long time, and for the malice they bare him, were glad that *Cimon* being but a young man, did beare more sway in ATHENS then he: which the ATHENIANS perceived well enough, and were not offended withall at the beginning, because the good will of the LACEDÆMONIANS towards him, did bring them great commodity. For when the ATHENIANS began to grow of great Power, and to practise secretly, that the Confederates of the GRECIANS should forsake the LACEDÆMONIANS to joyne with them: the LACEDÆMONIANS were not angry withall,

N n 3

Cimon drove the Persians out of Thracia.

Cimon accused and discharged

Cimon praised the temperate life of the Lacedæmonians. *Stesimbrotus* the Historian.

* *Areopagus* was a Village of *Mary* by *Athens*, where the Judges called *Areopagites* did sit to judge causes of murder, and other weighty matters concerning the Common-wealth.

Democracy, rule of Commonality.

Pericles in *Cimon* absence reduced the Common-wealth unto the State. Democracy *Optimasia* the Governement of the Nobility.

Cimon followed the Lacedæmonian manner

for the honour and love they bare unto *Cimon*, who did alone in manner manage all the affaires of Greece at that time, because he was very courteous unto the Confederates, and also thankfull unto the Lacedæmonians. But afterwards when the Athenians were aloft, and of great Power, and that they saw *Cimon* stucke not for a little matter with the Lacedæmonians, but loved them more then they would have had him: they began then to envie him, because in all his matters he had to doe, he ever highly praised and extolled the Lacedæmonians before them. But specially, when he would reprove them of any fault they had committed, or that he would persuade them to doe any thing: The Lacedæmonians (said he) I warrant ye doe not so. That, as *Stesimbrotus* saith, made him marvellously to be maliced of the People. But the chiefest thing they accused him of, and that most did hurt him, fell out upon this occasion. The fourth year of the Reigne of *Archidamus*, the Sonne of *Zenxidamus* King of Sparta; there fortun'd the wonderfullst and most fearefull Earthquake in the City of Lacedæmon, and thereabouts, that ever was heard of. For the Earth in many places of the Countrey opened, and fell as into a bottomlesse pit. The Mountaine Taygetum shooke so terribly, that points of Rocks fell downe from it. All the City was layed on the ground and overthrowne, five Houses onely excepted, the rest being wholly destroyed. And it is said also, that a little before this Earthquake came, the young men of that City were playing with the young boyes, exercising themselves starke naked under a great Gallery covered over: and as they were sporting together, there started up a Hare hard by them. The young men spying her, ranne after the Hare starke naked, and oyled as they were with great laughter. They were no sooner gone thence, but the top of the Gallery fell downe upon the boyes that were left, and squashed them all to death. And in memory of the same, the Tombe where they were afterwards buried, is called unto this day *Sistatias*, as much to say, as the Tombe of those which the Earth-quake had flaine. But King *Archidamus* foreseeing straight upon the sudden, the danger that was to come, by that he saw present, perceiving his Citizens busie in saving their Household-stuffe, and that they were running out of their Houses, made the Trumpeters to sound a hot Alarme upon it, as if their Enemies had come stealingly upon them to take the City, to the end that all the Inhabitants should presently repaire unto him (setting all businesse apart) with Armour and Weapon. That sudden Alarme doublelesse saved the City of Sparta at that time: for the *Ilotæ*, which are their Slaves and Bond-men in the Countrey of *Laconia*, and the Countrey Clownes of little Villages thereabouts, came running armed out of all parts, to spoile and rob them upon the sudden that were escaped from this Earth-quake. But when they found them well armed in order of Battell, they returned backe againe as they came: and then began afterwards to make open Warres upon them, when they had drawne certaine of their Neighbours unto their Confederacy, and specially the *Messenians*; who made hot Warres upon the Spartans. Whereupon the Lacedæmonians sent *Pericidas* unto Athens, to demand aide: of whom *Aristophanes* the Poet in mockage, said:

*With visage pale and wanne he on the Altar sate,
In scarles Gowne requiring aide, to succour their estate.*

Against whom *Ephialtes* also spake very much, protesting that they should not aide nor relieve a City that was an Enemy unto Athens, but rather suffer it to fall to the ground, and to spurne the pride and arrogancy of Sparta under their feete. But *Cimon* (as *Crius* saith) being more careful for the benefit of Sparta, then for the enlarging and increasng of his Countrey, brought it to passe by his perswasion, that the Athenians sent him thither with a great Power to helpe them. And furthermore, *Ion* rehearseth the very selfe-words that *Cimon* spake to move the People to grant his request. For he besought them that they would not suffer Greece to halt, as if Lacedæmon had bene one of her feete, and Athens the other: nor to suffer their City to lose another City their friend, and subject to the yoke and defence of Greece. Having therefore obtained aide to leade unto the Lacedæmonians, he went with his Army through the Corinthians Countrey: wherewith *Lacharus* a Captaine of Corinth was marvellously offended, saying, that he should not have entred into their Countrey with an Army before he had asked license of them of the City. For (said he) when one knocketh at a mans doore or gate, yet he cometh not in before the Master of the house commandeth him. But ye Corinthians (said *Cimon* to him againe) have not knocked at the Gates of the Cleonæans, nor of the Megarians, to come in, but have broken them open, and entred by force of Armes, thinking that all should be open unto them that are the stronger. Thus did *Cimon* stoutly answer the Corinthian Captaine againe, because it stode him upon, and so went on with his Army through the Countrey of Corinth. Afterwards the Lacedæmonians sent againe unto the Athenians, to require aide against the Messinians and the Ilotæ, (which are their Slaves) who had wonne the City of *Itome*. But when the Athenians were come, the Lacedæmonians were afraid of the great Power they had brought, and of their boldnesse besides: wherefore they sent them backe againe, and would not employ them of all other their Confederates that came to their succour, because they knew them to be men very tickle, desiring change and alterations. The Athenians returned home, misliking much that they were sent backe againe, inasmuch as ever after they hated them that favoured the Lacedæmonians in any thing. And for the Lacedæmonians sake therefore, taking a small occasion of offence against *Cimon*, they banished him out of their Countrey for tenne yeares: which was the full time appointed and limited unto them that were banished with the Ostracism banishment. Now within the terme of these tenne yeares, the Lacedæmonians fortun'd to undertake the delivery of the City of *Delphe*s, from the servitude and bondage of the Phocians

A marvellous
great Earth-
quake in Lacedæmon.
Taygetum Mons.

Archidamus
sudden policy
saved the City.
Ilotæ Slaves and
Bondmen to the
Lacedæmonians.

Cimon procured
aide for
the Lacedæmonians.

Cimon banished
for tenne
yeares.

Phocians, and to put them from the custody and keeping of the Temple of *Apollo*, which is in the said City. Wherefore to obtaine their desire and purpose, they came to plant their Campe near unto the City of *Tanagre* in *Phocide*, where the Athenians went to fight with them. *Cimon* understanding this, although he was in exile, came to the Athenians Campe armed, with intent to doe his duty to fight with his Countrey men against the Lacedæmonians, and so went into the Bands of the Tribe *Oeneide*, of the which he was himselfe. But his owne Countrey Enemies cried out against him, and said, that he was come to none other end, but to trouble the order of their Battell, of intent that he might afterwards bring them to the City selle of Athens. Whereupon the great Councell of the five hundred men were afraid, and sent to the Captaines to command them they should not receive him into the Battell: so that *Cimon* was compelled to depart the Campe. But before he went, he prayed *Enthippus* *Anaphlystian*, and his other friends that were suspected as himselfe was to favour the Lacedæmonians doings: that they should doe their best endeavour to fight valiantly against their Enemies, to the intent their good service at that Battell might purge their innocency towards their Countrey men: and so they did. For the Athenians keeping the Souldiers *Cimon* had brought with him, which were an hundred in all, they set them apart by themselves in a Squadron, who fought it so valiantly and desperately, that they were slaine every man of them in the Field, leaving the Athenians marvellous sorry for them, and repenting them that they had so unjustly mistrusted them as Traytors to their Countrey. Wherefore they kept not their malice long against *Cimon*, partly as I am perswaded, because they called his former good service to minde which he had done to their Countrey aforetime, and partly also, because the necessity of the time so required it. For the Athenians having lost a great Battell before *Tanagre*, looked for no other about the Spring of the yeare, but that the Peloponnesians would invade them with a great Power: wherefore they revoked *Cimons* banishment by Decree, whereof *Pericles* selfe was the onely author and procurer. So civill and temperate were mens enmities at that time, regarding the common benefit of their publick State and Weale: and so much did their ambition (being the most vehement passion of all other, and that most troubleth mens mindes) give place, and yeelde to the necessities and affaires of the Common-weale. Now when *Cimon* was againe returned to Athens, he straight pacified the Warre, and reconciled both Cities together. And when he saw that the Athenians could not live in peace, but would be doing still, and enlarge their Dominions by Warre, for lucre sake: to prevent them that they should not fall out with any of the Grecians, nor by scouring and coasting up and downe the Countrey of Peloponnesus, and the Isles of Greece, with so great a Navie, should move occasion of Civill Warres amongst the Grecians, or of complaints unto their Confederates against them: he rigged and armed out two hundred Gallies to goe againe to make Warre in Cyprus, and in Egypt, because he would acquaint the Athenians with the Warres of the barbarous People, and thereby make them lawfull gainers by the spoyles of those their naturall borne Enemies. But when all things were in readinesse to depart, and the Army prest to shippe and saile away, *Cimon* dreaming in the night had this Vision: It seemed unto him that he saw a bitch angry with him, and barking earnestly at him; and that in the midst of her barking, she spake with a mans voyce, and said unto him:

*Come hardily, spare not, for if thou come by me,
My whelpes and I which doe here stand, will quickly welcome thee.*

This Vision being very hard to interpret, *Astypylus* borne in the City of *Posidonia*, a man expert in such conjectures, and *Cimons* familiar friend, told him that this Vision did betoken his death, expounding it in this sort: The Dogge commonly is an enemy to him he barketh at. Againe, nothing with the barking of a Bitch, signifieth nothing else but an Enemy of the Medes: because the Army of the Medes is mingled with the barbarous People and the Grecians together. Besides this Vision, as he did Sacrifice to the god *Bacchus*, the Priest opening the Beast after it was sacrificed, about the blood that fell to the ground, there assembled a swarme of Ants, which carried the congealed blood off from the ground by little and little, and laid it all about *Cimons* great toe, a great while together before any man marked it: *Cimon* at the last spied it by chance: and as he was looking on them to marke what they did, the Minister of the Sacrifice brought the Beasts Liver that was sacrificed, to shew him, whereof the biggest end that they call the head was lacking, and this they judged for a very ill token. Notwithstanding, having all things ready for preparation of this Journey, soe he could not well go backe, he launched into the Sea, and hoised Saile, and sending three-score of his Gallies into Egypt, sayled with the rest upon the Coast of *Pamphilia*, where he wanne a Battell by Sea of the King of Persia, overcoming the Gallies of the Phoenicians and the Cilicians, and conquered all the Cities thereabouts, making the way very open to enter into Egypt. For he had no small thoughts in his minde, but reached to high Enterprizes, and determined utterly to destroy the whole Empire of the mighty King of Persia, and specially for that he understood *Themistocles* was in marvellous credit and reputation amongst the barbarous People, because he had promised the King of Persia to leade his Army for him, and to doe him notable service whensoever he should have occasion to warre with the Grecians. It is thought this was the chiefe cause that made *Themistocles* poyson himselfe, because he depaired that he could not performe that service against Greece which he had promised: assuring himselfe that it was no easie matter to vanquish *Cimons* courage and good fortune, who lay at that time with his Army all alongt

*Cimon called
from exile.*

Cimons dreamt

The interpre-
tation of the
dream.
*Cimons death
prognosticated*

The cause of
Themistocles
all willing death
alongt

The death of
Cimon.

Cimon's death
kept very se-
cret.

No famous act
done by any
Grecians to the
barbarous Peo-
ple after Cimon's
death.

Cimon's Monu-
ments at Athens

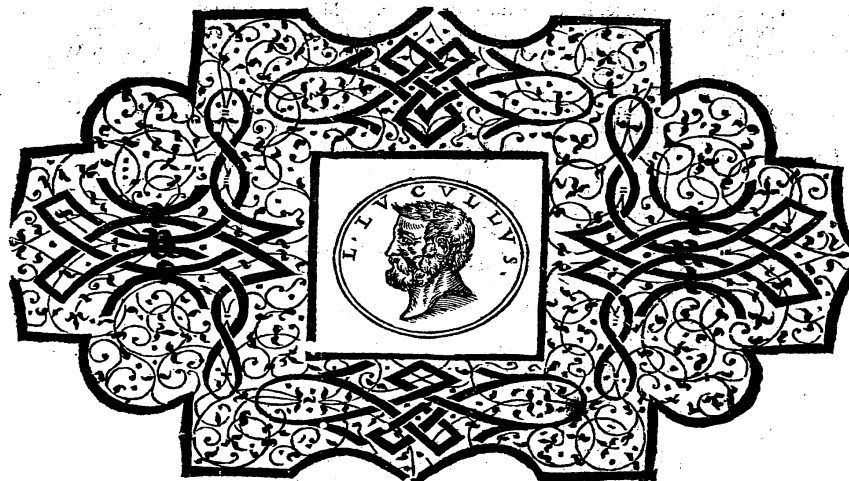
alongst the Isle of CYPRUS, promising himselfe great matters at that instant. But in the meane Cimon sent certaine of his men unto the Oracle of *Jupiter Ammon*, to aske him some secret question: for no man ever knew neither then nor since, for what cause he had sent them thither, neither did they also bring backe any answer. For they were no sooner come thither, but the Oracle commanded them straight to returne: saying unto them, that Cimon was then coming to him. So Cimon's men receiving this answer, left the Oracle, and tooke their Journey backe to the Seawards. Now when they were come againe to the GRECIANS Campe, which at that present lay in *ÆGYPT*, they heard that Cimon was departed this World: and reckoning the dayes since his death, with the instant of their answer received from the Oracle, that Cimon was then coming unto him, they knew straight that darkly he had signified his death unto them, and that at that very time he was with the gods. He died at the Siege of the City of CITTUM in CYPRUS, as some report, or else of a hurt he received at a Skirmish, as other hold opinion. When he died, he commanded them that were under his charge, to returne into their Countrey againe, and in no case to publish his death: which commandement was so wisely and cunningly handled, that they all came home safe, and not an Enemy, nor any of their Confederates, that once understood any thing of it. So was the Army of the GRECIANS governed and led by Cimon, though himselfe was dead the space of thirty dayes, as *Phanodemus* writeth. But after his death, there was no GRECIAN Capitaine that did any notable thing worthy of fame against the barbarous People, because the Oratours and Governours of the chiefest Cities of GRECE stirred them up one against another, and there was no man that would once step in as a mediatur to make peace betweene them. And thus the GRECIANS now did one destroy and spoile another by Civill Warre amongst themselves, which happily gave the King of PERSIA leisure and time to restore himselfe againe, and contrarily was cause of such utter ruine and destruction of the whole power and force of GRECE, as no tongue can well expresse. Indeede a long time after, King *Agésilus* came with an Army of the GRECIANS into ASIA, and began a small Warre against the Lieutenants of the King of PERSIA's Governours of the lower Countreys of ASIA: but before he could doe any notable exploit, he was called home againe by occasion of new troubles and Civill Warres rising among the GRECIANS, and compelled to returne into his Countrey, leaving the Treasurers of the King of PERSIA raising of Subsidies and Taxes upon the Cities of the GRECIANS in ASIA, although they were Confederates of the LACEDÆMONIANS. Whereas in the time that Cimon governed, they never saw any of the Kings Serjeants at Armes, or Commissioner, that brought any Letters Patents or commandement from the King, or any Souldier that durst come neare the Sea, by forty furlongs. The Tombes which they call unto this present day Cimonias, doe witnesse that his ashes and bones were brought unto ATHENS. Nevertheless, they of the City of CITTUM do honour a certaine Tombe, which they say is Cimon's Tombe: because that in a great dearth and barrenesse of the Earth, they had an Oracle that commanded them, not to neglect Cimon, as the Oratour *Nausicrates* writeth it, but to honour and reverence him as a god. Such was the Life of this GRECIAN Capitaine.

The end of the Life of Cimon.



THE

THE LIFE OF LUCIUS LUCULLUS.



Ann. Mond.
3879.

Ant. Christ.
69.



S for *Lucullus*, his Grandfather was a Consall, and so was *Metellus* (surnamed *Numidicus*, because of his Conquest of NUMIDIA) his Uncle by the Mothers side. His Father notwithstanding was convict of Felony, for robbing the Treasure of the State whilst he was Officer: and *Cecilia* his Mother was reported to have led an unchaste life. But for *Lucullus* selfe, before he bare Office or Rule in matters of State, the first thing he touched and tooke in hand for the Cause of his Countrey, was the accusation of *Servilius* the Soothsayer (who before had accused his Father) for that he also had dealt falsly in his Office, and deceived the Common-wealth. And this the ROMANS thought very well handled of him, inso much as a pretty valiant act done by him. For otherwife, though privately they had no just occasion, yet they thought it a noble deede to accuse the wicked, and it pleased them as much to see the young men put Law-breakers in suite, as to see a notable good course of a Dog at a Hare. Howbeit there followed such stir and banding upon this suite, that some were very sore hurt, and other flaine in the Market-place: but in fine, *Servilius* was cleared and quite dismissed. *Lucullus* was very eloquent, well spoken, and excellently well learned in the Greeke and Latine Tongues: inso much as *Sylla* dedicated unto him the Commentaries of all his doings which he himselfe had collected, as to one that could better frame a whole History thereof, and couch it more eloquently together in writing. For he had not onely a ready tongue to utter that he would speake, and pleade his matters with great eloquence, as other be seene to do, having matters of suite or open audience:

Lucullus Pa-
rents.

Lucullus accu-
seth *Servilius*
the Soothsayer.
The ROMANS
thought it a
noble deede to
accuse the wic-
ked.

Lucullus elo-
quence.

Like *Tonny Fish* they be, which swiftly dive and dop
Into the depth of Ocean Sea, withouten stay or stop.
But afterwards also when ye take them out of their common practice and pleadings:
Then are they gravell'd straight, withouten grace or skill:
Their eloquence lies then in dike, and they themselves be still.

For *Lucullus* had studied humanity from his youth, and was well learned in all the liberall Sciences: but when he came to elder yeares, to refresh his wit (after great troubles) he fell to the study of Philosophy, which quickened the contemplative part of his soule, and mortified, or at the least betimes bridled the ambitious and active part, specially after the dissention betwixt him and *Pompey*. But to acquaint you better with his Learning yet, it is said, that when he was a young man, he layed a great wager with *Hortensius* the Oratour, and *Sisenna* the Historiographer (in jest as it were at the first, but afterwards it fell to good earnest) that he would write the Breviary of the MARSEAN Warres in Verse or Prose, in the Latine or Greeke Tongue, which never fell to his lot: and I thinke

Lucullus studi-
ed Philosophy.
But in his last
time.

his

Lucullus Booke
of the Warres
in Greeke.
Lucullus loves to
his Brother.
Marcus Lucius
and Marcus Lu-
cullus, both
chosen Ediles.

Sylla gave Lu-
cullus commis-
sion to coyne
Money in Pe-
loponnesus.

Lucullus giveth
Lawes to the
Cyrenians.

A notable say-
ing of Plato.

Lucullus Jour-
ney into AE-
gypt.

A notable rich
Emerald given
Lucullus by
King Ptoleme.
Lucullus doings
under Sylla by
Sea.

Lucullus strata-
gem.

his happe was to doe it in Prose in the Greeke Tongue, because we finde a little Greeke Story extant of the Warres of the ROMANES against the MARSIAN. He dearly loved his Brother *M. Lucullus*, as appeared by many manifest proofes; but the chieft and most noted proofe among the ROMANES was this. Himselfe was elder then his Brother *Marcus*, and yet for all that would never sue to beare Office in the Common-wealth, nor accept any before his Brother, but tarried alwaies till he should be chosen, and let his owne time passe over. This great courtlesie to his Brother, so wanne the Peoples hearts, as *Lucius* being absent, they chose him *Edilis*, and his Brother *Marcus* with him for his sake. He was in the flower of his youth in the time of the MARSIAN Warres, wherein he did many wise and valiant deedes. The cause notwithstanding that moved *Sylla* to make choice of him, was rather for his constancy and good courteous nature, then for any other respect. For when *Sylla* had once wonne him, he ever after employed him continually in his most weighty causes: as in Commission specially, he gave to him to coyne Money. For indeede part of the Money that *Sylla* spent in the Warres against King *Mithridates*, was coyned by *Lucullus* commandement, within the Countrey of PELOPONNESUS: whereupon they were called Lucullian pieces, and were currant a long time amongst the Souldiers, to buy such things as they stood in neede of, and never refused by any. *Sylla* being afterwards at ATHENS, the stronger by Land, but the weaker by Sea, so as his Enemies cut off his Victualls from him, sent *Lucullus* into Aegypt and LYBIA, to bring him such Ships as he found in those parts. It was in the deepe of Winter, and yet he spared not to faye with three Brigantines of GREECE, and as many Gallioes of the RHODIANS, putting himselfe not onely to the danger of the Sea in so long a Voyage, but of his Enemies in like manner: who knowing themselves to be the stronger, went sailing every where with a great Navie. But for all these dangers, he first arrived in the Isle of CRETA, and wanne their good wills. From thence went to the City of CYRENE, where he found the Inhabitants turmoyled with Civil Warres, and continuall oppressions of Tyrants: from which troubles he delivered them, and gave them Lawes to establish Government among them, putting them in remembrance of *Platoes* words spoken to their Ancestors in old time, in the spirit of a Prophecy. For when they prayed *Plato* to write them Lawes, and to appoint them some forme of Government for their Common-wealth, he made them answer: It was a hard thing to give Lawes to so rich and fortunate a People as they were. For to say truly, as nothing is harder to be ruled than a rich man: so contrarily, nothing readier to receive counsell and government than a man in adversity. This Lesson framed the CYRENIANS at that time to be more civill and obedient to the Lawes *Lucullus* gave them. When he departed thence, he coasted towards AEGYPT, where he lost the more part of his Ships by Pyrates: but for his owne person, escaping their hands, he was very honourably received in the City of ALEXANDRIA. For all the Kings Army came to meete him at Sea, gallantly trimmed and appointed, as they were wont to welcome home the King when he returned from any Voyage by Sea; and King *Ptoleme* himselfe being very young at that time, gave him as honourable entertainment as he possible could. For amongst other honours that he did him, he lodged him in his Court, and defrayed his ordinary diet, where never strange Captaine was lodged before: and did not onely spend the ordinary allowance in feasting of him which he used to others, but commanded four times as much Provision more to be made as he had before. Notwithstanding, *Lucullus* tooke no more then was reasonable for his Person: nor yet would he receive any manner of Gift, although the King had sent him Presents to the value of fourecore Talents. And which is more, would not so much as goe see the City of MEMPHIS, nor any other of the famous Monuments and wonderfull sights in AEGYPT, saying, that it was for a man that travelled up and downe for his pleasure, and had leisure withall, to see such things, but not for him that had left his Captaine in the Field, at the Siege of the Walls of his Enemies. To conclude, this young King *Ptoleme* would in no case fall in friendship with *Sylla*, fearing lest he should thereby put himselfe into Warres, but gave him men and Ships to bring him into CYPRUS. And as he was ready to imbarque, the King bidding him farewell, and imbracing him, gave him a goodly rich Emerald set in Gold, which *Lucullus* at the first refused, until the King shewed him his Picture graven in it: and then he accepted the Gift, fearing lest the utter refusal might cause the King thinke he went away discontented, and should perhaps therefore lay an Ambush by Sea for him. Thus having gotten a certaine number of Shippes together of the Port Townes thereabouts, over and besides such as the Pyrates and Sea-rovers had hidden, being part of their Spoyles, and bestowed with their receitours, went on with them into CYPRUS, where he understood that his Enemies lay close in certaine Creekes under the foreland, watching to boord him as he sailed by. Whereupon he unrigged and belowed his Shippes in Docks, and sent word to all the Port Townes thereabouts, that he was determined to Winter there: and therefore willed them to provide him Victualls and other necessary Munition to be in readinesse against the Spring. But in the meane while, when he saw time convenient, he put his whole Fleete againe to the Sea with all possible speede, went himselfe away, and in the day time carried a low Saile, but in the night packt on all the Cloth he could for life: so that by this craft he wanne RHODES, and lost not one Shippe. The RHODIANS they also furnished him with Shippes: and besides them, he so perswaded the GNIDIANS and the Inhabitants of the Isle of Co, that they forooke King *Mithridates*, and went to make Warres with him against them of the Isle of SAMOS. But *Lucullus* himselfe alone drave King *Mithridates* men out of CHIO, restored the COLOPHONIANS againe to liberty, and tooke *Epigonus* the Tyrant Prisoner, who had kept them in bondage. Now about that time, *Mithridates* was compelled to forsake the City of PERGAMUS, and to retire to the City PITANE, within the which

Fimbria

Fimbria kept him besieged very straightly by Land. Wherefore *Mithridates* having the Sea open upon him, sent for his Force and Navie out of all parts, not daring to hazard Battell against *Fimbria*, who was very valiant, of a venturous nature, and at that time moreover was himselfe a Conqueror. *Fimbria* perceiving what *Mithridates* meant, and having no Power by Sea of his owne, sent straight to *Lucullus*, to request him to come with his Navie into those parts to his aide, for the overcoming of this King, the greatest and most cruell Enemy that ever the ROMANE People had. Because that so notable a prey, which they followed with such danger and trouble, should not escape the ROMANES, while they had him in their hands, and was come himselfe within their danger: and that therefore he should so much the more hearken unto it, because that if it fortune *Mithridates* to be taken, no man should winne more honour and glory by his taking, then he that had stopped his passage, and layed hands on him, even as he thought to have fled. And thereby should the praise of this noble Victory runne in equality betweene them both: the one that had driven him from Land, and the other that had stopped his passage by Sea. And furthermore, that the ROMANES would nothing regard all the famous Battels and Victories of *Sylla* in GREECE, which he had wonne before the Cities of CHOERONEA and ORCHOMENE, in comparison of taking the King. This was the effect of *Fimbria's* Message sent unto *Lucullus*, wherein there was nothing, in the which there was not great likelihood. For there is no man that can doubt of it, but if *Lucullus* would have believed him at that time (and have gone thither with his Shippes to stop the Havens mouth of the City, in the which *Mithridates* was besieged, considering also that he was so neare at hand) this Warre had taken end there, and the World besides had then bene delivered of infinite troubles which fell out afterwards. But whether *Lucullus* preferred the consideration and respect he had unto *Sylla*, whose Lieutenant he was, before all other due regard of private or common benefit: or that he detested and abhorred *Fimbria* as a cursed person, who not long before had through his wicked ambition imbrued his hands in the blood of his Captaine: or else, that it was through the secret Providence and permission of the gods, that he spared *Mithridates* at that time, to the end he might be reserved as a worthy Enemy, against whom he might afterwards shew his valour. Howsoever it was, it so fell out that he hearkened not unto *Fimbria's* Message, but gave *Mithridates* time and leisure to flie, and finally to scorne all *Fimbria's* Force and Power. But *Lucullus* selfe alone afterwards overcame the Kings Army by Sea, once neare unto the head of Lectum, which is on the Coast of TROADE: and another time neare unto the Isle of TENEDOS, where *Neoptolemus*, *Mithridates* Lieutenant by Sea, lay in waite for him with a farre greater number of Shippes then he had. And yet so soone as *Lucullus* had descried him, he sailed before all his Navie, being Admirall, in a Galley of RHODES, at five Oares to a Banke, whereof one *Demagoras* was Master, a man well-affectd to the Service of the ROMANES, and very skillfull in Battell by Sea. And when *Neoptolemus* on the other side rowed against him with great force, commanding his Pilot that he should so order his Galley, that he might stemme him right in the Prowe: *Demagoras* fearing the full meeting of the Kings Galley, which was very strong and heavey, and furthermore well armed with points and spurres of Brasse before, durst not encounter her with his Prowe, but nimble made his Galley to winde about, and turned his Poop towards him. Whereby the Galley being low at the end, received the blow without hurt, considering that they hit upon the dead Workes, and those parts which are alwaies above water. In the meane time *Lucullus* other Shippes were come, who commanding his Master to turne the beake-head of his Galley forward, did many famous acts: so that he made his Enemies flie, and drave *Neoptolemus* away. And departing from thence, went to seeke out *Sylla* even as he was ready to passe over the Seas, about CHERRONEUS: holpe him to waite his Army, and so passed him over with safety. Afterwards when peace was concluded, and that King *Mithridates* was come into his Realme and Countries againe, which lie upon the Sea Maior, *Sylla* condemned the Province of ASIA to pay the summe of 20000. Talents for a Fine, by reason of their rebellion. And for leavying of his Fine, he left *Lucullus* there with Commission to coyne Money: which was a great comfort and hearts ease unto the Cities of ASIA, considering the extremity that *Sylla* had used towards them. For in so grievous and odious a Commission unto them all, as that was, *Lucullus* did not onely behave himselfe uprightly and justly, but also very favourably and courteously. For, astouching the MITYLENIANS that were openly in Armes against him, he was very willing they should know their fault, and that for satisfaction of the offence they had committed taking *Marius* part, they should suffer some light punishment. And seeing that they were furiously bent to continue in their naughtinesse, he went against them, and having overcome them in Battell, compelled them to keepe within their Walls, and laid siege unto their City, where he used this policy with them. At noone dayes he lanced into the Sea, in the view of all the MITYLENIANS, and sailed towards the City of ELEA: howbeit in the night time secretly returned backe, and making no noise, layed an Ambush neare unto the City. The MITYLENIANS mistrusting nothing, went on the next morning very rashly without order, and without any manner Watch or Warde, to spoyle the Campe of the ROMANES, supposing every man had bene gone: but *Lucullus* coming suddenly upon them, tooke a great number Prisoners, slew about five hundred such as resisted, and wanne fixe thousand Slaves, with an infinite quantity of other Spoile. Now did the gods happily preserve *Lucullus*, that he was no partaker at that time of the wonderfull miseries and troubles which *Sylla* and *Marius* made poore ITALY suffer, even then when he was occupied in the Warres of ASIA: and yet notwithstanding his absence, he was in as good credit and favour with

Sylla,

Fimbria besieged *Mithridates* in Ptoeme.

Lucullus would not aide *Fimbria* in besieging *Mithridates*.

Neoptolemus, King *Mithridates* Lieutenant by Sea.

Lucullus put to flight *Neoptolemus*, *Mithridates* Lieutenant by Sea.

Lucullus strata-gem at the Siege of the Mitylenians.

Lucullus honoured of Sylla. The first occasion of quarrell betwix Pompey and Lucullus.

Cethegus a vicious liver.

Lucius Quintus in a vicious Orator at Rome.

Lucullus ambition to make Warres against King Mithridates. Præcia a famous Curizan of Rome.

Cethegus ruled all Rome.

The Government of Cilicia and the Warres against King Mithridates, were given to Lucullus.

Fimbrian Souldiers very dissolute and corrupted.

Sylla, as any of his friends about him. For, as we have said before, he dedicated his Commentaries unto him, for the good will he bare him, and by his last Will and Testament appointed him Tutor unto his Sonne, leaving Pompey out: which seemeth to be the first occasion of the quarrell and grudge that fell out afterwards betweene them, because they were both young men; and vehemently desirous of honour. Shortly after the death of Sylla, Lucullus was chosen Confull with Marcus Cotta, about the threescore Olympiades, and then they began to revive the matter againe, that it was very needfull to make Warres against Mithridates, and specially Marcus Cotta, who gave out that it was not ended, but onely slept for a while. Wherefore, when the Consuls came to draw Lots what Provinces they should take charge of, Lucullus was marvellous sorry that the Province of GAULE, lying betweene the Alpes and ITALY, fell to his lot, because he thought it no Countrey wherein any great Exploits were to be done: and againe, the glory of Pompey grieved him greatly, whose honour daily increased by the famous Battels he wanne in SPAIN. So that it was most certaine, that so soone as Pompey had ended the Warres there, they would have chosen him Generall in the Warres against Mithridates. Wherefore, when Pompey sent to Rome in earnest manner, to require Money to make pay to his Souldiers, writing to the Senate, that if they did not send him Money the sooner, he would leave both Sertorius and SPAIN behinde him, and bring his Army backe into ITALY: Lucullus made all the meanes he could to have it quickly sent him, fearing lest he should returne into ITALY upon any occasion, while he was Confull. For he thought that if he returned againe to Rome with so great an Army, he would easily doe what he list: and the rather, because that Cethegus and he could not agree, who at that time bare all the sway and rule at Rome, because he spake and did all that pleased the common People, being a vicious liver, and dissolutely given, for which cause Lucullus hated him. But there was another common Orator among the People, called Lucius Quintus, and he would have had all Sylla's doings revoked and broken: a matter to alter even the whole state of the Common-wealth, and to turmoyle the City of Rome againe with civill dissention, which then lived quietly and in good peace. This Lucius Quintus Lucullus talked withall apart, to perswade him, and openly reproved him with such words, that he was dissuaded from his evil purpose, and by reason ruled his rash ambition, handling it both wisely and cunningly as he could possible (for the safety of the Common-wealth) because it was the beginning of a disease, from whence infinite troubles were like to grow. While these things were thus in hand, newes came that Octavius the Governour of CILICIA was dead. Straight whereupon many put forward themselves to sue for this Charge, and to court Cethegus, as the onely man who above all other might make any man Officer whom he thought good. Now for Lucullus, he made no great reckoning of the Government of CILICIA in respect of the Countrey, but because CAPPADOCIA was hard adjoining to it: and perswading himselfe that if he could obtaine the Government thereof, they would give none other (but himselfe) the Authority to make Warres with Mithridates: he determined to procure all the meanes he could, that none should have it but himselfe. And having proved sundry waies, was compelled in the end against his owne nature, to practise a meane neither comely nor honest, and yet the readiest way he could possibly devise to obtaine his desire. There was a Woman in Rome at that time called Præcia, very famous for her passing beauty, and also for her pleasant grace in talke and discourse, howbeit otherwise unchaste after Curtizan manner. But because she employed the credit and favour of them that frequented her company, to the benefit and service of the Common-wealth, and of them that loved her: she wanne the report (besides her other excellent commendable graces) to be a very loving Woman, and ready to favour and further any good enterprise, and it wanne her great fame and reputation. But after he had once wonne Cethegus (who ruled all the Common-wealth at his pleasure) and brought him so far to be in fancy with her, that he could not be out of her sight: then had she all the whole Power and Authority of Rome in her hands, for the People did nothing but Cethegus preferred it, and Cethegus did whatever Præcia would will him to doe. Thus Lucullus sought to come in favour with her, sending her many Presents, and using all other courtesies he could offer unto her: besides that it seemed a great reward for so proud and ambitious a Woman as she, to be sued unto by such a man as Lucullus was, who by this meane came to have Cethegus at his commandement. For Cethegus did nothing but commend Lucullus in all Assemblies of the People, to procure him the Governement of CILICIA: who after it was once granted him, had then no neede of the helpe neither of Præcia, nor yet of Cethegus. For the People wholly of themselves with one consent did grant him the charge to make Warre with Mithridates, because he knew better how to overcome him then any other Captaine, and because that Pompey was in the Warres with Sertorius in SPAIN, and Metellus also growne too old, both which two were the onely men that could deservedly have contended for this Office with him. Nevertheless, Marcus Cotta his fellow Confull, made such suite to the Senate, that they sent him also with an Army by Sea, to keepe the Coasts of PROPONTIDE, and to defend the Countrey of BITHYNIA. Thus Lucullus having this Commission, went into ASIA with one Legion onely, the which he leaved anew at Rome: and when he was come thither, he tooke the rest of the strength he found there, which were men marred and corrupted altogether of long time, through covetousnesse and delicacy of the Countrey. For amongst others, were the Bands which they called the Fimbrian Bands, men given over to selfe-will, and very ill to be ruled by Martiall Discipline, because they had lived a long time at their owne liberty, without all obedience to any man. They were those selfe Souldiers that together with Fimbria, slew their Generall Flaccus, Confull of the ROMANE People, and

and that afterwards betrayed Fimbria himselfe, and forsooke him, leaving him unto Sylla, being Mutiners, Traitors, and wicked People, howbeit otherwise very valiant, well trained, and painefull Souldiers. Notwithstanding, Lucullus in short time bridled their boldnesse meely well and reformed the others also, who before had never proved (in my opinion) what the value of a good Captaine and Generall meant, that knew how to command: but were used to flattering Leaders, that commanded the Souldiers no more then they themselves liked of. Now concerning the State of the Enemies, thus it was with them. Mithridates that in the beginning was very brave and bold (as these flourishing Sophisters commonly are) undertaking Warre against the ROMANES, with a vaine unprofitable Army, but passing fresh and sumptuous to the Eye: after he was once foyled and overcome, with no lesse shame then losse, when he came to make his second Warre, he cut off all superfluous Pompe, and brought his Army into a convenient Furniture to serve for Warres at all assaies. For he put by the confused multitude of sundry Nations, the fierce threatnings of the barbarous People in so many sundry Tongues, and clearly banisht also the rich graven Armour with Goldsmiths Worke, and set with precious Stones, as things that more enriched the Enemies that wan them, then gave strength or courage to those that ware with them. And contrariwise, caused long stiffe Swords to be made after the ROMANE fashion, and great heavy Shields, and brought to the Field a marvellous number of Horse, more ready for Service then rich in Furniture. Then he joynd sixscore thousand Footmen together, appointed and set in order like unto the Battell of the ROMANES, with sixteene thousand Horse of Service, besides those that drew his armed Carts with Sitches about, which were in all to the number of an hundred. And besides all this Land preparation, he brought also a great number of Ships and Gallies together, which were not decked with goodly Golden Pavilions, as at the first, neither with Stoves nor Bathes, nor with Chambers and Cabbons, curiously hanged for Ladies and Gentlewomen: but furnished full of Armour, Artillery, and Slings, and with Moeay also to pay the Souldiers. With all this Army and preparation, he went first to invade BITHYNIA, where the Cities received him very gladly, and not those onely, but all the other Cities of ASIA wholly: the which were fallen againe into their former miseries and diseases, by the cruelty of the ROMANE Farmers and Usurers, who raising Taxes and Imposts upon them, made them abide untollerable things. It is true that Lucullus drave them away afterwards, like the Harpye, which tooke the meate out of the poore mens mouths: howbeit at that time he did no more, but brought them to be more reasonable by the perswasions he used unto them, and qualified a little the inclination of the People unto rebellion, being every one of them in manner willing to revolt. Now Lucullus being busie about these matters, Marcus Cotta the other Confull (and his companion) supposing that the absence of Lucullus was a fit occasion offered him to do notable Service, prepared to fight with Mithridates. And although he had Newes brought him from sundry places, that Lucullus was with his Army in PHRYGIA, and coming towards him: yet notwithstanding, imagining that he had the honour of Triumph assured already in his hands, and because Lucullus should be no partaker of it, he advanced forwards to give Battell. But Mithridates overcame him both by Sea and Land: so that Cotta by Sea lost threescore of his Ships with all the men in them, foure thousand Footmen by Land, and was after with shame shut up and besieged in the City of CHALCEDON, remaining there hopelesse to escape, but by Lucullus onely aide and meane. Howbeit there were in Lucullus Campe, that were very earnest with him to leave Cotta, and to goe further, assuring him that he should finde the Realme of Mithridates both without men of Warre, or any defence at all: so that hemight easily be Lord of the whole. And these were the words of the Souldiers that spited Cotta, because his foolish rashnesse and fond imagination had not onely brought those men to the shambles to be flaine and cast away, whom he had the leading of: but had let them also, that they could not overcome him, and end this Warre without blowes, for that they were driven to go to his helpe. Howbeit Lucullus making an Oration unto them, answered, that he had rather save the life of one ROMAN Citizen, then winne all that his Enemies had in their Power. And when Archelaus (who had been Mithridates Lieutenant in BORTHIA in the first Warres against Sylla, and now in the second Warre tooke part with the ROMANES) assured him that so soon as they saw him in the Realme of PONTUS, they would all rise against Mithridates, and yeeld themselves unto him: Lucullus answered him thus, that he would not shew himselfe more fearefull then the good Hunters, which never suffer the Beast to recover his Denne. And when he had so said, he marched with his Army towards Mithridates, having in all his Campe thirty thousand Footmen, and two thousand five hundred Horse. When he came so neare unto his Enemies, that he might easily at Eye discern all their Host, he wondered at the great multitude of Souldiers that were in their Campe, and was in minde to give Battell, supposing yet that the better way was to prolong time, and draw these Warres out in length. But one Marinus a ROMANE Captaine, whom Sertorius had sent out of SPAIN unto Mithridates with a certaine number of Souldiers, came forwards, and provoked him to Battell. Lucullus for his part did put his men also in readinesse to fight: but even as both Battels were prepared to joyne, the Element opened upon the sudden, without any shew of change of weather discerned before, and they plainly saw a great flake of fire fall betwene both Armies, in forme and shape much like to a tunne, and of the colour of molten Silver. This Celestiall Signe put both the Armies in such a feare, as they both retired, and fought not a stroke: and this wonderfull sight fortun'd (as they say) in a place of PHRYGIA, called Oryes. Now Lucullus afterwards considering with himselfe, that there was no riches nor provision

Mithridates Army against Lucullus.

Mithridates Army.

Asia fell into former miseries by the ROMANE Usurers.

Cotta the Confull overcome by Mithridates in Battell.

The godly saying of Lucullus for the saving of a Citizen.

Lucullus Army.

A flame of fire fell between both Armies, out of the Heavens.

Lucullus politician considered the Enemy.

Mithridates besieged Cyzicus.

The Strategem of Mithridates Soldiers.

A wonderful token of a Cow that came to offer her self to the Citizens to be sacrificed. Arifagoras Vision.

provision so great in the world, that could suffice to victuall so many thousands of People as *Mithridates* had in his Campe any long time together, having his Enemies Campe so lying before them: willed that one of the Prisoners should be brought into his Tent, and first of all he enquired of him, how many of them lay together in a Cabbin, then what Corne he had left in their Cabbin. And when the Prisoner had answered to all his demands, he returned him to Prison, and sent for another: then for a third, and questioned with them all as he had done with the first. Then comparing the store of their Corne, and other proportion of Victuals they had, with the number of men the same should maintaine: he found that all would be spent in three or foure daies at the uttermost. Whereupon he relied on his first determination, to delay time without hazard of Battell. So he caused a marvellous deale of Wheate to be brought into his Campe out of every quarter, that the same being thoroughly victualled, he might easily tarry the occasion which his Enemies necessity should offer him. *Mithridates* in the meane time, sought which way he might take the City of the *CYZICENIANS*, who had bene overthrowne before with *Cotta* at the Battell of *CHALCEDON*, where they had lost three thousand men, and ten of their Ships. And because that *Lucullus* should not understand of his enterprise, *Mithridates* stole away by night after Supper, taking the opportunity of a darke rainy night, and marched thitherwards with such speed, that he was before the City of *CYZICUS* by breake of day, and pitched his Campe, where the Temple of the goddesse *Adrastra* standeth, which is the goddesse of fatall Destinies. *Lucullus* receiving intelligence of *Mithridates* departure from his Campe, followed him straight waies step by step, and being glad that he was not met withall of his Enemies in disorder, lodged his Army in a Village called *THRACIA*, in a place of great advantage for him, and commodiously seated also upon the high-waies, and throughfare of the neighbours thereabouts, by the which they must come of necessity to victuall *Mithridates* Campe. Wherefore *Lucullus* wisely foreseeing what would follow, would not keepe his purpose secret from his Souldiers, but after he had well trenched and fortified his Campe, called them to Counsell, and there making an Oration unto them, told them openly by manifest demonstration of assured hope, that ere many daies passed, he would give Victory into their hands, and that without losse of one drop of Bloud. In the meane season, *Mithridates* environed the *GRECIANS* round about by Land, having divided his Army into ten Campes, and stopped up the mouth of the Arme of the Sea, which divided the City from firme Land with his Ships from one side to another. Now the *CYZICENIANS* were Valiant men, and determined to abide all extremity for the *ROMANS* sakes: but one thing onely troubled them much, that they knew not what was become of *Lucullus*, neither could they hear any news of him, though his Campe stood in such a place, where they might easily discern it from the City. But *Mithridates* Souldiers deceived them; for shewing them the *ROMANS* Campe that lay above hard by them, they said unto them: do ye see yonder Campe there? They are the *MEDES*, and the *ARMENIANS*, whom *Tigranes* hath sent to the aide of *Mithridates*. These words put the *CYZICENIANS* in a marvellous feare, seeing such a multitude of Enemies dispersed round about them: that when *Lucullus* should come to their aide, he could not well tell which way to passe. Yet at the length they heard of *Lucullus* approach, by one called *Dimonax*, whom *Archelaus* sent unto them, but they would not believe him at the first, taking it for a Tale, onely to make them to be of good courage, and Valiantly abide the fury of the Siege: untill such time as a little Boy of theirs escaped from the Enemies that before had taken him Prisoner, was come againe unto them. Of whom they inquired where *Lucullus* was: the Boy laughed at them, thinking they jested to ask that question of him. But when he saw they were in good earnest, he shewed them the *ROMANS* Campe with his finger: then they beleevied it indeed, and were courageous againe. There is a Lake neare unto the City of *CYZICUS* called *Dasylyide*, and it is navigable with convenient bigge Boats. *Lucullus* tooke one of the greatest of them, put it in a Cart, and so carried it to the Sea, and there put as many Souldiers in her as she could well carry, who by night entered into the City, the Skout of the Enemies never descrying them. This small supply did marvellously comfort the besieged *CYZICENIANS*: and it seemeth that the gods, delighting to see their noble courage, would further increafe and assure the same, by many manifest tokens which they sent from Heaven, and specially by one, which was this. The day of the Feast of *Proserpina* was at hand, and the Citizens had never a black Cow to offer in solemne Sacrifice, as their antient Ceremonies required: so they made one of Paste, and brought it hard unto the Altar. Now, the Cow that was Vowed to this Sacrifice, and which they reared up of purpose to serve for that day, was feeding amongst the Heard of the City in the Fields, on the other side of the Arme of the Sea, and came into the City: where she went off her self unto the place of the Sacrifice. Furthermore, the goddesse *Proserpina* he self appeared unto *Arifagoras* in his Dreame, Secretary of the State and Common-wealth of the *CYZICENIANS*, and said unto him: I am come hither to bring the Flute of *LYBIA* against the Trumpet of *PONT*, and therefore tell the Citizens from me, that I will them to be of good courage. The next morning when the Secretary had told them this Vision, the *CYZICENIANS* marvelled much at the goddesses words, and could not imagine what they meant. Howbeit at the breake of day there arose a great whistling winde, that made the Sea-billowes rise very high: and the Kings Engines of battery which were brought to the Walls of the City to pluck them down (being wonderfull Workes that one *Niomedes* a *THESSALIAN* Engineer had made and devised) began to make such a noise, and to break in pieces by the roughness of the winde, that a man might easily judge what would follow upon it.

it. Then all at one instant, the Southwind was become so vehement bigge, that in a moment it burst all these Engines asunder, and specially a Tower of Wood of the height of an hundred Cubits, which the winde shooke so vehemently, that it overthrew it to the ground. And it is said furthermore, that in the City of *ILIUM* the goddesse *Minerva* appeared unto divers in their sleep, all in a sweat, and shewing part of her Veile torne, as if she had bene newly returned from giving aid unto the *CYZICENIANS*: in confirmation whereof, the Inhabitants of *ILIUM* have a Pillar yet unto this day, whereupon this matter is written for a perpetual memory. Now was *Mithridates* marvellous sorry for the breaking and losse of his Engines, by means whereof, the *CYZICENIANS* had escaped the danger of assault, and of the Siege in like manner, untill he truly understood of the great Famine that was in his Campe, and the extreme dearth to be such, as the Souldiers were compelled to eate mans Flesh, which (his Captaines abusing him) had for a time kept secret from his knowledge. But when he was enformed of the troth indeed, he left off his vaine ambition obstinately to continue Siege: knowing well that *Lucullus* made not Warres with therats and bravery, but (as the common Proverb saith) leapt on his belly with both his feete, that is to say, he did what he could possible to cut off all the Victuals from him. And therefore one day when *Lucullus* was gone to assault a Castle that troubled him, very neare unto his Campe, *Mithridates* because he would not lose that opportunity, sent the most part of his Horfemen to get Victuals in *BITHYNIA*, with all the Carts, and Beasts of Carriage, and his most unprofitable Footmen. *Lucullus* hearing thereof, returned againe the selfe same night unto his Campe, and the next morning betimes being in the Winter season, followed them by the tracke with ten Ensignes of Footmen onely, and all his Horfemen. But the Snow was so deepe, the cold so terrible sharpe, and the Weather so rough, that many of his Souldiers not being able to abide it, died by the way. For all that, he marched on still, till he overtook his Enemies about the River of *Rindacus*, where he gave them such an Overthrow, that the very Women came out of the City of *APOLLONIA*, and went to steale the Victuals they had loden, and to strip the dead, which were a marvellous great number as a man may judge in such a case: and nevertheless there were taken six thousand Horfe of Service, an infinite number of Beasts for Carriage, and fifteene thousand men besides, all which spoyle he brought to his Campe, and passed hard by the Campe of his Enemies. But I wonder much at the Historiographer *Salust*, who writing of this matter saith, that here was the first time that ever the *ROMANS* saw any Camels. Me thinks its strange how he should thinke so, that they who long before had overcome *Antiochus* the Great under *Scipio*, and the others that a little before had fought against *Archelaus*, neare unto the Cities of *ORCHOMENE* and *CHARONEA*, should not have seene Camels. But to returne againe to our matter, *Mithridates* being feared with this Overthrow, resolved with himselfe immediately to flee, with all the speed he could possibly make: and to entertain and stay *Lucullus* for a time behind him, he determined to send *Arifonius* his Admirall with his Army by Sea, into the Sea of *GRECE*. But as *Arifonius* was ready to hoise saile, his owne men betrayed him, and delivered him into the hands of *Lucullus*, with ten thousand Crownes which he carried with him, to corrupt (if he could) part of the *ROMANS* Army. *Mithridates* hearing of this, fled by Sea, leaving the rest of his Army by Land in the hands of his Captaines, to be brought away by them as well as they could. *Lucullus* followed unto the River of *Granicus*, where he set upon them, and after he had slaine twenty thousand of them, tooke an infinite number Prisoners. And they say there died in that Warres, what Souldiers, what Slaves, what Lackies, and other stragglers that followed the Campe, about the number of three hundred thousand People. This done, *Lucullus* returned to the City of *CYZICUS*, where after he had spent some daies, enjoying the Glory due unto him, and received the Honourable entertainment of the *CYZICENIANS*: he went to visit the Coast of *HELLESPONT*, to get Ships together, and to prepare an Army by Sea. And passing by *TROADE*, they prepared his lodging within the Temple of *Venus*: where, as he slept in the night, it seemed to him he saw the goddesse appeare before him, which said these Verses unto him:

O Lyon fierce and stout, why sleepest thou so sound?
Since at thy hand so faire a Prey, is ready to be found.

Herewith he rose incontinently out of his bed, being yet dark night, and calling his friends to him, told them the Vision he had in his Dreame: and about that very time also there came some unto him from the City of *ILIUM*, that brought him news of fifteene Gallies of King *Mithridates*, having five Oares to every Bank, that were seene in the Haven of the *ACHAIA*, and that sailed towards the Ile of *LEMNOS*. Whereupon *Lucullus* tooke Ship straight, and went afterwards to the other Marriners that lay at Anker on the Coast side, who seeing him come drew towards Land with their Ships, in purpose to run them all ashore, and fighting above hatches, hurt many of *Lucullus* Souldiers, because they could not compasse them in behind, and for that also the place where they had laied their Ships was such, as there was no way to force them before, their Gallies floating in the Sea as they did, and the others being fastned to the land as they were. *Lucullus* with much ado all this notwithstanding, found means in the end to put ashore certain of the best Souldiers he had about him, in a place of the Ile where they might easily land. These Souldiers went straight and set upon the Enemies behind, slew some of them even at their first coming, and compelled the rest to cut asunder the Cables that fastned the Gallies to the Banks. But when they thought to flee from Land, the Gallies bruised and broke one another: and that worst of all was, ran upon the Points and Spurres of *Lucullus* Gallies: and so many of them as

Excreat e Famine in Mithridates Campa. Proverb: He leapt on his belly with his feete.

Rindacus. fl.

Lucullus Overthrew Mithridates Horfemen.

Mithridates fled by Sea. Granicus. fl. Lucullus overthroweth Mithridates Footmen by the River of Granicus.

Lucullus Dreame.

Lucullus danger
by Othacius con-
spiracy.

Othacius Prince
of the Darda-
nians.

Lucullus Life
saved by sleep.

Lucullus Vic-
tory of certain
of Mithridates
Captaines.

Mithridates
Noble-men
and familiars,
cause of muti-
ny and over-
throw of his
whole Army.

Mithridates
fleeth.

Covertnesse
of the overthrow
of Souldiers.

A stratageme
of Mithridates.

well, that *Lucullus* greatly esteemed his Wifedome, and commended his diligence in such sort, that he did him this Honour, to call him sometimes unto the Councell, and make him sit at his Board. One day when this *DARDARIAN Prince Othacius* thought to have found fit occasion to execute his enterprise, he commanded his Footmen to be ready with his Horse out of the Trenches of the Campe: and at noon daies when the Souldiers tooke rest, and slept here and there in the Campe, he went unto *Lucullus* Tent, thinking to have found no body there to keepe him from coming in, considering the familiarity *Lucullus* shewed him, saying also he had matters of great importance to talke with him of: and sure he had gone in immediately unto him, if sleepe that casteth away so many other Captaines, had not then preserved and saved *Lucullus* that slept. For one of the Groomes of his Chamber called *Menedemus*, who by good Fortune kept the door of the Tent, told him that he came in very ill time, because *Lucullus* being wearied with travell and lack of sleep, was but then newly layed down to rest. *Othacius*, whatsoever the other said to him, would not be so answered, but told him, he would come in whether he would or not, for he must needs speake with him in a matter of great importance. *Menedemus* answered him againe, that nothing could be of greater importance, nor more necessary, then the preservation of his Masters Life and health, who had need to take rest: and with these words he thrust him back with both his hands. *Othacius* was afraid then, and withdrew himselfe secretly out of the Trenches of the Campe, tooke his Horse back, and rode straight to *Mithridates* Campe without his purpose he came for, which was to kill *Lucullus*. And thus it plainly appeareth, that occasion, and opportunity of time, even in great matters delivereth meanes to save or destroy the Life of man, like as drugges and Medicines given unto the sicke and diseased Persons. Shortly after, *Lucullus* sent one of his Captaines, called *Sornatius*, to get Victuals, with ten Ensignes of Footmen. Whereof *Mithridates* being advertised, sent presently at his taile one of his Captaines also, called *Menander*, unto whom *Sornatius* gave Battell, and slew him, with great slaughter of his men beside. And afterward *Lucullus* sent another of his Lieutenants, called *Adrianus*, with a great company of Souldiers, to get Victuals into his Campe more then he should need. *Mithridates* did not let slip this occasion, but sent after him two of his Captaines also, called *Menemachus* and *Myron*, with a great number of men, as well Footmen as Horsemen: all which were slaine, two onely excepted, that brought News back to *Mithridates* Campe: the which he sought to save as well as he could, saying that the losse was much lesse then it was thought for, and that it fortuned through the ignorance and rashnesse of his Lieutenants. But *Adrianus* at his returne passed by *Mithridates* Campe with great Pompe and Majesty, carrying a huge number of Carts loaden with Corne and Spoyle he had won: which drove *Mithridates* selfe into so great a dispaire, and all his People into such a feare and trouble, that he presently determined to remove thence. Whereupon, the Nobility and such as had place of credite about him, began to fend before, and secretly to convey their Stuffe out of the Campe, but utterly prohibiting others to doe the same. The rest of the Souldiers seeing the stoutnesse of the Kings Minions, began to set upon them with open force, not suffering them on the other side once to issue out of the Campe. This mutiny grew to such a fury, that they overthrew their carriages and sumpter Moyle, and slew them presently. Amongst others there was slaine *Dorilus* one of the chiefe Captaines of all their Campe, who had nothing about him but a Purple Gown, for the which they killed him: and *Hermans* the Priest of the Sacrifices was troden under foote, and smothered at the Campe Gate, by reason of the multitude of those that fled in so great disorder. The King himselfe amongst others fled; but having never a one of his guard about him, nor any of the Squires of his Stable to bring him a Horse, *Ptolemie*, one of the Groomes of his Chamber, perceiving him in the company of them that fled, lighted off his owne Horse, and gave him the King, but even in manner too late. For the *ROMANS* that followed him were then even hard at his taile: and it was not for lacke of speed they missed the taking of him, for they were very neare him; but the covertnesse of the Souldiers was the losse of the Prey they had so long fought for, with so great paine and hazard of Battels, and deprived *Lucullus* of the Honour and reward of all his Victories. For they were so neare unto him, that if they had but followed *Mithridates* never so little further, they had out of doubt overtaken him and his Horse, and carried him away. But one of the Moyle that carried his Gold and Silver (whether by chance, or of pretended policy of *Mithridates*, as a matter purposely abandoned to them that pursued) was found in the midst of the high-way betwixt him that fled, and the *ROMANS* that followed, who stayed there to rob the Gold and Silver, fighting about it, that *Mithridates* by that meanes was ground so far before them, as they could never after come neare him againe. And this losse was not all which the covertnesse of the Souldiers made *Lucullus* to lose. For, one of the chiefe Secretaires of the King being taken, called *Callistratus*, whom *Lucullus* commanded to be brought unto him to his Campe: they that had the charge of him, hearing tell that he had five hundred Crownes in a Girdle about him, for greedinesse of them, slew him by the way; and yet notwithstanding *Lucullus* suffered them to spoile and destroy the whole Campe of their Enemies. After *Mithridates* flight, *Lucullus* tooke the City of *CABIRA*, and many other Castles and strong places, where he found great Treasure, and the Prisons full of poore Prisoners of the *GRECIANS*, and many Princes akinne unto the King himselfe, which were thought to be dead long before: and then seeing themselves delivered from this miserable bondage, by the grace and benefit of *Lucullus*, thought with themselves they were not onely taken out of Prison, but revived and turned againe unto a second Life. There was also taken one of King *Mithridates* Sisters called *Nissa*, whose taking fell out profitable for her: because

because all *Mithridates* other Wives and Sisters, whom they placed furthest off, as out of all danger (and sent into a Countrey of greatest safety, neare unto the City of *PHARNACIA*) died pitifully, and were miserably slaine. For *Mithridates* sent one of the Groomes of his privy Chamber unto them, called *Bacchides*, to bring them word that they must all dye. Amongst many other Noble Ladies, there were two of the Kings Sisters, called *Roxane* and *Statira*, which were forty years old a piece, and yet had never bene married: and two of his Wives also whom he had married, both of the Countrey of *IONIA*, the one called *Bernice*, borne in the Isle of *CHIO*, and the other *Monime*, in the City of *MILETUM*. *Monime* she was very famous amongst the *GRECIANS*: for notwithstanding King *Mithridates* importunate dealing, being far in love with her, in so much as he sent her fifteene thousand Crownes at one time, yet she would never give care unto his suite, untill such time as the marriage was agreed upon betweene them, and that he had sent her his Diademe or Royall band, and called her by the Name and Title of Queen. This poore Lady after the marriage of this Barbarous King, had long lived a wofull Life, bewailing continually her accursed beauty, that in stead of a Husband, had procured her a Master: and in stead of the matrimoniall company which a Noble Woman should enjoy, had gotten her a guard and Garrison of Barbarous men, that kept her as a Prisoner, far from the sweet Countrey of *GREECE*: in change whereof, she had but a dreame and shadow of the hoped goods she looked for, having unfortunately left them within her owne Countrey she happily enjoyed before. Now when this *Bacchides* was come unto them, and had commanded them from the King to chuse what manner of death they would, and which every one of them thought most easie, and least painefull: *Monime* pluckt off the Royall Band from her head, and tying it owne a knot about her neck, hung her selfe, but the Band not being strong enough, brake in continently. Whereupon she cryed out: O cursed and wicked tiffue, wilt thou not yet serve me to end my sorrowfull daies? And speaking these words, cast it on the ground, and spit upon it, and held out her throat to *Bacchides* to be cut asunder. The other *Bernice*, she tooke a Cup full of poyson, her Mother being present, who prayed her to let her have half, the which she did, and they dranke it off betweene them. The force of the poyson was strong enough to kill the old Mother weake with age, but not so quickly to destroy the Daughter, because she had not taken that proportion which would have served her turne, but drew out the paines of her death in length, untill such time as *Bacchides* hasting to dispatch her, she in the end did strangle her selfe. As for the Kings two Sisters, *Roxane* and *Statira*, which were Virgins yet unmarried, they say, that one of them also dranke poyson, cursing and detesting the cruelty of her Brother: howbeit *Statira* gave never an ill word, nor was faint-hearted or sorrowfull to dye, but contrarily did commend and thanke her Brother highly, that seeing himselfe in danger, had not yet forgotten them, but was careful to cause them dye, before they should fall as slaves into the hands of their Enemies, and before they could come to dishonour them, or doe them villany. These pitifull misfortunes went to *Lucullus* heart, who was courteous and gentle of nature: nevertheless he went on far: her, still following *Mithridates* as the heeles: unto the City of *TALURA*. And there understanding that he was fled foure dayes before unto *Tigranes* in *ARMENIA*, returned back againe, having first subdued the *CHALDEANS*, and the *TIBARIANS*, taken *ARMENIA* the lesse, and brought the Cities, Castles and strong places unto his obedience. That done, he sent *Appius Clodius* unto King *Tigranes* to summon him to deliver *Mithridates* unto him: and himselfe tooke his journey towards the City of *AMISUS*, which was yet besieged. The cause why this siege continued so long, was the sufficiency and great experience of the Captaine that kept it for the King, called *Callimachus*, who undertook so well how all sorts of Engins of Battery were to be used, and was so subtil besides in all inventions that might serve to defend a place besieged, as he troubled the *ROMANS* much in this attempt: but afterwards he was not onely met withall, and payed home for all his labour, but also outreached by *Lucullus* for all his finenesse. For where before he had alwaies used to found the retreat at a certaine houre, and to call his men back from the assault to rest them: one day he brake that order on the sudden, and coming to assault the Wall, at the first charge wan a piece of it before those within could come in time to resist them. *Callimachus* seeing that, and knowing it was now impossible to keepe the City any longer, forsooke it. But before his departing he set the City on fire, either for malice to the *ROMANS*, because he would not they should enrich themselves with the lacke of so great a City: or else for a policy of Warre to have the more leisure to save himselfe, and flye. For no man gave eye to them that fled by Sea, because the flame was so great, that it dispersed it selfe even to the very Walls, and the *ROMAN* Souldiers, they onely prepared to spoyle: *Lucullus* seeing the fire without, had compassion of the City within, and would gladly have holpen it, and for that purpose prayed the Souldiers quickly to quench it: but not a man would hearken to him, every one gaping after the spoyle, making great noise with clashing of Harneisse, and being very loud besides otherwise, till at the length enforced thereunto, he gave the City wholly to spoyle, hoping thereby to save the Houses from fire, but it fell out cleane contrary. For the Souldiers themselves in seeking all about with Torches and Linkes lighted, to see if any thing were hidden, they set a number of Houses on fire. So as *Lucullus* coming into the City the next morning, and seeing the great delolation the fire had made, fell a weeping, saying unto his familiar friends about him: he had oftentimes before thought *Sylla* happy, howbeit he never wondred more at his good Fortune, then that day he did. For *Sylla* said he, desired to save the City of *ATRENS*, the gods granted him that favour that he might doe it: but I that would faine follow him therein, and save this City, Fortune thwarting my desire, hath brought me to the reputation of *Mummius*, that caused Co-

Mithridates
slew his sisters
and Wives.

The courage
of *Monime*,
Mithridates
Wife.

Monime her
throat was
cut.

Bernice
strangled her
selfe.
The courage
of *Statira*, *Mi*
thridates Sister.

Appius Clodius
sent unto *Tig*
raxes from *Lu*
cullus.
Callimachus
Governor of
Amisus.

Lucullus waane
Amisus.

Callimachus set
tech fire on
Amisus, and
fleeth.

Lucullus cour-
tesie towards
the City of *A*
misus.

Lucullus gentle
saying.

RINTH to be burnt. Nevertheless he did his best endeavour at that time to helpe the poore City againe. For touching the fire, even immediately after it was taken, by Gods providence there fell a shower of Raine as it was newly kindled, that quenched it: and *Lucullus* selfe before he left the City, made a great number of the Houses which were spoyled by fire, to be built up againe, and courteously received all the Inhabitants that were fled; besides them, he placed other *Grecians* there also, that were willing to dwell amongst them, and increased the bounds and confines of the City which he gave them; one hundred and twenty furlongs in the Countrey. This City was a Colonie of the *ATHENIANS*, who had Built and Founded it, in the time that their Empire flourished, and that they ruled the Seas: by reason whereof, many flying the Tyrannie of *Aristion*, went to dwell there, and were made free of the City, as the naturall Inhabitants of the same. This good hap fell upon them, that forsaking their owne goods, they went to possesse and enjoy the goods of other men: but the very Citizens of *ATHENS* it felte that had escaped from this great defolation, *Lucullus* clothed them well, and gave them two hundred Drachmas apiece, and sent them againe into their Countrey. Tyrannion the Grammarian was taken at that time, whom *Murena* begged of *Lucullus* and *Lucullus* having granted him unto him, he made him free, wherein he dealt very discourteously, and did much abuse *Lucullus* liberality and Gift unto him. For in bestowing this Prisoner upon him, who was a famous Learned man, he did not meane *Murena* should take him for a bondman, whereby he should need afterwards to make him free. For seeming to make him free, and restore him to liberty, was no more then to take that Freedome and liberty from him, which he had from his Birth. But in many other things, and not in that onely, *Murena* laid himselfe open to the world, that he had not all the parts a worthy Capitaine should have in him. When *Lucullus* departed from *AMISUS*, he went to visite the Cities of *ASIA*, to the end that whilst he was not now occupied with Warres, they might have some refreshing of Laws and justice. For, by reason that Law was not executed of long time in *ASIA*, the poore Countrey was so afflicted and oppressed with so many evils and miseries, as no man living would scant believe, nor any Tongue can well declare. For, the extreme and horrible covetousnesse of the Farmers, Customers, and *ROMANE* Usurers, did not onely devoure it, but also kept it in such bondage and thraldome, that particularly the poore Fathers were driven to sell their goodly young Sonnes and Daughters in marriage, to pay the interest and usury of the Money which they had borrowed to discharge their fines withall; and publicly the Tables dedicated unto the Temples, the Statues of their gods, and other Church Jewels: and yet in the end, they themselves were also to be judged bondmen and slaves to their cruell creditors, to weare out their Bodies in miserable servitude. And yet the worst of all was, the paine they put them to before they were so condemned: for they imprisoned them, set them on the rack, tormented them upon a little Brazen Horse, set them in the Stockes, made them stand naked in the greatest heate of Sommer, and on the Ice in the deepest of Winter, so as that bondage seemed unto them a reliefe of their miseries, and a rest of their torments. *Lucullus* found the Cities of *ASIA* full of such oppressions, but in a short time after he delivered them all that were wrongfully tormented. For first he tooke order, they should account for the usury that was payed monthly, the hundred part of the principall debt onely, and no more. Secondly, he cut off all usuries that passed the principall. Thirdly, which was the greatest matter of all, he ordained that the creditor and usurer should enjoy the fourth part of the profits and revenues of his debtor. And he that joynd usury with the principall, that is to say, tooke usury upon usury, should lose the whole. So that by this order, all debts were payed in lesse then foure yeares, and the owners Lands and revenues set cleare of all manner payments. This surcharge of usuries, came of the twenty thousand Talents, wherein *Syha* had condemned the Countrey of *ASIA*: the which Summe they had payed twise before unto the Farmers and Collectors of the *ROMANES*, who had raised it, still heaping usury upon usury to the Summe of sixscore thousand Talents. Wherefore these Collectors and Farmers ranne to *ROME*, and cryed out upon *Lucullus*, saying, that he did them the greatest wrong that could be: and by means of Money, they procured certaine of the common Counsellors to speake against him: which they might easily doe, because they had divers of their Names in their Books that dealt in the affaires of the Commonwealth of *ROME*. But *Lucullus* was not onely beloved of those Countreys whom he did good unto, but was wished for and desired also of others, who thought the Countreys happy that might have such a Governour. Now for *Appius Clodius*, whom *Lucullus* had sent before from *TALURA* unto King *Tigranes* in *ARMENIA*, and whose Sister at that time was *Lucullus* Wife: he first tooke certaine of the Kings men for guides, who of very malice guided him through the high Countrey, making him fetch a great compassse about, by many daies journeyes spent in vaine: untill such time as one of his infranchized bondmen that was borne in *SYRIA*, taught him the right way. Whereupon he discharged these Barbarous guides and leaving the wrong waies they had led him, within few daies past over the River of *Euphrates*, and arrived in the City of *ANTIOCH*, surnamed *EPIDAPHNE*. Where he had commandement to abide *Tigranes* returne, who was then in the Countrey of *PHOENICIA*, where he subdued certaine Cities, and had some other yet to Conquer: *Appius* in the meane time wan secretly divers of the Princes and Noble-men, that obeyed this *ARMENIAN* King but for feare, by force, and against their wills, amongst whom was *Zarbiemus*, King of the Province of *GORDIENA*: and promised the aide of *Lucullus* also to many of the Cities that sent unto him (which had not long before bene subdued and brought into bandage) to whom nevertheless he gave in expresse charge, that for the time they should not once stir, nor alter

Tyrannion the Grammarian taken.

Lucullus reliech *Asia* from extreme usury. That is after the rate of twelve in the hundred for the yeare. Laws set down for usurers.

Appius Clodius *Lucullus* Wives Brother.

Euphrates fl.

Zarbiemus King of *Gordiana*.

alter any thing. For the rule of these *ARMENIANS* was intollerable to the *Grecians*, and specially the pride and arrogancy of the King. Who, by reason of his great prosperity, was growne to such pride and presumption, that whatsoever men did commonly esteeme best, and make most reckoning of, he would not onely have it, and use it as his owne, but also rooke it that all was made for himselfe whatsoever: and this great overweening grew, by reason of fortunes speciall grace and favour towards him. For at the beginning he had but very little, and yet with this little (which few made reckoning of) he conquered many great Nations, and plucked down the Power of the *PERSIANS* as much as any man that ever was before him. He replenished the Countrey of *MESOPOTAMIA* with *Grecian* Inhabitants, which he brought by force out of *CILICIA* and *CAPPADOCIA*, compelling them to inhabit there. He made the *ARABIANS* change their manner of living, who are otherwise called the *SCENITES*, as much to say, as Tent dwellers, because they are vagrant People that dwell in no other Houses but Tents, which they ever use to carry with them; and brought them out of their naturall Countrey, and made them follow him, using them for his commodity in trade of Merchandize. There were ever many Kings in his Court that waited on him: but amongst others, he had foure Kings that waited continually on his Person as his Footemen: for when he rode abroad any whether, they ranne by his stirrop in their shirts. And when he was set in his Chaire of State to give audience, they stood on their feete about his Chaire holding their hands together, which countenance shewed the most manifest confession and tokens of bondage that they could doe unto him: as if they had shewed thereby that they resigned all their liberty, and offered their Bodies unto their Lord and Master, more ready to suffer, then any thing to do. Notwithstanding, *Appius Clodius* being nothing abashed nor feared with all this Tragical Pompe, when audience was given him, told King *Tigranes* boldly to his face, that he was come to carry King *Mithridates* away with him, who was due to the Triumph of *Lucullus*: and therefore did summon him to deliver that King into his hands, or else that he proclaimed Warres upon himselfe. They that were present at this summons, knew well enough, that *Tigranes* (although he set a good countenance on the matter openly with a faint counterfeit laughing) yet hearing these words so boldly and gallantly spoken out of this young mans mouth, was galled to the quick, and lit at the heart. For *Tigranes* having reigned (or to say better, Tyrannically governed) five and twenty yeares space, had never heard any bold or franke speech but that. Notwithstanding, he answered *Appius*, that he would not deliver *Mithridates*, and if the *ROMANES* made Warres with him, that he would defend himselfe. And being greatly offended that *Lucullus* in his Letters gave him not the Title, King of Kings, but onely King simply: in the Letters he wrote back to *Lucullus* againe, he did not so much as vouchsafe to call him Capitaine onely. But when *Appius* tooke his leave, he sent him goodly rich Presents, which he refused. Whereupon the King sent others againe unto him, of the which *Appius* tooke a Cup onely, because the King should not thinke he refused ought of anger, or ill will: and so sending all the rest againe unto him, made great haste to returne to his Capitaine *Lucullus*. Now *Tigranes* before that time would not once see King *Mithridates* his so neare kinsman, who by fortune of Warres had lost so puissant and great a Kingdom, but proudly kept him under, in Fenny Marish and unwholsome Grounds, without any Honour given unto him, as if he had beene a very Prisoner indeed: howbeit then he sent for him honourably, and received him with great courtesie. When they were neare together in the Kings Pallace, they talked secretly one with another, and excusing themselves, clearing all suspitions conceived betweene them, to the great hurt of their Servants and Friends, whom they burthened with all the occasion of unkindnesse betweene them: amongst which number *Metrodorus* the *SCYTHIAN* was one, a man excellently well Learned, Eloquent in speech, and one whom *Mithridates* so much loved and esteemed, that they called him the Kings Father. *Mithridates* at the beginning of his Warres had sent him Ambassadour unto *Tigranes*, to pray aid of him against the *ROMANES*. At which time *Tigranes* said unto him: but what sayest thou to it *Metrodorus*: what advice wilt thou give me? *Metrodorus* either because he had regard unto *Tigranes* profit, or else because he was loth *Mithridates* should escape, answered him again: As Ambassadour, O King, I would wish you should doe it: but as a Counsellour, that you should not do it. *Tigranes* now reported this speech unto *Mithridates*, not thinking he would have hurt *Metrodorus* for it, though indeed he presently put him to death upon it. Whereat *Tigranes* was heartily sorry, and repented him greatly to have told him so much, although he was not altogether the occasion of his casting away, having but onely revived *Mithridates* evill will before conceived against him: for he had borne him displeasure of a long time, as appeared amongst his secret Papers and Writings that were taken from him, where he had ordained that *Metrodorus* should be put to death: but in recompence thereof *Tigranes* buried his Body honourably, sparing no cost at all unto the dead Body of him, whom living he had betrayed. There died in King *Tigranes* Court also an Orator called *Amphicrates*, if he deserve that mention should be made of him, for the City of *ATHENS* sake wherein he was borne: for it is said, that he was banished out of his Countrey, he fled into the City of *SELEUCIA*, which standeth upon the River of *Tigris*. When the Inhabitants of the same praised him to teach them the Art of Eloquence in their Countrey, he would not vouchsafe it, but answered them proudly: that a Platter was too little to hold a Dolphin in; meaning that their City was too small a thing to containe it. From thence he went unto *Cleopatra*, *Mithridates* Daughter, and King *Tigranes* Wife; where he was quickly suspected and accused: so that he

Tigranes pride and power,

The boldnesse of *Appius Clodius*. *Lucullus* Ambassadour unto *Tigranes*.

Appius abstinence from taking of Gifts.

Tigranes and *Mithridates* meeting.

Metrodorus praise and death.

Amphicrates an Orator of *Athens*, died in King *Tigranes* Court. *Seleucia* a City standing upon *Tigris* fl. A Platter too little to hold a Dolphin in: Proverb.

was

was forbidden to frequent the GRECIANS company any more, which grieved him so much that he famished himselfe to death, and would eate no meate. And that man was also very honourably buried by the Queene Cleopatra, neare unto a place called Sapha, as they call it in that Countrey. Now when Lucullus had quieted all things in ASIA, and had established good Lawes among them, he was not carelesse also of Games, Feasts, Wrestlinges, and Fence-plays at the sharpe for joy of his Victory, delighting all the Cities of ASIA with them; the which in recompence thereof did institute a solomne Feast also in the Honour of him, which they called Lucullea, and did celebrate it with great joy, shewing a true and no fained friendship and good will towards him, which pleased him better, and was more to his contentation, then all the Honour they could devise to give him. But after that Appian Clodius was returned from his Ambassade, and had told Lucullus that he must make Warres with Tigranes: Lucullus went back againe unto the Realme of PONTUS, where he tooke his Army which he had left in Garrison, and brought it before the City of SINOPE to lay Siege unto it, or rather to besiege certaine CILICIANs that were gotten into the City in the behalfe of Mithridates. But when they saw Lucullus come against them, they slew a great number of the Citizens, and setting fire on the City, fled their way by night. Lucullus being advertised of it, entred the City, put eight thousand of the CILICIANs to the sword which he found there, and restored the naturall Citizens and Inhabitants thereof to all that was theirs. But the originall cause that made him to be carefull to preserve the City, was this Vision he had. He thought in his nights Dreame that one came to him, and said: go a little further Lucullus, for Antolycus cometh, who is desirous to speake with thee. This Dreame awaked him, but being awake could not imagine what the Vision meant. It was the selfe same day on the which he tooke the City of SINOPE, where following the CILICIANs that escaped by flying, he found an Image lying on the ground upon the Sea side, which the CILICIANs would have carried away: but they were taken and followed so neare, that they had no leisure to ship it. This Statue (as it is reported) was one of the goodliest and notablest Workes of Sydenes the Image graver. And some say it was the Image of Antolycus, who Founded the City of SINOPE. For Antolycus was one of the Princes that went out of THESSALY with Hercules to go against the AMAZONS, and he was the Sonne of Demachus. And they report that at the returne from this voyage, the Ship in the which Antolycus was imbarked, with Demolou and Phlogius, made Shipwracke upon a Rocke of the Coast of CHERONEUS, where she was cast away: howbeit that he and his men escaping with all their Furniture, came to the City of SINOPE, which he tooke from certaine SYRIANS, who came (as they say) of one Syrus the Son of Apollo, and of the Nymph Sinope Afopus Daughter. Lucullus understanding this matter, called a saying of Sylla to minde, which he wrote in his Commentaries: that nothing is more certaine, nor that we may give more credit unto, then that which is signified to us by Dreames. In the meane season he was advertised that Tigranes and Mithridates were ready to come down into LYCAONIA and CILICIA, because they might first enter ASIA. Lucullus marvelled much at Tigranes Councell, that sithence he was minded to Warre with the ROMANES, he did not use Mithridates aid in his Wars at such time, as when he was in his best strength and force: and that he did not then joyne his Power with Mithridates, rather then suffer him to be destroyed and overthrowne, and afterwards with a cold hope go now to begin a new Warre, hazarding himselfe with those that could not helpe themselves. While these things passed in this sort, Mithridates King Mithridates Sonne, that kept the Realme of BOSPHORUS, sent a Crowne of Gold unto Lucullus, of the weight of a thousand Crownes, praying him that he would name him a Friend and confederate of the ROMANES. Whereupon Lucullus thought he was then at the very last end of his first Warre, and leaving Sornatinus with six thousand men to keepe the Realme of PONTUS, he departed with twelve thousand Footmen, and lesse then three thousand Horsemen, to go to the second Warre. And herein all the world condemned him, and thought it too rash and light a part of him, to goe with so small a company to fight with so many Warlike Nations, and to put himselfe unto the hazard of so many thousands of Horsemen, in a marvellous large Countrey, and of a wonderfull length, environed round about with deepe Rivers and Mountaines, covered with Snow all the yeare through: so that his Souldiers, which otherwise were no speciall well trained men, nor obedient to their Captaine, followed with an evil will, and did stubbornly disobey him. And on the other side, the Common-Councillors at ROBE cryed out on him continually, and openly protested before all the People, that out of one Warre he sowed another, which the Common-wealth had nothing to doe withall; and that he looked after none other thing but still to raise new occasions of Warres, to the end he might alwaies have Armies at his commandement, and never leave the Warres, because he would make himselfe great with the Cost and perill of the Common-wealth. These crying Councillers in the end obtained their purpose, which was: to call home Lucullus againe, and to substitute Pompey in his place. But Lucullus for all that, marched on with his Army with all the possible speed he could, so that he came in few daies unto the River of Euphrates, the which he found very high and rough, by reason of the Winter season: which troubled him marvellously at that present, doubting lest it would hold him there a long time in finding out of Boats, and making of Posts and Plancks to build a Bridge to passe over his Army. But towards night the water began to fall a little, and in the night fell so much, that the next morning the River was come to her ordinary fream: and moreover the Countrey-men themselves discerning certaine little Islands that appeared unto them in the midst of the Water-courfe, and the River

Lucullus taketh Sinope in Pontus.

Lucullus Dreame.

A Statue made by Sydenes. Antolycus founder of the City of Sinope.

The Syrius why he called, Sylla's note for Dreames.

Mithridates Mithridates Sonne punish friendship of Lucullus.

Lucullus goeth against Tigranes with a small company.

The quaitling Councillors at Rome, envy Lucullus Prosperity.

Lucullus came to the River of Euphrates, and found it very high and rough. The strange and sudden fall of the River of Euphrates from her great swelling.

River very calme as a Marsh round about them, did Honour Lucullus as a god, because it was a thing they had never seene chance before: as though at his coming the River had suddenly yeilded unto him, and was become gentle to give him safe and easie passage. And because he would not lose that opportunity, he passed over his Army immediately: and was no sooner on the other side, but he met with a happy token of good luck, which was this. On the other side of the River, there was a certaine number of Kine consecrated to Diana Persica, whom the barbarous People inhabiting beyond the River of Euphrates, do reverence and honour above all the other gods: and these Kine they employ to none other use, but only to Sacrifice them unto this goddesse. They wander all about the Countrey where they will, without any manner of tying, or shackling otherwise, having onely the marke of the goddesse, which is, a Lampe printed upon their Bodies, and they are not easie to be taken when one would have them, but with great ado. One of these consecrated Kine, after that Lucullus Army was passed over Euphrates, came to offer her selfe upon a Rocke which they suppose is Hallowed or Dedicated unto this goddesse, bowing down her head, and stretching out her neck, like those that are tyed short, as if she had come even of purpose to present her selfe to Lucullus, to be sacrificed as she was. And besides her, he sacrificed a Bull also unto the River of Euphrates, in token of thanks for his safe passage over. Lucullus the first day did nothing but incampe himselfe onely, on the other side of the River: but the next morning and the other daies following, he went further into the Countrey by the River of SOPHENE, hurting none that came and yeilded unto him, or that willingly received his Army. For when his men would have had him to have taken a Castle by force, where they said was great store of Gold and Silver, he shewed them Mount Taurus as farre off, and told them, it is that which he must rather go to take: as for the things which be in this Castle, they be kept for them that vanquish. And going on still with great Joyneys, passed over the River of Tigris, and so entred the Realme of ARMENIA with a maine Army. Now for Tigranes, the first man that ventured to bring him Newes of Lucullus coming, had no joy of it: for he cut off his head for his labour. And therefore from thenceforth there durst no man say any thing unto him, untill such time as he was at the last environed round with fire, which Lucullus Army had raised about him, before he could hear any thing thereof. For he was sporting and gauding with his Familiars, hearing their flattering Tales, that Lucullus indeed were a Noble Captaine, it he durst but tarry Tigranes coming down in the City of ERPHUS onely, and how he would straight flie out of ASIA, so soon as he might but hear tell of his coming against him, with so Triumphant an Army, of so many thousand men. And thus may we see, that like as all Bodies and braines, are not alike strong nor able to carry much Wine: so in like case, all Wits be not resolute and constant, never to do amisse, nor to swarve from reasons bounds in great prosperity. Howbeit in the end, Mithrobarzanes, one of Tigranes Familiars, was the next man that enterprised to tell him the truth: whose boldnesse had little better reward for his Newes then the first that was beheaded. For Tigranes sent him immediately with three thousand Horse, and a good number of Footmen, commanding him that he should bring Lucullus alive unto him, and that furthermore, he should march upon the bellies of his men. Now was Lucullus already camped with part of his Army, and the other part coming after, when his Skoutes brought him Newes of the barbarous Captaines approach: which at the first put him in feare, that if the Enemy should come and assaile them thus scattered in Companies, and not ranged in Battell and ready to fight, he might overthrow them while they were in disorder. And therefore he remained within his Campe to fortifie the same, and sent Sextilius one of his Lieutenants, with a thousand six hundred Horse, and as many Footmen (or a few more) as well naked as armed: commanding him to approach as near to his Enemy as he could without fighting, onely to stay him there, untill such time as he heard Newes that all his Army was come together into his Campe. Sextilius went to doe his commandement, but he was compelled to fight, (though against his will) Mithrobarzanes came so bravely and lustily to assaile him. So was the Battell stricken betweene them, in the which Mithrobarzanes was slaine valiantly fighting, and all his men either broken or killed, few excepted, that onely by flying saved themselves. After this overthrow Tigranes forsooke his great Royall City of TIGRANOCERTA that he built himselfe, and went to Mount Taurus, where he Assembled a great number of men out of all parts. But Lucullus would give him no leisure to prepare himselfe, but sent Murena on the one side to cut them off by the way, and to overthrow those that were Assembled about him: and on the other side Sextilius to stop a great company of the ARABIANs that were coming to Tigranes, whom Sextilius set upon as they were ready to lodge, and overthrow them in manner every man. And Murena following King Tigranes at the heeles, spied an occasion to give the Charge as he passed along a narrow Valley, in the bottome whereof the way was very ill, and specially for an Army of such length: and taking the opportunity, set upon the rereward, which Tigranes perceiving, fled straight upon it, making all his Carriage to be thrown down in the way before the Enemies to stay them. There were a great number of the ARMENIANs slaine in this overthrow, and many of those things having this successe, Lucullus went to the City of TIGRANOCERTA, the which he besieged round. In that City were a marvellous number of GRECIANs that had been brought thither by force out of CILICIA, and many of the barbarous People also whom they had used in the like forcible manner, as they had done the ADIABENIANs, the ASSYRIANs, the GORDIANIANs, and the CAPADOCIANs, whose Townes and Cities Tigranes had destroyed, and compelled them to come and inhabit there. By reason whereof, this City of TIGRANOCERTA

Diana Persica, Kine consecrated to Diana Persica.

A strangeness of a Cow that came to offer her selfe to Lucullus to be sacrificed.

The Countrey of Sophene.

Tigris fl. Tigranes slew the first Messenger that brought the News of Lucullus approach.

Tigranes sendeth Mithrobarzanes against Lucullus.

Lucullus sendeth Sextilius against Mithrobarzanes.

Sextilius slew Mithrobarzanes, and overthrew his force. The City of Tigranocerta, built by Tigranes.

Lucullus besiegeth Tigranocerta.

*Taxiles per-
swadeth Tigranes
not to fight
with the Ro-
manes.*

*The proud
laying of Ti-
granes.*

*Tigranes whole
Army, two
hundred and
three score
thousand men.*

*Lucullus Army
against Tigranes.*

was full of Gold and Silver, of Metals, Statues, Tables and Pictures, because every man (as well private, as Princes and Lords) studied to please the King, to enrich and beautifie this City with all kinds of Furniture and Ornaments fit for the same. And hereupon *Lucullus* straightened the Siege as much as he could, perswading himselfe that *Tigranes* would never suffer that it should be taken, but (though he had otherwise determined) yet for very anger would present him battell, thereby to enforce him to raise his Siege. And surely he guessed right, had it not been that *Mithridates* had dissuaded him by expresse Letters and Messengers that he should in no case hazard Battell, and perswaded him rather to cut off the Victuals on all sides from the *ROMANES* with his Horsemen. The selfe same councill and advice did *Taxiles* (the Captain whom *Mithridates* sent) give him in his Campe, and prayed him very earnestly, that he would not prove the invincible force of the *ROMANES*. *Tigranes* patiently hearkened to their reasons at the first; but when the *ARMENIANS* were come, and all the force of the Countrey beside, and the *GORDIENIANS*, and that the Kings of the *MEDES* and of the *ADIABENIANS* were come also with all their Power, and that on the other side there came a marvellous great Host of the *ARABIANS* that dwell upon the Sea of *BABYLON*, and a multitude of the *ALBANIANS* from the *CASPIAN* Sea, and of the *IBERIANS* their neighbours, besides a great company of free People living without a King, that dwell by the River of *Araxes*, some coming freely to do him pleasure, other for their Pensions and Pay which he gave them: then was there none other talk neither at his Table, nor in Councell, but of assured hope of Victory, and of great brags and barbarous threatnings, so that *Taxiles* was in great danger of himselfe, because he was against the determination taken in Councell for giving of the Battell. Now was it thought that *Mithridates* did envy the Glory of King *Tigranes*, and therefore did thus dissuade him from Battell. For which respect *Tigranes* would not so much as tarry for him, and because also *Mithridates* should have no part of the Honour of his Victory: but went into the Field with all his great Army, vaunting amongst his Familiars as they report, that nothing grieved him but one, that he should fight with *Lucullus* alone, and not with all other *ROMANES* Captaines. Now this bravery was not so fond, nor so far out of square, but that there was great likelihood of it when he saw so many sundry Nations about him, so many Kings that followed him, so many Battels of armed Footmen, and so many thousands of Horsemen. For he had in his Army of Bow-men and Slings onely, twenty thousand: five and fifty thousand Horsemen, whereof seventeen thousand men of Armes armed from top to toe, as *Lucullus* himselfe wrote unto the Senate: and an hundred and fifty thousand armed Footmen, divided by Ensignes and Squadrons: of Pyoners, Carpenters, Mafons, and such other kinde of handicrafts men, to plaine waies, to make Bridges to passe over Rivers, to stop Streames, to cut Wood, and to make such kinde of Workes; of this sort of People, the number of five and thirty thousand, who followed in Battell ray in the reeward of the Army, making their Campe seeme far greater, and by so much the more stronger. When *Tigranes* shewed on the top of Mount *Taurus*, and that they might plainly see his whole Army from the City, and that himselfe also might easily discern *Lucullus* Army that besieged *TIGRANOCERTA*: the barbarous People that werewithin the City were so glad of this sight, that they made wonderfull shoutes of joy, and great clapping of hands, threatening the *ROMANES* from their Walls, and shewing them the Army of the *ARMENIANS*. *Lucullus* in the meane time fate in Councell to consider what was to be done: where in some were of opinion that he should raise his Siege, and go with his whole Army undivided against *Tigranes*. But others liked not that he should leave so great a number of Enemies at his backe, neither that he should raise his Siege. *Lucullus* made them answer, that neither of them both did counsell him well, but both together did counsell right. Whereupon he divided his Army, and left *Murana* at the Siege of *TIGRANOCERTA* with six thousand men: and he with foure and twenty Cohorts (in the which were not above ten thousand armed Footmen) and all his Horsemen, with a thousand Bow-men and Slings, or thereabouts, went towards *Tigranes*, and camped in a goodly broad Field by the Rivers side. The *ROMANES* seemed but a handfull to *Tigranes* Campe, so that for a while *Tigranes* Parasites made but a May-game of them to sport withall. For some laughed them to scorne, other drew Lots, and played away their part of the Spoyle, as if they had already wonne the Field: and every one of the Kings and Captaines came and offered themselves to *Tigranes*, and besought him every man for himselfe, that he would give him the Honour alone to leade his Battell, and that it would please him to sit by in some place to see the sport. *Tigranes* then, because he would shew that he could be as pleasant as the rest, spake a thing known to every man: If they come as Ambassadors (quoth he) they are very many: but if they come as Enemies, they be but few. And thus they played upon the *ROMANES*, and tooke their pleasure of them at that time: but the next morning by breake of day, *Lucullus* brought all his men armed into the Field, and put them in order of Battell. Now the Campe of the barbarous People lay on the other side of the River toward the East, and by chance the Streame of the River turned sodainly towards the West, where there was a better Foord to passe over. Wherefore *Lucullus* marching with his Army by the Rivers side, following the Streame to meete with some Foord, casting to get over, *Tigranes* thought he had marched away, and called for *Taxiles*, and said unto him, laughing: Doeest thou see *Taxiles* those goodly *ROMANES* Legions, whom thou praist to be men so invincible, how they flie away now? *Taxiles* answered the King again: I would your good Fortune (O King) might worke some maracle this day: for doubtlesse it were a strange thing that the *ROMANES* should flie. They are not wont to wear their brave Coates and Furniture upon their Armour, when they meane onely but to march in the Fields. neither do they

they carry their shields and targets uncased, nor their burgenets bare on their heads, as they doe at this present, having throwne away their leather cases and coverings. But out of doubt, this goodly furniture we see so bright and glistering in our faces, is a manifest signe that they intend to fight, and that they march towards us. *Taxiles* had no sooner spoken these words, but *Lucullus* in the view of his enemies, made his Ensigne-bearer turn suddainly that carried the first Eagle, and the bands took their places to passe the river in order of battell. Then *Tigranes* secretly come to himselfe, as out of drunkenesse, cryed out aloud twice or thrice, Come they then to us? But then was there no small stirre and tumult, to put such a world of people in battell. The King *Tigranes* himselfe undertooke to leade the middle battell, gave the left wing unto the King of the *ADIABENIANS*, and the right unto the King of the *MEDES*: in the which were the most part of the compleate armed men, who made the first front of all the battell. But as *Lucullus* was ready to passe the River, there were certaine of his Captains that came unto him, to wish him to take heed that he fought not that day, because it was one of those which the *ROMANES* thought unfortunate, and call them *Atri*, as to say, blacke: for upon one of those dayes, one *Cepio* was overthrowen in a let battell with all his Army by the *CIMBRES*. But *Lucullus* gave them a pretty answer againe, which is not forgotten to this day: I will make this a happy day (said he) for the *ROMANES*. It was the sixteenth day of the month of *October*. And so with those words encouraging his men, passed over the River, and went himselfe the foremost man, and marched directly towards his enemy, armed with an Anima of Steele, made with scallop shels, shining like the Sunne, and upon that an arming coate fringed round about holding his sword drawn in his hand: to let his men understand, that they they must suddainly joyn with their enemies, and fight at the swords point that were not acquainted to fight but a farre off with shot and slings, and that he would so quickly winne the distance of ground they had to march ere they could joyn, that they should have no leisure to shoot. And furthermore, perceiving that the strength of their men of Armes (whereof they made so great account) was ranged in battell under a hill, the toppe whereof was very plaine and even, and the way up the hill not passing foure furlongs travell, and not very hard nor steep to climbe: he sent thither certain horsemen of the *THRACIANS* and *GAULES* which he had in pay, and commanded them to give a charge on the flankes to disorder them, and assaie to cut their haunces with their swords. For all the strength of these men of Armes consisteth in their haunces and they can do nothing of themselves, nor against their enemies, they are so heavily armed and laden: so as it seemeth they are locked up in their Armour, as in an iron prison. And he himselfe therewithall taking two Ensignes of footmen, strove also to gaine the top of the hill: his souldiers following him hard at the heels with a notable courage, because they saw him the foremost man travelling on foot, and digging against the height of the hill. When he had gotten up to the top, he stayed a little in the highest place he could finde, and cryed out with a loud voice: O companions, the victory is ours. And as he spake those words, he led them against these men of Armes, commanding them they should not meddle with throwing of their darts, but taking their swords in their hands they should strike at their thighs and legges, because they have no other parts of their bodies naked. Howbeit, there was no need of such fight, for they carried not the *ROMANES*, but with great crying out turned their horse heads immediately, and ran cowardly (themselves and their horses, heavy armed as they were) through the midst of the bands of their footmen, before they had stricken one stroke. And thus were so many thousand of men broken without any stroke stricken, or any man hurt, or one droppe of blood seen to be spilt. But the great slaughter was when they began to flie, or (to say better) when they thought to flie: for they could not flie, they ran so one upon anothers neck, by reason of the marvellous length and breadth of their battels. *Tigranes*, amongst the rest was one of the first that dislodged with a small company, and seeing his son running the same fortune, flying as himselfe did, took off his Diademe or royal band from his head, and it gave him weeping, commanding him to save himselfe as well as he could by some other way. But the young Prince durst not put it on his head, but gave it to one of his trusty servants to keep, who by chance was taken and brought unto *Lucullus*: so that amongst the other spoile and prisoners, there was taken *Tigranes* Diadem. It is thought that there were slaine at this overthrow, above an hundred thousand footmen, and very few of all the horsemen saved. On the *ROMANES* side, there were about an hundred hurt, and five slaine. *Antiochus* the Philosopher speaking of this battell in a Treatise he made of the gods; writeth that the Sunne never saw the like overthrow. And *Strabo* another Philosopher in a certaine abridgement he made of stories, said, that the *ROMANES* were ashamed and laughed at themselves, that they had drawne their swords against such dastardly slaves. And *Titus Livius* declareth also, that the *ROMANES* were never in any battell with so small a number of fighting men, against so great a multitude of enemies: for the conquerors were not in all the world the twentieth part (nothing like) of those that were overcome. Wherefore the oldest and best experienced Captaines of the *ROMANES* did highly commend *Lucullus*, because he had overcome two of the greatest and most mighty Princes of the world, by two sundry contrary meanes: the one by tract and delay, and the other by speed and swiftnesse. For he undetermined and consumed *Mithridates* by holding backe and delaying; at that time when all his strength was whole: and to the contrary he destroyed *Tigranes* with great speed and hast. And thus did he that which few Captaines could ever do: that is, used delay of time to execute, and valiant expedition to winne the victory. This was the cause why *Mithridates* made no haste to come to the battell, thinking still that *Lucullus* had used his wonted pollice, to delay and give backe alwayes: and therefore he came by small journeyes unto *Tigranes* Campe. But meeting at

*The ordering
of Tigranes
battell.*

*Atri, black or
unfortunate
dayes.*

*Lucullus battell
with Tigranes.
Lucullus armos*

*Lucullus famous
victories of Ti-
granes.*

*Tigranes flight,
Tigranes Diadem
taken by
Lucullus.*

*Lucullus praise.
Two puissant
Kings overcome
by contrary meanes.*

the first with a few of the ARMENIANS that fled as he came on his way, like men that had been frayed, he straight mistrusted the overthrow: but afterwards meeting greater Troopes of them naked, and fore wounded, then he knew how the matter went. So he went to seek out *Tigranes*, whom he found alone, forsaken of his men, and in very poor estate, yet did not he requite *Tigranes* in adversity with that pride and disdain he had used him before in his misery: but lighted off his horse, to bewaile with him their common misfortune, and gave him all his Officers, and traine of a Kings Court, that followed him to serve him, comforting him, and exhorting him to pluck up his heart againe, and to be courageous thenceforth. Hereupon they both leaved afresh the whole force and power they could from all the parts of their Dominion. In the mean season, there fell out great sedition in the City of *TIGRANOCERTA*, between the GRECIANS and the barbarous people: for the GRECIANS, they would have yeelded up the Town into *Lucullus* hands. Whereupon *Lucullus* giving an assult to the City at that very instant, won it, and seized upon the Kings treasure there, leaving all the rest to the spoile of the souldiers: in the which, besides all other riches, there was eight thousand talents in ready money. And yet besides all that, he gave of the spoile that was won upon the enemies, eight hundred Drachmaes unto every souldier. And understanding that there were divers Musicians, common players, Minstrels, and such kinde of people meet for feasts and sport, whom *Tigranes* had sent for thither from all parts, to dedicate the Theater he had made in this City: he caused all them to serve at the sports and feasts of this Victory. After the solemnization whereof, he sent the GRECIANS home againe unto their Countrey, and gave them money to defray their charges by the way, and the Barbarous people also that were brought thither by force from their native Countries. And so it fortun'd, that by the desolation and destruction of City forsaken, many others were built againe, and stored with people: because those Cities had thereby recovered their naturall inhabitants againe, who ever after did love and honour *Lucullus*, as their benefactor and founder. All other things prospered also according to his vertue and merits. For *Lucullus* liked better the praise that came of bounty, of justice, and of clemency, then that that came by force of martiall prowesse and Chivalry. For in deeds of Armes, he said his Army partly deserved praise, and fortune also carried the best part away: but the praise of the other, was onely due unto himselfe. Whereby he shewed the valour of an excellent good man, well taught and trained up in vertue: and so reaped the fruit of his worthy deserts. For by those good parts, he wan the hearts of the Barbarous people in such sort, that the Kings of the ARABIANS came of good will to put themselves and their goods into his hands. So did the Nation of SOPHENIANS also yeeld themselves unto him. The GORDIENIANS, in like manner, they liked *Lucullus* so well, that they would willingly have forsaken their Cities, houses and Countrey, to follow him with their wives and children, upon this occasion: *Zarbius* King of these GORDIENIANS, as we have recited before, had privily entered amity with *Lucullus*, by means of *Appius Claudius*, who could no longer away with the tyranny of *Tigranes*. This practise was bewrayed unto *Tigranes*, who put *Zarbius*, his wife and children to death, before the ROMANES maine Army came into the Countrey of ARMENIA. Howbeit *Lucullus* did not forget it, but passing through this Realme, gave him very royall funerals: for having heaped up a huge pile of Wood, sumptuously set out with cloth of Gold and Silver, and other rich spoiles of *Tigranes*: he himselfe in person would needs set it on fire, and made the funeral effusions and accustomed sprinklings at funerals, with his friends and kinsmen, doing him this honour, as to call him friend and confederate of the ROMANE people, and appointed also a great sum of money besides to erect a sumptuous Tombe for him. For they found great store of Gold and Silver in the Kings Castle, and there was plenty of provision also of 300000 bushels of Wheate: the which did enrich his souldiers marvellously, and made *Lucullus* to be wondred at, that having received not one Drachma from the sparing coffers at ROME, he notwithstanding made the war entertain it self. About the same time also, the King of the PARTHIANS sent Ambassadors unto him, to offer him friendship and alliance: which *Lucullus* willingly accepted, and sent Ambassadors to him also of acceptance, who made report to *Lucullus* at their returne, that the King of the PARTHIANS stood doubtful how to resolve which part he would take, and that secretly he sent unto *Tigranes*, to aske the Realme of MESOPOTAMIA for his reward to aide him against the ROMANES. *Lucullus* being truly enformed of the King of PARTHIAES double dealing, determined to leave *Tigranes* and *Mithridates*, as two enemies wearied and overcome, and a little to prove the force and power of the PARTHIANS by making warres upon them, thinking it great honour unto him, if he might discomfit and overthrow three so mighty Kings, one after another, like a valiant conquerour that had overcome three famous Captaines together, and had passed through the Countries of three of the greatest Princes under the Sunne, alwayes a conquerour, and never conquered. Hereupon he wrote immediately unto *Sornatius* and other of his Captaines which he had left to keep the Realme of PONTUS, that they should repair to him with all speed with the bands they had under their charge, for that he was determined to depart out of the Countrey of GORDIENIA, to go against the PARTHIANS: howbeit his purpose altered by occasion. For his Lieutenants that had many times before found their souldiers mutinous, and rebelling at their commandments, knew plainly then their cankred stomackes, and incorrigible disobedience. For they could not possibly get them from thence, by any compulsion or persuasions they could use: but contrarily they cried out, and told him plainly, that they would no longer tarry where they were, but would go home to their Countrey, and leave the Realme of PONTUS without guard or garrison at all. And further, that worst of all was, when these news were brought to *Lucullus* Campe, they gave a full example of boldnesse to his souldiers there, to mutine

Lucullus took
Tigranocerta.

Lucullus justice
and clemency.

Zarbius King
of the Gordi-
enians slain by
Tigranes.

Lucullus pre-
pared to goe
against the
Parthians
Lucullus sould-
iers fail to
mutiny.

mutine in like sort, having good will and disposition thereunto of themselves before. For their purses being full, and they acquainted with finenesse, were become so dull and lazy, that they could endure no paines nor hardnesse of warres, but desired to live in all idlenesse and ease. And hearing the report of their fellows stoutnesse, called them lusty laddes, saying, they must needs take the like course, and do as they taught them, vinting of their good service of long time done, which well deserved leave now to depart home with safety, and thenceforth take their rest. *Lucullus* hearing of this their talke, and many other their words, worse and fuller of sedition then these, brake off his enterprize against the PARTHIANS, and went againe in the midst of Summer to meet with *Tigranes*. But when he was come to the top of mount *Taurus*, it grieved him to see the fields so full of wheat yet standing, which came by the season of the year, and coldnesse of the aire, being so slack and flow in all those parts. Nevertheless, he come down into the vally, and at two or three skirmishes overthrow the ARMENIANS, that ventured to abide his coming downe: and ran over all the valley, and destroyed the whole Countrey without let or stoppe of any man, taking away the provision of necessity of victuals which himselfe feared, and yet ceased not to provoke them (by all other means) to come to battell: sometime inclosing their Campe with trenches about, as if he meant to famish them: sometime againe destroying and spoiling the whole Countrey before their face. But because they had so oft been discomfited, they would no more stir, nor once move against him. *Lucullus* perceiving that, in the end raised his Campe, and went and laid siege unto *ARTAXATA*, the chief City of the Kingdome of ARMENIA, in the which were *Tigranes* lawfull Wives and young children, hoping that *Tigranes* would rather hazard another battell, then suffer that City to be lost. It is said, that *Hannibal* of CARTHAGE (after King *Antiochus* was overthrowne in battell by the ROMANES) went unto King *Artaxates*, whom he taught many necessary and profitable things for his Realme, and amongst others, considering that one of the goodliest and pleasantest places of all his Kingdome lay waste and no reckoning made of it, drew a plot of a City, brought the King thither, and caused it to be built and inhabited. The King liked his device marvellous well, and prayed him to take the charge upon him to see the work finished. And thus was this noble and famous City built, and called after the Kings name, *ARTAXATA*: and held ever after the reputation of the chiefe place of the whole Realm of ARMENIA. *Tigranes* being advertised that *Lucullus* went to lay siege therunto, could not endure it, but went with all his Army to follow the ROMANES, and the fourth day came and Camped hard by them: in such sort as there was but the River of *Arsanias* between them, which the ROMANES of necessity must pass over to go to *ARTAXATA*. *Lucullus* having first sacrificed unto the gods, assuring himself of the victory, as if he had it already in his hands, made his Army passe over in order of battell, putting twelve Cohorts in the front, and the other behind, fearing lest the enemies having a great number of men of armes should environ them at their backs. They had against them also the MARDIAN bowmen on horseback, and the IBERIANS with their Lances, in whom *Tigranes* trusted more then in any other, as in the best souldiers he had in pay: and yet for all that they did no notable service. For when they had skirmished but a little with the horsemen of the ROMANES, they durst not tarry the legionaries or footbands that came behind them, but dispersed themselves, some flying one way, some another, which inticed the ROMANE horsemen to follow the chase. But when the men of Armes that were about *Tigranes* person, saw the horsemen so scattered abroad, they began straight to break upon the footmen. *Lucullus* seeing the great multitude of them, and how passingly they were armed and appointed, being somewhat afraid thereof: sent in halt to call in his horsemen that followed the chase, and in the meane time himselfe marched foremost, against these Lords and Satrapes, which were in the front before him with all the Nobility of their hoast, whom he put in such a fear, that before he could come to hand strokes, they all turned taile and fled. There were three Kings ranged in battell one hard by another, howbeit of the three, he that fled most shamefully and cowardly was *Mithridates* King of PONTUS, who had not the heart so much as to abide the cries of the ROMANES. The chase was very long: for it continued all night, untill such time as the ROMANES were wearied with killing, taking of prisoners, and packing up of all kinds of spoiles. *Titus Livius* saith, that there were flaine more men in the first battell, but greater personages in the second: and the chief of the enemies were all taken. After this battell *Lucullus* heart being bigge, and fearing nothing, determined to go farther into the Countrey, even utterly to destroy this barbarous King. But in the time of the equinoctiall Autumne (when the weather waxed more bitter then any man would in that season have thought) there fell out so great a cold, that for the most part, it did nothing but snow: and if the element did any thing cleare, then froze it so hard, that the horse could come by no water, the Rivers were so extreemly congealed with ice. And there could no man passe over by foord: for they did not so soone enter, but the ice brake and cut the veines and sinewes of the horse legs asunder, they were so hard and thicke withall. And furthermore the Countrey being full of Trees, Woods and Forrests, and the wayes very narrow, not being able to passe by the fields, they were through wet with snow that fell upon them: and when they came to their lodging, then it was worse; for there they were constrained to lye in soft and moist places. And therefore the souldiers had followed but few dayes after this battell, but they refused to go any farther. And first they sent their Colonels and Captaines to intreate *Lucullus* to leave off this journey. Afterwards they gathered together more boldly in Troopes, and in the night time began to murmure and groine in their Tents (which is a certaine signe and token of a mutinous Army, that hath a mind to rebell against their Generall) although that *Lucullus* used all gen-

Full purses and
ease makech
mutinous sould-
iers.

Lucullus besie-
ged *Artaxata*,
the chief City
of Armenia.
Artaxates King
of Armenia.

Hannibal build
ed *Artaxata*.

Arsanias fl.

Lucullus order
of his Army.

Other do read
in this place, a-
gainst the *A-
tropasenians*,
which are peo-
ple of *Asia*.
Three Kings
ranged in bat-
tel.
Lucullus mak-
eth *Tigranes*
fly againe.

The Country
of *Mygdonia*,
Nisibis, alias
Antiochia, a City
of *Mygdonia*.

Lucullus takes
Nisibis by as-
sault.

Callimachus did
sell the City of
Amisus on fire.

The alteration
of *Lucullus*'s
good fortune.

Lucullus cause
of all his mis-
fortune.

Lucullus faults.
Lucullus virtues.

The cause why
Lucullus sould-
iers disliked
with him.

Lucullus Army
ever lay in the
field Winter
and Sommer.

Phafis is.

Publius Clodius
a wicked man.

Tubius Clodius
stirred up the
souldiers a-
gainst *Lucullus*.

the persuasions to win them with patience to abide this journey, at the least, till time they might take the City of *CARTHAGE* in *ARMENIA*: to the end they might there destroy the work and me-
mory of the greatest enemy that ever the *ROMANS* had in the world, meaning *Hannibal*. But when
he saw all this would not prevail, he brought them back again, and passed over mount *Taurus* ano-
ther way, and came down into the Country called *MYGDONIA*, a very hot and fertile soile, where
there is a great City, and marvellously replenished with inhabitants: who call it *NISIBIS*, and the
GREECIANS call it *ANTIOCH* of *MYGDONIA*. In that City *Gonras* was Governour, who was
Tigranes owne brother: but for experience in Engines of battery, and for sufficiency and skill in
such matters, there was *Callimachus* also, he that so marvellously troubled *Lucullus* before at the
siege of the City of *AMISUS*. *Lucullus* placing his Campe before this City besieged the same by all
such means as might enforce it, and that so valiantly, that in very short time he took it by assault.
And as for *Gonras*, who submitted himselfe to *Lucullus* mercy, he was very curteously intreated. But
for *Callimachus*, he would not once hear him speak, notwithstanding that he promised, if they would
save his life, he would tell them of coffers full of great treasure hidden, which no man knew but him-
self only. But *Lucullus* commanded them to bring him with gyves to receive the punishment he had
justly deserved, for setting the City of *AMISUS* on fire, and taking from him the means to shew the
GREECIANS his goodnes, affection and liberality towards them. Untill this present time, it might
be truly said, that good fortune ever favoured and followed *Lucullus* in all his enterprises and affairs:
but from that time forwards, it was quickly seen that the favourable blast of fortune failed him, he did
but from that time forwards, it was quickly seen that the favourable blast of fortune failed him, he did
all his things with so great pain, and all that he did, fell out contrary unto him, and to very ill purpose.
Indeed he did ever shew the valiancy, patience, and great courage that should be in a valiant Generall,
or Lieutenant of an Army. But his exploits and doings had never after, that easie grace, nor shining
glory they were wont to have: but to the contrary, he was like to have lost all that he had won before,
through the misfortunes that fell upon him, and for the bralles and vaine contention he had with his
people to no purpose. But the worst was, that they made himselfe the only Author of all these evils:
because he could not, or would not entertaine the good-will of the multitude of his souldiers: think-
ing that whatsoever a Generall, or any other Officer of state or calling doth to please and content
them he hath under his charge, is to dishonour himselfe, and to give cause unto his souldiers to despise
his authority. But that which made most against him was this: that he gave no estimation to Gentle-
men, and men of like quality to himselfe, but disdaind them, and thought them unworthy to be-
come with him. For these they say were his faults and imperfections, but otherwise that he wanted
no virtues, nor generall gifts and good conditions that could be possibly wished for or desired. For
he was a tall Gentleman, of goodly prence, well spoken, wise and discrete, as well in matters of
governement, as in warres: and as well to persuade the people in peace, as to encourage his sould-
iers in warre. *Salust* writeth of him, that his souldiers began to mislike with him, even from the first
entry into these warres, because he made them lie out two Winters together in the field, one after ano-
ther: the one before the City of *CIZICUS*, and the other before the City of *AMISUS*. And even
as much did the other Winters following vex and trouble them: for either they lay in their enemies
Country, or else if they lay in their friends, yet he made them Campe abroad in the field, and throw
themselves in their Tents: for *Lucullus* never entred with his Army into any City or confederate
Town of *GREECE*. Now if the souldiers of themselves misliked *Lucullus*, the Orators at
ROME that were his enemies, and envied his prosperity and glory, gave them yet greater occasions
to mutine against him. For they continually accused him to the people in their Orations, that he
drew out his warre in length, purposely because he would always have occasion to rule, and means
to get, having in his hands in manner all *CILICIA*, *ASIA*, *BITHYNIA*, *PAPHLAGONIA*,
GALATIA, *PONTUS*, *ARMENIA*, and all the Provinces and Regions as far as to the River of
Phafis: and yet he had not long before spoiled the Princely houses of *Tigranes*, as if he had been
sent thither onely to sack and spoile, and not to destroy and overcome those Kings. And they say
that it was *Lucius Quintus*, one of the Prætors that spake these words. It was he also that most
moved the people to take order that *Lucullus* should be called home, and other sent to succeed him
in the charge and Government of the Countries he had subdued. By the self same mean it was also
ordained, that divers which were under his charge, should be dispenced withall for their Oathes, and
licensed to leave the warres when they thought good. But besides these and such like great causes,
there was yet another more dangerous plague, and that most overthrew *Lucullus* proceedings, passing
all the other evils being put together: and that was *Publius Clodius*, a wicked, licentious, and a hare-
brained man. He was *Lucullus* wives brother, and she was so light of her body, that *Clodius* her bro-
ther was accused of incontinency with her. This *Clodius* being at that time in *Lucullus* Campe, car-
ried not that estimation and credit he thought himselfe worthy of. For he took himself equal with
the best, and would needs have been holden for chiefe: when indeed there were many of far better
desert, he being noted both for a vicious and ill disposed person. Whereupon he began for spite to
suborne the band called *FIMBRIANS*, and to stirre them up against *Lucullus*, sowing sweet and
pleasant words amongst the souldiers, which being wonted thereunto, looked still to be flattered.
For they were those whom *Fimbria* had procured to kill the Consul *Flaccus*, and chuse him in
his stead for their Capitaine. By reason whereof they gave good eare to *Clodius* words, and called
him a Noble Capitaine, and a lover of souldiers. For when he spake unto them, he made as though
he had pitied them, for that they should never see an end of their great paines and warres, but
should miserably consume their dayes in fighting continually, sometime with one Nation, and some-

sometime with another: and that they wandred through all the Countries of the world, receiving
no worthy reward of so long and painful service, serving onely to guard *Lucullus* Carts and Cam-
pels laden with plate and vessels of gold and silver, and other precious stones. Where the souldiers
that had served under *Pompey*, took now their ease at home in their Country with the wives and chil-
dren, and were landed men, dwelling in goodly faire Cities, as rich Burgeses and wealthy Citizens:
and yet they had not driven *Mithridates* and *Tigranes* out of their Kingdomes, into desert places un-
habitable, nor had destroyed the Princely houses of *ASIA*, but onely made a little warre in *SPAIN*
against those that were banished, and in *ITALIE* against fugitive slaves. Shall we then, said he, carry
harnesse on our backs all the dayes of our life? Is it not better that we which are escaped untill
this present, reserve our selves, our bodies and lives for that noble Capitaine, who esteemeth the
greatest honour and glory he can achieve unto, is to make his souldiers rich that serve under him?
Lucullus Army was so seduced and corrupted with these mutinous and seditious accusations, that the
souldiers would no longer follow him, neither against *Tigranes*, nor against *Mithridates* who went
presently out of *ARMENIA* into his Realme of *PONTUS*, and began to conquer it again, whilst
the *ROMANE* souldiers mutining against their General, remained idle in the Province of *GORDIENE*,
excusing themselves by the Winter season, and tarrying untill *Pompey* or some other Capitaine
should quickly come to raise the siege, and succed *Lucullus*. Notwithstanding, when they under-
stood that *Mithridates* had overthrown *Fabius*, one of *Lucullus* Lieutenants, and that he went a-
gainst *Sornatius* and *Triarius*: they were then ashamed of themselves, and became contented to be
led by *Lucullus*. But *Triarius* in a bravery, when he heard that *Lucullus* drew near, made hast
to win the victory, as if it had been cock-sure before *Lucullus* came, and was himself overthrowne in a
great battell, where some say there died above seven thousand *ROMANS*, amongst the which were
a hundred and fifty Centurions, and twenty four Captaines or Colonels of a thousand men apiece, and
yet besides, *Mithridates* took their Campe also. Shortly after this overthrow, *Lucullus* came thither,
who hid *Triarius*, whom the souldiers fought in their anger by all the means they could to kill. Now
when *Lucullus* was come, he proved sundry means to procure *Mithridates* to battell: but *Mithridates*
would not once stirre abroad, because he looked for *Tigranes* that came downe with a mighty
power. Whereupon he determined againe to go against *Tigranes* to fight with him, before *Mithridates*
and he joyned forces together. But as he was in his journey towards him, the *FIMBRIAN* souldiers
began to rebell anew, and would not follow his Ensignes, saying, and alledging for themselves,
that by decree of the people they had leave to depart, and were discharged from their oath: and fur-
thermore that *Lucullus* had no more ado to command them, considering that the Government of the
Provinces which he had, was given unto others. *Lucullus* perceiving this, did so humble himselfe
unto them, supposing that way to win them, as there was no kind of uncomely humility, but he sub-
mitted himselfe unto it: inso much as he went into their Tents to pray and intreate them one after ano-
ther, with water in his eyes, and with so great lowlinesse, as even to shake hands with them. But
they fiercely rejected all his courtesies and faire intreaties, casting their pennies purses before him,
and angrily bad him fight with his enemies alone; since he had with the spoile of them all so well en-
riched himselfe alone. Nevertheless, at the intercession and earnest request of the other souldiers,
these *FIMBRIAN* bands were compelled to promise, that they would yet tarry all that Sommer, so
that if no man in the mean time offered them battell, at the end of the terme they might go where they
would. *Lucullus* was forced to accept this condition, or else to remaine alone, and consequently to
forsake the Country of the Barbarous people. With much ado thus he kept them together, but in
such sort, as he durst no more venture to compell them to come to battell, contenting himselfe that
they were willing onely to stay with him, being forced to suffer *Tigranes* in the meane time to de-
stroy and over-runne the Country of *CAPPADOCIA*, and *Mithridates* also to brag againe, of
whom he had before written to the Senate that he had utterly overcome him: inso much as there came
Commissioners and Deputies from *ROME* by his own procurement, to order the state of the Realme
of *PONTUS* with him, as of a Kingdome already won to the *ROMANE* Empire. But when they
were come, they found him not master of himselfe, and that his own souldiers scouted him, and did
him all the spite and injury they could. For they were so unruly towards their Capitaine, and did so
much disdain him, that when the end of Sommer was come, they Armed themselves with Armour
and weapon, and drawing out their swords in mockery, challenged their enemies to battell which
were gone out of the field: and after they had made the noise and cries accustomed when they joy-
ned battell, and made as though they fought, hurling and swinging their swords in the aire, they
went from the Campe, declaring openly that their time was expired, which they promised *Lucul-
lus* to tarry. On the other side, *Pompey* had written unto the other souldiers that were yet in Campe,
to come unto him: for through the peoples favour at *ROME*, the practises and flatteries of the
Common-Councillers there, he was substituted Generall in *Lucullus* place: which much misliked
the Senate and Nobility, for they thought *Lucullus* greatly wronged to have a successor sent, not
to succeed him in troubles and dangers, but in glory and honour of triumph. And that they should
compell him not onely to resigne up the Office of a Generall to another, but (for the good service
he long time had done) the reward of his honour due for the same: and this also more misliked them
that were then about him. That so soon as *Pompey* was arrived in *ASIA*, he took all power and
authority from *Lucullus*, to punish or reward any man for good or ill service done to the Common-
wealth in those warres; and did moreover prohibite by publike Billes set up in every common
place, that they should no more repaire unto him, nor obey ought that he, or any of the ten
Com-

Mithridates o-
vercame *Tri-
arius*, *Lucullus*
Capitaine.

The *Fimbrian*
souldiers fur-
look *Lucullus*.

Lucullus forced
to humble
himselfe to his
mutinous sould-
iers.

The *Fimbrian*
souldiers tarry
out the Som-
mer, upon con-
dition to de-
part when Som-
mer was done.

Pompey, *Lucul-
lus* successor in
Asia.

Injuries offer-
ed *Lucullus* by
Pompey.

Lucullus and Pompey's meeting.

Mislikings between Pompey and Lucullus. Lucullus not beloved of his souldiers.

Craſſus deſire to conquer Aſia, upon ſight of Lucullus triumph. See the life of Craſſus, what ſucceſſe he had Lucullus return to Rome.

Lucullus triumph.

Commiſſioners ſent to diſpoſe of the ſtate of the Provinces wonne by him, ſhould command or ordaine: and becauſe Pompey came with a greater power and Army then his, he was in ſome feare of him. Their friends thought good nevertheleſſe they ſhould meet together: and ſo they did incontinently, in a village of GALATIA, where at the firſt meeting they ſaluted each other very courteouſly, rejoycing together of the noble victories that either had wonne. Lucullus was the elder man, but Pompey of great dignity, becauſe he had been General of the ROMANE people in many warres, and had already triumphed twice. The bundels of Roddes which the Seagants carried before them, were wreathed about with Laurell branches for the victories they had both achieved: but Pompey's bundels were withered away, becauſe they had come a long journey through hot and dry Countries. Lucullus Officers ſeeing theirs withered, courteouſly gave them of theirs freſh and new gathered: which Pompey's friends tooke for a ſigne of good lucke. For to ſay truly, the things that Lucullus did in the time of his charge, were cauſe of the honour that Pompey afterwards wan. Howbeit in the end, for all their talk, they were no whit the better friends: but departed the one from the other more ſtrange then they met. For Pompey by a plain Edict, brake, revoked and diſannulled all Lucullus Ordinances, and taking from him all his other ſouldiers, left him but only ſixteen hundred to accompany his Triumph, and yet they followed him with unwilling minds: ſuch was Lucullus imperfection and maime, either by nature or frowardneſſe of fortune, that he lacked the chieffeſt thing a Generall ſhould have, which was, to be beloved of his ſouldiers. For if he had attained to that perfection, amongſt many other his excellent virtues, magnanimity and wiſdome, judgement and juſtice, the River of Euphrates had not been the utmoſt confines of the Empire of ROME ON ASIA ſide, but it had extended as far as the ſea Hyrcane, yea even unto the utmoſt part of the world. For King Tigranes had already conquered the other Nations that lie beyond that, ſaving the Country of PARTHIA, which then was not ſo great nor ſtrong, as it appeared afterwards in Craſſus time: nor ſo joynt and knit together, but (what through civill diſſentions amongſt them at home, and ſorraine warres of their neighbours abroad) was ſo weak, that with great difficulty they could defend themſelves from the ARMENIANS, that continually harried them out of their ſkins. But to take things rightly as they be indeed, me thinks that Lucullus did more hurt unto his Country by other, then he did benefit the ſame by himſelfe. For taken of triumph and victories which he wan in ARMENIA ſo neare unto the PRTHIANS, the Cities of TIGRANOCERTA and of NISIABIS, which he had ſacked and ſpoiled, the great treaſure that he brought to ROME, and the Diademe alſo of Tigranes, which was ſhewed in triumph as a priſoner with the reſt: moved Craſſus with ſuch a marvellous deſire to paſſe into ASIA, as if all the barbarous people had been nothing but an aſſured ſpoile, and a prey expoſed unto all thoſe that would come to take them. But Craſſus far otherwiſe finding himſelfe gauled and troubled with the Arrowes of the PARTHIANS, knew then by prooffe, that Lucullus had not ſo much overcome his enemies for that they wanted ſkill, or were a cowardly people, as he had done through his wiſdome and valiantneſſe. But that ſhall be ſeen hereafter. Furthermore, Lucullus being now returned to ROME, found firſt of all his brother Marcus accuſed by one Gaius Memmius, for that he had done in his Office of Treafurer in Syllaes time, and by his commandment, whereof he was cleared by ſentence of the Judges. But Memmius of ſpite turned his anger againſt Lucullus ſelfe, ſtirring up the people againſt him, and letting them underſtand that Lucullus had kept backe and robbed much part of the treaſure, which ſhould have come to the Common-wealth; and that to worke his feate the better, he had prolonged theſe warres as he did: wherefore he perſwaded them ſtately to deny him the honor of his triumph. And truly Lucullus was in great danger to have loſt it utterly, but that the Noblemen of the City, and they that were of greateſt authority, intermeddled themſelves with the Tribes when they came to paſſe it by voices of the people; whom they intreated ſo much through ſute and perſwaſion, that in the end, with much ado, the people ſuffered him to enter the City in triumph. So Lucullus made a triumphant entry, not terrible nor troubleſome for the long ſhew or fight thereof, nor for the multitude of things that he had brought thither with him, as many other Capitaines had done before him. For he cauſed the ſhew-place (which they call *Circus Flaminius* at ROME) to be ſet out and furniſhed chiefly with Armour and weapons of the enemies to a marvellous number: and with the Kings Engines and inventions of battering pieces, which was a pleaſant ſight to behold. And in this ſhew, there was a certaine number of his men of Armes bravely armed, ten Cartes of warre armed with Sythes that paſſed by, and threeſcore of the chieffeſt friends and Capitaines of the two Kings that were led priſoners through the City. And there were alſo drawn after them, an hundred and ten Gallies all armed in the Prores with ſtrong ſpurs of Copper, and a ſtatue of *Mithridates* all of cleane gold, ſixe foot high, with a rich Target ſet with precious ſtones. Beſides all theſe, there were twenty Cupbords as full of ſilver Plate as could be, and thirty Cupbords full alſo of golden Veſſels, Armour and Coine of gold, carried upon mens ſhoulders. After them followed eight Mules laden with golden beds, and ſixe and fifty other Mules that carried ſilver Bullion, and a hundred and ſeven other Mules that carried ſilver Coine, amounting to the ſumme of two hundred threeſcore and ten thouſand Seſtertios. Furthermore, there were books of account carried alſo, wherein were particularly written the ſummes of money which Lucullus had delivered before unto Pompey for the warre againſt Pirates on the ſea, and unto the Treafurers and high Treafurers, to put in to the ſparing coſſers of the Common-wealth at ROME. And afterwards in an Article by it ſelfe, that he had given nine hundred and fifty Drachmaes to every ſouldier by the polle. After the ſhew of this triumph was ended, he made a generall Feaſt, in the which he feaſted all the City and Vil-

lages

lages thereabouts, which the ROMANEſ call *Vicos*. And afterwards forſook his wife *Clodia* for her unchaſt and wanton life, and married *Servilia*, *Caioes* ſiſter: howbeit he wan nothing by the exchange; for he ſped as evil with the ſecond as he did with firſt. For, ſaving that ſhe was not flandered with the inceſt of her owne brethren, otherwiſe ſhe was as diſhoneſt and unchaſte as *Clodia*: and yet he bare withall a while for her brothers ſake, but at the length grew weary of her, and put her away as he had done *Clodia*. Now when he had filled the Senate with a marvellous hope and expectation of him (who thought they had now got one to encounter and withſtand Pompey's tyranny, and to uphold and maintain the Authority of the Nobility and Senate againſt the people, for that by his noble deeds he had atchieved ſo great fame and reputation) he ſuddenly gave over all dealings in the affaires of the Common-wealth: either becauſe he ſaw it ſo beſt, being a hard thing now to keep it from ruine: or elſe (as other ſaid) for that he felt himſelfe ſufficiently furniſhed with honour and wealth, and therefore determined from thenceforth to live quietly all at his eaſe, after ſo great paines, travels and troubles, the end whereof fell not out over fortunately. And ſurely ſome were of his mind; and liked this great change of his marvellous well, becauſe he did not as *Marinus* did, neither happened on the ill ſucceſſe and end that *Marinus* had. For *Marinus* after the notable victories which he brought from the CIMBRES, and after his valiant Aets in warres which had won him great honour, yet would he not ſo leave off, when he might have been Chronicled to his wonderfull glory: but of an unſatiable mind, and ambitions deſire to rule and beare ſway (being withall a very old man) went and forced himſelfe amongſt young men deſirous of Government, who brought him not only to commit many outrages, but made himſelfe alſo to ſuffer greater cruelties. It is thought alſo that *Cicero* had ended his aged courſe more happily, if afterwards he had quenched *Catiline* conſpiracy, he had then taken his eaſe. And ſo had *Scipio* in like caſe, if when he had joynted NUMANTIA unto CARTHAGE, he would then have quieted himſelfe. And therefore, ſome ſay, that there is a certaine revolution and time appointed, beyond the which no wife man ſhould meddle any more with the affaires of the Common-wealth: no more then a man whoſe youth and ſtrength is gone and decayed, is any more fit to juſt, waſtle, or enter into ſuch exerciſes of the body. But contrarily, *Craſſus* and Pompey mocked Lucullus, becauſe he gave himſelf ſo much to pleaſure and paſtime: as if to live pleaſantly and delicately did not worke become his age, then to command an Army, or to governe the affaires of a Commonweale. And for my part, reading Lucullus's life, me thinks that I reade an ancient Comedy, the beginning whereof is tedious, and the latter end joyfull. For at the beginning of his life, you finde notable exploits, done by him in wars, and great good government alſo in peace: but in the end they all turned into feaſts and bankets, and lacking little of maſkes and mummeries, dancing with torches, and all other ſuch delights fit for young men. For I bring within the compaſſe and reckoning of his fineneſſe and pleaſures, his ſumptuous buildings, his ſtately walks and Galleries, his hot-houſes and ſtoves, his tables and pictures, his ſtatues alſo, and the great workmanſhip and curioſity he had beſides of all other Arts by him gotten together out of all parts, to his infinite charge: abuſing therein the world of goods and treaſure gotten and wonne in the warres, in time of his charge and Office of General, and otherwiſe. Inſomuch, that notwithstanding exceſſe and ſuperfluity hath ever ſince increaſed untill this preſent time, yet they reckon the gardens Lucullus made, to be the moſt ſumptuous and delicateſt places that the Emperors have. And therefore *Tuſerius* the Stoicke Philoſopher, having ſeen theſe ſtately works, which Lucullus had cauſed to be made neare unto NAPLES, by the ſea ſide (where there are mountaines cut through, light as day, and hanged upon vaults) and great ditches caſt by force, to make the ſea paſſe and run through his houſes, to keep fiſh therein; and lodgings alſo that he built in the ſea it ſelfe: he called Lucullus, *Xerxes* the Gownman, as if he would have ſaid, *Xerxes* the ROMANE. For even ſo did *Xerxes* in old time cauſe the mountain *Atho* to be cut in ſunder, and a channell to be digged there to paſſe his ſhips through. He had alſo many other pleaſant places within the territories of ROME neare unto THUSCULUM, where there were great large halles ſet upon Terraſſes to ſee round about far off in the day time. And Pompey going thither ſometime to ſee him, reproved him greatly, telling him that he had built a marvellous faire Summer houſe, but not to be dwelt in in the Winter ſeaſon. Lucullus laughing, answered him: Do ye think me to have leſſe wit and reaſon then Storckes or Cranes; that I cannot ſhift houſes according to the ſeaſon? And another time there was a Prator of ROME, that making Playes to ſhew the people paſtime, ſent unto Lucullus to borrow certaine purple cloaks to ſet forth his Players: Lucullus made him answer, that he would cauſe his folks to looke if he had any. And the next morning demanding of him; how many he ſhould need; the other answered; that a hundred would ſerve his turne. Whereupon Lucullus told him againe, he would furniſh him with two hundred, if his caſe ſo required. And therefore the Poet *Horace* writing this ſtory; addeth to a notable exclamation againſt ſuperfluity, ſaying: that men think that a poore houſe where there is no more riches then neceſſary, and where there is not more then appeareth in ſight, and that the maſter knoweth of. He was a vaine man in his ordinary ſervice at his board, not only in that his beds whereon he fed, were covered with rich Carpets of Purple, and himſelfe ſerved in Gold and Silver veſſels ſet with precious ſtones; and that there was dancing, muſicke, playes, and other ſuch like paſtimes of ordinary: but alſo for that he was continually ſerved with all ſorts of fine dainty diſhes, with works of Paſtry, banqueting diſhes; and fruit curiouſly wrought and prepared, which only made him to be wondered at of men of ſimple underſtanding and meane condition. Therefore was Pompey marvellouſly eſteemed, and ſpecially for a word he ſpake one day when he was ſicke, and that the Phyſician had willed him to eate of a Thruſh. For when his ſervants told him, they were hard

to

Lucullus forſake Clodia, and marrieth Servilia, Caioes ſiſter, as unchaſt as Clodia.

Lucullus giveth over government of the Common-wealth.

Lucullus buildings and pleaſures.

Lucullus Gardens of great eſtimation.

Lucullus called Xerxes the Gownman. Xerxes cut through the mountain Atho, and made a channell for his ſhips to paſſe through.

Lucullus curioſity and exceſſe in meates and ſervice.

Catoes laying
of Lucullus.Certaine say-
ings of LucullusLucullus having
diverse halles,
had appointed
every hall his
certaine rate
and charge of
diet.
What Lucullus
supper was in
Apollo.Lucullus libra-
ry.Lucullus loved
Philosophy.Antiochus of
Ascalon an elo-
quent rhetori-
cian.The opinion
of the Aca-
demicks.

to come by in Sommer, but at *Lucullus* house, where they brought them up all the yeare through: he would in no wife they should aske any of him, but said unto his Physitian: What, if *Lucullus* were not given to pleasure, could not *Pompey* live? And so willed them to get him some other such thing, as they might more easily come by. *Cato* was *Lucullus* friend and kinsman both, and yet he so much misliked his manner of living and ordinary expence, that one day a young man making a long and tedious Oration in open Senate (out of time, and to no purpose) touching mean diet, sobriety, and temperance of life; *Cato* could no longer abide him, but rose up, and said unto him: What, wilt thou not leave babbling to us all day; thou that art rich as *Crassus*, that livest as *Lucullus*, and speakest as *Cato*? Other affirm that these words were spoken thus, but that it was not *Cato* that spake them: nevertheless it is certain, by the noble sayings they have gathered of *Lucullus*, he did not onely delight to live so delicately, but also he gloried in it. Some write that he feasted certain *Grecians* many dayes together in his house, that were come out of *Greece* to *Rome*: and that they being men brought up with the sobriety and simplicity of *Greece*, after they had been feasted there divers times, were ashamed, and refused to go thither any more, being afterwards intreated to come to *Lucullus*, supposing that he had made them this great chere for their own sakes. *Lucullus* hearing of it, told them: My Lords, I pray you refuse not to come to me for that; indeed I must needs grant that there is somewhat more then ordinary to welcome you withall; but I tell you truly, the most part is for *Lucullus* sake. Another time when he supped all alone, and his men had laid but one board, and prepared but a reasonable supper for him, he was very angry with them, and call for his steward, to know why he was so served: the Steward answered him: My Lord, because I saw you fend for no body, I thought this supper sufficient. What said he againe, knewest not thou that *Lucullus* should sup to night with himself? In fine, *Lucullus* fare was so well known through *Rome*, that there was no talke but of *Lucullus* noble house-keeping. Whereupon, *Cicero* and *Pompey* being desirous to see the prooff thereof, came one day to him in the Market-place seeing him at leisure: for *Cicero* was *Lucullus* very good friend, and *Pompey* (though there was some jarre between them for matters of warres) did not let for all that to come unto him, and to speake gently one to another. And *Cicero* after he had saluted him, asked him if he would be contented they should come and see him. Oh, said he, with all my heart: I pray you come to me. Well then, said *Cicero*, *Pompey* and I will come and suppe with you to night, with condition that you provide no more then your ordinary: *Lucullus* told them againe, they should then fare but badly, and therefore it were better they tarried till to morrow. But they would none of that, no nor suffer him to speak with his men, for fear he should command them to provide somewhat more then for himselfe. Nevertheless, at his desire they suffered him onely in their prefence allowed to tell one of his men, that he would sup that night in *Apollo*: (for so was one of the most stately and sumptuous halles of his house called) and with that word onely he finely deceived them both, and they never found him. For every Hall had his certaine fumme and rate appointed for the charge and expence of every supper they made in them, and the ordinary furniture and service for the same. So that when his servants had their watch-word but in what Hall he would suppe, they knew straight what charge he would be at for his supper, and what orders should be observed therein. Now *Lucullus* manner was to spend when he made any feast in the Hall of *Apollo*, fifty thousand pence, and that selfe day the supper was prepared according to that value: inso much as *Pompey* marvelled how it could be possible that a supper of so exceeding great charge could be so suddenly prepared. In such things therefore did *Lucullus* lavishly and riotously spend his goods, like spoiles gotten of slaves and barbarous people. But that especially which he bestowed upon Books, was a very commendable and honest expence. For that he gathered together a great number of notable Histories, the use whereof was more honour unto him, then the having of them. For his Library was ever open to all comers, and and they suffered the *Grecians* to come into his goodly tarrasses and faire walkes, or other pleasant places thereabouts convenient to sit and reason together, and never shut doore against them: where Learned men met commonly, and oftentimes spent the whole day in conference together, as in the house of the *Muses*; being very glad when other matters were dispatched, they had so much leisure as but to go thither. And *Lucullus* selfe would also many times be amongst them, in those tarrasses and pleasant walkes, delighting much to talke with them: and he did ever helpe to dispatch them that had any businesse with him, and granted the thing they requested of him. To conclude, his house was a common receipt for all them that came from *Greece* to *Rome*. He loved all manner of Philosophy, and refused no Sect of the same. But from his youth upward, he ever loved and esteemed best the *Academicke* Sect, not that which they call the new *Academicke* (although it flourished at that time through *Carnades* workes, which *Philo* made such estimation of) but the old *Academicke*, which the Philosopher *Antiochus* of the City of *Ascalon* did defend and maintaine at that time, being an Eloquent Rhetorician and well spoken, whom *Lucullus* sought to winne by all meanes, to make him his friend, and to have him in house with him: because he might inveigh against *Philo*s hearers and followers, whose Scholer *Cicero* among the rest was, that wrote a notable booke against this old *Academicke* sect. And in the same he reciteth *Lucullus*, maintaining the opinion of the old *Academicke*: who hold, that a man may certainly know and comprehend something, and called that *Catalepsis*: but *Cicero* defended the contrary. The book is intituled *Lucullus*: for they were (as we have rehearsed before) very good friends, and had both one selfe desire for Government in the Common-wealth. For *Lucullus* did not so withdraw himselfe from matters of state, that he would no more meddle at all, nor heare speake of them: but he betimes gave over all am-

bition

bition and contention, as a thing of no small danger, and breeding great reproach and dishonour to *Marcus Crassus*, and *Cato*, to be chiefe in authority. And these two were they that defended the Senate, and whom they raised up to withstand *Pompey*s greatnesse, being affraid of him, after that *Lucullus* had refused the chiefe place of authority. But otherwise, *Lucullus* would be in the Market-place at Courts and Common counells, to pleasure his friends when they requested him: and would go to the Senate also, when there was occasion to breake any new practise, or to overthrow *Pompey*s ambitious policy. For he overthrew all the orders and constitutions that *Pompey* had made, after had he overcome the Kings *Mithridates* and *Tigranes*: and with the help of *Cato* hindred a distribution of money which *Pompey* had written for to *Rome*, to be bestowed amongst his souldiers. Whereupon *Pompey* fell in friendship (or to speak more plainly, in conspiracy) with *Crassus* and *Caesar*, by whose help and assistance, he filled *Rome* with Armes and souldiers: and made the people by force to passe and confirme what he would have done, after he had violently expelled *Lucullus* and *Cato* out of the Market-place. Whereat the Noble men were much offended, and misliking the great wrong they had offered *Lucullus* and *Cato*, *Pompey*s followers suborned a *Brutian*, and said he was taken lying in waite to kill *Pompey*. Whereupon the said *Brutian* being examined by the Senate, named certain: but when he came before the people, he named *Lucullus*, saying that he had hired him to kill *Pompey*. But no man believed him: for they perceived openly in the Market-place, that he was procured by themselves falsely to accuse *Lucullus*, and *Pompey*s other adversaries. And this was proved more plainly within a few dayes after, when they threw the body of this *Brutian* (dead in the midst of the street, out of the prison, who they said died of himselfe with sicknesse. Howbeit the markes being plainly seen of the halter wherewith they had strangled him, and the stripes appearing also which they had given him, did plainly shew that they themselves did it, whom after they had suborned to accuse *Lucullus*, they slew in this manner. This was the cause why *Lucullus* did more then before absent himself from meeting in publicke causes: but after, when he saw that they had so wickedly exiled *Cicero*, and found meanes also to convey *Cato* far enough off, under pretenced colour to send him with charge into the Isle of *Cyprus*: then he gave up altogether. Some write that a little before his death, he was not perfit in his wits, decaying through age by little and little. Howbeit *Cornelius Nepos* saith, that it was not for age nor sicknesse that his wits did altare, but through poison which one of his slaves had given him, whom he had made free, called *Callisthenes*: who gave it him, not of any evil intent, but because his master should love him the more, supposing that this poison had power to make him love him. But he troubled his wits so with this poison, that *Lucullus* while he lived was faine to have his brother *Marcus* to oversee his goods. Notwithstanding this, when he was dead, he was as much bewailed and lamented of all the people, as if he had died in his best credit, and greatest prosperity. For all the people ran to honor his funerals, and his body was carried to the place, by the young Noble men of the City. The people would in any case have buried him within the field of *Mars*, as they had before buried *Sylla*. But because no man thought of it before, and also for that things necessary were not easily to be provided for the place: his brother *Marcus* besought the people they would be content his funerals might be at a Town of his own, neare unto the City of *Tusculum*, where his Tombe was prepared: and he himselfe lived not long time after. For as *Lucullus* both in age, and honour, had not left him far behind him: so did he not much in his death. For as a brother that had alwayes dearely loved him, he could not then long live, and survive him.

The end of Lucullus Life.

Marcus Crassus,
Cato, *Lucullus*,
against *Pompey*
Lucullus and
Cato against
Pompey.
Pompey, *Cras-*
sus, *Caesar*, con-
spired together
against the
State.

Cicero calls him
Lucius Vestinus,
howbeit it may
be that he was
a *Brutian* born.

Lucullus fell
out of his wits
before his
death.
Callisthenes
poisoned *Lu-*
cullus whereof
he died.
Lucullus death.

THE

THE COMPARISON OF LUCULLUS with CIMON.



Lucullus death
blest.



Nothing (in my opinion) made *Lucullus* more happy, then to die when he did, before he saw the change and alteration of the Common-weale, which the fatall destinies plagued the ROMANS withall, with sedition and civill warres: and that he died in his Countrey yet enjoying her liberty, but beginning then to fall to decay. And in that (above all other things) he was like unto *Cimon*: who died whilest the GRECIANS were in good love and peace with other, and not in broile of discord and civill warres. Indeed *Cimon* died in his Campe, being Generall of his Countrey, at the siege of the City of CITTUM in CYPRUS; not withdrawn to his home, as one wearied, living idly, or leading a voluptuous life in feasts and banquets, making that the end and reward of his warres, victories and triumphs: butas *Plato* said (when he wisely blamed and reproved *Orpheus*, who promisseth perpetuall drunkenness in the world to come, for reward of their vertue, that lived well in this life) merrily. And truly it is a great comfort and contentation of minde, for an old man feeble with age, and compelled by weakness, to withdraw himselfe from the world, as well in matters of government in peace, as in warres: and quietly to passe his time in study, where delight is joynd with honest contemplations. But to finish his vertuous deeds, by referring them to pleasure, as unto their onely end, and moreover, to grow old by pleasure and vanity, solemnizing *Venus* feast all the rest of his life, after he had made such warres, and commanded such Armies: that me thinkes a thing unworthy of an honest ACADEMICKE, and altogether unmeet for one professing old *Xenocrates* doctrine, but fit rather for a man given over altogether to *Epicurus* discipline. There is a wonderfull thing to be considered of in these two men, that the ones youth was altogether vicious and reprochfull, and the others to the contrary, honest and vertuous. But he is the better that changeth for the better: and that nature is alwayes more commendable, in whom vice decayeth, and vertue waxeth young: then that which by continuance of time sheweth still the contrary. And furthermore, they both grew rich by one selfe meane: but they did not both alike use their riches. For it were to no purpose to compare the buildings of the Wall that standeth South within the Castle of ATHENS, which was built with the money *Cimon* brought thither, with the fine built Chambers, and high raised Turrets to gaze as far, and environed about with conduits of water, which *Lucullus* erected by NAPLES, with the spoiles of the barbarous people. Neither is *Cimons* table also of moderate fare and diet, but yet open to every man, comparable to *Lucullus* board, which was sumptuously furnished, and shewed the greatness of his Lord. For *Cimons* board fed many mouths daily with a small charge: and *Lucullus* table exceeded in expence, to feed a few, with superfluous dainties. Unlesse they will say, that time caused this difference between them. But who can tell, if *Cimon* had been at leisure to have withdrawne himselfe to quiet in age from Government and Armes, he also would not have led a more sumptuous and dissolute life, given to all pleasure, then *Lucullus* did? For of his owne nature he loved wine, banquets, and playes, and was also given to women, as we have told you before. But prosperity, and fortunate successe of things do bring such delight to ambitious men of nature, and borne to great enterprises, that they make them forget to runne after their other voluptuous vaine desires. And therefore had *Lucullus* died abroad in the warres, whilest he commanded armies, there had not been that living man, how curious soever he had been to reprove other mens faults, that could have detected him of any reproachfull vice. And thus much for their manner of life. Now furthermore, touching the state of their warres: no doubt both the one and the other were excellent Captaines, as well by sea as by land.

A good gift to
decay vice, and
to increase vertue.

land. And like as in games of prize and exercises of body which are shewed in GREECE, they that in one selfe day win the games at wrestling, and weapons both, are called by a strange custome, not conquerers onely, but victours also, to honour them withall: even so me thinkes that *Cimon* in like case having in one selfe day crowned GREECE with two notable markes of triumph, for two battells he wanne, the one by sea, and the other by land, deserveth to have some place and preferment before other Captaines. And moreover, *Lucullus* received the Authority to command, of his Countrey and Common-weale: but *Cimon* gave his Countrey both authority and ability to command. *Lucullus* found his Countrey a commanding people to all their friends and confederates: through whose aide he overcame his enemies. And *Cimon* contrarily, found his Countrey marching under anothers Ensigne, and through his valiantnesse did so behave himselfe, that he made his City go before her confederates, and triumph over her enemies: compelling the PERSIANS by force to give them the rule by sea, and perswading the LACEDÆMONIANS willingly to give place unto them by land. Now if the chiefe thing that can be in an excellent Captain, is to make himselfe to be beloved of his soldiers, that they may delight to obey him: then was *Lucullus* despised of his souldiers, and *Cimon* esteemed and wondred at, even of the confederates themselves. For *Lucullus* was forsaken of his own men: and *Cimon* was followed by very strangers, for the confederates did joyne together with him, *Lucullus* returned home into his Countrey forsaken of those he carried out with him. *Cimon* returned again, commanding them that were sent out with him to obey others: and had at one time done for his Countrey three notable things, and hard for them to have compassed: to wit, made peace with the enemies, given them authority and rule over their confederates, and joynd friendship with the LACEDÆMONIANS. Both of them undertook to destroy great Empires, and conquer all ASIA: but neither of them both could bring their enterprise to passe. The one by reason of his death, which cut him off on the sudden being Generall, and when his affaires prospered best. The other can hardly be excused, that there was not a great fault in him: either in that he could not, or because he would not satisfie the complaints and griefes of his men, which caused them so much to hate and mislike him. And yet it might be said also, that in this fault he was like unto *Cimon*: who was oftentimes accused by his Citizens, and at the length banished his Countrey for the space of ten yeeres, because that in ten yeeres space (as *Plato* saith) they should no more heare him speak. For to say truly, it seldom times happeth, that the grave wits of Noble men do please the multitude, neither are they acceptable unto the common people: because they striving continually to reforme them when they go awry, do grieve them as much, as Surgeons do their patients when they bind up their fores with bands to cure them. For though by that binding they restore and bring to their naturall places againe the broken bones and members out of joynt: yet put they the patient to great paine and griefe. And therefore me thinkes neither the one nor the other is to be blamed. Furthermore, *Lucullus* went a great deal farther with his Army, then ever *Cimon* did. For he was the first ROMANE Captaine that passed over mount *Taurus*, and the River of *Tigris* with an Army. He took and burnt almost in the sight of both the Kings, the Royall Cities of ASIA, TIGRANOCERTA, CABIRA, SINOPE and NICIBIS. Towards the North, he went as far as the River of *Phasis*: towards the East, into MEDIA and Southward, even to the Red Sea, and unto the Realmes of ARABIA, subduing all unto the ROMANE Empire. And having overthrown all the power of these two mighty Kings, he tooke from them all, but their persons onely: who fled and hid themselves like wild beastes, in infinite Deserts and unpasseable Forrests. Wherein is easily discerned the difference betwixt the doings of the one, and of the other. For the PERSIANS, as if they had had no hurt nor overthrow at all by *Cimon*, fought a battell immediately after against the GRECIANS, and overthrew the greatest part of their Army in AEGYPT: where *Mithridates* and *Tigranes*, after *Lucullus* victories, did never any notable act. For the one finding himselfe altogether pulled down on his knees, and broken by the former battells: durst never once only shew his Army unto *Pompey*, out of the strength of his Campe, but fled into the Realme of BOSPHORUS, where he died. And *Tigranes*, he went and humbled himselfe on his knees, unarmed and without weapon, unto *Pompey*: and taking his Diademe off from his head, layed it at his feet, not flattering him for the victories he had won, but for those which *Lucullus* had triumphed for. By reason whereof he escaped good cheap, and thought himselfe happy, when *Pompey* gave him onely the marke and title of a King, the which before had been taken from him. He therefore is to be thought the more worthy Captaine, and stoutest Champion, that leaveth his enemy in weak estate for him that followeth, and shall fight afterwards with him. And furthermore, *Cimon* found the power of the King of PERSIA over harried the pride and fiercenesse of the PERSIANS layed aground, by many great battells they had lost before unto *Themistocles*, King *Pausanias*, and *Leotychides*, who had overthrown them: and going now again to fight afresh with them, it was an easie thing to overcome the bodies of those, whose hearts were already vanquished. Where *Lucullus* to the contrary, assailed *Tigranes*, that had never been overcome, but bare a marvellous lofty mind with him, for the many great battells and conquests he had won. And for the multitude of enemies, there was no comparison between those that *Cimon* overthrew, and those that were ranged in battell against *Lucullus*. So that all things weighed and considered, it were hard to judge which of them two proved the worst man: for that it seemeth, that the gods did favour both the one and the other, telling the one what he should do, and the other what he should not do.

And thus it appeareth by testimony of the gods, they were both good men, and that they both obtained everlasting glory.

Cimon two victories obtained in one day.

Great difference betwixt *Cimon* and *Lucullus*.

Grave Magistrates relembr'd by similitude unto good Surgeons.

Mithridates King of Pontus died in the Realme of Bosphorus. *Tigranes* King of Armenia, submitted himselfe to *Pompey*.

THE LIFE OF NICIAS.



Ann. Mund.
3579.

Ant. Christ.
424.

The praise of
Thucydides.



Have reason (as I thinke) to compare *Nicias* with *Crassus* and the events that happened to the one in *PARTHIA*, with those that befell the other in *CICILE*: yet am I to pray them that shall happen to read my writings, not to think me in intermeddling with those matters (in the describing and reporting whereof, *Thucydides* hath gone beyond himself, both for variety and liveliness of narration, as also in choice and excellent words) to have the like intent and opinion, that *Timæus* the Historiographer had. Who, hoping by the gravity and life of his words and reports, to darken the glory of *Thucydides*, and make *Philistus* (in comparison of himself) appear ignorant, and without any grace of historical narration: hath in his History of purpose sought occasion to enter into the describing of those battells by sea and by land, and the report of those speeches and narrations, which are delivered by them with great judgement and eloquence. Wherein he cometh as near them whom he contends to passe, as doth the footman to the *LYDIAN* Coach, as saith *Pindarus*: and besides sheweth himselfe fond and of small judgement, or as *Diphilus* saith:

A lubber laden with Sicilian greafe.

Timæus follies.

And in divers places he falleth into *Xenarchus* follies. As where he saith, that he thinkes it was an evil token for the *ATHENIANS*, that *Nicias* the Captaine (whose name was derived of this word *Nice*, signifying victory) dissuaded their attempts against *SICILE*: and that by the throwing down and mangling of the *Hermes* (to say, the images of *Mercury*) it was foreshewed that they should receive great overthrowes by the Generall of the *SYRACUSANS*, called *Hermocrates*, the sonne of *Hermion*. And further, that it was not unlikely that *Hercules* did favour the *SYRACUSANS*, by reason of the goddesse *Proserpina* (protector and defender of the City of *SYRACUSA*) to requite her for that she gave him *Cerberus* the dogge, Porter of hell: and that he did malice the *ATHENIANS* besides, because they tooke the *ÆGESTEANS* parts (who came of the *TROIANS*, whom he much hated) for breaking their promise and faith with him, whose City himselfe had overthrowne in revenge of the wrong that *Laomedon* King of *TROY* had offered him. Howbeit *Timæus* shewes as much wit and judgement, in delivering us such toys in an history, as he doth in correcting the stile of *Philistus*, or in condemning and railing on *Plato* and *Aristotle*. But in my fancy, this ambition and contention to write or to speake more clearly then others, sheweth alwayes a base envious minde, like a Scholler full of Schoole points. But when it striveth with things that for their excellencie are past imitation, then is it extreame folly and madnesse. Since therefore I may not passe over nor omit certaine things, which *Thucydides* and *Philistus* have already set downe, and especially those wherein they lay open *Nicias* nature and qualities, which the variety of his successes and fortune did cover: I must lightly touch them, and report so much as is necessary and convenient, lest men condemne me for sloath and negligence. And in the

Timæus repro-
veth *Plato* and
Aristotle.

rest I have endeavoured together and propound things not commonly marked and knowne; which I have collected as well out of sundry mens Workes and ancient Records, as out of many old Antiquities: and of them all compiled a Narration, which will serve (I doubt not) to decipher the Man and his Nature. Of *Nicias* therefore may be said that which *Aristotle* hath written of him, that there were three famous Citizens of *ATHENS*, very honest men, and which favoured the Commonalty with a naturall fatherly love: *Nicias* the Sonne of *Niceratus*, *Thucydides* the Sonne of *Milcesias*, and *Theramenes* the Sonne of *Agnon*. But of the three, this last was of smallest account: for he is flouted as a Forreigner borne in the Isle of *Ceos*; and challenged besides for inconstancy and irresolute in matters of State and Government: and inclining sometimes to one Faction, sometimes to another: he was called *Cosbhrmas*; a kinde of Buskin indifferently serving for both legs, and in old time was used of common Players of Tragedies. Of the other two, *Thucydides* being the elder, did many good acts in favour of the Nobility against *Pericles*; who alwaies tooke part with the inferior sort. *Nicias* that was the younger, had reasonable estimation in *Pericles* life time; for he was joynd Captaine with him, and oftentimes also had charge by himselfe alone without him. After *Pericles* death, the Nobility raised him to great Authority, to be as a strong Bulwarke for them, against *Cleons* insolency and boldnesse: and withall he had the love of the People to advance and prefer him. Now this *Cleon* in troth could do much with the People, he did so flatter and dandle them, like an old man, still feeding their humour with gaine: but yet they themselves whom he thus flattered, knowing his extreme covetousnesse, impudency and boldnesse, preferred *Nicias* before him, because his gravity was not severe nor odious, but mingled with a kinde of modesty, that he seemed to feare the presence of the People, which made them thereby the more to love and esteeme him. For being (as he was) of a fearfull and mistrustfull nature and disposition, in Warres he cloaked his feare with good Fortune, which ever favoured him alike in all his Journeys and Exploits that he tooke in hand, where he was Captaine. Now being much afraid of Accusers, this timorous manner of his proceeding in the City, was found to be popular, whereby he wanne him the good will of the People: and by meanes thereof rose daily more and more, because the People commonly feare those that hate them, and advance them that feare them. For the greatest honour Nobility can do to the Commonalty, is to shew that they do not despise them. Now *Pericles*, who through his perfect vertue onely, and force of his great eloquence ruled the whole State and Common-wealth of *ATHENS*, he needed no counterfeit colour, nor artificial flattering of the People, to winne their favour and good will: but *Nicias* lacking that, and having Wealth enough, sought thereby to creepe into the Peoples favour. And where *Cleon* would entertaine the *ATHENIANS* with pleasant toys and devices, and could feede the Peoples humour that way: *Nicias* finding himselfe no fit man to worke by such encounter, crept into the Peoples favour with liberality, with charges of common Playes, and with such like sumptuousnesse, exceeding in cost and pleasant Sports, not onely all those that had bene before him, but such also as were in his time. There yet remaine Monuments of his consecrating unto the gods, as the Image of *Pallas* in the Castle of *ATHENS*, the gilt being worne off: and the Chappell which is under the Festivall Table of *Bacchus*: for he many times had the chiefe price in *Bacchus* Dances, and never went away without some gaine. And touching this matter, there goeth a report, that at certaine Playes, whereof *Nicias* defrayed the charges, one of his men came forth upon the Players Stage before the People, apparelled like *Bacchus*: and being a goodly tall young man, without any haire on his face, the *ATHENIANS* tooke such pleasure to see him so attired, that they made a clapping of their hands a long time together for joy. Therewithall *Nicias* stode up, and told them, that it were a shame for him to leave the body of a man in bondage; that openly was esteemed as a god: and thereupon forthwith made this young Slave a Freeman. Men write also of certaine sumptuous and devout acts he did in the Isle of *DELOS*, where the Dancers and Singers, which the Cities of *GREECE* sent thither to sing Rhimes and Verses in the honour of *Apollo*, were wont before to arrive disorderly: and the cause was, for the numbers of People that ranne to see them, who made them sing straight without any order, and landing in haste out of their Shippes, they left their Apparell, and put on such Vestments as they should weare in Proceffion, and their Garlands of Flowers on their heads, all at one present time. But *Nicias* being commanded to go thither to present the Singers of *ATHENS*, landed first in the Isle of *RENTA*, hard adjoyning to the Isle of *DELOS*, with his Singers, his Beasts for Sacrifice, and with all the rest of his Traine, carrying a Bridge with him, which he had caused to be made at *ATHENS*, upon measure taken of the Channell, betwixt the one and the other Isle, set out with Pictures and Tables, with gilding, with Nosegays and Garlands of Triumph, and with excellent wrought Tapistry, which in the night he set up upon the Channell, being not very broad, and the next morning by breake of the day caused his Singers to passe over upon it, singing all the way as they went in his Proceffion so nobly set forth, even unto the very Temple of *Apollo*. And when the Sacrifice, the Feast, and Games that were to be played were finished, he gave a goodly Palme-tree of Copper, which he offered up to *Apollo*, bought Lands besides that cost him tenne thousand Drachmas, which he consecrated also unto the god Patron of the Isle: and ordained, that the profits of the same should be yearly bestowed upon the *DELIANS*, upon an open Sacrifice and Feast, in the which they should pray to their god, for the health and prosperity of *Nicias*: and so caused it to be written and graven upon a Pillar he left in *DELOS*, as a perpetuall Monument and Keeper of his Offering and Foundation. Afterwards, this Copper Palme-tree being broken by windes, it fell upon the great Image of the *NAXIANS* Gift, and threw it downe to the Ground. Surely in this Ceremony

Nicias equals.

Nicias a timo-
rous man

The nature of
the People.

Nicias liberali-
ty and magni-
ficence.

Nicias Super-
stitions.

Nicias Mines
of Silver.

Nicias for fear
gave to the
wicked.

and act of his, there was a marvellous pompe, and great shew of popular ambition: nevertheless, he that shall consider of his Life and Actions, may easily persuade himselfe, that above all, he did it of very pure zeale and devotion, and secondly, to give pleasure and pastime to the People. For by *Thucydides* report of him, he was one that feared the gods with trembling, and was wholly given to Religion. We finde written in one of the Dialogues of *Aeschylus*, that *Nicias* did sacrifice daily to the gods, and kept a Soothsayer continually in his House, giving out abroad, that it was to counsell with him what should happen about the affaires of the Common-wealth: but in truth it was to inquire of his owne businesse, and specially of his Mines of Silver. For he had many great Mines about *LAUREN* side, that were very profitable to him: but withall they digged with great danger, and he was driven continually to keepe a marvellous number of Slaves at worke there. The most part of *Nicias* Riches was in ready Money, and thereby he had many cravers and hangers on him, whom he gave Money unto: for he gave as well unto the wicked People that might doe mischief, as unto them that deserved reward, and were worthy of his liberality. Thus was his feare a Rent to the wicked, as his liberality was also a Revenue to the good: and hereof the Comical Poets doe deliver us ancient testimony. For *Eucleides* speaking of a certaine Informer, said thus:

*Caricles did refuse to give one Mena, for to stay:
The bruising of his secret birth, conveyed close away:
But Nice, the Sonne of Nicerate, did willingly bestow
A brace of Mina's double told. And though I well do know
The cause of his so doing, yet I will not him bewray:
For Why? the man is my good friend, and Wife, I dare well say.*

And he, whom *Empolis* mocketh in his Comedie intituled *Maricas*, bringing a plaine simple man upon the Stage, doth aske him:

The informer:

How long is it ago since thou didst speake with Nicias?

The plaine man:

I saw him standing even right now upon the Market-place.

The Informer:

*This man affirmes he saw him there. And wherefore should he say
He saw him, but of some intent his lewdnesse to bewray?
Now Sirs, ye see how Nicias here is taken in the trap,
For all his walking close in clouds, to give the privie slip.*

The Authour:

*O foolish folke, suppose ye that so good a man as he,
In any fault or shamefull fact will tardie taken be?*

And *Cleon* threatening in the Comedie of *Aristophanes*, intituled the Knights, faith these words:

*The Orators if by the throat I take,
Then sure I am, that Nicias straight will quake.*

Phrynichus selfe telleth us also glaunfingly, that he was so timorous and easie to be frayed, when he said, speaking of another man:

*A good stout man (I know full well) he was,
And not a coward, like to Nicias.*

Nicias war-
nells to offend.

Nicias Hieron
Schoolmaster.

Dionysius Chal-
cus Founder of
the City of
Thurvis.

Now *Nicias* being thus timorous of nature, and fearing to give any little occasion to the Orators to accuse him, kept himselfe so warily, that he neither durst eate nor drinke with any man in the City, nor yet put forth himselfe in company to talke, or passe the time amongst them, but altogether avoided such Sports and pleasures. For when he was in Office, he would never out of the Councell-houle, but still busied himselfe in dispatching Causes, from morning till night, and was ever the first that came, and last that went away. And when he had no matter of State in hand, then was he very hardly to be spoken withall, and would suffer no access unto him, but kept close in his House: and some of his friends did ever answer them that came to his Gate, and prayed them to pardon him, saying: that he was busie then about Affaires of the Common-wealth. One *Hieron*, whom *Nicias* had brought up in his House, and had himselfe taught him both Learning and Musicke, was his greatest procurer and instrument to keepe him from speech with any man, and brought him to this Reputation of Greatnesse and Gravity. This *Hieron* (as it is reported) was the Sonne of *Dionysius Chalcus*, of whom they finde certaine Poeticall words at this day: who being Captaine of a certaine number of men that were sent to dwell in *Italy*, did builde there the City of *Thurvis*. *Hieron* I say did serve his turne, and holpe him secretly to enquire what he would understand of the Soothsayers, and gave out these words among the People: that *Nicias* led too miserable and painefull a life, for the over-great care he tooke to serve the Common-wealth: inasmuch, as though he were in his Hot-houle to wash him, or at his Table at Meate, his minde ran still of some matters about the Common-wealth, and to serve the State did neglect his owne private Affaires: so that he scant began to sleepe and take rest, when others commonly had slept their first sleepe, and that he looked like no body. Furthermore, that he was growne crabbed and uncourteous, even to such as before had bene his familiar friends: so that, said he, he loseth them together with his Goods, and all for service of the Common-wealth: where others grow rich, and winne friends, by the credit they have to be heard of the People, and can make merry among them, and sport with the

the matters of State which they had in their hands. Now in troth, such was *Nicias* life, that he might truly say that which *Agamemnon* spake of himselfe in the Tragedy of *Enripides*, called *Ephigene in Aulide*.

*In outward shew of stately pompe, all others I exceed,
And yet the Peoples underling I am in very deed.*

And *Nicias* perceiving that the People in some things did serve their turnes with the experience of them that were eloquent, and wiser then others, although they yet mistrusted their sufficiency, and had a speciall eye to them, plucking downe their courage, by taking their Authority from them: as for prooffe, the condemnation of *Pericles*, the banishment of *Damou*, and the mistrust they had of *Antiphon* *RHAMNUSIAN*, and moreover by what they did unto *Paches* (that tooke the Isle of *LES BOS*) who being brought before the Judges in open Councell to give up an account of his charge, drew out his Sword, and slew himselfe in presence of them all. *Nicias*, I say, remembering these examples, fought ever to flie from those Offices which were either too great or too small; and when he accepted any, had speciall regard to worke surely, and to venture nothing. Whereby all his Enterprizes that he tooke in hand, as we may easily conjecture, prospered marvellous well: but yet he imputed nothing to his owne wisdom, nor yet to his vertue and sufficiency, but thanked Fortune ever for all, and praying diligently to the gods, contented himselfe to lessen his glory, and that onely to avoid envie: as the event of things falling out even in his time doe sufficiently witness unto us. For the City of *ATHENS* having sustained many great losses and overthrowes, he was never a Party, nor had ought to doe in any of them. As once for example: the *ATHENIANS* were overcome in *THRACIA* by the *CHALCIDIONIANS*, howbeit it was under the leading of *Calliades* and *Xenophon*, who were their Captaines. Another time, the losse they had in *ÆTOLIA* under the charge of *Demosphenes*. Moreover, at *DELIUM*, a City of *BOEOTIA*, where they lost a thousand men at one Conflict, *Hippocrates* then being Generall there. And as touching the Plague, the greatest number laid the fault thereof to *Pericles*, who by reason of Warres kept the men that came out of the Countrey, within the Walls of the City of *ATHENS*: and so by changing of aire, and their wonted manner of life, they fell into it. Now with none of all these great troubles and misfortunes, was *Nicias* ever burthened: but contrariwise he being Captaine, tooke the Isle of *CYTHERA*, which the *LACEDÆMONIANS* inhabited, being an excellent place for scituation to molest and destroy the Countrey of *LACONIA*. He wanne divers Cities that had rebelled in *THRACIA*, and brought them once more under the obedience of *ATHENS*. At his first coming, having shut in the *MEGARIANS* within their Walls, he tooke the Isle of *MINOA*: and at his departure thence, shortly after wanne the Haven of *NISSEA* also. Furthermore, landing in the Countrey of the *CORINTHIANS*, he overcame them that offered him Battell, and slew a great number, and among others *Lycophon* the Captaine. At this Battell he chanced to forget to bury two of his men that were slaine, whose bodies could not be found in gathering up of the rest: howbeit, so soone as he heard of it, he caused all his Fleece to stay, and sent an Herald to the Enemies, to pray leave to fetch away those two bodies. Now, though by Law of Armes, they that sent to aske leave to take away their dead to bury them, did thereby lose the honour of their Victory, and were barred to set up any Marke or Token of Triumph, because it seemed by the Suite, that they which had them in their power were Conquerors, and not the Petitioners that made request for them, which otherwise needed not to have made demand of them: *Nicias* notwithstanding was contented rather to forsake the honour of his Victory, then to leave the bodies of two of his Countrey-men in the Field without buriall. So, after he had destroyed all the Coast of *LACONIA*, and had overcome certaine *LACEDÆMONIANS*, that came against him in Battell, he tooke the City of *THYREA*, which the *ÆGINETES* kept at that time, whom he brought Prisoners unto *ATHENS*. And when the *PELOPONNESIANS* had prepared great Armies both by Sea and by Land to besiege the Fort of *PYLE*, the which *Demosphenes* the Captaine had fortified: Battell being given by Sea, it chanced there remained foure hundred naturall Citizens of *SPARTA* within the Isle of *SPACTERIA*. Now the *ATHENIANS* thought it a noble exploit of them (as indeed it was) to take those foure hundred alive: howbeit the Siege was very fore, because they lacked water even in the middle of Summer, and were forced to fetch a marvellous compass to bring Vintualls to their Campe; which when Winter should be once come, would be very dangerous, and almost an impossible thing to do. Whereupon they then became sorry, and repented them much that they had sent away the Ambassadors of the *LACEDÆMONIANS* which came to them to treat of peace, and that they had (through *Cleons* procurement) suffered them to depart in that fort without resolution taken: who was against them altogether onely to doe *Nicias* a despight, being his Enemy, and did earnestly sollicite the matter the *LACEDÆMONIANS* requested. This was the cause why *Cleon* perswaded the *ATHENIANS* to refuse their offer of peace. But when the People saw that this Siege drew out in length, and that their Campe suffered grievous wants and necessities, then they fell out with *Cleon*, and he againe burthened *Nicias*, saying, that through his feare he would let the besieged *SPARTANS* escape, and that if he had bene Captaine, they should not have holden out so long. Thereupon the *ATHENIANS* said aloud to *Cleon*: And why dost thou not goe thither then to take them? Moreover *Nicias* selfe also rising up, openly gave him his Authority to take this *PYLE*, and bade him leavie as many Souldiers as he would to goe thither, and not to bragge with such impudent words where was no danger; but to doe some notable service to the Common-wealth. *Cleon* at the first shrunke backe, being amazed withall, little thinking they would have taken him so suddenly at his word: but in the end,

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perceiving

perceiving the People urged him to it, and that *Nicias* also was importunate with him, ambition so inflamed him, that he not onely tooke the charge upon him, but in a bravery said, That within twenty daies after his departure he would either put all the SPARTANS to the Sword, or bring them Prisoners unto ATHENS. The ATHENIANS hearing *Cleon* say so, had more lust to laugh a good, then to believe that he spake: for it was their manner ever to laugh at his anger and folly. For it is reported of him, that the People on a time being solemnly assembled in Councell early in the morning, to heare what *Cleon* would say, and having tarried long for him, at the length he came with a Garland on his head, and prayed the Assembly to dismisse the Court till the next morning: for (quoth he) I shall not be at leisure to day, because I have sacrificed, and do feast also certaine strangers my friends that are come to see me. So the People burst out in a laughing, and brake up the Assembly. This notwithstanding, Fortune favoured him at that time, and he handled himselfe so well in this charge with *Demosthenes*, that he tooke all the SPARTANS that they besieged, within the time he had appointed, saving such as were slaine: and having made them yeeld, brought them Prisoners to ATHENS. This fell out greatly to *Nicias* shame and reproach. For it appeared not onely a casting away of his Shield, but worse then that, a voluntary forsaking of his Province upon a base timorous minde, giving his Enemy occasion thereby to do some noble Exploit, depriving himselfe of his honourable charge. Wherefore *Aristophanes* mocketh him againe, in his Comedy of Birds, saying:

*It is no time to sleepe and linger still,
As Nicias doth, without good cause or skill.*

Also in another place of his Comedie of Plowmen, he saith:
*I faine would follow husbandry. Who lets thee? Marry you.
A thousand Drachma's I will give to be discharged now.
Of Office in the Common-wealth. Content so shall we have
Two thousand Drachma's just, With those which Nicias lately gave.*

The immediate liberty of *Cleon*.

Cleons lewd and light gestures in his Orations.

But herein *Nicias* did great hurt to the Common-wealth, suffering *Cleon* in that fort to grow to credit and estimation. For after that Victory, *Cleon* grew to so haughty a minde and pride of himselfe, that he was not to be dealt withall: whereupon fell out the occasion of the great miseries that happened to the City of ATHENS, which most grieved *Nicias* of all other. For *Cleon* amongst other things tooke away the modesty and reverence used before in publick Orations to the People: he of all other was the first that cried out in his Orations, that clapped his hand on his thigh, threw open his Gowne, and flung up and downe the Pulpit as he spake. Of which example afterwards followed all licentiousness, and contempt of honesty, the which all the Oratours and Counsellors fell into, that dealt in matters of State and Common-wealth, and was in the end the overthrow of all together. In that very time began *Alcibiades* to grow to credit, by practice in the State, who was not altogether so corrupt, neither himselfe evil, but as they say of the Land of EGYPT, that for the fatnesse and lustinesse of the Soyle:

It bringeth forth most wholesome herbes, and also noysome weeds.

Alcibiades divers wits.

Cleon and *Brasidas*, the two Peace-breakers generally of all Greece.

Even so *Alcibiades* wit excelling either in good or ill, was the cause and beginning of great change and alteration. For, it fell out, that after *Nicias* was rid of *Cleon*, he could not yet bring the City of ATHENS againe to peace and quietnesse. For when the Common-wealth began to grow to some rest and reasonable good order, then was it againe brought into Warres, through *Alcibiades* extreme fury of ambition. And thus it began. The onely Peace-breakers and disturbers of common quiet generally throughout GREECE, were these two persons, *Cleon* and *Brasidas*: for Warre cloaked the wickednesse of the one, and advanced the valiantnesse of the other, giving to either occasion to doe great mischief, and also opportunity to worke many noble exploits. Now *Cleon* and *Brasidas* being both slaine together at a Battell fought by AMPHIPOLIS, *Nicias* straight perceiving the SPARTANS had long desired Peace, and that the ATHENIANS were no more so hotly given to Wars, but that both the one and the other had their hands full, and were willing to be quiet, devised what meanes he might use to bring SPARTA and ATHENS to reconciliation againe, and to rid all the Cities of GREECE also from broyle and misery of Warre, that thenceforth they might altogether enjoy a peaceable and happy life. The rich men, the old men, and the Husbandmen, he found very willing to hearken to Peace, and talking privately also with divers others, he had so perswaded them, that he cooled them for being desirous of Warre. Whereupon, putting the SPARTANS in good hope that all were inclined to Peace, if they sought it, the SPARTANS believed him, not onely for that they had found him at other times very soft and courteous, but also because he was carefull to see that their Prisoners of SPARTA (who had bene taken at the Fort of Pyle) were gently intreated, and had made their miserable Captivity more tolerable. So, Peace was concluded betwene the SPARTANS and the ATHENIANS for a yeare, during which abstinence, they frequenting one another againe, and beginning to taste the sweetnesse and pleasures of Peace, and the safety of free access one to see anothers friends that were strangers, began then to wish that they might still continue in Peace and Amity together, without effusion of blood of either Party, and tooke great delight in their Dances, to heare them sing such Songs:

And let my Speare be overgrowne, With dusky Spiders webs.

They did also with great joy and gladnesse remember him which said, that in Peace no sound of Trumper, but the crowing of a Cocke doth wake them that be asleepe: and on the other side, they cursed and tooke on with them that said it was predestined, the Warre should continue thrice nine yeeres.

And

And so, upon a meeting together to talke of many matters, they made an universall Peace throughout all GREECE. Now most men thought, that surely all their forrowes and miseries were come to an end, and there was no talke of any man but of *Nicias*, saying, that he was a man beloved of the gods, and for his devotion towards them, had this speciall gift given him, that the greatest blessing that could come unto the World, was called after his Name. For to confesse a troth, every man was certainly perswaded, that this Peace was *Nicias* worke, as the Warre was *Pericles* procurement, who upon light causes perswaded the GRECIANS to runne headlong into most grievous calamities: and *Nicias* on the other side had brought them to become friends, and to forget the great hurts the one had received of the other in former Warres. And even to this present day that Peace is called *Nicias*, as who would say, *Nicias* Peace. The Capitulations of the Peace were thus agreed upon: That of either side they should alike deliver up the Cities and Lands, which each had taken from other in time of Warres, together with the Prisoners also: and that they should first make restitution, whose lot it wasto begin. *Nicias* (according to *Theophrastus* report) for ready Money secretly bought the lot, that the LACEDÆMONIANS might be the first that should make restitution. And when the CORINTHIANS and BOEOTIANS that disliked of this Peace, sought by the complaints they made, to renew the Warre againe, *Nicias* then perswaded both the ATHENIANS and LACEDÆMONIANS, that they should adde for strength unto their Countrey, the Alliance and Peace offensive and defensive made betweene them, for a more sure knot of friendship, whereby they might be the better assured the one of the other, and also the more dreadfull to their Enemies that should rebell against them. These things went cleane against *Alcibiades* minde: who besides that he was ill borne for Peace, was enemy also unto the LACEDÆMONIANS, for that they fought to *Nicias*, and made none account of him, but despised him. Here was the occasion that caused *Alcibiades* to prove from the beginning what he could do to hinder this Peace, wherein he prevailed nothing. Yet shortly after, *Alcibiades* perceiving that the ATHENIANS liked not so well of the LACEDÆMONIANS as they did before, and that they thought themselves injured by them, because they had lately made League with the BOEOTIANS without their privy, and had not wholly rendred up the Cities of PANACTUM and AMPHIPOLIS, according to the Conditions articulated betweene them: began then to enlarge and aggravate the Peoples complaints, and to make them offended with every one of them. And furthermore he procured Ambassadors from the City of ARGOS to come to ATHENS, and so handled the matter, that the ATHENIANS made League offensive and defensive with them. While these matters were thus in hand, there came to ATHENS also Ambassadors from LACEDÆMON, with full Power and Authority to set all things at stay, and to compound all controversies: who having first spoken with the Senate, propounding things unto them both very honest and reasonable. Whereupon, *Alcibiades* being afraid that they letting the People understand so much, should thereby bring them to yeeld to what they desired: he finely deceived the poore Ambassadors by this device. He promised upon his Oath to helpe them in that they went about, so far forth as they would not confesse themselves to have absolute power from the Ephores: making them to believe it was the onely way to bring their matters to passe. The Ambassadors giving credit to his words, relied upon him, and so forsooke *Nicias*. Whereupon *Alcibiades* brought them before the People, being set in Councell, and there demanded openly of them, whether they had full Power and Authority to accord all matters, yea or no? Whereunto they make him answer with a loud voyce, that they had not. Thereupon *Alcibiades*, contrary both to their expectation, and his owne Oath and Promise made unto them, began to call the Councell to witnesse, whether they did not in open Senate say the contrary, and so advised the People not to trust nor give credit unto such men, as were openly taken with so manifest a lye, and that in one selfe-matter would one while say one thing, another while another. It boots not to aske whether the Ambassadors were much amazed to heare *Alcibiades* words: for *Nicias* himselfe wist not what to say to the matter, the suddenesse of the cause did so confuse and grieve him, being a thing he least looked for. Now the People they were so moved besides, that they became indifferent whether to have sent for the Ambassadors of ARGOS presently to have made League with them; or not: but there fell out an Earth-quake upon this matter, that greatly served *Nicias* turne and brake up the Assembly. The People meeting againe in Councell the next morning, *Nicias* with all that he could do or say, could scant with-hold them from making League with the ARGIVIS: and to get leave in the meane time to go to the LACEDÆMONIANS, promising he would make all well againe. Thereupon, *Nicias* going to SPARTA, was received and honoured there like a Nobleman; and as one whom they thought well affected towards them: but for the rest, he prevailed nothing, and being overcome by those that favoured the BOEOTIANS, returned againe to ATHENS as he departed thence: where he was not onely ill welcomed home, and worse esteemed, but was also in danger of his Person, through the fury of the People, that at his request and counsell had redelivered such men Prisoners, and so great a number of them. For indeede, the Prisoners which *Cleon* had brought to ATHENS from the Fort of Pyle, were all of the chiefest Houses of SPARTA, and their Kinsmen and Friends were the noblest men of the City. Notwithstanding, the People in the end did none other violence to him, saving that they chose *Alcibiades* their Captaine, and made League with the EPIANS and MANTINEANS (which had revolted from the LACEDÆMONIANS) and with the ARGIVES also: and sent Pyrates to the Fort of Pyle, to spoile the Countrey of LACONIA. Upon these occasions the ATHENIANS fell againe into Wars. Now when the quarrell and controversies was greatest betwene *Nicias* and *Alcibiades*, the Ostracism (to wit,

Nicias Peace.

Ambassadors sent from Sparta to Athens. *Alcibiades* craft and deceit.

Alcibiades perjured.

The Earth-quake helpe *Nicias*.

Nicias sent Ambassadors unto Sparta.

The use of the
Ostracism.

the banishment for a time) came in, by the which the People banished for tenne yeares any such of their Citizens as they thought either of too great Authority, or that was most envied for his Wealth and Substance. *Alcibiades* and *Nicias*, were then not a little perplexed, considering their present danger, being sure that the one of them two should not faile but be banished by this next banishment. For the People hated *Alcibiades* life, and were afraid of his valiantnesse: as we have more amply declared in the description of his life. And for *Nicias*, his wealth made him to be envied: besides they disliked his strange manner of dealing, being no more familiar nor conversant with the People then he was, and counted him too stately: moreover they hated him also because in many matters he had spoken directly against the thing the People desired, and had enforced them against their wills to agree to that which was profitable for themselves. In fine, to speake more plainly, there fell out great strife betweene the young men that would have Warres, and the old men that coveted peace, some desirous to banish *Nicias*, and some others *Alcibiades*, but

*Where discord reignes in Realme or Towne,
The Wicked winne the chiefe renomme.*

And so it fell out then. For the *ATHENIANS* being divided in two Factions, gave authority to certaine of the most impudent and insolent persons that were in all the City: and among them was one *Hyperbolus* of the Towne of *PERITHUS*, a man of no haviour nor value, why he should be hold: but yet one that grew to some credit and power, dishonouring his Countrey by the honour they gave him. Now *Hyperbolus* thinking himselfe free at that time from any danger of banishment, (having rather deserved the Gallows) hoping that if one of them two were banished, he should match him well enough that remained behinde: shewed openly that he was glad of their discord and variance, and busily stirred up the People against them both. *Nicias* and *Alcibiades* being acquainted with his wicked practises, having secretly talked together, joyned both their factions in one: whereby they brought it so to passe, that neither of them were banished, but *Hyperbolus* selfe for tenne yeares. Which matter for the present time made the People very merry, though afterwards it grieved them much, seeing their Ordinance of the Ostracism blemished by the unworthinesse of the person: which punishment was an honour unto him. For this banishment was thought a meete punishment for *Thucydides*, *Aristides*, and such like men of account as they, or their like: but for *Hyperbolus*, it was thought too great an honour, and too manifest an occasion of glory to be given to him, that for his wickednesse had the selfe-same punishment, which was to be inflicted upon the chiefest Estates for their greatnesse. And the Comical Poet *Plato* himselfe saith in a place:

*Although his lewd behaviour deserv'd as much and more,
Yet was not that the punishment he should have had therefore,
The Ostracy devised was for men of noble fame,
And not for varlets, whose lewd life deserved open shame.*

The taking away of ten yeares banishment.

After this *Hyperbolus*, there was never man banished with the Ostracism. For himselfe was the last, as *Hipparchus* *CHOLARGIAN*, and nearest Kinsman to the Tyrant was the first. Sure, Fortune is a very uncertaine thing, and without conceit of reason. For had *Nicias* frankly put himselfe to the hazard of this banishment against *Alcibiades*, one of these two things must needs have happened him: either to have remained in the City with Victory, his adversary being banished: or being convicted by his banishment, to have scaped those extreme miseries and calamities the which he afterwards fell into, besides the same he had wonne of a wife Captaine, though he had bene overcome. I know notwithstanding that *Theophrastus* writeth, how *Hyperbolus* nor *Nicias* was banished through the dissention that fell betwixt *Phaax* and *Alcibiades*: albeit most Writers agree with that I have told you before. Now the Ambassadors of the *EGYPTIANS* and *LEONTINES* being come to *ATHENS*, to perswade the *ATHENIANS* to attempt the conquest of *SICILIA*, *Nicias* being against it, was overcome by *Alcibiades* craft and ambition. For he, before they were called to Councell, had already through false surmizes filled the Peoples heads with a vaine hope and perswasion of conquest. Incomuch as the young men meeting in places of exercise, and the old men also in Artificers Shops, and in their compassed Chaires, or halfe circles where they late talking together, were every one occupied about drawing the Platforme of *SICILIA*, telling the nature of the *SICILIAN* Sea, and reckoning up the Havens and places looking towards *AFRICK*. For they made not their account that *SICILE* should be the end of their Warres, but rather the Store-houise and Armoury for all their Munition and Martiall Provision to make Warre against the *CARTHAGINIANS*, and to conquer all *AFRICK*, and consequently all the *AFRICK* Seas, even to *Hercules* Pillars. Now all their mindes being bent to Warres, when *Nicias* spake against it, he found very few men of quality to stand by him. For the rich, fearing lest the People would thinke they did it to avoid charge and the cost they should be at about these Warres, they held their peace, though indeede not contented withall: yet would not *Nicias* leave still to counsell them to the contrary. But when they had past the Decree in Councell for the Enterprize of *SICILE*, and that the People had chosen him chiefe Captaine, with *Alcibiades* and *Lamachus*, to follow the same: at the next Session of the Councell holden in the City, *Nicias* rose up againe, to see if he could turne the People from this Journey with all the Protestations he could possibly make, burdening *Alcibiades*, that for his owne ambition and private commodities, he brought the Common-wealth into so farre and dangerous a Warre. But all his words prevailed not. Himselfe before all others was thought the meekest man for this Charge, partly, because of his experience, but chiefly for that they knew he would handle their matters with greater safety, when his timorous foresight should be joyned with

Nicias chosen Captaine for the Warre of *Sicile*.

Alcibiades valiantnesse, and with *Lamachus* softnesse, which indeede most confirmed the Election. Now after the matter thus debated, *Demofratu* one of the Oratours that most procured the *ATHENIANS* to undertake this Enterprize, stepped forth, and said: It were good that *Nicias* left off and set aside all these excuses and devices, and preferred a Decree, That the People should thoroughly authorize the Captaines that were chosen, to set forward and execute what they thought good, as well here as there, and so perswade the People to passe and authorize it. Yet it is said that the Priests objected many things to hinder the Journey. But *Alcibiades* also having suborned certaine Soothsayers alledged in like case some ancient Oracles that said the *ATHENIANS* should have great honour from *SICILE*: and further had enticed certaine Pilgrims, who said they were but newly come from the Oracle of *Jupiter Ammon*, and had brought this Oracle thence: That the *Athenians* should take all the *Syracusans*. But worst of all, if any knew of contrary signes or tokens to come, they held their peace, lest it should seeme they intermeddled to prognosticate evil for affections sake, seeing that the signes themselves, which were most plaine and notorious, could not remove them from the Enterprize of this Journey. As for example, the hacking and cutting of the *Hermes* and Images of *Mercury*, which in one night were all to be mangled, saving one Image onely called the *Hermes* of *Andocides*, which was given and consecrated in old time by the Tribe of the *EGEIDS*, and was set up directly over against a Citizens Houise called *Andocides*. Furthermore, the chance that happened by the Altar of the twelve gods: where a man leaping suddenly upon it, after he had gone round about it, cut off his Genitories with a stone. And in a Temple also in the City of *DELPHES*, where was a little Image of *Minerva* of Gold, set upon a Palme-tree of Copper, which the City of *ATHENS* had given of the Spoyle wonne of the *MEDES*. Upon that Palme-tree fate certaine Crows many daies together, and never left pecking and jobbing at the Fruite of it, which was all of Gold, until they made the same to fall from the Tree. But the *ATHENIANS* said, that the *DELPHIANS* (whom the *SYRACUSANS* had subdued) had finely feigned this device. There was a Prophecy also that commanded them to bring one of *Minerva's* Nunnes to *ATHENS*, that was in the City of *CLAZOMENES*. So they sent for this Nunne called *Hefychia*, which is, rest: and it seemeth it was that which the gods by this Prophecy did counsell them unto, that for that time they should be quiet. *Meton* the Astronomer having charge in the Army leaved for the Warre of *SICILE*, being afraid of this Prophecy, or otherwise milking the Celestiall signes and successe of the Journey, reigned himselfe mad, and set his house on fire. Others say he counterfeited not madnesse, but did one night indeed set his house on fire, and that the next morning looking rufully on it, he went into the Market-place as a man brought to pitifull state, to sue to the People, that in consideration of his great misfortune hapned him, they would discharge his Sonne of the Voyage, who was to take charge of a Galley at his owne cost, and ready to make saile. Moreover, the familiar spirit of wife *Socrates*, that did use to tell him before what should happen, told him then, that this Journey would fall out to the destruction of *ATHENS*. *Socrates* told it to certaine of his very familiar friends: and from them the rumour became common. And this also troubled a number of them, for the unlucky daies on the which they did imbarque. For they were the very daies on the which the women celebrating the Feast and yeare-day of *Adonis* death: and there were also in divers parts of the City, Images of dead men carried to buriall, and women following them, mourning and lamenting. So that such as did put any confidence in those signes, said they mistook it much, and that they were afraid lest the same signified, that all the goodly preparation of this Army, (the which was set out with such pompe and bravery) would come to nothing. Now for *Nicias*, that he spake against this Warre in open Councell, whilst they were deliberating upon it, and that he was not carried away with any vaine hope, nor puffed up with the glory of so honourable a charge to make him change his minde: therein surely he shewed himselfe an honest man, wise and constant. But when he saw plainly that he could by no perswasions remove the People from the Enterprize of this Warre, neither yet by suite nor intreaty get himselfe discharged from being a Captaine thereof, but that they would in any case make him one of the Heads of the Army: then was it out of time to be fearful, and still giving backe, turning his head so oft like a childe to looke upon his Galley behinde him, and ever to be telling that no reason could be heard in determining of his Journey. For indeede this was enough to discourage his companions, and to marre all at the first setting out: where, to say truly, he should suddenly have set upon his Enemies, and have gone to it with a lusty courage, to have assayed Fortune. But he tooke a cleane contrary course. For when *Lamachus* thought good at their first coming to goe straight to *SYRACUSA*, and to give them Battell as neare the Walls as might be, and that *Alcibiades* on the other side was of opinion, first of all to go about to winne the Cities that were in league with the *SYRACUSANS*, and after that they had made them rebell, then to go against the *SYRACUSANS* themselves: *Nicias* to the contrary spake in Councell, and thought it better to go on faire and softly, discrediting the Coasts of *SICILE* round about, to view their Gallies and preparation, and so to returne straight to *ATHENS* againe, leaving onely a few of their men with the *EGYPTIANS* to helpe to defend them. But this from the beginning marvellously cooled the courage of the Souldiers, and quite discouraged them. Shortly after also the *ATHENIANS* having sent for *Alcibiades* to answer to certaine accusations, *Nicias* remaining Captaine with *Lamachus* (the other Captaine in sight, but *Nicias* selfe in Power and Authority the Lieutenant Generall of all the Army) still used delays, running up and downe, and spending time so long in consultation, till the Souldiers were left without both hope and courage: and the feare the Enemy had of them at their first coming, to see so great an Army, was now in manner cleane gone. Yet *Alcibiades* being in the Army, before

Signes to feare the *Athenians* not to attempt the Enterprize of *Sicile*. Statues mangled at *Athens*.

The madnesse of *Meton* the Astronomer.

Nicias foolish fearfulness.

Nicias counsell for invading the *Syracusans*.

he was sent for from ATHENS, they went with threecore Gallies to SYRACUSA, of the which they placed fifty in Battell ray out of the Haven, and sent the other ten into the Haven to discover: which approaching neare the City, caused an Herald to make open Proclamation, that they were come thither to restore the LEONTINES to their Lands and Possessions, and tooke a Ship of the Enemies, in the which among other things they found Tables, wherein were written the names of all the Inhabitants of SYRACUSA, according to their Tribes and Houles. These Tables were kept far from the City, in the Temple of *Jupiter Olympian*, but at that time they had sent for them to know the number of men of service, and of age to beare Weapon. The same Tables being taken by the ATHENIANS, and carried to the Generals of the Army: the Soothsayers seeing this long roll of names, at the first misliked it, fearing lest the Prophecy had beene fulfilled, which promised them, that the ATHENIANS one day should take all the SYRACUSANS. Howbeit it is reported this Prophecy came to passe in another Exploit, when *Callippus* ATHENIAN having slaine *Dion*, wonne all the City of SYRACUSA. Now when *Alcibiades* was gone from the Campe, *Nicias* bare all the sway, and commanded the whole Army. For *Lamachus*, though otherwise he was a stout man, an honest man, and very valiant of his hands, and one that would not spare himselfe in time of neede: nevertheless he was so poore and miserable, that even when he was in state of a Generall, and gave up an account of his expences, he would not sticke to put into his Bookes, so much for a Gowne, and so much for a paire of Pantophles. Where *Nicias* authority and reputation contrariwise was of another manner of cut, as well for other respects, as for his riches, and for the honour of many noble things which he had done before. As one namely which they tell of him, that on a time being a Captaine with others, and sitting in Councell with his companions in the Councell-house at ATHENS about the dispatch of certaine Causes he spake unto *Sophocles* the Poet, then present among them, and bade him speake first and say his opinion, being the oldest man of all the whole company. *Sophocles* answered him againe: Indeed I confesse I am the oldest man, but thou art the noblest man, and him whom every man regardeth best. So having at that time *Lamachus* under him, a better Captaine and man of Warre then himselfe was, yet by being so slow to imploy the Army under his charge, by deferring of time still, and hovering about SICILE as farre from his Enemies as he could: he first gave the Enemies time and leisure to be bold without feare of him. And then going to besiege *Hyccara*, being but a peltin little Towne, and raising the Siege without taking of it: he fell into so great a contempt with every man, that from thenceforth no man almost made any more reckoning of him. At last, he retired to CATANA with his Army, without any other exploit done, saving that he tooke *Hyccara*, a baggage Village of the barbarous People, and where it is said *Lais* the Curtizan was borne, and that being then a young Girle, she was sold among other Prisoners, and afterwards carried into PELOPONNESUS. And in fine, the Sommer being far spent, *Nicias* was informed that the SYRACUSANS had taken such courage to them, that they would come and enterprife the Charge upon them first: and that their Horsemen were approached already before his Campe, to skirmish with them, asking the ATHENIANS in mockery, if they were come into SICILE to dwell with the CATANIANS, or to restore the LEONTINES to their Lands againe. Hereupon with much ado, *Nicias* determined to go to SYRACUSA, and because he would campe there in safety, and at ease without hazard: he sent one of CATANA before to SYRACUSA, to tell them (as if he had beene a Spie) that if they would suddenly come and set upon the Campe of the ATHENIANS and take all their Carriage, he wistheth them to come with all their Power to CATANA at a certaine day which he would appoint them. For the ATHENIANS (said he) for the most part are within the City, wherein there are certaine Citizens, which favouring the SYRACUSANS, have determined so soone as they heare of their coming, to keepe the Gates of the City, and at the same time also to set the ATHENIANS Ships on fire: and how there were also a great number in the City of this Confederacy, that did but looke every houre for their coming. And this was the noblest Stratagem of Warre, that *Nicias* shewed all the time he was in SICILE. For by this device he made the SYRACUSANS come into the Field with all their Power, so that they left their City without Guard: and he himselfe departing in the meane time from CATANA with all his Fleete, wonne the Haven of SYRACUSA at his ease, and chose out a place to campe in, where his Enemies could not hurt him: in the which he was both the stronger, and might without lett or difficulty set upon them with that wherein he most trusted. The SYRACUSANS returning straight from CATANA, and offering him Battell hard by the Walls of SYRACUSA, he came out into the Field, and overthrew them. There were not many of the SYRACUSANS slaine at this Battell, because their Horsemen did hinder the chafe: but *Nicias* breaking up the Bridges upon the River, gave *Hermocrates* occasion to mocke him. For comforting and encouraging the SYRACUSANS, he told them *Nicias* deserved to be laughed at, because he did what he could that he might not fight, as if he had not purposely come from ATHENS to SYRACUSA to fight. This notwithstanding, he made the SYRACUSANS quake for feare: for where they had then fiftene Capitaines, they chose out three onely, to whom the People were sworne, that they would suffer them to have full Power and Authority to command and take order for all things. The Temple of *Jupiter Olympian* was hard by the ATHENIANS Campe, which they would gladly have taken, for that it was full of rich Jewels and Offerings of Gold and Silver, given unto the Temple aforetime. But *Nicias* of purpose still drave off time, and delayed so long, till the SYRACUSANS at last sent a good Garison thither to keepe it safe: thinking with himselfe, that if his Souldiers came to take and spoile the Temple, his Countrey should be nothing the richer by it, and himselfe besides should beare all the blame of Sacriledge. So, having obtained victory without profit

Lamachus valiant, but simple.

Lais the Curtizan carried out of Sicile into Peloponnesus.

Nicias notable stratagem.

Nicias winneth the Haven of Syracusa.

Nicias feareth to spoile the Temple of *Jupiter*.

profit, (which ranne straight through SICILE) within few dayes after he returned unto the City of NAXOS, where he lay all the Winter, consuming a wonderfull masse of Victuals with so great an Army, for the doing of things of small moment, upon certaine SICILIANS that yielded to him. The SYRACUSANS in the meane time being in heart againe and courageous, returned to CATANA, where they spoyle and over-ran all the Countrey, and burnt the Campe of the ATHENIANS, Wherefore every man blamed *Nicias* much, because through his long delay and protracting of time to make all things sure, he let slip sundry occasions of notable Exploits, wherein good service might have beene done. Yet when he would do a thing inderd, he did it so thorowly as no man could take exception at his doings, for that he brought it to so good a passe: and once taking it in hand, he did execute it with all speede, though he was both slow to determine and a Coward to enterprife. Now *Nicias* beseeched when he removed his Army to returne to SYRACUSA, he brought it so orderly, and also with such speede and safety, that he was come by Sea to THAPSUS, had landed and taken the Fort of EPIPOLIS, before the SYRACUSANS had any intelligence of it, or could possibly helpe it. For the choice men of the SYRACUSANS being set out against him, hoping to have stopped his passage, he overthrew them, tooke three hundred Prisoners, and made their Horsemen flye, which before were thought invincible. But that which made the SYRACUSANS most afraid, and seemed most wonderfull also to the other GRECIANS, was this, that in a very short space he had almost environed SYRACUSA with a Wall, which was as much in compasse about, as the Walls of ATHENS, and worke to performe, by reason of the woody Countrey, and for the Sea also that beareth upon the Walls, besides that there were divers Marishes hard by it: and yet (sticke as he was of the Stone) he had almost finished it. And sure good reason it is that we attribute the fault of the not finishing of it, unto his sicknesse. For mine owne part I wonder marvellously both of the care and diligence of the Captaine, and of the valiantnesse and dexterity of the Souldiers, which appeareth by the notable feats they did. For *Eurypides* after their overthrow and utter ruine, made a Funerall Epitaph in Verse, and said thus:

*Eight times our men did put the men of Syracuse to flight,
So long as with indifferency the gods did use their might.*

But we finde it written, that the SYRACUSANS were not onely eight times, but many times more overthrowne by them: a time at length there was indeede, that both the gods and Fortune fought against them, even when the ATHENIANS were of greatest power. Now *Nicias* in his owne person was ever in the greatest and most weighty affaires, living with his sicke body. Howbeit one day when his disease grew sore upon him, he was compelled to be lodged in his Campe with a few of his men: and *Lamachus* in the meane time alone having charge of the whole Army, fought with the SYRACUSANS, who then had brought a Wall from the City, unto the Wall with the which the ATHENIANS had purposed to have shut them in, to keepe that they should not compasse it round. And because the ATHENIANS commonly were the stronger in these Skirmishes, they many times over-raftly followed the chafe of their Enemies that fled: as it chanced one day that *Lamachus* went so far, that he was left alone to encounter a Company of Horsemen of the City, before whom *Callicrates* marched foremost, a valiant man of his hands, who challenged *Lamachus* hand to hand. *Lamachus* abode him, and in the Conflict was first hurt: but he gave *Callicrates* also such a wound there-withall, that they both fell downe dead presently in the place. At that time the SYRACUSANS being the stronger side, tooke up his body, and carried it away with them: but they spurred out for *Lamachus*, life to the ATHENIANS Campe, where *Nicias* lay sicke, without any Guard or succour at all: nevertheless *Nicias* rose with speede out of his bed, and perceiving the danger he was in, commanded certaine of his friends to set the woode on fire which they had brought within the Trenches of the Campe, to make certaine devices for battery, and the Engines of Timber also that were already made. That device onely stayed the SYRACUSANS, saved *Nicias*, and the strength of their Campe, together with all the Silver and Carriage of the ATHENIANS. For the SYRACUSANS perceiving afar off, betwixt them and the strength of their Campe, such a great flame as rose up in the aire, upon the sight of it turned taile straight, and made towards their City. Things falling out thus, *Nicias* being left sole Captaine of the Army without any Companion, in great hope notwithstanding to doe some good: divers Cities of SICILE yielded unto him, Shippes fraught with Corne came out of every quarter to his Campe, and many submitted themselves, for the good successe he had in all his doings. Furthermore the SYRACUSANS also sent to parle with him of Peace, being out of hope that they were able to defend their City any longer against him. *Gylippus* also a Captaine of the LACEDAMONIANS, comming to aide the SYRACUSANS, understanding by the way how the City of SYRACUSA was shut in with a Wall round about, and in great distresse: held on his Voyage notwithstanding, not with any hope to defend SICILE (supposing the ATHENIANS had wonne the whole Countrey) but with intent nevertheless to helpe the Cities of ITALY, if he could possibly. For it was a common rumour abroad, that the ATHENIANS had wonne all, and that their Captaine for his wisdom and good fortune was invincible. *Nicias* himselfe now contrary to his wonted wisdom and foresight, trusting altogether to the good successe which he saw to follow him, but specially believing the reports that were told him of SYRACUSA, and the newes that were brought him thence by some of themselves which came secretly unto him, perswading himselfe that within few dayes he should have SYRACUSA by composition, tooke no care to withstand *Gylippus* coming thither, neither sent any man to keepe him from landing in SICILE. By which negligence *Gylippus* landed in a Passenger, without *Nicias* knowledge.

Nicias Wall at the Siege of Syracusa.

The death of *Lamachus*.

Nicias sole Captaine of the whole Army.

Gylippus a Lacedaemonian aideth the Syracusans.

Gongylus a Corinthian.

Gylippus arrived at Syracuse.

Gongylus the Corinthian slain.

Nicias good fortune changed.

Euthydemus and Menander chosen Captains with Nicias.

knowledge: so small reckoning they made of him, and so much they did fondly despise him. *Gylippus* being thus landed far from *SYRACUSA*, began to gather men of Warre together, before the *SYRACUSANS* themselves knew of his landing, or looked for his coming: insomuch as they had already appointed the assembly of a Councell to determine the Articles and Capitulations of Peace, which they should conclude upon with *Nicias*. Moreover, there were some that perswaded they should doe well to make haste to conclude the Peace, before the inclosure of *Nicias* Wall was altogether finished, which then lacked not much to performe, having all the stufte for the purpose brought even ready to the place. But as these things were even thus a doing, arrived one *Gongylus* at *SYRACUSA*, that came from *CORINTH* with a Galley. At whole landing, the People upon the Peere flocking about him, to heare what newes: he told them that *Gylippus* would be there before it were long, and that there came certaine other Galleys after to their aide. The *SYRACUSANS* would hardly believe him, untill there came another Messenger also sent from *Gylippus* selfe of purpose, that willed them to arme, and come to him into the Field. Thereupon the *SYRACUSANS* being inmarvellously revived went all straight and armed themselves. And *Gylippus* was no sooner come into *SYRACUSA*, but he presently put his men in Battell ray, to set upon the *ATHENIANS*. *Nicias* for his part had likewise also set the *ATHENIANS* in order of Battell, and ready to fight. When both the Armies were now approached neare to each other, *Gylippus* threw downe his Weapons, and sent a Herald unto *Nicias* to promise them life and baggage to depart safely out of *SICILE*. But *Nicias* would make the Herald none answer to that Message. Howbeit there were certaine of his Souldiers that in mockery asked the Herald, if for the coming of a poore Cape and Wand of *LACEDÆMON*, the *SYRACUSANS* thought themselves strengthened so much, that they should despise the *ATHENIANS*, which not long before kept three hundred *LACEDÆMONIANS* Prisoners in Irons, far stronger and more haire on their heads then *Gylippus* had, and had also sent them home to their Citizens at *LACEDÆMON*. And *Timæus* writeth also, that the *SICILIANS* themselves made no reckoning of *Gylippus*, neither then, nor at any time after. After, because they saw his extreme covetousnesse and misery: and then, for that he came so meanly apparelled, with a thread-bare Cape, and a long bush of haire, which made them scorne him. Yet in another place he saith, that so soone as *Gylippus* arrived in *SICILE*, many came to him out of every quarter with very good will, like Birds wondering at an Owle. This second report seemeth truer then the first: for they swarmed about him, because in this Cape and Wand they saw the tokens of the Majesty of the City and Seignory of *SPARTA*. *Thucydides* also saith, that it was *Gylippus* onely that did all there. And much like doth *Philistus* selfe a *SYRACUSAN* confesse, who was present then in person, and saw all things that were done. Notwithstanding at the first Battell the *ATHENIANS* had the upper hand, and slew a number of the *SYRACUSANS*, among the which *Gongylus* the *CORINTHIAN* was one. But the next morning following, *Gylippus* made them know the skill and experience of a wife Captaine. For with the self-same Weapons, with the same Men, with the same Horses, and in the same places, changing onely the order of his Battell, he overthrew the *ATHENIANS*: and (fighting with them still) having driven them even into their Campe, he set the *SYRACUSANS* a worke to build up a Wall overthwart (with the very self-same stones and stufte, which the *ATHENIANS* had brought and laid there for the finishing of their Inclosure) to cut off the other, and to keepe it from going forward, that it joynted not together. So, all that the *ATHENIANS* had done before untill that present, was utterly to no purpose. Things standing in these termes, the *SYRACUSANS* being couragious againe began to arme Galleys; and running up and downe the Fields with their Horfemen and Slaves, tooke many Prisoners. *Gylippus* on the other side, went in person to and fro through the Cities of *SICILE*, perswading and exhorting the Inhabitants in such sort, that they all willingly obeyed him, and tooke Armes by his procurement. *Nicias* seeing things thus fall out, began to his old trade againe; and considering the change of his state and former good lucke, his heart feeling to faint, wrote straight to the *ATHENIANS* to send another Army into *SICILE*, or rather to call that home which he had there, but in any case to give him leave to returne, and to discharge him of his Office, for cause of his sicknesse. The *ATHENIANS* were indifferent before he wrote, to send aide thither: howbeit the envie the Nobility bare unto *Nicias* good fortune, did ever cause some delay that they sent not untill then, and then they determined to send with speede. So *Demosthenes* was named to be sent away immediately after Winter, with a great Navie. In the middelt of Winter *Eurymedon* went to *Nicias*, and carried him both Money and News, that the People had chosen some of them for his Companions in the Charge, which were already in service with him, to wit, *Euthydemus* and *Menander*. Now *Nicias* in the meane time being suddenly assailed by his Enemies both by Sea and Land; though at the first he had fewer Galleys in number then they, yet he budged divers of theirs, and sunke them. But by Land againe, he could not aide his men in time, because *Gylippus* at the first onset had taken a Fort of his called *Plemmyrion*, within the which lay the Store and Tackle for many Galleys, and a great masse of ready Money, which was wholly lost. Besides, in the same Conflict also were many men slaine, and many taken Prisoners. Yet further, the greatest matter of weight was, that thereby he tooke from *Nicias* the great commodity he had to bring his Victuals safely by Sea to his Campe. For while the *ATHENIANS* kept this Fort, they might at their pleasure bring Victuals without danger to their Campe, being covered with the same: but when they had lost it, then it was hard for them so to do, because they were ever driven to fight with the Enemies that lay at Anker before the Fort. Furthermore, the *SYRACUSANS* did not thinke that their Army by Sea was overthrowne, because their Enemies were the stronger, but for that their men had followed the

the *ATHENIANS* disorderedly: and therefore were desirous once againe to venture, in better fort and order then before. But *Nicias* by no meanes would be brought to fight againe: saying, that it were a madnesse, looking for such a great Navie and a new supply as *Demosthenes* was coming withall, rashly to fight with a fewer number of Ships then they, and but poorly furnished. But contrarily *Menander* and *Euthydemus* newly promoted to the state of Captaines with *Nicias*, being pricked forwards with ambition against the two other Captaines, (*Nicias* and *Demosthenes* that was then coming) desired to prevent *Demosthenes*, in performing some notable service before his arrivall, and thereby also to excell *Nicias* doings: Howbeit the cloake they had to cover their ambition withall, was the honour and reputation of the City of *ATHENS*, the which (said they) were shamed and dishonoured for ever, if they now should they themselves afraid of the *SYRACUSANS*, who provoked them to fight. Thus brought they *Nicias* against his will to Battell, in the which the *ATHENIANS* were slaine and overcome, by the good counsell of a *CORINTHIAN* Pilot called *Arifon*. For the left Wing of their Battell (as *Thucydides* writeth) was clearly overthrowne, and they lost a great number of their men. Whereupon *Nicias* was wonderfully perplexed, considering on the one side that he had taken marvellous paines, whilst he was sole Captaine of the whole Army: and on the other side, for that he had committed a foule fault, when they had given him companions. But as *Nicias* was in this great despaire, they discried *Demosthenes* upon a Peere of the Haven, with his Fleet bravely set out and furnished, to terrifie the Enemies. For he had threescore and thirteene Galleys, and in them he brought five thousand Footmen well armed and appointed, and of Darters, Bow-men, and Hurlers with Slings, about three thousand, and the Galleys trimmed and set forth with goodly Armours, numbers of Ensignes, and with a world of Trumpets, Howboyes, and such Marine Musick, and all set out in this triumphant shew, to feare the Enemies the more. Now though the *SYRACUSANS* themselves were againe in a peeke of troubles, perceiving they strove against the streame, and consumed themselves to no purpose, when by that they saw there was no likelihood to be delivered from their troubles. And *Nicias* also rejoiced, that so great aide was come: but his joy held not long, for so soone as he began to talke with *Demosthenes* of the state of things, he found him bent forthwith to set upon the *SYRACUSANS*, and to hazard all with speede, that they might quickly take *SYRACUSA*, and so dispatch away home againe. *Nicias* thought this more haste then good speede, and feared much this foole-hardinesse. Whereupon he prayed him to attempt nothing rashly nor desperately: and perswaded him that it was their best way to prolong the Warre against the Enemies, who were without Money, and therefore would soone be forsaken of their Confederates. And besides, if they came once to be pinched for lacke of Victuals, that they would then quickly seeke to him for Peace, as they had done aforetime. For there were many within *SYRACUSA* that were *Nicias* friends, who wished him to abide time: for they were weary of Warre, and waxed angry also with *Gylippus*. So that if they were but frightened a little more with want of Victuals, they would yeeld straight. *Nicias* delivering these perswasions somewhat darkly, and keeping somewhat also from utterance, because he would not speake them openly, made his Colleagues thinke he spake it for cowardinesse, and that he returned againe to his former delays to keepe all in security, by which manner of proceeding he had from the beginning killed the hearts of his Army, for that he had not at his first coming set upon the Enemies, but had protracted time so long, till the courage of his Souldiers was cold and done, and himselfe also brought into contempt with his Enemies. Whereupon the other Captaines (his Colleagues and Companions with him in the Charge) *Euthydemus* and *Menander*, stucke to *Demosthenes* opinion: whereunto *Nicias* was also forced against his will to yeeld. So *Demosthenes* the selfe-same night taking the Footmen, went to assault the Fort of *Epipolis*: where, before his Enemies heard any thing of his coming, he slew many of them, and made the rest flee that offered resistance. But not content with this Victory, he went farther, till he fell upon the *BOEOTIANS*. They gathering themselves together, were the first that resisted the *ATHENIANS*, bating their Pikes with such fury and loud cries, that they caused the former to retire, and made all the rest of the Assailants afraid and amazed. For the foremost flying backe, came full upon their Companions; who taking them for their Enemies, and their Flight for a Charge, resisted them with all their force, and so mistaking one another, both were wounded and slaine, and the hurt they meant unto their Enemies, did unfortunately light upon their owne fellows. For this multitude meeting thus confusedly together, what through their great feare, and what for that they could not discern one another in the night, the which was neither so darke that they could not see at all, nor yet so cleare, as they might certainly judge by sight what they were that met them: (for then the Moone declined apace, and the small light it gave was diffused with the number of men that ranne to and fro) the feare they had of the Enemy, made them mistrust their Friends. All these troubles and disadvantages had the *ATHENIANS*, and beside the Moone on their backs, which causing the shadow to fall forward, did hide their number, and glistering of Armour: and contrarily, the Enemies Targets glaring in their eyes, by the reflection of the Moone that shone upon them, increased their feare, and made them seeme a greater number, and better appointed then they were indeede. At last, the Enemies giving a lusty Charge upon them on every side, after they once began to give backe, and turne taile, some were slaine by their Enemies, others by their owne Company, and others also brake their neckes falling from the Rockes. The rest that were dispersed abroad in the Fields, were the next morning every man of them put to the Sword by the Horfemen. So the account made, two thousand *ATHENIANS* were slaine, and very few of them escaped by flight, that brought their Armours backe againe. Wherefore *Nicias* that alwaies mistrusted it would thus come to passe, was marvellously offended.

Demosthenes a rival at Syracuse.

Demosthenes rashness.

Nicias counsell unto Demosthenes.

Demosthenes rashness.

The slaughter of the Athenians at Syracuse.

offended with *Demosthenes*, and condemned his rashness. But he excusing himself as well as he could, thought it best to imbarke in the morning betimes, and so to hoise faire homewards. For, said he, we must looke for no new aide from *ATHENS*, neither are we strong enough with this Army to overcome our Enemies: and though we were, yet must we of necessity avoid the place we are in, because (as it is reported) it is alwaies unwholsome for an Army to campe in, and then specially most contagious, by reason of the Autumpe and season of the year, as they might plainly see by experience. For many of their People were already sicke, and all of them in manner had no minde to tarry. *Nicias* in no case liked the motion of departing thence, because he feared not the *SYRACUSANS*, but rather the *ATHENIANS*, for their accusations and condemnation. And therefore in open Council he told them, that as yet he saw no such danger to remaine, and though there were, yet that he had rather die of his Enemies hands, then be put to death by his owne Countrey men. Being therein of a contrary minde to *Leo BIZANTINE*, who after that, said to his Citizens, I had rather suffer death by you, then to be slaine with you. And furthermore, as for removing their Campe to some other place, they should have leisure enough to determine of that matter as they thought good. Now when *Nicias* had delivered this opinion in Council, *Demosthenes* having had all lucke at his first coming, durst not contrary it. And the residue also supposing that *Nicias* durst not so hard against their departure, but that he relied upon the trust and confidence he had of some within the City, they all agreed to *Nicias*. But when newes came that there was a new supply come unto the *SYRACUSANS*, and that they saw the Plague increased more and more in their Campe: then *Nicias* selfe thought it best to depart thence, and gave notice to the Souldiers to prepare themselves to shipp away. Notwithstanding, when they had put all things in readinesse for their departure, without any knowledge of the Enemy, or suspicion thereof, the Moone began to eclipse in the night, and suddenly to lose her light, to the great feare of *Nicias* and divers others, who through ignorance and superstition quaked at such sights. For, touching the Eclipse and darknesse of the Sunne, which is ever at any conjunction of the Moone, every common person then knew the cause to be the darknesse of the body of the Moone betwixt the Sunne and our sight. But the Eclipse of the Moone it selfe, to know what doth darken it in that sort, and how being at the full it doth suddenly lose her light, and change into so many kindes of colours: that was above their knowledge, and therefore they thought it very strange, perswading themselves that it was a signe of some great mischiefs the gods did threaten unto men. For *Anaxagoras*, the first that ever determined and delivered any thing for certaine and assured, concerning the light and darknesse of the Moone, his Doctrine was not then of any long continuance, neither had it the credit of antiquity, nor was generally knowne but onely to a few, who durst not talke of it, but with feare, even to them they trusted best. And the reason was, for that the People could not at that time abide them that professed the knowledge of naturall Philosophie, and inquired of the causes of things: for them they called then *Misopologists*, as much to say, as curious inquirers and talkers of things above the reach of reason, done in Heaven and in the Aire. Because the People thought they ascribed that which was done by the gods onely, unto certaine naturall and necessary Causes that worke their Effects not by Providence nor Will, but by Force and necessary Consequences. For these causes was *Protagoras* banished from *ATHENS*, and *Anaxagoras* put in Prison: from whence *Pericles* had much ado to procure his delivery. And *Socrates* also, though he did not meddle with that part of Philosophie, was notwithstanding put to death for the suspicion thereof. In fine, the Doctrine of *Plato* being received and liked, as well for his vertuous life, as also for that he submitted the necessity of Naturall Causes unto the controllment and disposition of Divine Power, as unto a more excellent and supreme Cause: tooke away all the ill opinion which the People had of such Disputations, and gave open passage and free entry unto the Mathematicall Sciences. And therefore *Dion*, one of *Plato*'s Scholars and Friends, an Eclipse of the Moone chancing even at the very same time that he was weighing up his Ankers to saile from *ZAZYNTH*, to make Warre with the Tyrant *Dionysius*: being nothing afraid nor troubled therewithall, made saile notwithstanding, and when he came to *SYRACUSA*, drove out the Tyrant. But then it fell out unfortunately for *Nicias*, who had no expert nor skilfull Soothsayer: for the party which he was wont to use for that purpose, and which tooke away much of his Superstition, called *Stilbides*, was dead not long before. For this Signe of the Eclipse of the Moone (*Philochorus* saith) was not hurtfull for men that would fie, but contrarily very good: for, said he, things that men do in feare, would be hidden, and therefore light is an enemy unto them. But this notwithstanding, their custome was not to keepe themselves close above three daies in such Eclipses of the Moone and Sunne, as *Antocides* selfe prescribeth in a Booke he made of such matters: where *Nicias* bare them then in hand, that they should tarry the whole and full revolution of the course of the Moone, as though he had not seene her straight cleare againe, after she had once passed the shadow and darknesse of the Earth. But all other things laid aside and forgotten, *Nicias* disposed himselfe to sacrifice unto the gods: untill such time as the Enemies came againe as well to besiege their Forts, and all their Campe by Land, as also to occupie the whole Haven by Sea. For they had not onely put men aboard into their Gallies able to weare Armour, but moreover young Boyes into Fisher-boats and other light Barques, with the which they came to the *ATHENIANS*, and shamefully reviled them, to procure them to fight: among the which there was one of a noble House, called *Heraclides*, whose Boate being forwarder then his Companions, was in danger of taking by a Galley of the *ATHENIANS*, that rowed against him. *Pollichus* his Uncle being afraid of it, lanchd forward with tenne Gallies of *SYRACUSA* for his rescue, of the which himselfe was Captaine. The

The courage
of *Leo BIZAN-
tine*.

The Eclipse of
the Moone.

The Eclipse of
the Moone not
knowne of
long time.

Anaxagoras
the first that
wrote of the
Eclipse of the
Moone.

The *Athenians*
do persecute
the Philoso-
phers.
Socrates put to
death for Phi-
losophy.

Dion very skil-
full in naturall
Causes.

Nicias igno-
rant of natu-
rall Causes.

The other Gallies doubting also least *Pollichus* should take hurt, came on likewise amaine: so that there fell out a great Battell by Sea, which the *SYRACUSANS* wanne, and slew *Eurymedon* the Captaine, and many other. This made the Souldiers of the *ATHENIANS* so afraid, that they began to cry out, it was no longer tarrying, there and that there was none other way but to depart thence by Land. For after the *SYRACUSANS* had won that Battell, they had straight shut up the Havens mouth. *Nicias* could not consent to such a retire: for, said he, it would be too great a shame for them to leave their Gallies and other Ships to the Enemy, considering the number not to be much lesse then two hundred: but he thought good rather to arme a hundred and ten Gallies with the best and valiantest of their Footmen, and Darters, that were in the Army, because the other Gallies had spent their Oars. And for the rest of the Army, *Nicias* forsaking their great Campe and Walls (which reacheth as far as the Temple of *Hercules*) did let them in Battell ray upon the peere of the Haven. Inasmuch as the *SYRACUSANS* which untill that day could not performe their wonted Sacrifices unto *Hercules*, did then send their Priests and Soothsayers came and told them. The Souldiers being imbarked into the Gallies, the Priests and Soothsayers came and told the *SYRACUSANS*, that undoubtedly the signes of the Sacrifices did promise them a noble Victory, so that they gave no charge, but onely stood upon their defence: for so did *Hercules* ever overcome, defending when he was assailed. With this good hope the *SYRACUSANS* rowed forward, and there was such a hot and cruell Battell by Sea, as had not been in all this Warre before: the which was as dreadful to them that stood on the Shore to behold it, as it was mortall unto them that fought it, seeing the whole conflict, and what alteration fell out beyond all expectation. For the *ATHENIANS* did as much hurt themselves by the order they kept in their fight, and by the ranks of their Ships, as they were hurt by their Enemies. For they had placed all their great Ships together, fighting with the heavy against the Enemies that were light and swift, which came on every side of them, hurling stones at them, which were made sharpe to wound how ever they lighted: whereas the *ATHENIANS* onely casting their Darts, and using their Bowes and Slings, by meanes of their rowing up and down, could not lightly aime to hit with the head. That manner of fight *Aristo* CORINTHIAN (an excellent Ship-master) had taught the *SYRACUSANS*, who was himselfe slaine valiantly fighting, when they were Conquerors. The *ATHENIANS* thereupon being driven to fight, having sustained a marvellous slaughter and overthrow, (their way to fie by Sea being also clearly taken from them) and perceiving moreover that they could hardly save themselves by Land: were then so discouraged, as they made no longer resistance, when their Enemies came hard by them and carried away their Ships before their faces. Neither did they ask leave to take up their dead mens Bodies to bury them, taking more pity to forsake their diseased and sore wounded Companions, then to bury them that were already slaine. When they considered all these things, they thought their own state more miserable then theirs, which were to end their lives with much more cruelty, then was their misery present. So they being determined to depart thence in the night, *Gylippus* perceiving the *SYRACUSANS* through all the City disposed themselves to sacrifice to the gods, and to be merry, as well for the joy of their Victory, as also for *Hercules* Feast, thought it bootlesse to perswade them, and much lesse to compell them to take Armes upon a sudden, to let upon their Enemies that were departing. Howbeit *Hermocrates* devising with himselfe how to deceive *Nicias*, sent some of his friends unto him with instructions, to tell him that they came from such as were wont to send him secret intelligence of all things during this Warre: and willed him to take heed not to depart that night, lest he fell into the ambushes which the *SYRACUSANS* had laid for him, having sent before to take all the straights and passages, by the which he should passe, *Nicias* being overreached by *Hermocrates* craft and subtilty, staied there that night, as though he had been afraid to fall within the danger of his Enemies ambush. Thereupon the *SYRACUSANS* the next morning by peepe of day, hoised saile, got the straights of *Nicias* passage, stopped the Rivers mouths, and brake out the Bridges, and then cast their Horfemen in a Squadron in the next plaine Fields adjoining, so that the *ATHENIANS* had no way left to escape and passe by them without fighting. At last notwithstanding, having stayed all that day and the next night following, they put themselves in Journey, and departed with great cries and lamentations, as if they had gone from their naturall Countrey, and not out of their Enemies Land, as well for the great distresse and necessity wherein they were (lacking all things needfull to sustaine life,) as also for the extreme sorrow they felt, to leave their sore wounded Companions and diseased Kinsmen and Friends behinde them, that could not for their weaknesse follow the Campe, but specially for that they looked for some worse matter to fall to themselves, then that which they saw present before their eyes to be happened unto their fellows. But of all the most pitifull sights to behold in that Campe, there was none more lamentable nor miserable then the Person of *Nicias* self: who being tormented, with this miserie, and waxen very leane and pale, was also unworthily brought to extreme want of naturall sustenance, even when he had most need of comfort, being very sickely. Yet notwithstanding his weaknesse and infirmity, he tooke great paines, and suffered many things which the foundest bodies do labour much to overcome and suffer: making it appeare evidently to every man, that he did not abide all that paines for any respect of himselfe, or desire that he had to save his own life, so much as for their sakes, in that he yielded not unto present dispaire. For where the Souldiers for very feare and sorrow burst out into teares and bitter wailing, *Nicias* selfe shewed, that if by chance he were forced at any time to doe the like, it was rather upon remembrance of the shame and dishonour that came into his minde, to see the unfortunate successe of his voyage, in-

The *Syracusans*
overcome the
Athenians by
Sea.

The Sooth-
sayers doe pro-
mise Victory
to the *Syracu-
sans*.

The *Athenians*
againe over-
come on the
Sea by the *Syr-
acusans*.

Nicias de-
ceived by *Her-
mocrates*.

The miserable
state of the *A-
thenians* depart-
ing from *Syracu-
sa*.

Nicias extreme
misery.

Demosthenes taken of the Syracusans.

Nicias moveth a treaty of Peace.

Nicias Army overcome at the River of Asinarus.

Nicias words velding him selfe unto Gylippus.

Gylippus sheweth mercy to Nicias.

The Syracusans enter into Syracusa with Triumph.

Asinarus Feast.

The Captains of the Athenians condemned to die.

stead of the honour and Victory they hoped to have brought home, then for any other respect. But if to see *Nicias* in this misery, did move the lookers on to pity: yet did this much more increase their compassion, when they remembered *Nicias* words in his Orations continually to the People, to breake this Journey, and to dissuade them from the enterprise of this Warre. For then they plainly judged him not to have deserved these troubles. Yet furthermore, this caused the Souldiers utterly to dispaire of helpe from the gods, when they considered with themselves, that so devout and godly a man as *Nicias* (who left nothing undone that might tend to the honour and Service of the gods) had no better successe, then the most vile and wicked Persons in all the whole Army. All this notwithstanding, *Nicias* strained himselfe in all that might be, both by his good countenance, his cheerefull words, and his kinde using of every man: to let them know that he fainted not under his burthen, nor yet did yeeld to this misfortune and extreame Calamity. And thus travelling eight daies journey out-right together, notwithstanding that he was by the way continually set upon, wearied and hurt: yet he ever maintained his Bands, and led them whole in company, untill that *Demosthenes* with all his Bands of Souldiers was taken Prisoner, in a certain Village called *Polyzelios*: where remaining behinde, he was environed by his Enemies in fight, and seeing himselfe so compassed in, drew out his Sword, and with his owne hands thrust himselfe thorow, but died not of it, because his Enemies came straight about him, and tooke hold of him. The *Syracusans* thereupon went with speed to *Nicias*, and told him of *Demosthenes* case. He giving no credit to them, sent presently certaine of his Horsemen thither to understand the truth: who brought him word that *Demosthenes* and all his men were taken Prisoners. Then he besought *Gylippus* to treat of Peace, to suffer the poore remaine of the *Athenians* to depart out of *Sicille* with safety, and to take such Hostages for the sure Payment of all such Summes of Money the *Syracusans* had disbursed by meanes of this Warre, as should like himselfe: which he promised he would cause the *Athenians* to performe and satisfie unto them. Howbeit the *Syracusans* would in no wise hearken to Peace, but cruelly threatening and reviling them that made motion hereof, in rage gave a new onset upon him, more fiercely then ever before they had done. *Nicias* being then utterly without any kinde of Victuals, did notwithstanding hold out that night, and marched all the next day following (though the Enemies Darts still flew about their eares) untill he came to the River of *Asinarus*, into the which the *Syracusans* did forcibly drive them. Some others of them also dying for thirst, entred the River of themselves, thinking to drink. But there of all others was the most cruell slaughter of the poor wretches, even as they were drinking: untill such time as *Nicias* falling down flat at *Gylippus* feete, said thus unto him: Since the gods have given thee (*Gylippus*) Victory, shew mercy, not to me that by these miseries have won immortall Honour and Fame, but unto these poor vanquished *Athenians*: calling to thy remembrance, that the fortunes of Warre are common, and how that the *Athenians* have used you *Lacedaemonians* courteously, as often as fortune favoured them against you. *Gylippus* beholding *Nicias*, and perswaded by his words, tooke compassion of him (for he knew he was a Friend unto the *Lacedaemonians* at the last Peace concluded betwixt them, and furthermore thought it great honour to him, if he could carry away the two Captaines or Generals of his Enemies Prisoners) shewed him mercy, gave him words of comfort, and moreover commanded besides that they should take all the residue Prisoners. But his commandement was not known in time to all: in so much as there were many more slaine then taken, although some private Souldiers saved divers notwithstanding by stealth. Now the *Syracusans* having brought all the Prisoners that were openly taken into a Troope together, first unarmed them, then taking their Weapons from them, hung them up upon the goodliest young Ttees that stood upon the Rivers side, in token of Triumph. And so putting on triumphing Garlands upon their heads, and having trimmed their own Horses in Triumphant manner, and also shorne all the Horses of their Enemies: in this triumphing sort they made their entrie into the City of *Syracusa*, having gloriously ended the most notable Warre that ever was amongst the *Greekes* one against another, and attained also the Noblest Victory that could be achieved, and that onely by force of Arms and Valiancy. So at their return, a Councell and Assembly was holden at *Syracusa*, by the Citizens and their Confederates: in the which *Euclydes* one of the Oratours (a practiser in publique Causes) first made Petition, that the day on the which they had taken *Nicias*, might for ever thenceforth be kept Holy-day, without any manner of work, or labour, but onely to do Sacrifice to the gods; and that the Feast should be called, *Asinarus* Feast, after the Name of the River where the Overthrow was given. This Victory was had the six and twentieth day of the Moneth of *July*. And as touching the Prisoners, that the Confederates of the *Athenians* and their Slaves should be openly sold by the drumme: and that the naturall *Athenians* which were Freeman, and their Confederates of the Countrey of *Sicille*, should be clapped in Irons and laid in Prison, the Captaines onely excepted, whom they should put to death. The *Syracusans*, confirmed this Decree. And when the Captain *Hermocrates* went about to perswade them, that to be mercifull in Victory, would be more honour unto them, then the Victory it self: they thrust him back with great tumult. And furthermore, when *Gylippus* made suite that for the Captains of the *Athenians*, he might carry them alive with him to *Sparta*, he was not onely shamefully denied, but most vilely abused; so lusty were they grown upon this Victory, besides also that in the time of the War they were offended with him, and could not endure his straight severe *Laconian* government. *Timaeus* saith moreover that they accused him of covetousness and theft, which Vice he inherited from his Father. For *Cleandrides* his Father was convict for extortion, and banished

ATHENS.

ATHENS. And *Gylippus* selfe having stolen thirty Talents out of a thousand which *Lyfander* sent to *SPARTA* by him, and having hid them under the eavings of his House, being bewrayed, was compelled with shame to fle his Countrey, as we have more amply declared in the Life of *Lyfander*. So *Timaeus* writeth, that *Nicias* and *Demosthenes* were not stoned to death by the *Syracusans*, as *Thucydides* and *Philistus* report, but that they killed themselves, upon word sent them by *Hermocrates* (before the Assembly of the People was broken up) by one of his men, whom the Keepers of the Prison let in unto them: howbeit their bodies were cast out at the Jayle doore, for every man to behold. I have heard there is a Target at this present to be seene in a Temple at *Syracusa*, which is said to be *Nicias* Target, covered all over with Gold and Purple Silke, passing finely wrought together. As for the other Prisoners of the *Athenians*, the most of them died of sicknesse, and of ill handling in the Prison: where they had no more allowed them to live withall but two dishfuls of Barely for their bread, and one of water for each man a day. Indeed many of them were conveyed away, and sold for Slaves: and many also that scaped unknowne as Slaves were also sold for bondmen, whom they branded in the forehead with the print of a Horse, who notwithstanding besides their bondage, endured also this paine. But such, their humble patience and modesty did greatly profit them: for either shortly after they were made Freeman, or if they still continued in bondage, they were gently intreated and beloved of their Masters. Some of them were saved also for *Grecians* sake. For the *Sicilians* liked the Verses of this Poet better then they did any other *Grecians* Verses of the midst *Greece*. For if they heard any Rimes or Songs like unto his, they would have them by heart, and one would present them to another with great joy. And therefore it is reported, that divers escaping this bondage, and returning again to *ATHENS*, went very lovingly to salute *Eurypides*, and to thank him for their lives: and told him how they were delivered from slavery, onely by teaching them those Verses which they remembered of his Works. Others told him also, how that after the Battell, they scaping by flight, and wandering up and down the Fields, met with some that gave them meate and drinke to sing his Verses. And this is not to be marvelled at, weighing the report made of a Ship of the City of *CAUNUS*, that on a time being chased in thither by Pirats, thinking to save themselves within their Ports, could not at the first be received, but had repulse: howbeit being demanded whether they could sing any of *Eurypides* Songs, and answering that they could, were straight suffered to enter, and come in. The newes of this lamantable Overthrow, was not beleaved at the first, when they heard of it at *ATHENS*. For a stranger that landed in the Haven of *PIREA*, went and fate him down (as the manner is) in a Barbers Shop, and thinking it had been commonly known there, began to talke of it. The Barber hearing the stranger tell of such matters: before any other had heard of it, ranne into the City as fast as he could, and going to the Governours told the newes openly before them all. The Magistrates thereupon did presently call an Assembly, and brought the Barber before them: who being demanded of whom he heard these Newes, could make no certaine report. Whereupon being taken for a forger of Newes, that without ground had put the City in feare and trouble, he was presently bound, and laid on a wheele, whereon they use to put offenders to death, and so was there tormented a great time untill at last there arrived certain men in the City, who brought too certain Newes thereof, and told every thing how the overthrow came. So as in fine they found *Nicias* words true which now they believed when they saw all those miseries light fully upon them, which he long before had prognosticated unto them.

The end of the Life of Nicias.

Nicias and Demosthenes flew them selves.

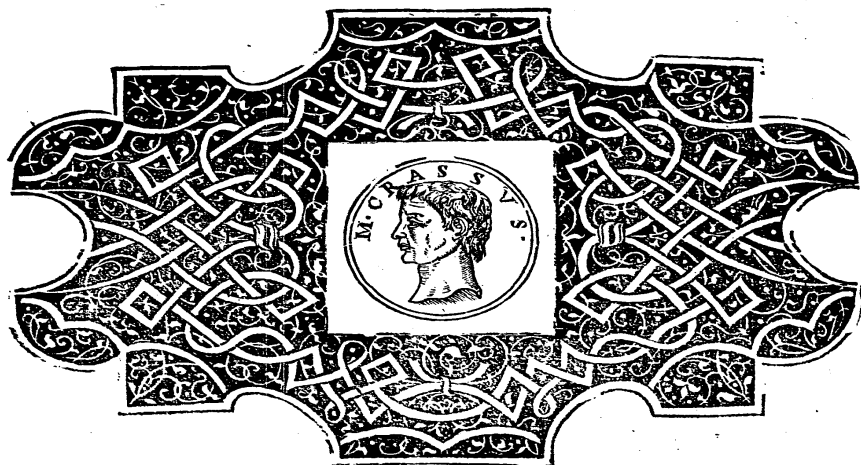
Eurypides Verses saved many of the Athenians lives.

The Athenians do torment the bringer of the News of their overthrow. Nicias fore-shewed the miseries of the Athenians.

Rr2

THE

THE LIFE OF MARCUS CRASSUS.



Ann. Mund.
3891.

Ant. Christ.
57.

MARCUS CRASSUS
kindred, and
youth.



Crassus covetous-
ness.

Crassus riches.

How Crassus
came by his
Goods.

MARCUS CRASSUS was the Sonne of a Censor, who had also received the Honour of Triumph: but himselfe was brought up in a little House with two other of his Brethren, which were both married in their Fathers and Mothers Life time, and kept House together. Whereupon it came to passe, that he was a man of such sober and Temperate Diet, that one of his Brethren being deceased, he married his Wife, by whom he had Children. For Women, he lived as continent a Life, as any ROMANE of his time: notwithstanding, afterwards being of riper yeares, he was accused by *Plotinus* to have deflowered one of the Vestall Nunnes called *Licinia*. But in troth the cause of that suspicion grew thus. *Licinia* had a goodly pleasant Garden hard by the Suburbs of the City, wherewith *Crassus* was marvellously in love, and would faine have had it good cheape: and upon this onely occasion was often scene in speech with her; which made the People suspect him. But for as much as it seemed to the Judges that his covetousnesse was the cause that made him follow her, he was cleared of the incest suspected, but he never left following of the Nun, till he had got the Garden of her. The ROMANES say there was but that only Vice of covetousnesse in *Crassus*, that drowned many other goodly Vertues in him: for mine owne opinion me thinks he could not be touched with that Vice alone without others, since it grew so great, as the note of that onely did hide and cover all his other Vices. Now to set out his extreme covetous desire of getting, naturally bred in him, they prove it by two manifest Reasons. The first, his manner and meanes he used to get: and the second, the greatnesse of his Wealth. For at the beginning he was not left much more worth, then three hundred Talents. And during the time that he dealt in the Affaires of the Common-wealth, he offered the Tenth of all his Goods wholly unto *Hercules*, kept open House for all the People of ROME, and gave also to every Citizen of the same as much Corne as would keepe him three Moneths: and yet when he went from ROME to make Warre with the PARTHIANS, himselfe being desirous to know what all he had was worth, found that it amounted to the summe of seven thousand one hundred Talents. But if I may with licence use evil speech, writing a troth: I say he got the most part of his Wealth by Fire and Bloud, raising his greatest revenue of publique Calamities. For when *Sylla* had taken the City of ROME, he made portsale of the Goods of them whom he had put to death, to those that gave most, terming them his booty, onely for that he would the Nobility and greatest men of Power in the City should be partakers with him of this Iniquity: and in this open Sale *Crassus* never left taking of Gifts, nor buying of things of *Sylla* for profit. Furthermore, *Crassus* perceiving that the greatest decay commonly of the buildings in ROME came by Fire, and falling down

downe of Houses, through the overmuch weight by number of Stories built one upon another: bought bond men that were Masons, Carpenters, and these devisors and builders, and of those he had to the number of five hundred. Afterwards, when the fire tooke any House, he would buy the House while it was a burning, and the next Houses adjoining to it, which the Owners sold for little, being then in danger as they were, and a burning: so that by proceesse of time, the most part of the Houses in ROME came to be his. But notwithstanding that he had so many Slaves to his Workmen, he never built any House from the ground, saving his own House wherein he dwelt: saying, that such as delighted to build, undid themselves without the helpe of any Enemy. And though he had many Mines of Silver, many Ploughs, and a number of Hinds and Ploughmen to follow the fame: yet all that commodity was nothing, in respect of the profit his Slaves and bondmen brought him daily in. As Readers, Scriveners, Goldsmiths, Bankers, Receivers, Stewards of households, Carvers, and other such Officers at the Table, taking paines himselfe to helpe them when they were learners, and to instruct them what they should doe: and to be short, he thought the greatest care a good Housholder ought to have, was to see his Slaves or Servants well taught being the most lively Carrell and best Instruments of a mans House. And surely therein his opinion was not ill, at the least if he thought as he spake: that all things must be done by Servants, and his Servants must be ruled by him. For we see that the Art and Skill to be a good Husband, when it consisteth in Government of things without life or sence, is but a base thing, onely tending to gaine: but when it dependeth upon good order and government of men, me thinks then it is to know how to Govern well a Common-wealth. But as his judgment was good in the other, so was it very bad in this: that he thought no man rich and wealthy, that could not maintaine a whole Army with his owne proper goods. For the Warre (as King *Archidamus* was wont to say) is not made with any certainty of expence: and therefore there must no sufficiency of riches be limited for the maintenance of the fame. But herein *Marinus* and he differed farre in opinion: who having allowed every ROMANE fourteen Acres of Land (called with them, *Jugera*) understanding that some were not pleased, but would have more, made them this answer: The gods forbid any ROMANE should thinke that Land little, which indeed is enough to suffice for his maintenance. This notwithstanding, *Crassus* was courteous to strangers, for his House was open to them all, and he lent his Friends Moeay without interest: but when they brake day of Payment with him, then would he roundly demand his Money of them. So, his courtesie to lend many times without interest, did more trouble them, then if he had taken very great Usury. Indeed when he bade any man to come to his Table, his fare was but even ordinary, without all excess: but his fine and cleanly Service, and the good entertainment he gave every man that came to him, pleased him better, then if he had beene more plentifull of diet and Dishes. As for his learning and study, he chiefly studied Eloquence, and that sort specially that best would serve his turne to speake in open presence: so that he became the best spoken man in ROME of all his time, and by his great industry and diligent indeavour excelled all them that even by nature were most apt unto it. For some say, he had never so small nor little a Cause in hand, but he alwaies came prepared having studied his Cause before for pleading: and oftentimes also when *Pompey*, *Casius*, and *Cicero* refused to rise and speake to matters, *Crassus* would defend every Cause, if he were requested. And therefore was he generally beloved and well thought of, because he shewed himselfe painefull, and willing to helpe every man. Likewise was his gentleness marvellously esteemed, because he saluted every body curteously, and made much of all men: for whomsoever he met in the Streets that spake to him as he passed and saluted him, were he never so meane, he would speake to him againe, and call him by his Name. It is said also he was very well studied in Stories, and indifferently scene in Philosophy, specially in *Aristotles* Workes, which one *Alexander* did reade unto him, a man that became very gentle and patient of nature, by using of *Crassus* company: for it were hard to say, whether *Alexander* was poorer when he came to *Crassus*, or made poorer while he was with him. Of all his friends he would ever have *Alexander* abroad with him, and while they were abroad, would lend him a Hat to cover his head by the way: but so soone as they were returned, he would call for it againe. O wonderfull patience of a man! to see that he making profession of Philosophy as he did, the poore man being in great poverty, did not place poverty in things indifferent. But hereof we will speake more hereafter. *Cinna* and *Marinus* being now of greater Power, and coming on directly towards ROME, every man suspected straight their coming was for no good to the Common-wealth, but as appeareth plainly, for the death and destruction of the Noblest men of ROME. For it so fell out indeed, that they slew all the chief men they found in the City, among whom *Crassus* Father and his Brother were of the number, and himselfe being at that time but young, escaped the present danger onely by flight. Furthermore, *Crassus* hearing that they laied waite to take him, and that the Tyrants sought him in every place, *Crassus* tooke three of his Friends in his company and ten Servants onely, and fled into SPAIN with all possible speed, where he had been with his Father before, and had got some Friends when he was Prætor, and ruled the Countrey. Nevertheless, seeing every body afraid, and mistrusting *Marinus* cruelty; as if he had been at their doores, he durst not bewray himselfe to any man; but went into the Fields, and hid him in a great Cave being within the Land of one *Vibius Piciacus* by the Sea side, from whence he sent a man of his to this *Piciacus*, to seele what good will he bare him, but specially for that his Victuals began to fail him. *Vibius* hearing that *Crassus* was safe, and had escaped, became very glad of it: and understanding how many Persons he had with him, and into what place he was gotten, went not himselfe to see him, but called one of his Slaves (who was his Receiver and occupied

Crassus sayings
of builders.

Crassus care
about Servants.

What belong-
eth to good
husbandry and
in whom incon-
sists.

Crassus judge-
ment who was
a rich man.
Archidamus
saying of War.

Crassus fare at
his Table.

Crassus Elo-
quence.

Crassus flight
Marinus and
Cinna.

Vibius courtesie
unto Cras-
sus.

Crassus Cave.

occupied that ground for him (and bringing him neare the place where *Crassus* was, commanded him every night to provide meate for Supper, to bring it ready dressed to this Rocke whereunder was the Cave, and make no words of it, neither be inquisitive for whom it was; for if he did he should die for it, and otherwise, for keeping the thing secret as he commanded, he promised to make him a free man. This Cave is not far from the Sea side, and is clofed in round about with two Rockes that meet together, which receive a soft coole winde into them. When ye are entred into the Cave, it is of a great height within, and in the hollownesse thereof are many other Caves of great receipt one within another, and besides that, it neither lacketh light nor water: for there is a Well of passing good water running hard by the Rocke, and the naturall rifts of the Rockes also receiving the light without, where they meet together, do send it inward into the Cave. So that in the day time it is marvellous light, and hath no dampe ay, but very pure and drie, by reason of the thickeffe of the Rocke, which fendeth all the moistnesse and vapour into that springing Well. *Crassus* keeping close in this Cave, *Vibius* receiver brought Victuals thither daily to relieve him and his company, but saw not them he brought it to, nor could understand what they were: and yet they saw him plainly, observing the houre and time of his coming when he brought the same. He provided them no more then would even necessarily serve their turne, and yet plenty sufficient to make good cheere withall: for *Vibius* was bent to entertaine *Crassus* as honourably as he could possiblie, in so much as he considered he was a young man, and therefore reason would he should offer him some occasion to take such pleasure and delight as his youth required. For to relieve his necessity only, he thought that rather a part of feare, then any shew of love towards him. One day he tooke two faire young Damfels, and brought them with him to the Sea side: and when he came to the Cave, shewed them where they should get up, and bad them not be afraid. *Crassus* at the first, when he saw the young Wenches, was afraid he had been betrayed: yet he asked them what they were, and whom they fought. They being instructed by *Vibius* what they should say, answered, that they fought their Master that was hidden there. Then *Crassus* knew this was *Vibius* mirth to shew him courtesie: so he received them into his Cave, and kept them as long as he lay there, letting *Vibius* understand by them what he lacked. *Fenestella* writeth, that he saw one of them when she was an old Woman, and that he had heard her tell him this Tale many a time with great delight. In fine, *Crassus* (after he had lyen hidden in this Cave eight Moneths) understanding that *Cinna* was dead, came out: and so soone as he made himselfe to be known, there repaired a great number of Souldiers unto him, of whom he onely chose two thousand five hundred, and with them passed by many Cities, and sacked one called *MALACA*, as divers do write; but he flatly denied it, and stoutly contrariated them that affirmed it. And afterwards having gotten Ships together, went into *AFRICK*, to *Metellus Pius*, a man of great fame, and that had already gotten a great Army together. Howbeit he taried not long with *Metellus*, but jarring with him, went unto *Sylla*, who welcomed and honoured him as much as any that he had about him. *Sylla* afterwards arriving in *ITALY*, intending to employ all the young Nobility he had in his company, gave every one of them Charge under him, and sent *Crassus* into the Countrey of the *MARS* IANS, to leave men of Warre there. *Crassus* desiring certaine Bands of *Sylla* to aide him, being driven to passe by his Enemies: *Sylla* answered him angrily againe: I give thee thy Father, thy Brother, thy Friends and Kinsmen to aide thee, whom they most wickedly have slaine and murdered, and whose deaths I pursue with more revenge of mine Army upon those bloody murderers that have slaine them. *Crassus* being nettled with these words, departed thence presently, and stoutly passing through his Enemies, leaved a good number of Souldiers: and was ever after ready at *Sylla's* commandement in all his Warres. Here began first (as they say) the strife and contention betwixt him and *Pompey*. For *Pompey* being younger then *Crassus*, and borne of a wicked Father in *ROME*, whom the People more hated then ever they did man: came yet to great honour by his valiancy, and by the notable Acts he did in the Warres at that time. So that *Sylla* did *Pompey* that honour many times, which he feldome did unto them that were his Elders, nor yet unto those that were his equals: as to rise up when he came towards him, to put off his Cap, to call him Imperator, as much as Lieutenant-Generall. And this galled *Crassus* to the heart, although he had no wrong in that *Pompey* was taken before him, because he had no experience in matters of Warre at that time, and also because these two Vices that were bred in him misery and covetousnesse, drowned all his Vertue and well doing. For at the sacke of the City of *TUDER*, which he tooke, he privily got the most part of the spoile to himselfe, whereof he was accused before *Sylla*. Yet in the last Battell of this Civill Warre (which was the greatest and most dangerous of all other) even before *ROME* it selfe, the Wing that *Sylla* led, was repulsed and overthrowne: but *Crassus* that led the right Wing, overcame his Enemies, followed them in chase till midnight, sent *Sylla* word of his Victory, and demanded Victuals for his men. But then againe he ranne into as great desame, for buying, or begging, the confiscate goods of the Outlawes appointed to be slaine, for little or nothing. And it is said also, that he made one an Outlaw in the Countrey of the *BAUR* IANS, without *Sylla's* privy or commandement, onely to have his goods. But *Sylla* being told of it, would never after use him in any open Service. Surely this is a strange thing, that *Crassus* selfe being a great flatterer of other, and could creep into any mans favour, was yet himselfe easie to be won through flattery, of any man that would seeke him that way. Furthermore, it is said of him that he had this property: that though himselfe was as extremely covetous as might be, yet he bitterly reproved and utterly disliked them that had his own humor of avarice. *Pompey's* honour that he attained unto daily, by bearing great Charge and rule in the Warres,

Crassus voyage into AFRICK.

Crassus sent by Sylla into the Countrey of the Marsians.

The emulation betwixt Crassus and Pompey.

Sylla called Pompey Imperator.

Crassus tooke the City of Tuder.

The valiancy of Crassus.

Warres, did greatly trouble *Crassus*: both because he obtained the Honour of Triumph before he came to be Senator, and also for that the *ROMANS* commonly called him, *Pompeius Magnus*, to say, *Pompey* the Great. *Crassus* being in place on a time when one said that saw *Pompey* coming, See, *Pompey* the Great is come. And how great I pray ye, said he scornfully? howbeit despairing that he could not obtaine to match him in the Warres, he gave himselfe unto the affaires of the City: and by his paines and industry of pleading, and defending mens causes, by lending of Money to them that needed, and by helping of them that sued for any Office, or demanded any thing elle of the People, he attained in the end to the like estimation and Authority that *Pompey* was come unto, by his many Noble Victories. And there was one notable thing in either of them. For *Pompey's* Fame and Power was greater in *ROME*, when himselfe was absent: and contrariwise when he was there present, *Crassus* oftentimes was better esteemed then he. *Pompey* carried a great Majesty and gravity in his manner of Life, would not be seen often of the People, but kept from repairing to open places, and would speake but in few mens causes, and that unwillingly: all to keepe his favour and credite whole for himselfe, when he stood in need to employ the same. Where *Crassus* diligence was profitable to many, because he kept continually in the Market-place, and was easie to be repaired unto by any man that required his helpe, daily following those exercises, endeavouring himselfe to pleasure every man: so that by this easie access and familiarity, for favour and good will, he grew to exceed the gravity and Majesty of *Pompey*. But as for the worthinesse of their Persons, their Eloquence of speech, and their good grace and countenance: in all those (it is said) *Pompey* and *Crassus* were both able. And this envie and emulation never carried *Crassus* away, with any open malice or ill will. For though he was sorry to see *Pompey* and *Cesar* honoured above him: yet the worne of ambition never bred malice in him. No, though *Cesar* when he was taken by Pirates in *ASIA* (as he was once), and being kept Prisoner cried out aloud: O *Crassus*, what joy will this be to thee, when thou shalt hear I am in Prison! This notwithstanding, they were afterwards good friends, as it appeareth: for *Cesar* being ready on a time to depart out of *ROME* for Prætor into *SPAIN*, and not being able to satisfie his Creditors that came flocking all at once about him, to stay and arrell his Carriage: *Crassus*, in that time of need forooke him not, but became his surety for the summe of eight hundred and thirty Talents. In fine, all *ROME* being divided into three Factions, to wit, of *Pompey*, *Cesar* and *Crassus* (for as for *Cato*, the estimation they had of his fidelity was greater then his Authority: and his Vertue more wondered at then practised) in so much as the gravest and wisest men tooke part with *Pompey*. The liveliest youthes, and likeliest to run into desperate attempts, they followed *Cesar's* hope. *Crassus* keeping the middelt of the Streame, was indifferent to them both; and oftentimes changed his minde and purpose. For in matters of Government in the Common-weale, he neither shewed himselfe a constant Friend, nor a dangerous Enemy: but for gaine, was easly made friend or foe. So that in a moment they saw him praise and reprove, defend and condemne, the same Lawes, and the same men. His estimation grew more, through the Peoples feare of him, then for any good will they bare him. As appeareth by the answer that one *Scinius* (a very busie headed man, and one that troubled every Governor of the Common-weale in his time) made to one that asked him, why he was not busie with *Crassus* amongst the rest: and how it happened that he so scaped his hands? O, said he, he carried hay on his borne. The manner was then at *ROME*, if any man had a curst Bullocke that would strike with his horne, to winde hay about his head, that the People might beware of him when they met him. The commotion of Fencers, which some call *Spartacus* Warre, their wasting and destroying of *ITALY* came upon this occasion. In the City of *CAPUA*, there was one *Lentulus Batiatus*, that kept a great number of Fencers at unrebated Foiles, whom the *ROMANS* call *Gladiatores*, whereof the most part were *GAULES* and *THRACIANS*. These men were kept locked up, not for any fault they had committed, but onely for the wickednesse of their Master that had brought them and compelled them by force, one to fight with another at the Sharpe. On a time two hundred of them were minded to steale away: but their conspiracy being beyrayed, threescore and eightene of them entred into a Cooks House, and with the Spits and Kitchen-knives, which there they got, went quite out of the City. By the way they fortuned to meete with Carts laden with Fencers Weapons, that were brought from *CAPUA*, going to some other City: those they also tooke by force, and arming themselves therewith, got them then to a strong place of situation. Where amongst themselves they chose three Captaines, and one *Spartacus* a *THRACIAN* borne (and of those Countrey men, that go wandering up and down with their Heards of Beasts, never staying long in a place) they made their Generall. This *Spartacus* was not onely valiant, but strong made withall, and endued with more wisdom and honesty, then is commonly found in men of his state and condition: and for civility and good understanding a man more like to the *GRECIANS* then any of his Countrey men commonly be. It is reported, that when *Spartacus* came first to *ROME* to be sold for a Slave, there was found as he slept a Snake wound about his face. His Wife seeing it, being his owne Countrey woman, and a wife Woman besides, posselt with *Bacchus* spirit of Divination: said plainly that it did signifie, that one day he should be of great Power, much dread, and have very good successe. This same Woman Prophetesse was then with him, and followed him likewise when he fled. Now first they overthrew certaine Souldiers that came out of *CAPUA* against them, thinking to take them: and stripping them of their Armour and Weapons, made them *Spartacus* with glad to take the Fencers Weapons, which they threw away as vile and unseemly. After that, the *ROMANS* sent *Clodius* Prætor against them, with three thousand men. Who besieged them in their men.

Crassus envieth Pompey. The Romans called Pompey the Great.

Crassus industry and cause of rising in the Common-weale.

Three Factions in Rome.

Crassus in constancy.

Scinius Proverb.

The Warre of the bondmen, called Spartacus Warre.

The wit and behaviour of Spartacus, the chiefe Captain of the bondmen Warre.

Clodius a Roman Prætor sent against Spartacus with three thousand men.

Fort.

Cloelius a Praetor overcome of Spartacus.

Publius Varinius Praetor, sent against Spartacus.

Spartacus Victory of Publius Varinius.

Gellius and Lentulus, both Consuls sent against Spartacus.

Cassius overcome by Spartacus.

Crassus sent against Spartacus.

Mummius Crassus Lieutenant: Mummius overthrown by Spartacus.

The Roman manner of punishing cowardly Soldiers.

Fort, situate upon a Hill that had a very steepe and narrow ascent unto it and kept the passage up to them: all the rest of the ground round about it, was nothing but high Rockes hanging over, and upon them great store of wilde Vines. Of them the bondmen cut the strongest strips, and made thereof Ladders, like to these Ship Ladders of Ropes, of such a length and so strong, that they reached from the top of the Hill even to the very bottome: upon those they all came safely down saving one that tarried above to throw down their Armour after them, who afterwards by the same Ladder saving himselfe last of all. The ROMANES mistrusting no such matter, these bondmen compassed the Hill round, assailed them behinde, and put them in such a feare with the sudden onset, as they fled upon it every man, and so was their Campe taken. Thereupon divers Heardmen and Shepherds that kept Cattell hard by the Hill, joynd with the ROMANES that fled, being strong and hardy men: of which some they armed, and others they used as Scouts and Spials to discover. Upon this overthrow was sent another Captaine from ROME, called *Publius Varinius*, against these bondmen: who first overcame *Furius*, the Lieutenant of *Varinius* in Battell, and two thousand of his men: and after that againe they slew one *Cossinius*, and overthrew a great Army of his, being joynd with *Publius Varinius*, as his fellow and Counsellor. *Spartacus* having intelligence that *Cossinius* was bathing himselfe at a place called the salt Pits, had almost taken him tardy, having much ado by flight to save himselfe: notwithstanding, *Spartacus* wan all his Carriage at that time, and having him hard in chafe, tooke his whole Campe with great slaughter of his men, among whom *Cossinius* selfe was slaine. *Spartacus* having thus now in sundry Battells and Encounters overcome the Praetor himselfe, *Publius Varinius*, and at the length taken his Sergeants from him that carried the Axes before him, and his owne Horse whereon he rode himselfe: was grown then to such a power, as he was dreaded of every man. Yet all this notwithstanding, *Spartacus* wisely considering his own force, thinking it not good to tarry till he might overcome the Power of the ROMANES, marched with his Army towards the ALPES, taking it their best way after they had passed them over, every man to repaire home to his owne Countrey, some into GAULE the rest into THRACIA. But his Souldiers trusting to their multitude, and perswading themselves to do great things, would not obey him therein, but went againe to spoile and overrun all ITALY. The Senate of ROME being in great perplexity, not only for the shame and dishonour that their men should be overcome in that sort by Slaves and Rebels, but also for the feare and danger all ITALY stood in besides: sent both the Consuls together, *Gellius* and *Lentulus*, as unto as difficult and dangerous a War, as any that could have happened unto them. This *Gellius* one of the Consuls, setting suddenly upon a Band of the GERMANES, which in a bravery and contempt as it were dispersed themselves from their Campe, put them to the Sword every man. *Lentulus*, his Colleague and fellow Consul on the other side, compassed in *Spartacus* round with a great Army: but *Spartacus* charged his Lieutenants that led the Army, gave them Battell, overthrew them, and tooke all their Carriage. Hereupon, marching on still with his Army towards the ALPES, *Cassius* the Praetor and Governor of GAULE about the Po, came against him with an Army of ten thousand men. *Spartacus* joynd Battell with him, and overcame him. *Cassius* having lost a great number of his men, with great difficulty saved himselfe by flying. The Senate hearing of *Cassius* overthrow, were marvellously offended with the Consuls, and sent commandement unto them, to leave off the Warre: and thereupon gave the whole Charge thereof unto *Marcus Crassus*, who was accompanied in his Journey with many noble young Gentlemen of honourable Houses, both for that he was marvellously esteemed, and also for the good will they bare him. Now went *Crassus* from ROME, and camped in ROMANIA, tarrying *Spartacus* coming, who was marching thitherward. He sent *Mummius* one of his Lieutenants with two Legions, to fetch a compass about to intrap the Enemy behind: straightly commanding him to follow *Spartacus* tereward, but in no case to offer him Skirmish nor Battell. But *Mummius* notwithstanding this straight commandement, seeing some hope given him to do good, set upon *Spartacus*, who gave him the overthrow, slew numbers of his men, and moe had slaine, saving that certaine of them saved themselves by flight, having onely lost their Armour and Weapons. Hereupon *Crassus* was grievously offended with *Mummius*, and receiving his Souldiers that fled, gave them other Armor and Weapons: but yet upon sureties, that they should keepe them better thenceforth, then they had before done. Now *Crassus* of the five hundred that were in the first Rankes, and that first fled, them he divided into fifty times ten, and out of every one of those he put one of them to death, as the Lot fell out: renewing againe the Ancient discipline of the ROMANES to punish cowardly Souldiers, which of long time before had not been put in use. For it is a kinde of death that bringeth open shame withall: and because it is done in the face of the Campe, it maketh all the residue afraid to see the terrour of this punishment. *Crassus* having done execution in this sort upon his men, led his Army against *Spartacus*, who still drew backe, untill he came to the Sea side through the Countrey of the LUCANIANS, where he found in the straight of the far of MESSINA, certaine Pirates Ships of CILICIA, and there determined to go into SICILIA. And having put two thousand men into SICILIA, he then revived the Warre thereof the Slaves, which was but in manner newly ended, and lacked small provocation to begin it againe. But these Pirates having promised *Spartacus* to passe him over thither, and also taken Gifts of him, deceived him, and brake their promise. Whereupon *Spartacus* returning backe againe from the Sea side, went and camped within a little Ile of the RHUGIANS. *Crassus* coming thither to seeke him, and perceiving that the nature of the place taught him what he should doe, determined with a Wall to choke up the barre or Channell entering into the little Island, both to keepe his men occupied from idleness,

idleness, and his Enemies also from Victuall. This was a marvellous hard and long piece of Worke, notwithstanding *Crassus* finished it beyond all mens expectation in a very short time, and brought a Trench from one side of the Sea to the other overthwart this barre, which was three hundred furlongs in length, fiftene foote broad, and so many in height; and upon the top of this Trench built a high Wall, of a marvellous strength, whereof *Spartacus* at the first made light account, and laughed at it. But when Pillage began to fail him, and travelling all about the Ile for Victualls, perceiving himselfe to be shut in with this Wall, and that there was no kinde of Victualls to be had within all the compass of the Ile: he then tooke the vantage of a rough boysterous night, the winde being very great, when it snowed exceedingly. Set his men on worke, and filled up a piece of the Trench (being a small breadth) with Earth, Stones and boughes of Trees, whereupon he passed over the third part of his Army. *Crassus* at the first then became afraid, lest *Spartacus* would have taken his way directly toward ROME. but he was soone put out of that feare, when he heard they were fallen out together, and that a great number of them rebelling against *Spartacus*, went and camped of themselves by the Lake of LUCANIA, which water by report hath this variable property, that at certaine times it changeth and becometh very sweete, and as some other times againe so salt and brackish as no man can drinke it, *Crassus* going to set upon them, drave them beyond the Lake, but could kill no great number of them, nor follow them very farre, because *Spartacus* came presently to the rescue with his Army, who stayed the chafe. *Crassus* had written Letters before to the Senate, to call *Lucullus* home out of THRACIA, and *Pompey* out of SPAIN, whereof he then repented him, and made all the possible speed he could to end this Warre before either of them came thither; knowing, that which of them so ever came to his helpe, to him would the People give the Honour of ending this Warre, and not to himselfe. Wherefore he first determined to assaile them that had revolted from *Spartacus*, and camped by themselves, who were led by *Caius Cassius*, and another called *Cassius*. So *Crassus* sent six thousand Footmen before to take a Hill, commanding them to lie as close as they could, that their Enemies might not discover them; and so they did, and covered their Morians and Head-pieces as well as might be, from being seene. Nevertheless they were discovered by two Women doing Sacrifice for the safety of their Army, and thereupon were all in great hazard of casting away, had not *Crassus* bene, who came in time to their aide, and gave the Enemies the cruellest Battell that ever they fought in all that Warre. For there were slaine of the Slaves at that Battell twelve thousand and three hundred, of which, two onely were found hurt in the backes, and all the rest slaine in the place of their Rankes, valiantly fighting where they were set in Battell Ray. *Spartacus* after this overthrow, drew towards the Mountaines of PETRELY, whither *Quintus* one of *Crassus* Lieutenants, and *Scrofa* his Treasurer followed him, still Skirmishing with his rereward all the way: yet in fine, *Spartacus* turned suddenly upon them, made the ROMANES flee that still harried his men in that sort, and hurt *Scrofa* *Crassus* Treasurer so sore, that he hardly escaped with Life. But the vantage they had of the ROMANES by this overthrow, fell out in the end to the utter destruction of *Spartacus*. For his men thereby, being the most of them fugitive bondmen, grew to such a stoutnesse and pride of themselves, that they would no more flee from fight, neither yet would they any longer obey their Leaders and Captaines; but by the way as they went, they compassed them in with their Weapons, and told them, that they should goe backe againe with them, whether they would or not, and be brought through LUCANIA against the ROMANES. All this made for *Crassus* as he wished, for he had received Newes that *Pompey* was coming, and that divers were Suters for him at ROME to be sent in this Journey, saying, that the last Victory of this Warre was due to him, and that he would dispatch it at a Battell, as soone as he came thither. *Crassus* therefore seeking occasion to fight, lodged as neare the Enemy as he could, and made his men one day cast a Trench; which the bondmen seeking to prevent, came with great fury, and set upon them that wrought. Whereupon fell out a hot Skirmish, and still supplies came on of either side, so that *Spartacus* in the end perceiving he was forced unto it, put his whole power in Battell Ray. And when he had set them in order, and that they brought him his Horse he was wont to ride on he drew out his Sword, and before them all slew the Horse dead in the place, saying: If it be my Fortune to win the Field, I know I shall have Horses enow to serve my turne; and if I chance to be overcome, then shall I need no more Horses. After that, he slew in among the ROMANES, thinking to attaine to fight with *Crassus*, but he could not come neare him; yet he slew with his owne hands two ROMANE Centurions that resisted him. In the end, all his men he had about him, forsooke him and fled, so as *Spartacus* was left alone amongst his Enemies; who valiantly fighting for his life, was cut in pieces. Now though *Crassus* Fortune was very good in this Warre, and that he had shewed himselfe a Noble and Valiant Captaine, venturing his Person in any danger, yet he could not keepe *Pompey* from the Honour of ending this Warre: for the Slaves that escaped from this last Battell where *Spartacus* was slaine, fell into *Pompeys* hands, who made an end of all those rebellious rascals. *Pompey* hereupon wrote to the Senate, that *Crassus*, had overcome the Slaves in Battell, but that he himselfe had pulled up that Warre even by the very roots. After this *Pompey* made his entrie into ROME, and Triumphed for his Victory of *Sertorius*, and the Conquest of SPAIN, *Crassus* also sued not for the great Triumph, neither thought he the small Ovation Triumph on foote, which they granted him, any Honour unto him, for overcoming a few fugitive bondmen. But for this small Triumph whereby he was called Ovation, how much it differed from the great Triumph, see *Marcellus* Life, wherein we have at large discoursed thereof. Now

Crassus wonderfull Trench and Wall.

A wonderfull nature of the Water of the Lake of Lucania.

Ambush laid by Crassus.

The valiantnesse of Spartacus Souldiers. Spartacus retired to the Mountaines of Petelia.

The noble courage of Spartacus.

Spartacus slaine.

Pompeys Triumph for Spain.

Ovation, see Marcellus Life. Pompey

Crassus made
Consul with
Pompey.

Crassus great
treating of the
People of
Rome.
The Dreame
of Octavius Au-
relius.

Crassus and
Pompey made
friends.

Crassus Conser-
with Catulus.

Crassus suspect-
ed for Catu-
lus conspiracy.

Crassus and
Cesar Confe-
derates with Ca-
tiline.
Crassus Cicero
Enemy.

Cesar reconcil-
ed Crassus and
Pompey toge-
ther.

Pompey Crassus
and Cesar, all
three joyned in
friendship.

Pompey and
Crassus did
more with
Cesar at Luca.

Pompey being called to be Consul; Crassus, though he stood in good hope to be chosen Consul with him, did yet notwithstanding pray his friendship and furtherance. Pompey was very willing to helpe him, and was ever desirous to make Crassus beholding to him: whereupon he dealt friendly for him, and spake openly in the Assembly of the City, that he would no lesse thanke the People to appoint Crassus his Companion and fellow Consul with him, then for making himselfe Consul. But notwithstanding they were both Consuls together in Office, their friendship held not, but were ever at jarre, and the one against the other. So by meanes of their disagreement, they passed all the time of their Consulship without any memorable Act done, saving that Crassus made a great Sacrifice to Hercules, and kept an open Feast for the People of Rome of a thousand Tables, and gave to every Citizen Come to finde him three Moneths. But in the end of their Consulship, at a Common-Councell holden, there was a Knight of Rome called *Octavius Aurelius* (a man not greatly knowne, for that he had no dealings in the State, and kept most in the Country) who getting up to the Pulpit for Orations, told the People what a Vision he had seene in his Dreame. *Jupiter* (saith he) appearing to me this night, willed me to tell you openly, that ye should not put Crassus and Pompey out of their Office, before they were reconciled together. He had no sooner spoken the words, but the People commanded them to be Friends. Pompey sate still, and said never a word to it. But Crassus rose, and tooke Pompey by the hand, and turning him to the People, told them aloud: My Lords of Rome, I doe nothing unworthy of my selfe, to seeke Pompeys friendship and favour first, since you your selves have called him the Great, before he had any haire upon his face, and that ye gave him the honour of Triumph before he was Senator. And this is all that Crassus did of any account in his Consulship. When he was Censor also, he passed it over without any Act done. For he reformed not the Senate, Mustered not the men of Warre, nor tooke any view or estimate of the Peoples goods, although *Lucius Catulus* was his Colleague and fellow Censor, as gentle a Person as any of that time that lived in Rome. Now Crassus at the first entrie into his Office of Censor, going about a cruell and violent Act to bring EGYPT to pay tribute to the ROMANS, Catulus did stoutly withstand him: whereby disension falling out between them, they both did willingly resigne their Office. In that great conspiracy of Catiline, which in manner overthrew the whole State and Common-wealth of Rome, Crassus was had in some jealousie and mistrust, because there was one of the Confederates that named him for one of them, howbeit they gave no credite unto him. Yet Cicero in an Oration of his, doth plainly accuse Crassus and Cesar, as Confederates with Catiline: howbeit this Oration came not forth till they were both dead. And in the Oration he made also, when his Office and Authority of Consul ceased, he said: that Crassus came one night to him, and shewed him a Letter touching Catiline, certainly confirming the conspiracy then in examination. For which cause Crassus ever after hated him: and that he did not openly revenge it, the let was by meanes of his Sonne. For *Publius Crassus* much favouring Eloquence, and being given to his Booke, bare great good will unto Cicero: in such sort, that upon his banishment he put on changed Garments as Cicero did, and procured many other youths to do the like also, and in fine, perswaded his Father to become his Friend. Cesar now returning to Rome from the Province he had in government, intended to sue for the Consulship: and perceiving that Pompey and Crassus were againe at a jarre, thought thus with himself, that to make the one of them his Friend to further his sute, he should but procure the other his Enemy: and minding therefore to attaine his desire with the favour of them both, sought first the means to make them friends, and perswaded with them, that by their controvercie the one seeking the others undoing, they did thereby but make Cicero, Catulus and Cato; of the greater Authority, who of themselves were of no power, if they two joyned in friendship together: for making both their Friends and Factions one, they might rule the State and Common-wealth even as they would. Cesar having by his perswasion reconciled Crassus and Pompey, joyning their three Powers in one, made themselves unvincible, which afterwards turned to the destruction of the People and Senate of Rome. For he made them not onely greater then they were before, the one by the others meanes: but himselfe also of great power through them. For when they began to favour Cesar, he was straight chosen Consul without any denial: and so behaved himselfe in the Consulship, that at the length they gave him charge of great Armies, and then sent him to governe the GAULES: which was, as a man may say, even themselves to put him into the Cattle that should keepe all the City in subjection: imagining that they two should make spoile and good booty of the rest, sithence they had procured him such a Government. Now for Pompey, the cause that made him commit this error, was nothing else, but his extreame ambition. But as for Crassus, besides his old Vice of covetousnesse rooted in him, he added to that a new avarice and desire of Triumphs and Victories, which *Casars* fame for prowess and noble Acts in Warres did thoroughly kinde in him, that he being otherwise his better in all things, might not yet in that be his inferiour: which fury tooke such hold as it never left him, till it brought him unto an infamous end, and the Common-wealth to great misery. Thus Cesar being come out of his Province of GAULE unto LUCA, divers ROMANS went thither to see him, and among other Pompey and Crassus. They having talked with him in secret, agreed among them to devise to have the whole power of Rome in their hands: so that Cesar should keepe his Army together: and Crassus and Pompey should take other Provinces and Armies to them. Now to attaine to this, they had no way but one: that Pompey and Crassus should againe sue the second time to be Consuls, and that Casars Friends at Rome should stand with them for it, sending also a sufficient number of his Souldiers to be there at the day of chusing the

the Consuls. Thereupon Pompey and Crassus returned to Rome to that end, but not without suspicion of their practise: for there ranne a rumour in the City, that their meeting of Cesar in Luca, was for no good intent. Whereupon, *Marcellinus* and *Domitius* asked Pompey in open Senate, if he meant to make suite to be Consul. Pompey answered them: Peradventure he did, peradventure he did not. They asking him againe the same question: he answered, he would sue for the good men, not for the evil. Pompeys answers were thought very proud and haughty. Howbeit Crassus answered more modestly, that if he saw it necessary for the Common-wealth, he would sue to be Consul: if not, that he would not stand for it. Upon these words, some were so bold to make suite for the Consulship, as *Domitius* among other. But afterwards Pompey and Crassus standing openly for it, all the rest left off their suite for feare of them. *Domitius* onely excepted: whom Cato so prayed and intreated, as his Kinsman and Friend that he made him to seeke it. For he perswaded him, that it was to fight for the defence of their liberty, and how that it was not the Consulship Crassus and Pompey looked after, but that they went about to bring in a Tyrannie: and that they sued not for the Office, but to get such Provinces and Armies into their hands as they desired, under colour and countenance of the Consulship. Cato ringing these words into their eares, and believing it certainly to be true as he said, brought *Domitius* as it were by force into the Market-place, where many honest men joyned with them: because they wondered what the matter meant, that these two Noble men should sue the second time to be Consuls, and why they made suite to be joyned together, and not to have any other with them, considering there were so many other worthy men, meete to be Companions with either of them both in that Office. Pompey fearing he should be prevented of his purpose, fell to commit great outrage and violence. As amongst other, when the day came to chuse the Consuls, *Domitius* going early in the morning before day, accompanied with his Friends to the place where the Election should be: his man that carried his Torch before him, was slaine by some whom Pompey had laid in waite, and many of the company hurt, and among others, Cato. And having thus dispersed them, he beset a House round about whither they fled for succour, and inclosed them there, untill they were both chosen Consuls together. Shortly after they came with force to the Pulpit for Orations and drave Cato out of the Market-place, and slew some of them that resisted and would not flie. They also then prolonged Casars Government of the GAULES for five yeares more, and procured for themselves by Decree of the People, the Countries of SYRIA and SPAIN. Again, when they drew Lots together, SYRIA fell to Crassus, and SPAIN to Pompey. Every man was glad of their Fortune. For the People on the one side were loath Pompey should goe farre from Rome: and himselfe also loving his Wife well, was glad he had occasion to be so near her, that he might remain the most part of his time at Rome. But Crassus of all other rejoiced most at his hap, that he should go into SYRIA: and it appeared plainly that he thought it was the happiest turne that ever came to him; for he would ever be talking of the Journey, were he in never so great or strange company. Furthermore being among his Friends and Familiars, he would give out such fond Boasts of it, as no young man could have made greater vaunts: which was cleane contrary to his yeares and nature, having lived all his life time as modestly, and with as small ostentation as any man living. But then forgetting himselfe too much, had such fond conceits in his head, as he not onely hoped after the Conquest of SYRIA, and of the PARTHIANS; but flattered himselfe, that the world should see all that *Lucullus* had done against King *Tigranes*, and Pompey against King *Mithridates*, were but trifles (as a man would say) to that he intended. For he looked to Conquer the BAETRIANS, the INDIANS, and the great Ocean Sea towards the East, though in the Decree passed by the People, there was no mention made of any Warres against the PARTHIANS. Now every man saw Crassus ambition and greedy desire of Honour: in so much as Cesar selfe wrote unto Crassus out of GAULE, commending his Noble intent and forwardnesse, and wished him to go through therewith. But *Atticus* one of the Tribunes being bent against Crassus to withstand his departure: (having divers other Confederates with him to further his purpose, who much disliked that any man of a bravery and lustinesse should make Warre with any Nation or People that had no way offended the ROMANS, but were their Friends and Confederates) Crassus fearing this conspiracy, prayed Pompey to assist and accompany him out of the City, because he was of great Authority and much revered of the People, as it appeared then. For though multitudes of People were gathered together of purpose to let Crassus of his departure and to cry out upon him: yet when they saw Pompey go before him, with a pleasant smiling countenance, they quieted themselves, and made a lane for them, suffering them to passe on, and said nothing. This notwithstanding, *Atticus* the Tribune stepped before them, and commanded Crassus he should not depart the City, with great protestations if he did the contrary. But perceiving Crassus still held on his way notwithstanding, he commanded then one of the Officers to lay hold of him, and to arrest him: howbeit the other Tribunes would not suffer the Officers to do it. So the Sergeant dismissed Crassus. Then *Atticus* running towards the Gates of the City, got a Chafindish with Coales, and set it in the midst of the Street. When Crassus came against it, he cast in certain perfumes, and made sprinklings over it, pronouncing horrible Curses, and calling upon terrible and strange Names of gods. The ROMANS say, that those manner of Curses are very ancient, but yet very secret, and of so great force, as he that is once cursed with that Curse can never escape it, nor he that useth it doth never prosper after it. And therefore few men do use it, and neuer but upon urgent occasion. But then they much reprov'd *Atticus*, for using these dreadful Ceremonies and extreme Curses,

Pompeys stout
answer.
Crassus modest
answer.

Pompey made
himselfe and
Crassus Con-
suls by force.

Pompey and
Crassus Con-
suls the second
time.

Crassus had the
Government
of Syria.

Atticus the
Tribune a-
gainst Crassus
departure.

Observations
of cursings a-
mong the Ro-
mans.

Crassus Journey
into Syria.
Deiotarus King
of Galatia.

Crassus passeth
over the River
of Euphrates.

Zenodotia taken
by Crassus.

Publius Crassus
came to his
Father in
Syria.

Great faults
committed by
Crassus.

The first signe
of Crassus ill
lucke.

This Name of
Arsaces, or As-
cides, was com-
mon to all the
Kings of the
Parthians.
Ambassadors
of the Parthi-
ans sent to
Crassus.

Vagiles words,
showing Cras-
sus the palme
of his hand.
Hyrodes King
of the Parthi-
ans.

Curfes, which were much hurtfull to the Common-wealth, although he for Countries sake had thus curfed Crassus. Crassus setting forward notwithstanding, failed on, and arrived at BRUN-
DUSIUM, when Winter stormes had not left the Seas, and he had lost many of his Ships: how-
beit he landed his Army, and marched through the Countrey of GALATIA. There he found King
Deiotarus, a very old man, and yet building a new City: and to taunt him prettily, said unto him:
What, O King, begin you to build now in the afternoon? To whom the King of the GALATI-
ANS againe smiling made answer: and truly Sir Capitaine, you go not very early (methinks) to
make Warre with the PARTHIANS. For indeed Crassus was threescore and upward, and yet
his face made him seeme elder then he was. But to our Story againe. Crassus being come into the
Countrey, had as good lucke as he looked for: for he easily built a Bridge upon the River of Eu-
phrates, and passed his Army over it without any let or trouble. So entering into MESOPOTAMIA,
he received many Cities that of good will yielded themselves unto him. Howbeit there was one
City named ZENODOTIA, whereof Apollonius was Tyrant, where Crassus lost a hundred of his
men: thereupon he brought his whole Army thither, tooke it by force, sacked their goods, and
fold the Prisoners by the drumme. The GREEKES called this City ZENODOTIA, and for win-
ning of the same Crassus suffered his men to call him Imperator, to say, soveraigne Capitaine: which
turned to his shame and reproach, and made him to be thought of a base minde, as one that had small
hope to attaine to great things, making such reckoning of so small a trifle. Thus when he had
bestowed seven thousand of his Footmen in Garrison in those Cities that had yielded unto him,
and about a thousand Horsemen, he returned backe to winter in SYRIA. Thither came his Sonne
Publius Crassus to him out of CAULE from Julius Caesar, who had given him such honours,
as Generals of ROME did use to give such vaunt Souldiers for reward of their good Service: and
brought unto his Father a thousand men of armes, all choise men. This me thinks was the great-
est fault Crassus committed in all his enterprise of that Warre. For when he should presently
have gone on still, and entered into BABYLON and SELEUCIA, (Cities that were ever Enemies
unto the PARTHIANS) he tracted time, and gave them leasure to prepare to encounter his force
when he should come against them. Againe, they found great fault with him for spending of
his time when he lay in SYRIA, seeming rather to leade a Merchants life then a Chieftaines.
For he never saw his Army, nor trained them out to any Martiall Exercice, but fell to counting the
revenue of the Cities, and was many daies busily occupied weighing of the Gold and Silver in
the Temple of the goddesse Hierapolis. And worse then that: he sent to the People, Princes, and
Cities about him, to furnish him with a certaine number of men of Warre, and then he would
discharge them for a Summe of Money. All these things made him to be both ill spoken of, and
disliked of every Body. The first token of his ill lucke that happened to him, came from this god-
desse Hierapolis, whom some suppose to be Venus, other say Juno, and others, that she is the Mo-
ther and chiefe cause that giveth beginning of moisture to every thing that cometh forth and hath a
being, and taught men the originall cause also of every good thing. For as Crassus the Father,
and Sonne both, were coming out of the Temple, Crassus the younger fell first on his face, and
the Father afterwards upon his Sonne. Likewise as he was gathering his Garrisons together, cal-
ling them out of the Cities into the Field, there came Ambassadors unto him from Arsaces King
of the PARTHIANS: who delivered him their message in few words, and told him, that if this
Army he brought came from the ROMANES to make Warre with their Master, then that he would
have no peace nor friendship with them, but would make mortall Warres against them. Further,
if it were (as he had heard say) that Crassus against the Peoples minds of ROME, for his own
covetous desire, and peculiar profit was come in a jollity to make Warre with the PARTHIANS,
and to invade their Countrey: then in that respect Arsaces would deale more favourably, in con-
sideration of Crassus yeares, and was contented also to suffer his men to depart with life and goods,
whom he tooke rather to be in Prison, then in Garrison within his Cities. Thereto Crassus cou-
ragiously answered, that he would make them answer in the City of SELEUCIA. Therewith Vagi-
les, one of the eldest Ambassadors fell a laughing, and shewing Crassus the palme of his hand, told
him thus: Haire will sooner grow in the palme of my hand, Crassus, then you will come to SELEU-
CIA. In this sort the Ambassadors tooke their leave of Crassus, and returned to their King Hy-
rodes, telling him he was to prepare for Warre. In the meane space, certain of Crassus Souldiers
whom he had left in Garrison in the Cities of MESOPOTAMIA, having escaped marvellous dan-
gerously and with great difficulty, brought him news of importance, having themselves seene the
wonderfull great Campe of the Enemies, and their manner of fight in the assaults they made to the
Cities where they lay in Garrison. And, as it falleth out commonly among men escaped from any
danger, making things more fearefull and dangerous then they be indeed, they reported that it
was impossible by flying to save themselves, if they did follow in chase: neither to overtake them
also if they fled. And further, that they had such kinde of Arrowes, as would flie swifter then a
mans Eye could discern them, and would pierce through any thing they hit, before a man could
tell who shot them. Besides, for the Horsemens Weapons they used, that they were such, as
no Armour could possible hold out: and their Armours on the other side made of such a temper
and mettall, as no force of any thing could pierce them through. The ROMANES hearing these
newes, fell from their former stoutnesse and courage, being borne in hand before, that the PAR-
THIANS differed nothing at all from the ARMENIANS and CAPPADOCIANS, whom Lucullus
had overcome and spoiled so oft, that he was weary withall: and they had already made account, that
their

their greatest paines in this warre, was but the tediousnesse of the journey they had to make, and
the trouble they should have to follow those men that would not abide them. But then contrary to
expectation, they looked to come to stroaks, and to be lustily fought withall. Hereupon, diverse Cap-
taines and head-Officers that had charge in the Army (among whom Crassus the Treasurer was one)
advised Crassus to stay, and to deliberate in council to know whether he were best to go on, or to
remaine where he was. The Soothsayers themselves did partly let Crassus understand, that the gods
shewed no good tokens in all their sacrifices, and were hardly to be pacified. But Crassus gave no ear
to them, neither would hear any other that told him as much, but only lifted to them that counsel-
led him to make haft. Yet Crassus chiefest comfort and incouragement, was of Ariabazes King of
ARMENIA, who came to his Campe with six thousand horse, which were but only the Kings Cor-
ner and Guard. Againe, he promised him other ten thousand horsemen all armed and barbed,
and thirty thousand footmen which he kept continually in pay, and counseled Crassus to enter the PAR-
THIANS Countrey upon ARMENIAN side: because his Campe should not only have plenty of
victuals, which he would send him out of his Countrey, but for that he should also march in more
safety, having a Countrey full of mountains and woods before him; very ill for horsemen, which
was the onely strength and force of the PARTHIANS. Crassus coldly thanked Ariabazes for his
good will, and all his noble offer of aide: yet told him he would take his journey through MESO-
POTAMIA, where he had left many good souldiers of the ROMANES. And thus departed the
King of ARMENIA from him. But now as Crassus was passing his Army upon the bridge he had
made over the River of Euphrates, there fell out sudden strange and terrible crackes of thunder, with
fearful flashes of lightning full in the souldiers faces: moreover, out of a great black cloud came a
wonderfull storme and tempest of wind upon the bridge, that the marvellous force thereof overthrew
a great part of the bridge, and carried it quite away. Besides all this, the place where he appointed
to lodge, was twice stricken with two great thunder-claps. One of his great horse in like case, being
bravely furnished and set out, tooke the bit in his teeth, leapt into the River with the rider on his
backe, who were both drowned, and never seen after. They say also, that the first Eagle and Ensigne
that was to be taken up when they marched, turned backe of it selfe, without any hands laid upon
it. Further it fortuned that as they were distributing the victuals unto the souldiers, after they had
all passed over the bridge, the first thing that was given them, was salt and water linctels, which the
ROMANES take for a token of death and mourning, because they use it at the funerals of the dead.
After all this, when Crassus was exhorting his souldiers, a word escaped his mouth that troubled the
Army marvellously. For he told them, that he had broken the bridge which he had made over the
River Euphrates, of purpose, because there should not a man of them returne backe againe. Where
indeed when he had seene that they tooke this word in ill part, he should have called it in againe, or
have declared his meaning, seeing his men so amazed therat: but he made light of it, he was so
wilfull. In the end he made ordinary sacrifice for the purging of his Army: and when the Sooth-
sayer gave him the intrails of the beast that was sacrificed, they fell out of his hands. Crassus
perceiving that the standers by were troubled withall, fell a laughing, and told them. You see what
age is: yet shall you not seemy sword fall out of hand. So having ended his sacrifice, he began
to march forward into the Countrey by the Rivers side, with seven legions of footmen, and little
lacke of foure thousand horse, and in manner as many shot and sling lightly armed. There returned
to him certaine of his Scouts that had viewed the Countrey, and told him there was not an enemy
to be seene in the field, howbeit that they had found the track of a marvellous number of horse,
which seemed as if they were returned backe. Then Crassus first of all began to hope well: and
his souldiers also they fell to despise the PARTHIANS, thinking certainly that they would not come
to battell with them. Yet Crassus his treasurer ever perswaded him the contrary, and thought it
better for him to refresh his Army a little in one of the Cities where he had his Garrison, untill such
time as he heard more certaine newes of the enemies: or else that he would march directly towards
SELEUCIA by the River side, which lay fit for him to victual himselfe easily by boates that would
alwayes follow his Campe and should be sure besides that the enemies could not environ him behind,
so that having no way to set upon them but before, they should have none advantage of them.
Crassus going about then to consult of the matter, there came one Ariamnes unto him, a Capitaine of
the ARABIANS, a fine subtil fellow, which was the greatest mischief and evil that fortune could
send to Crassus at that present time, to bring him to utter ruine and destruction. For there were
some of Crassus souldiers that had served Pompey before in that Countrey, who knew him very
well, and remembered that Pompey had done him great pleasures: whereupon they thought that
he bare good will to the ROMANES. But Ariamnes had been laboured at that time by the King
of PARTHIANS Capitaine, and was won by them to deceive Crassus, and to entice him all he
could to draw him from the River and the Wooddy Countrey, and to bring him into the plaine
field, where they might compass him in with their horsemen, for they meant nothing lesse then
to fight with the ROMANES at the swords point. This barbarous Capitaine Ariamnes coming
to Crassus, did highly praise and commend Pompey, as his good Lord and benefactor (for he was
an excellent spoken man) and extolled Crassus Army, reproving him that he came too slowly for-
ward, tracting time in that sort as he did, preparing himselfe as though he had need of Armour
and weapon, and not of feet and hands swift and ready against the enemies: who (for the chiefest of
them) had of long time occupied themselves to fit with their best moveables, towards the desarts
of SCYTHIA and HYRCANIA. Therefore if you determine (said he) to fight, it were good you made
S f

Crassus treasur-
er under Crassus.
Crassus treasur-
er warned by the
Soothsayers of
his ill successe.
Ariabazes King
of Armenia,
came to Crassus
campe.

Wonderfull
signes and
tokens to Cras-
sus.

Crassus Army
was fifty thou-
sand men.

Ariamnes, a
Capitain of the
Arabians.

Ariamnes de-
ceiveth Crassus.

Surena and Silaces Arfaces
Lieutenants.

Surena sent against Crassus.

Surena what he was.

Surena's Court and dining.

Surena a young man, but very wise.

Artabazes sent an Ambassage unto Crassus

Crassus willful and idle.

haft to meet them, before the King have gathered all his power together. For now you have but *Surena* and *Sylaces*, two of his Lieutenants against you, whom he hath sent before to stay you, that you follow him not: and for the King himself, behold he meaneth not to trouble you. But he lyes in all. For King *Hyrodes* had divided his Army in two parts at the first, whereof himself took the one, and went to spoil the Realm of *ARMENIA*, to be revenged of King *Artabazes*: and with the other he sent *Surena* against the *ROMANES*, nor for any contempt he had of *Crassus* (for it was not like he would disdain to come to battell with him, being one of the chiefeft Noblemen of *ROME*), and to think it more honourable to make war with King *Artabazes* in *ARMENIA*: but I think rather he did it of purpose to avoide the greater danger, and to keep far off, that he might with safety see what would happen, and therefore sent *Surena* before to hazard battell, and to turn the *ROMANES* backe again. For *Surena* was no mean man, but the second person of *PARTHIA* next unto the King, in riches, reputation, valour and experience in wars, the chiefeft of his time among all the *PARTHIANS*, and for execution, no man like him. *Surena* when he did but remove into the Countrey onely with his household, had a thousand Camels to carry his Sumpters, and two hundred Coaches of Curtifans, a thousand men of Armes armed at all peeces, and as many mo besides lightly armed: so that his whole traine and Court made above ten thousand horse. Further, by the tenure of that land he had by succession from his ancestors, his Office was at the first proclaiming of any King, to put the Royall Crown or Diadem upon the Kings head. Moreover, he had restored King *Hyrodes* that then reigned, to his Crown, who had been before driven out of his Realm: and had won him the great City of *SELEUCIA*, himself being the first man that scaled the walls, and overthrew them with his own hands that resisted him. And though he was under thirty years of age, yet they counted him a wife man, as well for his counsel as his experience, which were the meanes whereby he overcame *Crassus*: who through his rashnesse and folly at the first, and afterwards for very fear and timoroufness, which his misfortune had brought him unto, was easie to be taken and intrapped, by any policy or deceit. Now this barbarous Captaine *Ariamnes* having then brought *Crassus* to believe all that he said, and drawn him by perswasion from the River of *Euphrates*, unto a goodly plain Countrey, meeting at first with very good way, but after with very ill, because they entred into sands where their feet funke deep, and into desert fields where was neither tree nor water, nor any end of them that they could discern by eye, so that not onely extreame thirst, and miserable way marvelously amazed the *ROMANES*, but the discomfort of the eye also, when they could see nothing to stay their sight upon: that above all the rest, wrought their extreame trouble. For neither farre nor neere any sight of Tree, River, Brooke, Mountain, Grasse, or green Herbe appeared within their view, but in troth an endlesse sea of desert sands on every side round about their Campe. Then began they to suspect that they were betrayed. Again, when news came that *Artabazes* King of *ARMENIA*, was kept in his Countrey with a great warre King *Hyrodes* made upon him, which kept him that he could not according to his promise come to aide him, yet that he wished him to draw towards *ARMENIA*, that both their Armies being joyned together, they might the better fight with King *Hyrodes*; if not, that he would alwayes keep the Woody Countrey, marching in those vallies and places where his horsemen might be safe, and about the mountains: *Crassus* was so willfull, as he would write no answer to it, but angrily told the messenger, that he had no leisure then to hearken to the *ARMENIANS*, but that afterwards he would be avenged well enough of *Artabazes* treason. *Cassius* his Treasurer was much offended with *Crassus* for his answer: howbeit perceiving he could do no good with him, and that he took every thing in ill part, he said unto him, he would tell him no more. Notwithstanding, taking *Ariamnes* this Captaine of the *ARMENIANS* aside, he rebuked him roundly, and said: O thou wretch, what cursed devil hath brought thee to us, and how cunningly hast thou bewitched and charmed *Crassus*, that thou hast made him bring his Army into this endlesse desert, and to trace this way fitter for an *ARABIAN* Captain of thieves, then for a Generall and Confull of the *ROMANES*? *Ariamnes* being crafty and subtil, speaking gently unto *Cassius*, did comfort him, and prayed him to have patience; and going and coming by the bands, seeming to help the souldiers, he told them merily: O my fellows, I believe you think to march through the Countrey of *NAPLES*, and looke to meet with your pleasant springs, goodly groves of wood, your natural baths, and the good Innes round about to refresh you, and do not remember that you passe through the deserts of *ARABIA* and *ASSYRIA*. And thus did this barbarous Captaine entertaine the *ROMANES* a while: but afterwards he dislodged betimes, before he was openly known for a traytour, and yet not without *Crassus* privy, whom he bare in hand, that he would goe and set some broile and tumult in the enemies Campe. It is reported that *Crassus* the very same day came out of his Tent not in his coat armour of Scarlet (as the manner was of the *ROMANES* Generalls) but in a black coat: howbeit, remembering himself, he straight changed it againe. It is said moreover, that the Ensigne-bearers when they should march away, had much ado to plucke their Ensignes out of the ground, they stuck so fast. But *Crassus* scoffing at the matter, hastened them the more to march forward, compelling the footmen to go as fast as the horsemen, till a few of their Scouts came in, whom they had sent to discover: who brought newes how the enemies had slaine their fellows, and what ado they had themselves to scape with life, and that they were a marvellous great Army, and well appointed to give them battell. This newes made all the Campe afraid, but *Crassus* felle more then the rest, so as he began to set his men in battell ray, being for hast in manner besides himselfe. At the first following *Cassius* mind, he set his ranks wide, casting his souldiers into a square battell, a good way asunder one from another, because he would take in as much of the plaine as he could,

could, to keep the enemies from compassing them in, and so divided the horsemen into the wings. Yet afterwards he changed his mind againe, and straighted the battell of his footmen, fashioning it like a brick, more long then broad, making a front and shewing their faces every way. For there were twelve Cohorts or Ensignes imbatellled on either side, and by every Cohort a company of horse, because there should be no place left without aide of horsemen, and that all his battell should be alike defended. Then he gave *Cassius* the leading of one wing, his son *Publius Crassus* the other, and himself led the battell in the midst. In this order they marched forward, till he came to a little brook called *Salissus*, where there was no great store of water, but yet happily lighted on for the souldiers, for the great thirst and extreame heate they had abidden all that painfull way, where they had met with no water before. There the most part of *Crassus* Captaines thought best to Campe all night, that they might in the meane time find meanes to know their enemies what number they were, and how they were armed, that they might fight with them in the morning. But *Crassus* yielding to his sons and his horsemens perswasion, who intreated him to march on with his Army, and to set upon the enemies presently: commanded, that such as would eat, should eat standing, keeping their ranks. Yet on the suddaine, before this commandment could runne through the whole Army, he commanded them againe to march, not faire and softly, as when they go to give battell, but with speed, till they spied the enemies, who seemed not to the *ROMANES* at the first to be so great a number, neither so bravely armed as they thought they had beene. For, concerning their great number, *Surena* had of purpose hid them, with certaine troops he sent before: and to hide their bright armour, he had cast cloaks and beasts skins over them, but when both the Armies approached near the one to the other, and that the signe to give charge was lift up in the aire: first they filled the field with a dreadful noise to hear. For the *PARTHIANS* do not encourage their men to fight with the sound of a Horne, neither with Trumpets nor Howboies, but with great Kettle Drums hollow within, and about them they hang little Bells and Copper rings, and with them they all make a noise every where together; and it is like a dead found, mingled as it were with the braying or bellowing of a wild beast, and a fearful noise as if it thundred, knowing that hearing is one of the senses that soonest moveth the heart and spirit of any man, and maketh him soonest beside himselfe. The *ROMANES* being put in feare with this dead found, the *PARTHIANS* straight threw the cloathes and coverings from them that hid their armour, and then shewed their bright Helms and Curaces of Margian tempered Steele, that glared like fire, and their horses barbed with Steele and Copper. And *Surena* also, General of the *PARTHIANS*, who was a goodly personage, and as valiant as any other in all his host, though his beauty somewhat effeminate, in judgement shewed small likelihood of any such courage: for he painted his face, and ware his haire after the fashion of the *MEDES*, contrary to the manner of the *PARTHIANS*, who let their haire grow after the fashion of the *TARTARES*, without combing or tricking of them, to appear more terrible to their enemies. The *PARTHIANS*, at the first thought to have set upon the *ROMANES* with their Pikes, to see if they could break their first ranks. But when they drew neare, and saw the depth of the *ROMANES* battell standing close together, firmly keeping their ranks, then they gave backe, making as though they fled, and dispersed themselves. But the *ROMANES* marvelled when they found it contrary, and that it was but a device to environ them on every side. Whereupon *Crassus* commanded his shot and light armed men to assaile them, the which they did: but they went not far, they were so beaten in with Arrowes end driven to retire to their force of the armed men. And this was the first beginning that both feared and troubled the *ROMANES*, when they saw the vehemency and great force of the enemies shot, which brake their armors, and ran through any thing they hit, were it never so hard or soft. The *PARTHIANS* thus still drawing backe, shot altogether on every side, not aforehand, but at adventure: for, the battell of the *ROMANES* stood so neare together, as if they would, they could not misse the killing of some. These Bowmen drew a great strength and had big strong Bowes, which sent the Arrowes from them with a wonderful force. The *ROMANES* by meanes of these Bowes were in hard state. For if they kept their ranks, they were grievously wounded: againe, if they left them, and sought to run upon the *PARTHIANS* to fight at hand with them, they saw they could do them but little hurt, and yet were verily likely to take the greater harme themselves. For as fast as the *ROMANES* came upon them, so fast did the *PARTHIANS* flie from them, and yet in flying continued still their shooting: which no Nation but the *SCYTHIANS* could better do then they, being a matter indeed most greatly to their advantage. For by their flight they best do save themselves, and fighting still, they thereby shun the shame of that their flying. The *ROMANES* still defended themselves, and held it out so long as they had any hope that the *PARTHIANS* would leave fighting when they had spent their Arrowes, or would joyne battell with them. But after they understood that there were a great number of Camels laden with quivers full of Arrowes, where the first that had bestowed their Arrowes, fetched about to take new quivers: then *Crassus* seeing no end of their shot, began to faint, and sent to *Publius* his son, willing him in any case to charge upon the enemies, and to give an onser, before they were compassed in on every side. For it was on *Publius* side, that one of the Wings of the enemies battell was nearest unto them, and where they rode up and down to compass them behind. Whereupon *Crassus* sonne taking thirteenth hundred horsemen with him (of the which, a thousand were of the men of Armes whom *Julius Caesar* sent) and five hundred shot, with eight Ensignes of footmen having Targets, most neare to the place where himselfe then was: he put them out in breadth, that wheeling about they might give a charge upon them that rode up and down. But they seeing him coming, turned straight their horse and fled, either be-

Crassus army against the Parthians.

Surena's stratagem for the hiding of his Army. Crassus battell with the Parthians. The Parthians kettle drums.

The person of Surena, General of the Parthians described.

The Parthians fought retiring

The manner of the Parthians fight.

The praise of
Censorinus and
Megabacbus.

The miserable
fight of the
Romans a-
gainst the Par-
thians.

Carres a City
of Mesopotamia.
Ishchus, a City.

The death of
Publius Crassus.

cause they met in a Marish, or else of purpose to beguile this young *Crassus*, inticing him thereby as far from his father as they could. *Publius Crassus* seeing them flie, cried out, These men will not abide us; and so spurred on for life after them: so did *Censorinus* and *Megabacbus* with him (the one a Senator of Rome a very eloquent man, the other a stout courageous valiant man of war) both of them *Crassus* well approved friends, and in manner of his own years. Now the horsemen of the ROMANS being trained out thus to the chafe, their footmen also would not abide behind, nor shew themselves to have lesse hope, joy and courage, then their horsemen had. For they thought all had been won, and that there was no more to do, but to follow the chafe: till they were gone far from the Army, and then they found the deceit. For the horsemen that fled before them, suddenly turned againe, and a number of others besides came and set upon them. Whereupon they stayed, thinking that the enemies perceiving they were so few, would come and fight with them hand to hand. Howbeit they set out against them their men at armes with their barbed horse, and made their light horsemen wheele round about them, keeping no order at all: who galloping up and down the plain, whirled up the sand hills from the bottome with their horse feet, which raised such a wonderful dust, that the ROMANS could scarce see or speake one to another. For they being thrust up into a little roome, and standing close one to another, were sore wounded with the PARTHIANS Arrows, and died of a cruell lingering death, crying out for anguish and paine they felt: and turning and tormenting themselves upon the sand, they brake their Arrows sticking in them. Againe, striving by force to plucke out the forked Arrow heads that had pierced farre into their bodies through their veines and sinewes, thereby they opened their wounds wider, and so cast themselves away. Many of them died thus miserably martyred: and such as died not, were not able to defend themselves. Then when *Publius Crassus* prayed and besought them to charge the men at Armes with the barbed horse, they shewed him their hands fast nailed to the Targets with Arrows, and their feet likewise shot through and nailed to the ground: so as they could neither flie nor yet defend themselves. Thereupon himselfe encouraging his horsemen, went and gave charge, and did valiantly set upon the enemies, but it was with too great disadvantage, both for offence, and also for defence. For himselfe and his men with weake and light staves, brake upon them that were armed with Curaces of Steele, or stiffe Leather jackets. And the PARTHIANS in contrary manner with mighty strong Pikes gave charge upon these GAULES, which were either unarmed, or else but lightly armed. Yet those were they in whom *Crassus* most trusted, having done wonderfull feates of warre with them. For they received the PARTHIANS Pikes in their hands, and took them about the middles, and threw them off their horse, where they lay on the ground, and could not stir for the weight of their harnesse: and there were diverse of them also that lighting from their horse, lay under their enemies horse bellies, and thrust their swords into them. Their horse flinging and bounding in the aire for very paine threw their masters under feete, and their enemies one upon another, and in the end fell dead among them. Moreover, extreme heate and thirst did marvellously comber the GAULES, who were used to abide neither of both: and the most part of their horse were flaine, charging with all their power upon the men at Armes of the PARTHIANS, and so ranne themselves in upon the points of their Pikes. At the length, they were driven to retire towards their footmen, and *Publius Crassus* among them, who was very ill by reason of the wounds he had received. And seeing a sand hill by chance not farre from them, they went thither, and setting their horse in the midst of it, compassed it in round with their Targets, thinking by this meane to cover and defend themselves the better from the barbarous people: howbeit they found it contrary. For the Country being plain, they in the foremost ranks did somewhat cover them behind, but they that were behind, standing higher then they that stood foremost (by reason of the nature of the hill that was highest in the midst) could by no meanes save themselves, but were all hurt alike, as well the one as the other, bewailing their owne miseries and misfortune, that must needs die without revenge, or declaration of their valiancy. At that present time there were two GRECIANS about *Publius Crassus*, *Hieronymus*, and *Nichomachus*, who dwelt in those quarters, in the City of CARRES: they both counselled *Publius Crassus* to steale away with them, and to flie to a City called ISCHUS, that was not farre from thence, and tooke the ROMANS part. But *Publius* answered them, that there was no death so cruel as could make him forsake them that died for his sake. When he had so said, wishing them to save themselves, he embraced them, and tooke his leave of them: and being very sore hurt with the shot of an Arrow through one of his hands, commanded one of his Gentlemen to thrust him through with a sword, and so turned his side to him for the purpose. It is reported *Censorinus* did the like. But *Megabacbus* flue himselfe with his owne hands, and so did the most part of the Gentlemen that were of that company. And for those that were left alive, the PARTHIANS got up the sand hill, and fighting with them, thrust them through with their Speares and Pikes, and took but five hundred prisoners. After that, they stroke off *Publius Crassus* head, and thereupon returned straight to set upon his Father *Crassus*, who was then in this state. *Crassus* the Father, after he had willed his son to charge the enemies, and that one brought him word he had broken them, and pursued the chafe: and perceiving also that they that remained in their great battell, did not presse upon him so neare as they did before, because that a great number of them were gone after the other for rescue: he then began to be lively againe, and keeping his men close, retired with them the best he could by a hills side, looking ever that his sonne would not be long before that he returned from the chafe. But *Publius* seeing himselfe in danger, had sent divers messengers to his Father, to advertise him of his distresse, whom the PARTHIANS intercepted and slew by the way; and the last messengers

engers he sent, scaping very hardly, brought *Crassus* newes, that his sonne was but east way, if he did not presently aid him, and that with a great power. These newes were grievous to *Crassus* in two respects: first for the fear he had, seeing himselfe in danger to lose all: and secondly, for the vehement desire he had to go to his sons helpe. Thus he saw in reason all would come to nought, and in fine determined to go with all his power to the rescue of his Son. But in the meane time the enemies were returned from his Sons overthrow, with a more dreadful noise and cry of victory, then ever before: and thereupon their deadly founding drummes filled the aire with their wonderful noise. The ROMANS then looked straight for a hot alarme. But the PARTHIANS that brought *Publius Crassus* head upon the point of a Lance, coming neere to the ROMANS, shewed them his head, and asked them in derision, if they knew what house he was of, and who were his parents: for it is not likely (said they) that so noble and valiant a young man, should be the Son of so cowardly a Father, as *Crassus*. The sight of *Publius Crassus* head killed the ROMANS hearts more then any other danger they had been in at any time in all the battell. For it did not let their hearts on fire as it should have done, with anger, and desire of revenge: but far otherwise, made them quake for feare, and stroke them stark dead to behold it. Yet *Crassus* selfe shewed greater courage in this misfortune, then he before had done in all the warre beside. For riding by every band he cried out aloud: The griefe and sorrow of this losse (my fellowes) is no mans but mine, mine onely: but the noble successe and honour of Rome remaineth still unvincible, so long as you are yet living. Now if you pity my losse of so noble and valiant a Son, my good souldiers, let meintreat you to turn your sorrow into fury: make them dearly buy the joy they have gotten: be revenged of their cruelty, and let not my misfortune feare you. For why, aspiring minds sometime must needs sustain losse. *Lucullus* overcame not *Tigranes*, nor *Scipio*, *Antiochus*, but their blood did pay for it. Our ancestors in old time lost a thousand ships, yea in ITALIE divers armies and Chiefteines for the conquest of SICILIA: yet for all the losse of them, at the length they were victorious over them, by whom they were before vanquished. For the Empire of Rome came not to that greatness it now is at, by good fortune onely, but by patience and constant suffering of trouble and adversity, never yeelding or giving place unto any danger. *Crassus* using these persuasions to encourage his souldiers for resolution, found that all his words wrought none effect: but contrarily, after he had commanded them to give the shout of battell, he plainly saw their hearts were done, for that their shout rose but faint, and not all alike. The PARTHIANS on the other side their shout was great, and lustily they rang it out. Now when they came to joyne, the PARTHIANS Archers on horsebacke compassing in the ROMANS upon the wings, shot an infinite number of Arrows at their sides. But their men at Armes giving charge upon the front of the ROMANS battell with their great Lances, compelled them to draw into a narrow roome, a few excepted, that valiantly, and in desperate manner ran in among them, as men rather desiring so to die; then to be flaine with their Arrows, where they could do the PARTHIANS almost no hurt at all. So were they soon dispatcht, with the great Lances that ranne them through, head, wood and all, with such a force, as oftentimes they ran through two at once. Thus when they had fought the whole day, night drew on, and made them retire, saying, they would give *Crassus* that nights respite, to lament, and bewaile his Sonnes death: unlesse that otherwise he wisely looking about him, thought it better for his safety to come and offer himselfe to King *Arfaces* mercy, then to tarry to be brought unto him by force. So the PARTHIANS camping hard by the ROMANS, were in very good hope to overthrow him the next morning. The ROMANS on the other side had a marvellous ill night, making no reckoning to bury their dead, nor to dresse their wounded men that died in miserable pain: but every man bewailed his hard fortune, when they saw not one of them could escape, if they tarried till the morning. On the other side, to depart in the night through that desert, their wounded men did grieve them much. Because, to carry them so away, they knew it would let their flight: and yet to leave them so behind, their pitiful cries would give the enemies knowledge of their departure. Now though they all thought *Crassus* the onely author of their misery, yet were they desirous to see his face, and to hear him speake. But *Crassus* went aside without light, and laid him down with his head covered, because he would see no man, shewing thereby the common sort an example of unstable fortune: and the wife men, a good learning to know the fruits of ill counsell, and vaine ambition, that had so much blinded him, as he could not be content to command so many thousand men, but thought (as a man would say) himselfe the meanest of all other, and one that posselt nothing, because he was accounted inferiour unto two persons onely, *Pompey* and *Cesar*. Notwithstanding, *Octavius* one of his Chiefteines, and *Cassius* the Treasurer, made him rise, and sought to comfort him the best they could. But in the end, seeing him so overcome with sorrow, and out of heart, that he had no life nor spirit in him, they themselves called the Capitaines and Centurions together, and late in counsell for their departure, and so agreed that there was no longer tarrying for them. Thus of their owne authority at the first they made the Army march away without any sound of Trumpet or other noise. But immediately after, they that were left hurt and sicke, and could not follow, seeing the Campe remove, fell a crying out and tormenting themselves in such sort, that they filled the whole Campe with sorrow, and put them out of all order with the great moane and loud lamentation: so as the foremost ranke that first dislodged, fell into a marvellous feare, thinking they had bene the enemies that had come and set upon them. Then turning off, and setting themselves in battell ray, one while loading their beasts with the wounded men, another while unloading them againe, they were left behind, having three hundred horsemen that

Crassus oration
to his souldiers
when his heart
was full of sor-
row.

Crassus an ex-
ample of for-
tunes incon-
stancy.

Crassus flying.

Coponius Governor of Carres in Mesopotamia.

The valiant-
ness of twenty
Romans.

A stratagem
of Surenas.

Andromachus
traitor to
Crassus.

The Parthians
do never fight
by night.

Crassus gentle
answer in the
stratagem.

scaped, who came about midnight to the City of CARRES. Ignatius their Captaine called to the watch on the walls, and spake in the Latine tongue. Who answering, he willed them to tell Coponius, Governour of the Town, that Crassus had fought a great battell with the PARTHIANS, and said no more, neither told he what he was: but rode on still, till he came to the bridge which Crassus had made over Euphrates. Yet this word Ignatius gave to the watch to tell Coponius, served Crassus turn very well. For Coponius thought by this great haste of his, and the short confused speech he made, passing on his way, that he had no good newes to tell them: wherefore he straight Armed his fouldiers, and understanding that Crassus was returning backe, went to meet him, and brought him and his Army into the City of CARRES. The PARTHIANS knew well enough of the removing of the ROMANES Campe, but yet would not follow them in the night, but the next morning entring into their Campe where they lay, slew all that were left behind, which were above four thousand men: and riding after them that were gone, took many stragglers in the plaine. Among them there was Barguminius, one of Crassus Lieutenants, who stayed in the night out of the Army with four whole Ensignes, and having lost his way, got a hill, where the PARTHIANS besieged him, slew him and all his company, though he valiantly there defended himselfe: yet twenty of them onely escaped, who with their swords drawn in their hands, running forwards with their heads, thrust in among the thickest of the PARTHIANS, They wondering at their desperation, opened of themselves, and suffered them to march on towards the City of CARRES. In the meane time false newes was brought to Surenas, how Crassus with all the chieft men of his host was fled, and that the great number that were received into the City of CARRES were men of all forts gathered together, and not a man of any quality or estimation. Surenas thereupon thinking he had lost the honour of his victory, yet standing in some doubt of it, because he would know the truth, that he might either besiege the City of CARRES, or pursue after Crassus: sent one of his interpreters to the walls of the City, charging him to call for Crassus or Cassius, and to tell them that Surenas would parle with them. The interpreter did as he was commanded. Word was brought to Crassus, and he accepted parlenec. Shortly after also, thither came certaine fouldiers of the ARABIANS from the Campe of the PARTHIANS, who knew Crassus and Cassius very well by sight, having divers times seen them in their Campe before the battell. These ARABIANS seeing Cassius upon the walls told him, that Surenas was contented to make peace with them, and to let them go safely, as his masters good friends, so that they would surrender Mesopotamia into the King of the PARTHIANS hands; and how they thought that was the best way for both parties, rather then to be enforced unto it by extremity. Cassius thought this a good offer, and told them, that they must appoint the day and place, where Crassus and Surenas should meet to talke together of the matter. The ARABIANS made answer they would do it; and so departed. Surenas hearing this, was glad he had them at such advantage, where he might besiege them. The next day he brought all his Army before the City of CARRES. There the PARTHIANS marvellously reviled the ROMANES, and told them, they must deliver them Crassus and Cassius bound hands and feet, if they would have any grace or peace with them. The ROMANES were marvellously offended that they were thus deceived, and told Crassus that it was no boote any longer to look for aide of the ARABIANS, but presently to fle: howbeit to keep in secret in any wise from any of the CARRENIANS, till the very houre of their departure. Yet Crassus self had told it to Andromachus the veriest traitor and villaine in all the City, whom he had chosen to be his guide. This traitor Andromachus advertised the enemies in every point, of their purpose and departure. But because the PARTHIANS do never use to fight in the night, and that it was a hard matter to bring them to it; and againe that Crassus departed in the night time: Andromachus was afraid lest the ROMANES would win such ground before the PARTHIANS, as they could not possibly overtake them the next day. Therefore of purpose he sometime brought them one way, other while another way, and at the last, brought them into a great Bogge or Marish, full of deepe holes and ditches, and where they must needs make many turnes, and returns before they could get out againe, and yet very hardly. Whereupon, some in the Army began to mistrust, that Andromachus meant no good, to turne and toss them up and down in that fort, and therefore would follow him no more: inso much as Cassius among others, returned towards the City of CARRES againe, from whence they came. And when his guides (who were ARABIANS) counselled him to tarry there till the Moone were out of the signe of Scorpio, he answered them: I fear the signe of Sagittary more. So as soon as he could, he took his way towards ASSYRIA with five hundred horsemen. And other of the Army also having faithful guides, recovered a Country of the mountaines, called Sinnaca, and retired into a safe place before the break of day: and they were about five hundred men, whom Octavius a noble man had in charge. But the day stole upon Crassus, hunting up and down yet in the Marish, in those ill favoured places, into the which Andromachus that traitor had of purpose brought him, having with him four Ensignes of footmen all with Targets, and very few horsemen, and five Sergeantes that carried the Axes and Rods before him; with whom, with much ado and great labour he got into the right way when the enemies were almost upon him, and that he was within twelve furlongs of joyning with Octavius. There in haste he had gotten a hill, which was not so steep for horsemen, neither of such strength as the other hills were, called Sinnaces; yet under them, and joyning to them by a long hill that runneth along the plaine, so as Octavius plainly saw the danger Crassus was in. Thereupon he first ran down the hills with a few of his men that followed him: but after also came all the rest, saying they were cowards if they should tarry behind. At their coming they gave such a hot onser upon the PARTHIANS, that they made him give backe from that hill: and com-

compassing Crassus in the midst of them, covering him round with their Targets, they spake nobly, that never an Arrow of the PARTHIANS should touch the body of their General, before they were slain one after another, and that they had fought it out to the last man in his defence. Hereupon Surenas perceiving the PARTHIANS were not so courageous as they were wont to be, and that if night came upon them, and that the ROMANES did once recover the high mountaines, they could never possibly be met withall againe: he thought cunningly to beguile Crassus once more by this device. He let certain prisoners go of purpose, before whom he made his men give out this speech that the King of PARTHIA would have no mortal war with the ROMANES; but far otherwise: he rather desired their friendship, by shewing them some notable favour, as to use Crassus very courteously, And to give colour to this brute, he called his men from fight, and going himself in person towards Crassus, with the chieft of the nobility of his host, in quiet manner, his Bow unbent, he held out his right hand, and called Crassus to talke with him of peace, and said unto him: Though the ROMANES had felt the force and power of their King, it was against his will, for he could do no lesse but defend himselfe; howbeit that now he was very willing and desirous to make them taste of his mercy and clemency, and was contented to make peace with them, and to let them go safely where they would. All the ROMANES besides Crassus were glad of Surenas words. But Crassus that had been deceived before by their crafty fetches and devices, considering also no cause apparent to make them change thus suddenly, would not hearken to it, but first consulted with his friends. Howbeit the fouldiers they cried out on him to go, and fell at words with him, saying, that he cared not though they were all slain, and that himselfe had not the heart onely to come down and talke with the enemies that were unarmed. Crassus proved first to pacifie them by faire meanes, perswading them to have a litle patience but till night, which was at hand, and then they might safely depart at their pleasure, and recover the mountaines and freight passages, where their enemies could not follow them: and pointing them the way with his finger, he prayed them not to be faint-hearted, nor to despair of their safety, seeing they were so neare it. But in the end Crassus perceiving they fell to mutiny, and beating of their harnesse, did threaten him if he went not: fearing then they would do him some villany, went towards the enemy, and coming backe a litle, said onely these words: O Octavius, and you Petronius, with all you ROMANE Gentlemen that have charge in this Army, you all see now, how I against my will I am enforced to go to the place I would not, and can witness with me, how I am driven with shame and force; yet I pray you, if your fortunes be to escape this danger, that ye will report wheresoever you come, that Crassus was slain, not delivered up by his owne fouldiers "into the hands of the barbarous people, as I am, but deceived by the fraud and subtilty of his enemies: Octavius would not tarry behind on the hill, but went down with Crassus: but Crassus sent away his Officers that followed him. The first that came from the PARTHIANS unto Crassus were two mongrell GRECIANS, who dismounting from their horse saluted him, and prayed him to send some of his men before, and Surenas would shew them, that both himselfe and his train came unarmed towards him. Crassus thereto made him answer, that if he had made any account of his life, he would not have put himself into their hands. Notwithstanding he sent two brethren before called the ROSCIANS, to know what number of men, and to what end they met so many together. These two brethren came no sooner to Surenas, but they were slaid, and himself in the mean time kept on his way a horsebacke, with the noblest men of his Army. Now when Surenas came neare to Crassus: Why, how now (quoth he) what meaneth this? A Consull and Lieutenant General of ROME on foot, and we on horsebacke? Therewithall he straight commanded one of his men to bring him a horse. Crassus answered Surenas againe: In that they neither of both offended, following the use and manner of their Countrey, when any meeting is made for Treaty of peace. Surenas replied: As for the Treaty of peace, that was already agreed upon between the King Hyrdes and the ROMANES; howbeit that they were to go to the River, and there to set down the Articles in writing: for you ROMANES (said he) do not greatly remember the capitulations you have agreed upon. With those words he gave him his right hand. As Crassus was sending for a horse; You shall not need, saith Surenas; for looke the King doth present you this. And straight one was brought him with a freee saddle richly gilt, upon the which his Gentlemen mounted Crassus immediately, and following him behind lashed his horse to make him run the swifter. Octavius seeing that, first laid hand on the bridle, then Petronius Colonel of a thousand footmen; and after them, all the rest of the ROMANES also gathered about Crassus to stay the horse, and to take him from them by force that pressed him on of either side. So they thrust one at another at the first very angrily, and at the last fell to blowes. Then Octavius drew out his sword, and slew one of the barbarous noblemens horsekeepers: and another came behind him and slew Octavius, Petronius had no Target, and receiving a blow on his Curaces, lighted from his horse, and had no hurt: and on the other side came Pomaxathres, one of the PARTHIANS, and slew Crassus. Some say notwithstanding that Pomaxathres slew him not, but another; yet that he cut off his head and his hand after he fell to the ground. But all these reports are rather conjectures, then any certainty. For as for them that were there, some of them were slain in the field fighting for Crassus, and others saved themselves by flying to the hill. The PARTHIANS followed them, and told them that Crassus had paid the paine he had deserved; and for the rest, that Surenas had them come down with safety. Then some of them yielded to their enemies, and other dispersed themselves when night came, and of them very few escaped with life. Others being followed and pursued by the ARABIANS, were all put to the sword. So as it is thought there were slain in this overthrow about twenty thousand men, and ten thousand taken prisoners. Surenas had now sent Crassus head

The worth-
ness of the Ro-
mane fouldiers
to their Chief-
taines.

Another stra-
game of Surenas

Surenas crafty
speech to Cras-
sus.

Crassus words
to the Romans
going to his
death.

Surenas craft
to Crassus.

Octavius slain.

Crassus slain.

The number
of the Romans
that were slain
and taken.

Aristides book
intituled, The
Milefians.

Æsops wife
laying.

The descripti-
on of *Surenas*
Army.

Crassus head
brought to *Hy-
rodes*.

and his hand unto *Hyrodes* the King his master, into *ARMENIA*, and gave out a brute as farre as the City of *SELEUCIA*, that he had brought *Crassus* alive, and that he had prepared a fight to laugh at, which he called his Triumph. Among the *ROMANE* prisoners, there was one called *Caius Pacianus* who was very like *Crassus*: him they clothed in womans apparell of the *PARTHIANS*, and had taught him to answer, when any called him *Crassus*, or Lord Captain. Him they put a horse-back, and had many Trumpets before him, and Sergeants upon Camels backs, that carried axes before him, and bundels of Rods, and many purfes tied to the bundels of Rods, and *ROMANE* heads newly cut off tied to the Axes: and after him followed all the strumpets and women Minstrels of *SELEUCIA*, who went singing of songs of mockery and derision of *Crassus* womannish cowardnesse. Now for these open shewes, every one might see them: but besides that sight, *Surena* having called the Senate of *SELEUCIA* together, laid before them *Aristides* bookes of ribaldry, intituled *The Milefians*, which was no fable, for they were found in a *ROMANE* sardle or truffle called *Rufinus*. This gave *Surena* great cause to scorne and despite the behaviour of the *ROMANE*s, which was so far out of order, that even in the warres they could not refrain from doing evil, and from the reading of such vile bookes. Then the Senators of *SELEUCIA* found that *Æsops* was a wife man, who said, that every man carried a sacke on his neck, and that they put other mens fautes at the sackes mouth, and their own towards the bottome of the sacke: when they considered that *Surena* had put the booke of the lascivousnesse of the *MILESIANS* at the sackes mouth, and a long tale of the *PARTHIANS* vaine pleasures and delights in the bottome of the sacke, carrying such a number of Carts laden with naughty packes in his Army, as he did, which seemed an Army of Ermits and field-mice. For in the voward and foremost rankes, all appeared terrible and cruell, being onely Lances, Pikes, Bowes, and horie: but all they ended afterwards in the rereward with a traine of harlots, instruments of musicke, dauncing, singing, banqueting, and roiting all night with Curtizans. I will not deny but *Rufinus* deserved blame: but yet withall, I say, that the *PARTHIANS* were shamelesse to reprove these bookes of the vanities of the *MILESIANS*, considering that many of their Kings, and of the Royall bloud of the *Arfacides*, were borne of the *IONIAN* and *MILESIAN* Curtizans. Things passing thus in this sort, King *Hyrodes* had made peace and league with *Artabazes* King of *ARMENIA*, who gave his Sitter in marriage unto *Pacorus*, King *Hyrodes* Sonne, and made great feasts one to another: in the which were many Greeke verse sung, *Hyrodes* selfe understanding well the Greeke tongue, and *Artabazes* was so perfect in it, that he himselfe made certaine Tragedies, Orations, and fables, whereof some are yet extant at this day. The same night *Crassus* head was brought, the Tables being all taken up, *Jafon* a common Player of enterludes (born in the City of *THALES* came before the King, and recited a place of the Tragedy of the *BACCHANTES* of *Euripides*, telling of the misfortune of *Agave*, who strak off his sons head. And as every man took great pleasure to hear him, *Syllaces* coming into the hall, after his humble duty first done to the King, delivered him *Crassus* head before them all. The *PARTHIANS* seeing that, fell a clapping of their hands, and made an out-cry for joy. The gentlemen Ushers by the Kings commandement did set *Syllaces* at the Table. *Jafon* casting off his apparell representing *Pentheus* person, gave it to another Player to put it on him; and counterfeiting the *BACCHANTES* posselt with fury, began to rehearse these verses, with a gesture tune and voice of a man mad and beside himselfe:

*Behold, we from the Forrest bring a stag now newly slain,
A worthy booty and reward, becomming well our paine.*

This marvellously grugged the company, and specially singing these verses afterwards, where the Chorus both asked and answered himselfe:

*Who strake this stag?
None else but I thereof may brag.*

Pomaxathres hearing them dispute about the matter, being set at the Table with others, rose straight, and went and took the head himselfe, to whom of right it belonged to say those words, and not unto the player that spake them. King *Hyrodes* liked this sport marvellously, and rewarded *Pomaxathres* according to the manner of the Countrey in such a case: and to *Jafon* he also gave a talent. Such was the successe of *Crassus* enterprise and voyage, much like unto the end of a Tragedy. But afterwards *Hyrodes* cruelty, and *Surenas* foule perjury and craft, were in the end justly revenged upon them both according to their deserts. For King *Hyrodes* envying *Surenas* glory, put *Surena* to death. And *Hyrodes* fell into a disease that became a dropsie, after he had lost his Sonne *Pacorus*, who was slaine in a battell by the *ROMANE*s. *Phraates* his second Sonne, thinking to set his father forwards gave him drinke of the juyce of *Aconitum*. The dropsie received the poison, and one drave the other out of *Hyrodes* body, and set him on foot again. *Phraates* perceiving his father to amend upon it, to make short worke, with his own hands strangled him.

See the reward
of craft and
perjury
The miserable
end of King
Hyrodes and
Surenas.
Hyrodes
is troubled by
his son.

THE

THE COMPARISON OF CRASSUS with NICIAS.



Ut now to proceed to the comparison: first, *Nicias* goods were more justly gotten, & with less reproach then *Crassus* wealth; for otherwise a man cannot give any great praise to mineral works, the which are wrought by lew and ill disposed barbarous fellows kept in irons, and toiled to death in unwholesome and pestilent places. But being compared unto *Crassus* buying of confiscate goods at *Syllaces* hands, and ungentelemanly bargains of houses on fire, or in danger thereof, surely *Nicias* trade will appear the better way of getting: for as openly did *Crassus* avow usury, as tillage. And again for other faults, wherewith *Crassus* many times was burthened, and which he stoutly denied: as, that he took money of men having matters before the Senate at *ROME*, to win favour for their side: and that he preferred matters to the prejudice of the confederates of the *ROMANE*s, onely for his private profit; and therefore curried favour with Ladies, and generally sought to cloak all foule offenders: of all these faults was *Nicias* never so much as once suspected. For he to the contrary, was mocked of every body, because for fear he maintained wicked doers by gifts: which perhaps would not have become *Pericles* nor *Aristides*, and yet was meet for *Nicias*, who was borne a timorous natured man, and never had courage in him. Whereof *Lycurgus* the Orator did vaunt afterwards to the people, being accused that he redeemed detractors with money: I am glad, said he, that having dealt thus long in affairs of the State, it is found I have rather given then taken. And now touching expences, *Nicias* was thought the better and more civil Citizen. For his charge and cost was, in dedicating some goodly image to the gods, or in making of publike playes or pastimes to recreate the people. But all the money he spent that way, and all that he was worth besides, was nothing comparable, and but a small part of that *Crassus* bestowed in an open feast he made at *ROME*, feasting so many thousands at one time, and did find and maintaine them also for a certaine time after. Now I cannot but wonder at those men, that deny vice to be an inequality and disagreement of manners, repugnant in it self, seeing men may honestly spend that which is naughtily gotten. Thus much for their goods. For *Nicias* doings in the Common-weale he did nothing maliciously, cruelly, nor unjustly, neither any thing of selfe-will or stomacke, but rather dealt plainly and simply. For he was deceived by trusting of *Alcibiades*, and never came to speake before the people, but with great fear. *Crassus* on the other side was reproved for his unconfancy and lightnesse, for that he would easily change friends or enemies: and he himselfe denied not, that he came to be Consult the second time by plaine force and cruelty, having hired two murderers to kill *Cato* and *Domitius*. And in the Assembly the people held for dividing of the Provinces, many men were hurt, and four were slaine in the Market-place: and more then that *Crassus* himselfe (which we have forgotten to write in his life) gave one *Lucius Annalides* so fore a blow on the face with his fist, for speaking against him, that he sent him going with blood about his ears. But as *Crassus* in those things was very fierce and cruel: so *Nicias* womanish behaviour on the other side, and faint heart in matters of Common-wealth, humbling himselfe to the meanest and most vile persons, deserved great reproach. Where *Crassus* in this respect shewed himself assuredly of a noble mind, not contending with men of small account, as with *Cleon* or *Hyperbolus*, but would give no place to *Cæsars* fame and glory, nor yet to *Pompys* three Triumphs, but sought to go even with them in power and authority: and had immediately before exceeded *Pompys* power, in the dignity of Censor. For Magistrates, and Governors of the Common-wealth,

Nicias and
Crassus riches.

Lycurgus slaying

Nicias and
Crassus acts in
the Common-
wealth.

The duty of
Governors and
Magistrates.

weale, should make themselves to be honored, but not envied, killing envy by the greatnes of their power. But if it were so that *Nicias* preferred quietnesse, and the safety of his person above all things else, and that he feared *Alcibiades* in the Pulpit for Orations, the *LACEDÆMONIANS* in the fort of Pyle, and *Perdiccas* in *THRACIA*: he had liberty and scope enough to repose himselfe in the City of *ATHENS*, and might have forborne the dealing in matters, and (as Rhetoricians say) have put a hood of quietnesse upon his head very well. For doubtlesse, concerning his desire to make peace, it was a godly mind in him, and an act worthy of a noble person, to bring that to passe he did, appealing all warre: wherein *Crassus* certainly was not to be compared to him, though he had joyned all the Provinces to the Empire of *ROME*, that reach unto the Caspian sea, and to the great Ocean of the *INDIANS*. But on the other side also when one hath to deale with people that can discern when a man ruleth according to equity and justice, and that he seeth he is in the prime of his credit and authority: he must not then for lacke of courage suffer wicked men to step in his roome, nor give occasion to preferre such to authority in the Commonweale, as are unworthy for that place and countenance: neither should allow such any credit, as are altogether of no credit nor trust, as *Nicias* did: who was the onely occasion that *Cleon*, being before but a prating Orator, was chosen General. Neither do I also commend *Crassus*, for that in the warre against *Spartacus*, he made hast to give him battell, more rashly then safely or consideratly. For his ambition spurred him forward, because he was afraid lest *Pompeys* coming should take from him the glory of all that he had done in that war: as *Mummius* tooke from *Metellus* the honour of the winning of *CORINTH*. But besides all this, *Nicias* fact therein was without the compasse of reason, and can no way be excused. For he did not resigne his honour and office of Generall to *Cleon* his enemy, when there was hope of good successe, or little perill: but fearing the danger of the journey, he was contented to save one, and tooke no care besides for the Common-wealth. Which *Themistocles* shewed not, in the time of the warre against the *PERSIANS*. For he, to keep *Epycides* an Orator (a man of no reckoning beside his eloquence, and extremely covetous) from being chosen Generall of *ATHENS*, lest he should have overthrown the Common-wealth: secretly bribed him with money to leave off his suite. And *Cato* also when he saw the state of *ROME* in greatest danger, sued to be Tribune of the people for the Common-wealths sake. And *Nicias* in contrary manner, reserving himself to make war with the City of *MINOA*, or with the Isle of *CYTHERA*, or with the poor unfortunate *MELIANS*, if there fell out afterwards occasion to fight against the *LACEDÆMONIANS*, then away went his Captaines cloak, and he left the ships, the Army and munition to the charge and government of *Cleons* rashnesse and small experience of warre, when the necessity of the service required the wisest and most expert Capitaine. The which he did not, despising the meanes to make him honoured: but it was a plaine drawing back, at time of need to defend his Country. Wherefore afterwards he was compelled against his will to be General, to make wars in *SICILIA* with the *SYRACUSANS*: because the people thought he was not so earnest to dissuade the journey, for that he thought it not meet for the Common-wealth, but because through his sloth and cowardlinesse he would make his Country lose so good an opportunity to conquer *SICILE*. Yet was this a great testimony of his honesty and trust they had in him: who though he ever hated war, and did flie from the Offices of honour and charge in the Common-wealth, his Countymen notwithstanding did alwayes chuse him, as the most experienced person and meetest man of the City. Now *Crassus* in contrary manner, desiring nothing else but to be Generall, could never attain to it, but in the warre of the bondmen, and yet was it for lacke of another (for *Pompey*, *Metellus*, and both the *Lucullus* were then abroad in the wars) although he was otherwise of great estimation and authority. Howbeit it seemeth to me, that his friends that loved him best, thought him (as the comickall Poet saith:

A good man any way else but in warres.

His ambition notwithstanding, and covetous desire of rule, did nothing benefit the *ROMANES*. For the *ATHENIANS* sent *Nicias* to the warre against his will: but *Crassus* led the *ROMANES* thither against their wills. So that the Common-wealth fell into misery by the one, and the other through the Common-wealth was brought into misery: and yet therein there is rather cause to praise *Nicias*, then to blame *Crassus*. For *Nicias* like a wise man, and a Capitaine of great experience, could never so much as be brought to thinke they should conquer *SICILE*: and therefore dissuaded his Countymen from the journey: and would give no place to the vain hope of the people of *ATHENS*. But *Crassus* taking upon him to make warres with the *PARTHIANS*, as though it had been an easie matter to overcome them, found himself deceived, yet did he aspire to great things. For as *Julius Caesar* had conquered and subdued to the imperiall Crown of *ROME*, all the Countreies of the West parts, to say, the *GAULES*, the *GERMAINES*, and *ENGLAND*: even so did *Crassus* desire to go towards the East parts, to conquer all to the great West sea of the *INDIANS*, and to subdue all the Regions of *ASIA*, whereunto *Pompey* and *Lucullus* aspired, being both very noble personages, and such as ever courteously behaved themselves to all men: notwithstanding, provoked thereunto with the like desire that *Crassus* had. For when the charge of the warres in the East parts was assigned to *Pompey* by decree and order of the people, the Senate utterly disliked it, and were against it all they could. When news were brought to *ROME* that *Julius Caesar* in battell had overthrown and slaine three hundred thousand *GERMAINES*, *Cato* persuading with the Senate, was yet still of this mind, that *Caesar* should be delivered into the hands of his enemies whom he had overcome, for to be punished: thereby to turn the sharpe revenge and wrath of the gods from *ROME*, upon him onely that was the unjust breaker of peace. This notwithstanding, the people making none account of

Nicias feared
to fight.
Themistocles &
Cato virtuous.

Nicias honesty

The diversity
betweene *Nicias*
and *Crassus*.

of *Cato*s persuasions, made common feasts and processions fifteen dayes together, and open sacrifices to the gods with great joy through the City, to thank them for this famous victory. How glad may we thinke would they have been, and how many dayes would they have feasted and sacrificed, if *Crassus* had written from *BABYLON* of his victory, and that he had conquered all the Realmes of the *MEDES*, of the *PERSIANS*, of the *HYRCANIANS*, of *SYRE* and of the *BACTRIANS*, and that he had made new Governments and Provinces to the Empire of *ROME*?

If a man will needs do wrong and injustice,

As *Euryptides* saith to them that cannot live in peace, and be contented with their own, he must not then sticke at trifles (as the razing of a Castle of *Scandia*, or of a City of *MENDA*, or chasing of the *ÆGINETES* being out of their own naturall Countrey, and hiding themselves like birds without nests, in any other birds holes) but must dearly sell the wrong he doth, and not lightly contemne justice, as a thing of small account. For they that will commend the intent of *Alexander* the Great in his voyage, for the conquests he made in the East, and do dispraise *Crassus* voyage, do not well to judge of the beginning, by the events and successe of the end. For executing of their offices, *Nicias* did many noble exploits: for he overthrew his enemies in diverse battels, and had almost taken the City of *SYRACUSA*: and sure they cannot justly blame him for all the misfortunes that chanced in the warre of *SICILIA*, but partly the plague was cause of it, and partly also the envy of those towards him that remained at *ATHENS*. Whereas *Crassus* ran into so many errors, and committed such foule parts in all his voyage, that he gave Fortune no leisure to do him good: so that I wonder not so much that his folly was overcome by the power of the *PARTHIANS*, as that it could overcome the good fortune of the *ROMANES*. Sithence it so falleth out then, that they both came to like unfortunate end. *Nicias* prognosticating before what things should happen, by art and rule of Divination; and *Crassus* contrarily disdainning to observe any thing: sure it falleth out hard in judgement, which of them two proceeded with most safety. Yea according to the best approved opinions, a fault committed of fear is more excusable, then of rashnesse and folly to break any ancient Law or Custome. For their deaths, *Crassus* end deserved least reproach. For he against his will did yeeld himself, and was neither bound nor mocked, but onely perswaded by his friends, and through his enemies fraud and treason most traiterously deceived: where *Nicias* cowardly and dishonourably hoping to save his life, trusting to the mercy of his enemies, made his death more infamous.

Nicias acts
commended.

Crassus by his
folly blemished
the happinesse
of the *Romanes*

Crassus death
more com-
mendable then
Nicias end.



Sertorius dis-
swaded Cinna
to receive Ma-
rim.

Sertorius rem-
perance.

Sertorius flew
Marius Guard
of Bondmen.

Sertorius went
into Spaine.

Sertorius coun-
tinue to the
Spaniards.

having lost few lesse then tenne thousand men in this onely overthrow. Nevertheless, afterwards through practice and policy, they got those Souldiers together againe that were dispersed here and there through ITALY, so as in short time they made their power equal with *Othavins* force. *Marius* also being advertised of the same, tooke the Sea incontinently, and returned into ITALY out of AFRICK, and came to *Cinna* to serve as a private Souldier, under his Captaine and Consull. Now they all liked well, that *Marius* should be received, saving *Sertorius*, who was against him all he could: fearing that either his credit and estimation should diminish, *Cinna* having a worthy Captaine then himselfe to serve him; or else that *Marius* cruelty and severity (who pardoned none offence) would marre altogether, having no stay in his anger, but bent utterly to all kinde of cruelty to his Enemies, if *Cinna* for tuned to have the Victory. And thereunto he added this further: that now they had the Victory in manner in their hands, if they once received *Marius* unto them, he would rob them of all the honour of ending this Warre, and being also in Authority, he was neither to be trusted nor commanded. Whereunto *Cinna* answered thus: that he thought the words he had alledged to be true, howbeit that he was ashamed; and besides, could not see with honesty how he might refuse *Marius*, or send him backe, since he had purposely sent for him, to commit part of the charge of these Warres unto him. *Sertorius* againe replied: Sure I thought *Marius* had come of his owne good will unsent for, and therefore (as for the best in mine owne opinion) I gave advice not to receive him: but since it is so that you sent for him before, and that he is now come upon your commandement, you were much to blame to aske counsell whether you should now receive him, or not. And therefore you must needs accept his service that is come upon your word: for, the bond of your promise past you, doth now cut off all counsell or other resolution. Thereupon *Marius* was called for: and when he came, they divided their whole Army into three parts, and then began to charge upon their Enemies of all hands, so as they obtained victory. Howbeit *Cinna* and *Marius* committed as horrible cruelty in this Victory, as could possibly be shewed: inasmuch as the ROMANES thought all the miseries they had endured in time of this Warre nothing, and but a play as it were, in respect of the great calamities they fell into afterwards. Now *Sertorius* on the other side never caused man to be slaine for any private malice, or quarrell he had with any person, neither did he hurt any man when he had overcome, but was much offended with *Marius* infolency and cruell murders: and when he had good opportunity to speake with *Cinna* apart, he did qualifie him the best he could, and made him more milde and tractable through his perswasion. In fine, *Sertorius* seeing *Marius* guarded with a great number of Bondmen for lacke of other Souldiers in this Warre, whom he used as Executioners of his slaughter and butchery, alwaies attending about his person as a Guard, and suffering them also to make themselves rich, partly with that he gave them, or commanded them to spoile, and partly also with that they violently tooke without his commandement of their owne Masters, killing them when they had done, ravishing their Mistresses, and despoiling their Children: he could no longer abide such wickednesse and villany, but made them all to be slaine in their Campe where they lay together, being no lesse then foure thousand persons. Afterwards when he saw that the elder *Marius* was dead, and that soone after *Cinna* was slaine, the younger *Marius* his Sonne (against his counsell, and contrary to the Lawes of ROME) had by force made himselfe Consull: and that *Carbo*, *Scipio*, and *Norbanus* (which had bene overcome by *Sylla*) were come out of GREECE to ROME-wards, partly through the cowardlinesse of their Captaines, and partly also because they were betrayed and sold of their owne men: and further, considering therewithall, that his person could do no good in those Affaires, which waxed worse and worse, by meanes of the Authority of such as had least wit and understanding, and specially also seeing *Sylla* campe hard by *Scipio*, making much of him, and feeding him with hope of a good Peace, whilst underhand he wanne his Souldiers from him, notwithstanding, that he was certainly warned and told of it before: *Sertorius* then utterly despairing of ROMEs prosperity and welfare, departed from ROME to go towards SPAIN, thinking that if he could get the first possession and Government of that Realme, it would at the least be a refuge and receipt for all those of their Tribe that should chance to be banished out of their Countrey. Howbeit in his voyage thitherward, he met with foule and rough weather: and passing through a Countrey of Mountaines, the barbarous People inhabiting the same, demanded Tribute of him, for licence to passe through their Territories. Thereat the Souldiers of his Company were marvellously offended, saying: That it were too much shame and dishonour for a Proconsull of ROME, to pay Tribute to vile barbarous People. Notwithstanding, *Sertorius* passed not for the shame they said it would be to him, but answered them thus: That he bought time, which thing he should not reckon of, that aspired to haughty Enterprises: and so pleased the barbarous People with Money. And thus he made such speede, as he quickly recovered SPAIN, which he found greatly replenished with People, and specially of young men able to wear Armour. But now *Sertorius* perceiving that they had bene hardly dealt withall before, through the infolency, pride, and covetousnesse of the ROMANE Governours, whom they ordinarily sent from ROME, and that therefore they hated all manner of Government: first of all fought to winne the good wills of all the whole Countreymen one and other. Of the Noblemen, by being familiar and conversant with them: and of the common People, by easing them of their Taxe and Subsidies. But that which bred him most love of all men generally, was this: that he dispensed with them for lodging of Souldiers, and receiving of any Garison within their Cities, compelling his Souldiers to set up their Tents, and to make their Cabins without the Suburbs of great Cities, to winter there, and causing also his owne Pavillion

to

to be first set up, and lay in it himselfe in person. This notwithstanding, he pleased not these barbarous People in all things to winne their favour: for he armed all the ROMANE Citizens of age to carry Weapon that dwelt in SPAIN, and made them make all sorts of Engines for Battery, and a number of Gallies besides, so that he had all the Cities at commandement, being very courteous to them in matters of peace, but in warlike Munition very dreadfull unto his Enemies. After *Sertorius* understood that *Sylla* kept ROME, and that the most part of the Tribe of *Marius* and *Carbo* was utterly overthrowne, mistrusting that it would not be long before they sent some Captaine with a great Army against him: he sent *Julius Salinator* betimes to keepe the Mountaines Pyrenei, with fixe thousand men well armed. Immediately after *Caius Annus* also came thither, sent by *Sylla*: who seeing no possibility to distresse *Salinator* in a place of such advantage, was driven to stay at the foote of the Mountaine, not knowing what to determine. But by misfortune one *Calphurnius* furnished *Launum*, traiterously slew *Salinator*: whereupon his Souldiers forthwith forsooke the top of the Mountaines, and by this meanes *Annus* had easie passage with his Army which was very great, and overthrew them that resisted his further coming on into the Countrey. *Sertorius* finding himselfe not strong enough to fight with him, marched away with three thousand men unto the City of New CARTHAGE, and there tooke Sea: from thence he coasted over unto AFRICK, and fell with the Coast of the MAURUSIANS, where his Souldiers landed immediately for fresh water, dispersing themselves without keeping any order. Thereupon the barbarous People gave Charge upon them, and few numbers of them: inasmuch as *Sertorius* was driven to imbarque againe, and to take his course towards SPAIN, where he was kept from landing. Then was he driven to take certaine Pirates Boats of the SICILIANS, and to saile towards the Isle of PITYUSA, where he landed in despite of *Annus* Garrison, and put them to distresse. But shortly after came *Annus* thither himself with a good number of Ships, and five thousand fighting men in them. Him *Sertorius* determined to abide, and to fight withall by Sea, though he had but small Barques, purposely made for swift sailing, and of no strength for fight. But now the west winde rising very big, did swell the Sea in such sort, that it cast the most part of *Sertorius* Ships (being weak and very light) upon Rocks in the Sea, and himselfe with a few being kept from Land by his Enemies, and from the Sea by Storme, was driven to ride tenne daies together at Anker, working still for life against the danger of the surging waves and boysterous windes, which continued rough all that time: yet in the end when it calmed againe, he weighed Anker, and ranne into certaine desolate Isles, where was no water to be had. Then hoisting Saile from thence, he passed the Straight of Gibraltar, and turning on his right hand, landed upon the Coast of SPAIN, lying toward the great Welterne Sea, a little above the mouth of the River of Batis, the which falling into the Sea Atlanticum, gave name in old time to that part of SPAIN, which was called HISPANIA BÆTICA. There certaine Sailers met with him that were newly arrived from the Isles of the Ocean Atlanticum, which the Ancients called the fortunate Islands. These two Islands are not far one from another, being but a little arme of the Sea betweene them, and are from the Coast of AFRICK onely tenne thousand Furlongs. They have raine there very seldom, howbeit a gentle winde commonly that bloweth in a little silver dew, which moistneth the Earth so finely, that it maketh it fertile and lussy, not onely to bring forth all that is set or sown upon it, but of it selfe without mans hand, it beareth so good fruit, as sufficiently maintaineth the Inhabitants dwelling upon it, living idly, and taking no paines. The weather is faire and pleasant continually, and never hurteth the body, the climate and seasons of the yeare are so temperate, and the aire never extreame: because the windes that blow upon that Land from the other side of the Coast opposite to it, as the North and Easterly winde coming from the Maine, what with their long coming, and then by dispersing themselves into a wonderfull large aire and great Sea, their strength is in manner spent and gone before their coming thither. And for the windes that blow from the Sea (as the South and westerly) they sometime bring little showers with them, which commonly do but moist the ground a little, and make the Earth bring forth all things very trimly: inasmuch as the very barbarous People themselves do faithfully believe, that there are the Elysian Fields, the abode of blessed creatures, which *Homer* hath so much spoken of. *Sertorius* hearing report of these Islands (upon a certaine desire now to live quietly out of Tyranny and Warres) had straight a marvellous minde to go dwell there. But when the Pirates of SICILIA (who were no men of peace, but given altogether to spoile and pillage) heard that they by and by forsooke *Sertorius*, and went into AFRICK, to restore *Ascalus* the Sonne of *Iphtha* to his Realme of MAURITANIA againe. *Sertorius* quailed not for all their departure from him, but determined to aide them that made Warre against *Ascalus*, and all to the end that his Souldiers seeing matter of new hope and meanes to be employed, should not so leave him, as being forced to be discharged of very necessity. The MAURUSIANS being very glad of his arrivall, he presently went on with his Enterprize, overcame *Ascalus* in Battell, and besieged the City whereinto upon the overthrow of his Army he was fled for refuge. *Sylla* being advertised thereof, sent *Paccanum* thither with an Army to aide *Ascalus*. *Sertorius* gave him Battell, slew him in the Field, and wane the rest of his Army, which yielded unto him: then tooke he the City of TINGIS, whereinto *Ascalus* was fled with his Brethren. The LYBIANS write that *Antem* is buried there. But *Sertorius* giving no credit to the tales of the barbarous People of that Countrey, by reason of the greatness of the Tombe they shewed, made it to be broken open round: and finding there the body of a man (as they say) of threecore cubits long, he marvelled at it, and so finishing his Sacrifice to honour the memory thereof, caused the Tombe to be well closed up againe. By this act he did greatly

T t 2

increase

Sertorius flies
out of Spaine
into Africke

The Isle of
Pityusa.

The fortunate
Island.

The Elysian
Fields.

Sertorius wanne
the City of
Tingis.
Antem Tombe
and greatnesse.

Suba, of a
Kings flock.

Sertorius was
sent for by the
Lusitanians to
be their Cap-
taine.

Sertorius vet-
ues and qual-
ities.

Sertorius boun-
ty and clemen-
cy.

Sertorius feign-
ed lye of the
Hinde

increase the honour of *Anteus* memory, which the City did unto him, and thereby confirmed the Countreymens report of *Anteus*. For the *TINGIANS* do report, that after *Anteus* death, his Wife *Tingalay* with *Hercules*, and had a goodly Sonne by him called *Sophax*, who was King of that Countrey, and there built this City, giving it his Mothers name. Furthermore, it is said also that this *Sophax* had a Sonne called *Diodorus*, who conquered the most part of *AFRICK* with an Army of the *GRECIANS*, *OLBIANS* and *MYCENIANS*, which *Hercules* brought thither to inhabit those parts. We were willing to imbrace the occasion offered us to speake of this matter as we went, for the honour of *Suba*, the noblest Historiographer that ever came of Royall blood: for it is thought his Ancestors were lineally descended from *Sophax* and this *Diodorus*. *Sertorius* as Conqueror now, having the whole Countrey in subjection, did in no wife hurt them that yielded unto him, and put trust in him, but restored them their Goods, Cities, and Government againe, contenting himselfe with that they offered him of their good wills. But then standing doubtfull what way to determine, the *LUSITANIANS* sent Ambassadors unto him, to intreat him to be their Chieftaine: for they stood in great need of a worthy personage, and a man expert in Wars to defend them against the fury of the *ROMANES*: and therefore they onely trusted him, hearing of his honourable behaviour, by them that were conversant with him. Whose qualities as we finde written, were these. He was never greatly moved, with feare nor joy: but as he was a resolute man without feare in most danger, so was he most temperate in greatest prosperity. In valiantnesse inferiour to no Captaine of his time, and very quick of execution in every imminent danger. For where any present exploit was to be done, any strong place of advantage to lodge or fight in to be taken, or that he was to passe over any River, or scape any instant danger, where it stood upon speedy execution, and to shew some stratagem or policy in time and place to supplant the Enemy: in those matters he passingly excelled. Furthermore, he was both bountifull in rewarding good service, and mercifull in punishing of offenders: but this notwithstanding, the foule murder he did in his latter dayes upon certaine young children that were Pledges with him (which doubtlesse was an act of great cruelty, and anger that could not forgive) doth manifestly prove, that he was neither mercifull nor courteous of nature: but that he many times did finely counterfeite it, when both the time and occasion did so require it. But for mine opinion, sure I am perswaded that no misfortune can have power to make perfect Vertue grounded upon good Reason, to worke in any fort contrary to it selfe: neither do I thinke it impossible also, but that mens good wills and gentle natures being injured without cause, may peradventure change their naturall dispositions. Which then proved true in *Sertorius*, who finding Fortune contrary unto him, and his good happe changed into ill, grew so crabbed and fierce of nature, that he would take cruell revenge of them which had villanously betrayed him. But now to our matter where we left. *Sertorius* departed out of *AFRICK* upon the *LUSITANIANS* offer, who chose him for their Generall, giving him absolute Power and Authority: and so soone as he arrived, he straight leaved men of Warre, and with them subdued the People of *SPAIN* fronting upon their Marches, of which the more part did willingly submit themselves, upon the brute that ranne of him to be mercifull and courteous, and a valiant man besides in present danger. Furthermore, he lacked no fine devices and subtilties to winne their good wills: as among others, the policy and device he had of the Hinde; which was this. There was a poore man of the Countrey called *Spanus*, who meeting by chance one day with a Hinde in his way that had newly calved, flying from the Hunters, he let the Damm go, not being able to take her: and running after her Calfe rooke it, which was a young Hinde, and of a strange Haire, for she was all milke white. It chanced so, that *Sertorius* was at that time in those parts, who was alwayes very glad when any man offered him such manner of Presents: as Fruits, Fowle, or Venison, and would make very much of them that brought them to him, and also reward them well for the fame. So, this poore man presented *Sertorius* with this young Hinde, which he gladly received, and which with time he made so tame, that she would come to him when he called her, and follow him where ever he went, being nothing the wilder for the daily sight of such a number of armed Souldiers together as they were, nor yet afraid of the noise and tumult of the Campe. Insomuch as *Sertorius* by little and little made it a miracle, making the simple barbarous People believe that it was a gift that *Diana* had sent him, by the which she made him understand of many and sundry things to come: knowing well enough of himselfe, that the barbarous People were men easily deceived, and quickly caught by any subtill superstition, besides that, by Art also he brought them to believe it as a thing very true. For when he had any secret intelligence given him, that the Enemies would invade some part of the Countreys and Provinces subject unto him, or that they had taken any of his Forts from him by any intelligence or sudden attempt, he straight told them that his Hinde spake to him as he slept, and had warned him both to arme his men, and put himselfe in strength. In like manner if he had heard any newes that one of his Lieutenants had wonne a Battell, or that he had any advantage of his Enemies, he would hide the Messenger, and bring his Hinde abroad with a Garland and Coller of Nosegayes: and then say, it was a token of some good newes coming towards him, perswading them withall to be of good cheare; and so did sacrifice to the gods, to give them thanks for the good tidings he should heare before it were long. Thus by putting this superstition into their heads, he made them the more tractable and obedient to his will, insomuch as they thought they were not now governed any more by a stranger wiser than themselves, but were steadfastly perswaded that they were rather led by some certaine god; and so much the more, because

because that his deedes confirmed their opinions, seeing his Power daily to increase beyond the hope and expectation of man. For with two thousand and five hundred Souldiers, which he called *ROMANES*, (although the most of them indeede were *AFRICANS*, which came over with him out of *AFRICK* into *SPAIN*) and foure thousand *LUGETANIANS*, with seven hundred Horsemen also, he made Warre against foure great Captaines of *ROMANS*, which had the leading of sixe score thousand Footemen, two thousand Archers, and Sling-men, with a world of Cities and Countreys besides. Where *Sertorius* at the first had not above twenty at the most, and yet with this small Power to maintain this Warre withall, he did not onely conquer great Countreys and many goodly Cities, but tooke some of the Captaines Prisoners also, whom the *ROMANES* sent against him. Of which company *Cotta* was one, whom he overthrew in Battell by Sea, not far from the City of *MELLARIA*. He also overcame *Fidius* in Battell, being Governour of *SPAIN* *BETICA*, by the River of *BETIS*, where he slew two thousand *ROMANES*: by his Treasurer like wife he overcame *Lucius Domitius* Proconsull of the other Province of *SPAIN*. And another time he discomfited *Toranius* another Captaine, one of *Metellus* Lieutenants, whom he slew in Fight with all his Army. And *Metellus* selfe, being taken at that time for one of the most expert men of Warre, and chieftest Captaines among the *ROMANES*: him he put also so oft to distresse, that *Lucius Lollius* was faine to come out of *GAULE NARBONENSIS* (now *Languedocke*) to his aide. And they were furthermore driven to send *Pompey* the Great with all speede from *ROME* with a new Army, because *Metellus* knew not what course to take, having to fight with a most valiant man, and one whom he could never either bring to any set Battell, nor yet intrap in the plaine Field (so easily could he cast himselfe into all kinde of formes) by reason of the dexterity and swiftnesse of his Spanishe Souldiers being lightly armed. Where he cleane contrary, was wont to fight a pitched Field, without removing a foote, and to leade an Army heave armed, which could keepe their ranks, and fighting steadily could overthrow their Enemies with hand-brookes; and march upon their bellies. But to climbe up the Mountaines, and to be continually (as it were) charged in the Rereward with these men armed as light as the winde, and to pursue them in chase that fled still and never kept place, it was impossible for them to do it; and much lesse to abide hunger and thirst, to live without a Kitchen and fire, and likewise to lye on the bare ground without Tents or Pavillions, as *Sertorius* Souldiers did. Furthermore, *Metellus* being growne an old man (having spent all his youth in service of the Warres, and taken and suffered great paines and troubles, giving himselfe now to quiet and pleasure) was matched with *Sertorius*, being then even at his best age, and lustiest of body; besides that Nature had made him both strong, active, and temperate withall. For he was never given to his belly, nor to be a great bibber, when he was at most quiet, and out of Warres; he was likewise acquainted with paines and hardnesse from his youth, could away with long Journeys, watch many dayes and nights without sleepe, eat little, and content himselfe with any meate that came to hand. And had like never so little leisure, he would continually be on Horse-backe, riding a hunting up and downe the Fields, which made him very ready and expert to know how to winde himselfe out of danger when he was distressed, and contrarily also to compasse in his Enemy upon any advantage: and besides, to see where he might enter, and where not. For this cause was *Metellus* driven (who was still desirous to fight) to abide the losses and discomforts which they suffer that be vanquished: and *Sertorius* on the other side refusing Battell, and flying before him, had all the vantage of him that they have which chase their Enemies whom they have overcome. For he cut off his Victuals on every side, tooke away his water, and kept him in from foraging. When he thought to march further forward, *Sertorius* stayed him: and when he lay still in his Campe, *Sertorius* came and gave him Alarums, and drove him to dislodge. If *Metellus* laid Siege to any place, *Sertorius* straight besieged him for want of Victuals: so that his Souldiers were even weary of all together. Whereupon, when *Sertorius* challenged the Combate of *Metellus*: Oh, well said, cried all the Souldiers, let Captaine fight against Captaine, and *ROMANE* against *ROMANE*. Howbeit *Metellus* refused him, and the Souldiers laughen him to scorn. Nevertheless he did but smile at them, and therein shewed himselfe a wise man: for as *Theophrastus* saith, A Captaine must die as a Captaine, not like a private Souldier. Furthermore, *Metellus* considering that the *LANGOBRIANS* (who gave aide unto *Sertorius* in all Services) were easie to be taken for lacke of water (having but one onely Well in all their City) and that whosoever did besiege that same, should straight be master of all the Spring heads of the Suburbs about it, hoping thereby to make the City yeeld unto him within two dayes at the utmost, he commanded his Souldiers to victuall themselves for five dayes onely. But *Sertorius* having intelligence thereof, gave good direction and speedy order to prevent him. For he caused two thousand Goats skins to be filled with water, and promised round summes of Money for every skin brought thither. Many *SPANIARDS* and *MAURISTANS* straight tooke upon them the Enterprize. Thereupon *Sertorius* chusing the lustiest men among them, sent them away through the Mountaine, commanding them withall, that when they delivered their Goats skins with water unto the Citizens, they should cause them forthwith to put out all their idle People, that the water might last them the longer which defended the City. *Metellus* receiving advertisement thereof, was much agrieved withall, because his Souldiers Victuals were well neare spent, which they had brought according to his commandement: and therefore he sent *Aquinius* one of his Lieutenants, with sixe thousand men to get Victuals. *Sertorius* having intelligence of his purpose, presently laid an Ambush for his returne in a Valley full of wood, and bestowed there three thousand men to set upon the Rereward, whilst he himselfe gave Charge on the Voward. Thus made he *Aquinius* flie, slew the most part of his men, and

This Army of the *ROMANES* led by *Sertorius* Captaine, was famous for his victories.

to win the

This place may well be taken two wayes, and either of both allowable: and according to the other it might be said, to leade Roman Citizens to the Warre, fighting like valiant men.

Sertorius war-like vertues.

Metellus practised to besiege the *Langobrians*, and to take their City for lacke of water.

Sertorius easily deceived *Metellus* at the Siege of the *Langobrians*.

Sertorius overthrew *Aquinius* and

Sertorius taught the Spaniards the manner of the Romanes.

The City of Osea.

Sertorius subtil policy.

The Spaniards devotion.

The Spaniards love to Sertorius.

Perpenna joynd with Sertorius.

Ebrus fl.

A fine device of Sertorius to teach men the benefit of time and perseverance.

Sertorius words to his Souldiers, declaring the intent of his device.

and tooke the rest Prisoners: Howbeit Aquinus selfe the Captaine, having lost his Weapons and Horse, by flying recovered his life: who thereupon was driven with famine to raise his Siege, being mocked of all the Spaniards. For these valiant deeds was Sertorius wonderfully beloved and honoured of all the barbarous People, and specially because he had made them good Souldiers, brought them from their former rude and beastly fight, and had taught them to be armed after the Roman fashion, to keepe their Ranks when they fought, to follow their Ensigne, and to take the Signall and Word of the Battell: inasmuch as he made them then appeare a goodly Army well taught and trained, being before a confused multitude of Theeves and Robbers. Furthermore he divided great store of Gold and Silver among them, shewing them how they should gild their Head-pieces, set out their Shields and Targets with fine Workmanship, and also bravely apparel themselves with rich Cloakes, and sleevelesse Calflocks upon their Armour, teaching them to be fine, and furnished them with Money: whereby he marvellously wanne the hearts of the barbarous People. Yet did he farther bind them unto him, by that he did unto their Children: for he sent generally for all the Noblemen young Sonnes, through all the Countreys and Provinces subject unto him, and brought them to the goodly City of Osea, where he provided them of Schoolemasters to teach them the Greeke and Latine Tongue: bearing their Parents in hand, that it was to no other end; but to make them (when they came to be men) meete to be employed in the service of the Common-weale, albeit indeed it was but a fine device of him, to have them as Hostages for their Faith and Loyalty towards him. Then were the Fathers of these Children glad men to see their Sonnes apparelled like Romanes, in faire long Gownes garded with Purple, to goe civilly to the Schooles, that Sertorius payed for their Learning, and that oftentimes he went thither to appoile them, to see how they profited: and how he gave rewards unto them that were the best Scholars, hanging Jewels about their necks, which the Romanes call Bulla. Inasmuch as they having a Custome at that time in SPAIN, that such as were about the Prince or their Chieftaine should die with him when he died: that Custome of voluntary Vow to die with their Lord, being called by the barbarous People, Devotion; there were very few of their Followers and Familiars that would vow to die with other Captaines; but on the other side, thousands commonly followed Sertorius, having vowed to lose their lives with him: And for prooffe hereof it is reported, that when his Army on a time was overthrowne by a certaine City of SPAIN, the Enemies eagerly pursuing him, the SPANIARDS not regarding their owne lives to save his, tooke him upon their shoulders, and so passed him from man to man upon them, till they put him into the City, who being safe and out of danger, they then looked by running to save themselves the best they could. This was Sertorius not only beloved of the SPANIARDS, but of other Souldiers also that came out of ITALY. For when Perpenna Vento, being of the same Faction, arrived in SPAIN full of Money, and with a good number of Souldiers, intending to make Warre in his behalfe against Metellus, his Souldiers fell out with him, and had none other talke in his Campe but of Sertorius: the which spighted Perpenna to the heart, being proud and stately by means of his Wealth and Estate, coming of a noble House. Newes being come that Pompey was past over the Mountaine Pyrenei, the Souldiers armed themselves, and plucked up their Ensignes that were fast in the ground, and cried out upon Perpenna to leade them to Sertorius, threatening him that if he would not, they would leave him alone, and seeke them a Captaine that could both save himselfe and them. So was Perpenna forced against his will to follow their mindes, and to leade the three and fifty Ensignes he had with him, to joyne with Sertorius Force. Thus became Sertorius Army very great, and specially after all the Cities on this side the River of Ebrus had yielded unto him. For then came Souldiers to him out of all parts, howbeit they were a rash confused multitude of Omniagerum together, having no reason nor patience to abide time, but cried out in fury, to set upon their Enemies. This troubled Sertorius much, seeking first to quiet them by reason and perswasion. But when he saw they fell to mutiny, and would needs have their wills, and both without reason and all good order would so go set upon their Enemies: he gave them the head, and let them go as they would, knowing well enough they would pay for their folly; but yet tooke such order and direction, as they should not utterly be cast away, hoping after that to have them the more obedient unto him. And indeed they had their payment as he conjectured: notwithstanding he went to rescue them, and so brought them safe into his Campe. Now to take away the feare and perplexity from them, which this Overthrow perhaps had striken into them, immediately after he caused his whole Army to assemble, as purposing to use some speech unto them. At which time he caused two Horses to be brought and set in the midst among them, the one an old and feeble Jade, and the other a goodly lusty Horse, which besides other things, had a marvellous faire thicke taile. Behinde the old leane Jade, he set a lusty tall Fellow: and behinde the goodly Horse also, he placed a little wearish man, and seeming to fight to have but small strength. Now upon a signe given them which he had made them privie to, the strong man tooke the leane Horse by the taile with all his might, as if he would have plucked it off by the flumpe: and the other wearish man fell to plucking off haire by haire from the great Horse taile. So when the strong man had tugged and sweated a great while in vaine at the leane Horse taile, thinking to have plucked it off, and in the end did nothing else but make the lookers on laugh: and that the wearish wretch on the other side in a short space (and at ease) had left the great Horse taile with never a haire on it: Sertorius then rising up, spake in this sort to his Souldiers: Do ye not see (my Friends and Companions) faith he, how time and perseverance exceedeth force? and that things unlikely at the first to be overcome by force, are yet in time by little and little obtained? For continuance overcometh all things, and there is no

Force

Force nor Power, but proesse of time, consumeth and bringeth to nought, being a most certain helpe to them that can take opportunity, and abide time: as in contrariwise haste and rashnesse is as dangerous an Enemy, as may be to them that do things of a head without regard. By these common devices wherewith Sertorius daily acquainted the barbarous People, he taught them to abide the opportunity of time. But of all the Stratagems he used in Warre, that onely exceeded all other, which he shewed unto a People called the CHARACITANIANS. The People do dwell on the other side of the River of Tagus, and have neither Cities nor Villages for their common abode, but onely a great high Hill, full of hollow Caves and deepe holes among the Rocks, looking towards the North. At the foote of this Mountaine the Valley is a great slimy ground, and so rotten, that it is not able to beare a man, but being troden on, crummeth like white lime, and turneth to dust under his feete. And therefore by means of the same, when those People were afraid of any Enemies, or that they had conveyed the Goods they had robbed and stolne from their Neighbours into those Caves, they thought themselves safe, if they were once gotten into them: for it was impossible to compell them to come out. Now it chanced that Sertorius flying from Metellus, came and encamped hard by this Hill which these barbarous People inhabited, who made no reckoning of him, imagining Metellus had overthrowne him. But Sertorius, being in a rage with them, and because he would shew that he fled not, tooke his Horse backe the next morning, and rode as neare to the Hill as he could, to view the nature and situation of the place: and when he saw there was no way to bring a man into it, he fretted, and walked up and downe, vainly threatening them to no purpose. Yet going and coming to and fro, he perceived the winde raised a great dust, of that brittle earth we have spoken of, and carried it full into the CHARACITANIANS holes, the mouthes whereof, as we said before, lay full upon the North. This Northerne winde which some call Cacia, is the onely winde of all other that most keepeth in that quarter, and riseth from the Moores and Mountaines thereabouts, which be continually covered with snow, and then in the heate of Summer is nourished and inforced by the melting of the yce and snow, and so bloweth a jolly coole winde, which refresheth the barbarous People and Beasts all the day long. Sertorius marking this with himselfe, and understanding by the Inhabitants thereabouts, that this winde blew commonly among them: commanded his Souldiers to gather a great quantity of this light brittle earth together and to raise a Mount of it, right against the other Hill. The barbarous People made a mockery of it at the first, thinking Sertorius would have made a Mount to have fought with them upon it: howbeit he went on with his worke till night came, and then brought his Souldiers backe againe into his Campe. The next morning by breake of day there was a pretty little winde stirring, that onely blew off the top of his forced Mount, and the highest part of that masse of earth, as chaffe when they winnow Corne: and as the Sunne began to have any power, the North winde also rose, which forthwith filled all the Hill with dust. And withall came Sertorius Souldiers, who threw downe the hill to the bottome, which they had gathered the day before, and brake all those dry clods of clay in pieces. The Horsemen on the other side, they still managed their Horses up and downe in it, to raise up the greater dust, which the winde carried as soone as it rose, and blew into the Caves of these barbarous People, full in their faces, through their holes and rifts of the Rocks. So they having no other vents nor aire any way, but there where the winde blew upon them: it did so blindfold their eyes, and filled their Caves with such a hot stuffing aire, that they were almost choaked withall, not able to take breath. For when they should draw their breaths, this stuffing aire and dust came in at their mouthes so fast, that they had much ado to hold out two daies, and on the third yielded themselves unto Sertorius mercy: the which thing did not so much increase his Power, as it wanne him Honour; by policy to have wonne such an unlikely Conquest, which by force could never have beene gotten; and where to fight was a matter impossible. So long therefore as he made Warre with Metellus alone, he commonly had the advantage of him, because Metellus was an old man and heavey, and could not resist Sertorius lusty youth, that led a light Army, like rather to a company of Theeves and Robbers, than to an Army of men of Warre. But afterwards when Pompey was come over the Mountaine Pyrenei, and that both of them were encamped each before other, and that Pompey had shewed him all the Stratagems and Policies of Warre possible for a good Captaine to devise, and he the like unto Pompey, and found that Sertorius had the better of him, both in laying his Ambushes, and also in foreseeing to intrap him: then grew the fame of Sertorius to be so great, that even in Rome it selfe he was thought to be the noblest Captaine, and of best conduction of any man in his time. Yet was Pompey at that time of great fame and reputation, which afterwards also waxed greater, by the noble acts he did under Sylla, who gave him the Surname of Pompey the great, for that he deserved the honour of Triumph before his beard was growne. So, when he was come thus into SPAIN, divers Townes and Cities subject unto Sertorius, were halfe in minde to yeeld unto Pompey: but afterwards they altered againe, upon the chance that happened unto the City of LAURON, beyond all expectation. For Sertorius being gone to lay siege to it, Pompey in haste went thither with his Army to raise the Siege. Neare unto the City there was a little Hill very commodious to lodge a Campe in, and also to distresse them of the City: wherupon the one made haste to get it, and the other to keepe him from it. Notwithstanding, Sertorius was the first man, and got the Hill: and Pompey came even as he had taken it, who was very glad it had so fallen out, thinking to have made Sertorius sure at that time, being kept in on the one side with the City of LAURON, and with his Army on the other. Thereupon he sent unto the Citizens, and bade them care for nothing, more then to stand upon their Walls at their pleasure, to see Sertorius straightly besieged, who thought to have besieged them;

The Characitanians, what People they be. Tagus fl.

Sertorius wonne a fine device against the barbarous People called the Characitanians.

Sertorius deceeds against Pompey.

Sertorius goeth to lay siege to the City of Lauron.

Sertorius worthily laying of a Capitaine.

Sertorius burnt the City of Lauron in Pompey's flight.

Sertorius of himself invincible.

Battell bewaies Sertorius and Pompey.

Pompey fled Sertorius at Sucron.

Sertorius mock to Pompey.

them. This Message being brought to Sertorius, he smiled at it, and said, that he would teach Sylla's young Scholars (for so in mockery he called Pompey) that a wife Capitaine should rather see behind then before him: and therewithall he shewed the LAURONITANS five thousand Footmen well armed, which he had left in his Campe when he came to take the Hill where he was; to the end that if Pompey came by chance to assaile him, they should give a Charge upon his Rereward. Pompey having found this too late, durst not offer Sertorius Battell, fearing to be compassed in behinde: and on the other side he was ashamed to forsake the LAURONITANS, whom he was driven in the end to see utterly spoyled and destroyed before his eyes, and durst not once stir to helpe them. The barbarous People of the Countrey part seeing no hope of aide by him: yielded straight unto Sertorius, who did not onely pardon them, but also suffered them to goe whither they would. Howbeit he burnt the City, for no anger or cruelty (being a Capitaine that never shewed cruelty in anger) but to shame Pompey withall, and to stop their monthes that made such account of him: and that this brute might runne among the barbarous People; that Pompey himselfe being present, and might in manner have warmed him by the fire that burnt a goodly City of his Confederates, neither durst nor could helpe them. Indeed Sertorius in continuance of this Warre sustained much losse and great hurt, howbeit it was alwaies through the fault of his Lieutenants: for, as touching himselfe, he was never overthrowne, nor those he led. And yet he ever wanne more honour in recovering of those Battells which his Captaines lost, then his Enemies did that had put them to the worfe. As in the Battell he wanne against Pompey, by the City of SUCRON: and in another he wanne against Pompey and Metellus both by the City of TUTIA. And as for the overthrow of SUCRON, it is thought it came through Pompeys ambition, making the more haste for feare Metellus should be partaker of the honour of his Victory: and that was the thing Sertorius looked for, to fight before Metellus came to joyne with him, and therefore he fought the Battell with Pompey towards night, supposing the darknesse of the night would trouble his Enemies much, be a helpe to save themselves if they were overcome, and also to chafe the Enemies if it so happened they had the upper hand, because they were strangers and knew not the Countrey. When both Battells came to give Charge, Sertorius at the first was not directly against Pompey, but against Afranius who led the left Wing of Pompeys Battell, and himselfe was in the right Wing of his owne Battell. Howbeit Sertorius being advertised that the left Wing of his owne Army against which Pompey fought, was in such distresse as they gave backe, and could abide no longer, if they were not presently aided, straight left the leading of the right Wing, which he assigned over to other of his Captaines, and ranne with all speede possible unto the left Wing, which were then even as good as flying. And first he gathered them together againe which had turned their backs, and after put those also in good order that were yet a fighting; and so having encouraged them, both with his words and the presence of his person, he gave a new Charge againe upon Pompey, more courageously then before, (who thinking he had already wonne the Field, was then a chafing such as fled) and came so fiercely upon him, that he put all the whole Army of the ROMANS to flight, insomuch as Pompey himselfe escaped killing in the Field very hardly, being sore hurt, and saved by a strange meane. For the AFRICANS of Sertorius having taken Pompeys Horfe (which was richly trapped with Harnesse of Gold and other precious Furniture) falling out among themselves, and fighting for division of the same, in the meane time let Pompey go, and never followed after him. Afranius againe on the other side, whilst Sertorius was gone to helpe the other Wing of his Battell, made them all flee that stood before him, and followed killing of them even into the Trenches of their Campe, entring in amongst them that fled, and spoiled the Campe, being darke night, knowing nothing of Pompeys Overthrow, neither could he withdraw his men from spoyle. Sertorius also coming thither upon the instant, finding Pompeys men in disorder, slew a number of them, and the next morning betimes armed his men againe, and brought them out into the Field to fight once more with Pompey. But receiving intelligence that Metellus was at hand, he founded the Retraite, and dislodged from the place he incamped, saying: Had not that old Woman come, I would have whipped that young Boy to ROME with rods. Now was Sertorius very heavie, that no man could tell him what was become of his white Hinde: for thereby all his subtilty and finenesse to keepe the barbarous People in obedience was taken away, and then specially when they stood in neede of most comfort. But by good hap, certaine of his Souldiers that had lost themselves in the night, met with the Hinde in their way, and knowing her by her colour, rooke her and brought her backe againe. Sertorius hearing of her, promised them a good reward, so that they would tell no living creature that they brought her againe, and thereupon made her to be secretly kept. Then within a few dayes after, he came abroad among them, and with a pleasant countenance told the Noblmen and chiefe Captaines of these barbarous People, how the gods had revealed to him in his Dreame, that he should shortly have a marvellous good thing happen to him: and with these words fate downe in his Chaire to give audience. Whereupon they that kept the Hinde not far from thence, did secretly let her go. The Hinde being loose, when she had spied Sertorius, ranne straight to his Chaire with great joy, and put her head betwixt his legs, and layed her mouth in his right hand, as she before was wont to doe. Sertorius also made very much of her, and of purpose appeared marvellous glad, shewing such tender affection to the Hinde, as it seemed the water stood in his eyes for joy. The barbarous People that stood there by and beheld the same, at the first were much amazed therewith, but afterwards when they had better bethought themselves, for joy they clapped their hands together, and waited upon Sertorius to his Lodging with great and joyfull shouts, saying, and stedfastly believing, that he

he was a heavenly creature, and beloved of the gods: whereupon they were marvellously pleased in their mindes, and certainly hoped that their Affaires should prosper daily better and better. Another time having straightened his Enemies with scarcity of Victuals, in the Territory of the SAGUNTINES, he was by force compelled to fight against his will, for that they sent great Troopes of men to forage the Countrey, to get Victuals. Upon the encounter it was valiantly fought of either side, where Memmius was slaine, (the valiantest Capitaine Pompey had) courageously fighting in the middest of the Battell. Sertorius finding himselfe the stronger, followed his first Wing, making great slaughter of those that withstood him, untill he came unto Metellus selfe, who tarried his coming, defending himselfe more valiantly then was either hoped or looked for in a man of his yeares: insomuch as he was at the last hurt with a Partizan. Which was such a dishonour to the ROMANS, not unto them onely that saw it, but unto such also as heard of it, that being all ashamed to forsake their Capitaine, and turning their shame into anger against their Enemies, they covered Metellus round about with their Shields and Targets, and getting him out of the presse and fury of the Fight, gave such a fierce onser, as they drave the SPANIARDS to flee. Thus Fortune changing the Victory, Sertorius to give his scattered men time to save themselves, and leifure also for a new supply (which he caused to be presently leaved) to come at their pleasure, fled of purpose into a City of the Mountaines of strong situation, and there setting a good face of the matter, repaired the Rampiers and fortified the Gates, thinking nothing lesse then to abide there to be besieged, but onely to lay a baite for his Enemies, coming to besiege the City, hoping they should easily winne it, and in the meane time left pursuing of the barbarous People, which had thereby good leifure given them to save themselves. Furthermore, they tooke no order to suppress the new supply that was coming to Sertorius, who had sent out his Captaines to the next Cities and Shires adjoining to leavie men, with expresse commandement, that when they had mustered a convenient number together, they should send them unto him, as they did. So when he understood of their coming, he easily passed through his Enemies to meete them, and with them suddenly came backe againe, and harried his Enemies worse then before, sometime cutting their Victuals from them by Land, through his Ambushes and continuall subtil policies, being quickly in every place whither they thought to go, with his light Army: and on the Sea also with certaine Pyrates Pinnaces, with the which he scoured all the Coast upon the Sea side. By this meanes both the Captaines his Enemies were compelled to sever themselves far one from the other, insomuch as Metellus went to winter in GAULE, Pompey remained in SPAIN (in great scarcity of all things for lacke of Money) to winter in the Territories of the VACCENANS, and wrote to the Senate of ROME, that he would returne with his Army into ITALY, if they sent him not Money out of hand, for that he had spent all his owne, daily fighting for the defence of ITALY. Thus it was certainly thought at ROME that Sertorius would be in ITALY before Pompey, because he had through his valiancy and great skill brought two of the most famous Captaines of their time to great extremity and distresse. Then did Metellus shew how much he feared Sertorius, and how he thought him a great and dreadful Enemy. For he proclaimed by found of Trumpet, that if any ROMANE could kill him, he would give him a hundred Silver Talents, and twenty thousand Jugera of Land: and if he were a banished man, he promised he should be restored to his Countrey and Goods againe, buying his death by Treason, whom he could not overcome by force. And furthermore, being his chance once to winne a Battell of Sertorius, he was so jocond and proud for this Victory, that he would needes therefore be called Imperator, to say, Prince or Sovereigne Capitaine: and was contented the People should set up Altars and doe Sacrifices unto him in every City where he came. And it is furthermore reported of him, that he wore Garlands of Flowers on his head, and would be bidden to dissolute Banquets, sitting at the Table in a triumphing Robe: and they made Images of Victory go up and downe the Hall, moved by certaine secret Engines carrying Triumphs of Gold, and Crownes and Garlands of Triumph, and Dancers of goodly young Boyes and faire Girles following of them, with Songs of Triumph in his praise. Wherein doubtlesse he deserved to be laughed at, shewing himselfe so much carried away with joy, and vaine glory, for one overthrow given unto him, whom himselfe was wont to call Sylla's fugitive, and the remnant of the banished men of Carbo. On the other side, Sertorius noble courage was easily discerned: first, for that he called the banished men which were escaped from ROME, and come to him, Senators: and having them about him, called them the Senate, making some of them Treasurers, others Prætors, directing and ordering all things according to the manner of his Countrey. And in this also, that making Warres with the Souldiers of the Cities of SPAIN, and defraying the same at their owne charges, yet he never gave them any Authority, so much as in word, but ruled them alwaies with ROMANE Officers and Captaines: saying still, that he fought for the liberty of the People of ROME, and not to increase the Glory and Power of the SPANIARDS, to the hurt and dishonour of the ROMANS. For to say truly of him, he ever loved his Countrey well, and longed much to be sent for home againe: and yet in his greatest troubles, when things thwarted him most, then was his minde greatest, yielding no manner of shew or appearance to his Enemies, of any faint heart or discouragement in him. Again, when he was in best prosperity, and had most advantage of his Enemies, he sent unto Metellus and Pompey both, letting them understand, that for his part he was content to lay Armes aside, and to live at home like a private man; so that he might be lawfully restored and called home by Edict: and that he had rather be counted the meanest Citizen in ROME, then being a banished man out of his Countrey, to be called Emperour of the World. And it is said, that one of the chiefe causes which made him

Sertorius flew Metellus, Pompeys Lieutenant.

Shame turned into anger.

Sertorius believed of Pompey.

Metellus feared Sertorius.

Metellus made himselfe be called Imperator.

Metellus vanity

Sertorius noble minde.

Sertorius honourable respect unto his Countrey. Sertorius made great in adversity. Sertorius affection to his Countrey.

Sertorius natural love to his Mother.

Mithridates sent Ambassadors unto Sertorius in Spain.

Sertorius noble and worthy answer to Mithridates requests.

Sertorius worthy saying.

Sertorius League with Mithridates.

M. Marius sent unto Mithridates.

King Mithridates gave M. Marius Proconsul, the upper hand.

The envie of Perpenna unto Sertorius.

The seditious words of Perpenna against Sertorius.

him desire so much to be called home againe, was the tender love he bare unto his Mother (that had brought him up from the time of his Fathers death) upon whom he cast all his love and delight: inasmuch as after that his friends in SPAIN had sent for him to come to be their Capitaine, and that he had bene a while among them, receiving newes that his Mother was departed out of the World, it so strake him to the heart, that he had almost died for sorrow. For he lay seven dayes together continually on the ground weeping, and never gave his Souldiers the Watch-word, nor would be seene of any of his friends: untill that the other Noblemen and Captaines of his owne estate, came to him to his Tent, and were so importunate of him by intreaty and perswasion, that they got him out of his Tent to shew himselfe to his Souldiers, to speake to them, and to take order for his Affaires, which prospered very well. By these signes many have judged, that he was of a courteous and pitfull nature, and that naturally he was given to be quiet and peaceable: howbeit, that he was forced of necessity to take charge of men of Warre, because he could not otherwise live quietly nor safely, being pursued by his Enemies, which would never let him rest, and thereupon entred into Warre, for his owne guard and safety. The Treaty selfe he made with King Mithridates, argued his noble minde. For when Mithridates whom Sylla had overcome was recovered againe (like a Wrestler that being overthrowne, getteth upon his feete to try another fall with his Enemy) and tooke upon him to invade ASIA. Sertorius fame was then so great, that he was spoken of through the World, by Merchants coming from the West, who blew abroad the report thereof all the East parts over, even into the Realme of PONT, like to Merchandizes which they went to seeke for in strange Countries. Whereupon Mithridates being perswaded by the vaine vaunts of his favoured Courtiers, who compared Sertorius to Hanniball, and himselfe unto King Pyrrus, saying, that the ROMANES being set upon by them both, could not withstand two such excellent natures, and great Powers together, when the noblest Capitaine of the World should be joyned with the greatest and most puissant Prince that ever was: sent thereupon his Ambassadors into SPAIN unto Sertorius, with full Power and Commission to promise him Money and Ships towards the maintenance and charge of this Warre, in recompence whereof he desired that Sertorius would redeliver him the possession of ASIA againe, the which he had surrendered up unto the ROMANES upon the Peace made betwixt him and Sylla. Sertorius hereupon called his Councell together (which he termed the Senate) to consult upon this matter. And when they were all of opinion that he should accept Mithridates offers, and were exceedingly glad of the same, considering that they asked them nothing but a Title in the aire, and a name of things which were not in their power, offering them therefore things present, whereof they had greater neede: yet would Sertorius never agree thereunto. Notwithstanding, thus much he granted Mithridates, that he should enjoy CAPPADOCIA and BITHYNIA, which had ever bene Countries subject unto Kings, and whereunto the ROMANES had never any right: excepting this specially that he would never suffer him to usurpe any Countrey, unto the which the ROMANES had any just Title; and the which he had lost in Warres by force of Armes unto Fimbria, and had afterwards also willingly surrendered by agreement made betwixt him and Sylla. For he said he would enlarge the Empire of ROME through his Victories, but not impair or hurt it by his Conquests. For a valiant man (said he) should covet to conquer with honour, but in no wise desire life with dishonour. His Answer being reported unto King Mithridates, did much amaze him: and some have written, that he then said unto his familiars: What would Sertorius command us then, if he sate among them in the Senate at ROME, who being an Exile now, and remaining in the farthest part of the World by the Sea Atlanticum, doth take upon him to bound the certaine Confines of our Kingdome, threatening us also with Warres, if we attempt any thing against Asia? All this notwithstanding, they were agreed upon Oathes taken betwene them, that Mithridates should enjoy the Countries of CAPPADOCIA and BITHYNIA, and that Sertorius should send him one of his Captaines with aide of men of Warre; and that upon performance thereof, the King should give him the summe of three thousand Talents, and forty Ships of Warre. So Sertorius sent thither one of his Captaines called Marcus Marius, a Senator of ROME, who fled to him for succour: with whom Mithridates distressed certaine Cities of ASIA. And when Marius entred into them, with his Serjeants carrying the bundles of Rods and Axes before him, as before a Proconsul of the ROMANES, Mithridates gave him the upper hand, as his better, and followed after him. Furthermore, Marius did set certaine Cities at liberty, and wrote unto others, declaring unto them, that Sertorius of his grace and goodnesse did release them of their Taxe and Customes they paid: so that poore ASIA which had bene oppressed by the covertnesse of the Treasurers and Farmers of the ROMANES, and also by the pride and insolency of the Souldiers which lay in Garison among them, began to have some hope of change, and to desire the alteration of Government, which Sertorius offered. But on the other side, the Senators of ROME that were in SPAIN as banished men in Sertorius Army, and of the like dignity and estate that himselfe was of, they hearing say that all was well againe at ROME, and perswading themselves that they should be strong enough for their Enemies, having no cause to feare any more danger, began then to envie Sertorius greatnesse and Authority; but Perpenna specially among other, who by reason of his Nobility, being puffed up with a vaine presumption and ambitious selfe-will, practised to make himselfe chiefe of all the Army, and to that end threw forth amongst his friends and familiars such kinde of seditious words: "What cursed fortune (quoth he) my friends doth daily haunt us worse then other, making us that were willing to obey Sylla (commanding at this day both Land and Sea at his will) to choose rather to forsake our Lands and Countrey? And

now

"now being come hither in hope to live at liberty, we willingly make our selves Slaves, becoming Sertorius Guard for defence of his person in exile: who to requite us withall, payeth us with faire words, calling us the Senate, whereat every man laugheth to heare us so called; and in fine we must abide this dishonour to be at his commandement, and drudge and take as much paines as the SPANIARDS and LUSITANIANS do themselves. Hereupon the more part of them being carried away with these mutinous words, durst not yet shew themselves in actual rebellion against Sertorius, being afraid of his Authority: howbeit secretly underhand they overthrew his doings, by shewing extreme cruelty unto the barbarous People, by pretext of Justice, imposing great payments upon them, giving out it was Sertorius commandement. By which their lewd practises, many Cities revolted against him, and put themselves into his Enemies hands: and they daily also raised new mutinies and rebellions upon him. Furthermore, those whom he sent to pacifie the tumults, did handle themselves in such sort, that where they should have quieted the grudges and rebellions of the People, they set them farther out, and procured new tumults. Hereupon was Sertorius gentle nature and former goodnesse so altered, that he committed a most cruell act upon all the Noblemens children of that Land, which he brought up at Schoole in the City of OSCA: for some of them he put to death, and others he sold as Slaves. Thus Perpenna having many associates in his wicked Conspiracy against Sertorius, brought into his Confederacy also one called Manlius, who had chiefe charge in all the Army. This Manlius loved a young Boy exceedingly, and because he would let him know he loved him well, he told him on a time the whole plot of this Conspiracy, willing him not to reckon any more of others love but of his, and to love him onely: for he should see him a great man before it were long. The young Boy loving another better then him, called Aufidius, went and revealed unto him all that Manlius had told him. Aufidius marvelling to heare the Boy made privie to it, seeing himselfe also was of the Confederacy, and knew not yet that Manlius was one of them. And when the Boy also named Perpenna, Gracinus, and some other whom Aufidius knew well to be of counsel, he was worse afraid then before, but yet seemed to make little of it, and told the Boy: for that matter it was nothing, and counselled him not to credit Manlius words, who was but a vaine man, and boasted of that which was not true, and did it onely but to deceive him. This notwithstanding, departing thence, he went forthwith unto Perpenna, and told him how their practice was discovered, declaring further what danger they were in, if it were not speedily put in execution. All the Confederates agreed it was true that he said, and thereupon they devised this Treason. They had suborned a Messenger to bring counterfeit Letters to Sertorius, feigning in the same that one of his Lieutenants had wonne a great Battell, in the which he had slaine a marvelous number of his Enemies. Sertorius being very glad of the good newes, made Sacrifice unto the gods to give them thanks. Whereupon, Perpenna taking the present opportunity, invited Sertorius to supper to him, and all other his friends that were present (every one of the Conspiracy with him, and was so importunate with Sertorius, that in the end he promised him to come. Now Sertorius did ever use great modesty at the Boord, and would suffer no dissolute talke nor light parts at his meate, and had acquainted them also that used his Table, to talke of grave and wise matters, and yet one to be honestly merry with another, without any playing or uncomely talke. In the midst of Supper, they that sought occasion of quarrell, began to speake lewd words, counterfeiting to be drunke, and to play many vile parts, of purpose to anger Sertorius. Whereupon Sertorius, whether it was that he could not abide to see those villanous parts, or that he mistrusted their ill will towards him, by fumbling of their words in their mouths, and by their unwonted irreverent manner shewed unto him: fell backwards upon the Bed where he sate at Meate, seeming no more to marke what they did or said. Perpenna at that instant tooke a Cup full of Wine, and making as though he dranke, let it fall of purpose. The Cup falling downe made a noise, and that was the Signe given among them. Therewithall Antonius that sate about Sertorius at the Table, stabbed him in with his Dagger. Sertorius feeling the thrust, strove to rise: but the trayterous murderer got upon Sertorius breast, and held both his hands. And thus was Sertorius cruelly murdered, not able to defend himselfe, all the Conspirators falling upon him. Sertorius death being blowne abroad, the most part of the SPANIARDS sent Ambassadors immediately unto Pompey and Metellus, yielding themselves unto them; and Perpenna with those that remained with him, attempted to doe something with Sertorius Army and preparation; but all fell out to his utter destruction and ruine, making the World know that he was a wicked man, who could neither command, nor knew how to obey. For he went to assaile Pompey, who had overthrowne him straight, and was in the end taken Prisoner. And yet in that instant of his calamity, he did not use himselfe like a valiant minded man, and one worthy to rule: for, thinking to save his life, having Sertorius Letters and Writings, he offered Pompey to deliver him all Sertorius Letters sent him from the chiefe Senators of ROME, written with their owne hands, requesting Sertorius to bring his Army into ITALY, where he should finde numbers of People desirous of his coming, and that gaped still for change of Government. But here did Pompey shew himselfe a grave and innovation. For he put all Sertorius Letters and Writings on a heape together, and burnt them every one, without reading any of them, or suffering them to be read. And moreover, he presently put Perpenna to death, fearing he should name some, which if they were named, would breede new occasions of trouble and sedition. And as for the other Conspirators, some of them afterwards

Sertorius slew the Spaniards Sonnes.

The Treason of Perpenna and his complices against Sertorius.

The treason devised against Sertorius.

Sertorius modestly at his Table.

The murderer of Sertorius.

Perpenna taken by Pompey.

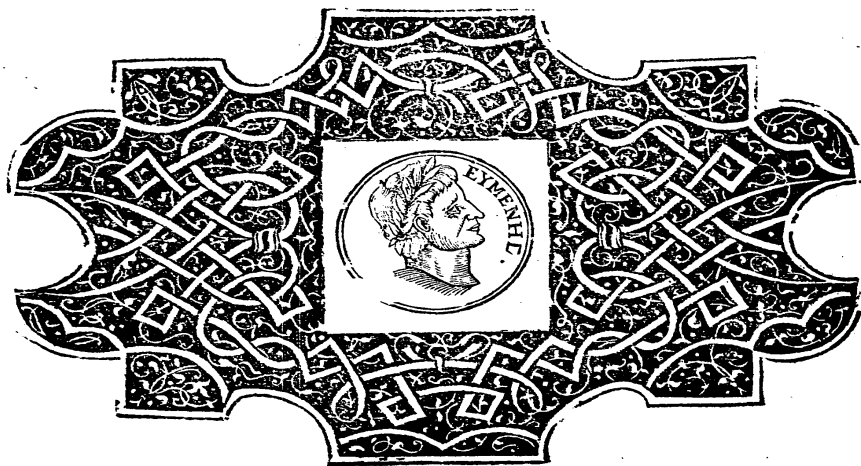
Pompeys willdome in burning Sertorius Letters.

Perpenna and his Conspirators put to death by Pompey.

afterwards were brought to *Pempey*, who put them all to death : and the rest of them fled into *AFRICK*, where they were all overthrowne by them of the Countrey, and not a man of them escaped, but fell unfortunately upon the edge of the Sword, *Ausidius* onely except, *Manlius* companion in love. Who, either because he was not reckoned of, or else unknowne, died an old man in a pelting Village of the barbarous People, poore, miserable, and hated of all the World.

The end of the Life of Sertorius.

THE LIFE OF EUMENES.



Ann. Mund.
363 I.

Ant. Christ.
317.

Eumenes parentage.

How Eumenes came to preferment by the Kings of Macedonia.



DUris the Historiographer writeth, that *Eumenes* was borne in the City of *CARDIA* in *THRACIA*, being a Carriers Sonne of the same Countrey, (who for poverty earned his living by carrying Merchandizes to and fro) and that he was notwithstanding honestly brought up, as well at Schoole, as at other comely Exercises. And furthermore, how that he being but a Boy, *Philip* King of *MACEDON* chancing to come through the City of *CARDIA*, where having nothing to do, he tooke great pleasure to see the young men of the City handle their Weapons, and boyes to wrestle: and among them, *Eumenes* shewed such activity, and performed it with so good a grace withall, that *Philip* liked the boy well, and tooke him away with him. But sure their report seemed truest, which write that *Philip* did advance him for the love he bare to his Father, in whose House he had lodged. After the death of *Philip*, *Eumenes* continued his service with King *Alexander* his Sonne, where he was thought a wife man, and as faithfull to his Master, as any : and though he was called the Chancellor or chiefe Secretary, yet the King did honour him as much as he did any other of his chiefe friends or familiars. For he was sent his Lieutenant Generall of his whole Army, against the *INDIANS*, and was *Perdiccas* Successor in the Government of his Province, *Perdiccas* being preferred unto *Hephestions* charge after his death. Now because *Neopolemus* (that was one of the chiefe Squires for the body unto the King) after the death of *Alexander* told the Lords of the Councell of *MACEDON*, that he had served the King with his Shield and Speare, and how *Eumenes* had followed with his Penne and Paper : the Lords laughed him to scorne, knowing that besides many great honours *Eumenes* had received, the King esteemed so well of him, that he did him the honour by Marriage to make him his Kinsman. For the first Lady that *Alexander* knew in *ASIA*, was *Barsine*, *Artabazus* Daughter, by whom he had a Sonne, and called his Name *Hercules* : and two of her Sisters, he married the one of them called

called *Apama* unto *Ptolomies*, and her other Sister also called *Barsine*, he bestowed upon *Eumenes*, when he deftributed the *PERSIAN* Ladies among his Lords and familiars to marry them. Yet all this notwithstanding, he often fell in disgrace with King *Alexander*, and stood in some danger by means of *Hephestion*. For *Hephestion* following *Alexanders* Court on a time, having appointed *Eumenes* Fife-player a lodging, which *Eumenes* Servants had taken up for their Master : *Eumenes* being in a rage, went with one *Mentor* unto *Alexander*, crying out, that a man were better be a Fife and a Common-player of Tragedies, then a Souldier, sithence such kinde of People were preferred before men of Service that ventured their lives in the Warres. *Alexander* at that present time was as angry as *Eumenes*, and roundly tooke up *Hephestion* for it : howbeit immediately after having changed his minde, he was much offended with *Eumenes*, because he thought him not to have used that franke speech so much against *Hephestion*, as of a certain presumptuous boldnesse towards himselfe. And at another time also, when *Alexander* was sending *Nearchus* with his Army by Sea to cleare the Coasts of the Ocean, it chanced the King was without Money : whereupon he sent to all his friends to take up Money in prest, and among others, unto *Eumenes*, of whom he requested three hundred Talents. *Eumenes* lent him but a hundred, and said, he had much ado to get him so much of all his Tenants. *Alexander* said nothing to him neither would he suffer them to take his hundred Talents : but commanded his Officers to set *Eumenes* Tent on fire, because he would take him tardy with a lie, before he could give order to carry away his Gold and Silver. Thus was his Tent burnt down to the ground, before they could make shift to save any thing : the which *Alexander* repented afterwards, and was sorry it was burnt, because all his Letters and Writings were burnt withall. Howbeit, after the fire was quenched, they found in Niggots of Gold and Silver mingled together, about a thousand Talents, and yet *Alexander* tooke none of it away, but more then that, he sent unto all his Lieutenants, Captaines, and Governours of Countries, wheresoever they were, that they should send him Copies of all the Letters which they before had sent unto him, because all those which he had were burnt, and commanded *Eumenes* to take them againe. After that, *Eumenes* and *Hephestion* fell at variance againe, by reason of a Gift that was given him, inso much as very foule words passed betwixt *Hephestion* and him : yet did not the King give *Eumenes* any ill countenance at that time. Notwithstanding, shortly after *Hephestion* was dead, the King taking his death grievously whom he loved so dearly, gave no good countenance (and was very briefe besides) unto those whom he knew bare any grudge to *Hephestion* while he lived, and that he thought were glad of his death, but specially unto *Eumenes* of all other, whose malice towards *Hephestion* was known to him well enough : inso much as he would twit him withall, remembring him of the injuries he had offered *Hephestion*. But *Eumenes* being very wise, and one that could take his time, procured his helpe by the selfe same means that did him hurt : and devised (to further *Alexanders* desire, seeking to honour *Hephestions* Funerall with all Pompe possible) new inventions to set forth the same, of more magnificence then had before been seen, sparing for no cost, laying on Money bountifully, to make him a rich and stately Tombe. Againe, when *Alexander* was dead, there fell out great variance betwixt the *MACEDONIAN* Footmen, and the Noble men that had been nearest about him : and in that quarrell, *Eumenes* in good will stucke to the Lords, but in words he seemed a Neuter and Friend to both parts, saying, It was not for him being a stranger, to thrust himself into the quarrels of the *MACEDONIANS*. And when the other Lords were departed from *BABYLON*, *Eumenes* tarrying behinde pacified the greatest part of the Souldiers, and made them more tractable and ready to agree with the Lords. Whereupon, after the Lords and Captaines had consulted together, and taken order for these contentions, they divided the Government of the Provinces among them, which they called Satrapes : in which partition *Eumenes* had *CAPPADOCIA*, *PAPHLAGONIA*, and all that Coast upon *Mare Ponticum*, unto the City of *TRAPZUNTE*, the which at that time was not subject to the Empire of *MACEDON*, for *Ariarathes* kept it then as King. Howbeit it was said, that *Leonatus* and *Antigonus* would and put him in possession it, with a great and puissant Army, and make him Governour there. Yet afterwards *Antigonus* made none account of *Perdiccas* Letters unto him, putting him in the head of great imaginations to Conquer all, despising all other. And *Leonatus* also came down into *PHRYGIA*, and undertooke the Journey of this Conquest for *Eumenes* sake. But when he was in his Journey thitherward, *Hecateus* Tyrant of the *CARDIANS*, went to him to his Army, and prayed him rather to go helpe *Antipater* and the other *MACEDONIANS*, which were besieged in the City of *LAMIA*. So *Leonatus* being willing to take Sea, and go thither, went about to perswade *Eumenes* also to like of it, and to reconcile him with *Hecateus* : for they were not friends one with another, by reason of a quarrell that *Eumenes* Father had with this *Hecateus*, about the Government of their City. Besides that, *Eumenes* had many times complained of him openly unto King *Alexander*, saying, that he was a Tyrant, and besought the King that it would please him to set the *CARDIANS* at liberty. And therefore *Eumenes* refusing that Journey against the *GRECIANS*, alledged that he was afraid of *Antipater*, who had been his Enemy of long time, doubting that for the old grudge he bare him, and also to gratifie *Hecateus*, he would put him to death : *Leonatus* then revealed himselfe and his purpose to him, and how he made as though he would passe over the Sea to aide *Antipater*, where indeed his meaning was to take the Kingdom of *MACEDON*. Thereupon he shewed him Letters sent from *Cleopatra*, willing him to come to the City of *PELLA*, and there he would marry him. When *Eumenes* was made private to his purpose : either because he feared *Antipater*, or else for that he had no great good opinion of *Leonatus*, knowing him to be a fond man, and very rash and unconstant in his doings, he stole away from him by night, with those few men he

Eumenes made Governour of the Countreies of Cappadocia and Paphlagonia.

had (being about three hundred Horsemen, and two hundred Footmen well armed) taking all his Gold with him, which amounted to the summe of five thousand Talents; and fled with them unto *Perdiccas*, unto whom he bewrayed all *Leonatus* intent and minde: whereupon he was immediately of great credit about him, and called to counsell. Shortly after *Perdiccas* brought him into *CAPPADOCIA*, with a great Army which he himself did leade. Where *Antipater* was taken Prisoner, and *Eumenes* established Governour of the Countrey, who delivered the Charge of the great Cities unto his friends, and left them there Captains of Garrisons which he appointed, placing every where Judges, Receivers, Governours, and all such other Officers necessary as he thought meete, *Perdiccas* meddling with nothing at all. Notwithstanding, *Eumenes* went away with *Perdiccas* again: as well to wait upon him, as also because he would ever be about the King. But *Perdiccas* thinking with himself that he alone could well enough performe the enterprize he went about: and considering also that the Realme he left behinde him stood needfull of a wise and skilfull Governour, whom he might trust with the safety of his State: when they were in *CILICIA*, returned *Eumenes* back againe, under colour to fend him to his Government, but indeed to keepe the Realme of *ARMENIA* in obedience, the which confined upon the frontiers of his Countrey whereof he was Governour, because *Neoptolemus* did under-hand practise some alteration. Now though *Neoptolemus* was a proud and insolent Person, yet *Eumenes* still devised to hold him in, and kept him from attempts by gentle and faire words. Furthermore, perceiving also that the regiment of the *MACEDONIAN* Footmen were growne exceeding stout and insolent, he for a strength and defence against them, set up a company of Horsemen; and to bring it to passe, realeased all the Countrey men from paying of Tribute or Tax, being meete to serve on Horsebacke, and brought a great number of Horse of Service, which he gave amongst them that were about him, in which he put his most trust and affiance, making them couragions, by Honours and Gifts he gave to them that served well; and so by continual Exercise and often removing them from place to place, made them very ready and serviceable. Thus were the Noblemen of *MACEDON*, some much amazed, some others very glad when they saw how by this diligence *Eumenes* had in so short a time gotten about him such a number, as six thousand three hundred Horsemen. About that time, *Craterus* and *Antigonus* having subdued the *GRECIANS*, came on with their Army into *ASIA* to overthrow *Perdiccas* greatness and power: and newes also, that shortly they would invade *CAPPADOCIA*. Whereupon *Perdiccas* being otherwise occupied in Warres, fighting against *Protony*, made *Eumenes* his Lieutenant-General, and gave him Commission and full Authority over all his Souldiers that were for him, either in *CAPPADOCIA*, or in *ARMENIA*, and wrote Letters unto *Neoptolemus* and *Alcetas*, commanding them by the same that they should be obedient unto *Eumenes*, and suffer him to order all matters according to his discretion. Now for *Alcetas*, he flatly answered, that he would not be at this Warre: for the *MACEDONIANS* under his charge were ashamed to take Armes against *Antipater*; and moreover they would not fight against *Craterus*, but contrarily were bent to receive him for their Captaine, so much good will they bare him. *Neoptolemus* on the other side, was as ready to play the Traitour, and to do *Eumenes* a shrewd turne, as *Alcetas* was. For being sent by *Eumenes* to come to him, where he should have obeyed him, he set his men in Battell ray to fight with him. There did *Eumenes* reape the first fruite of his wise foresight of the Horsemen, which he had set up to make head against the Footmen of the *MACEDONIANS*. For when his owne Footmen were broken and overthrowen, he overcame *Neoptolemus*, and put him to flight with his Horsemen, and took all their Carriage. Then he made them march in order of Battell against the *MACEDONIANS*, who were dispersed every where, following the chafe of his Footmen, whom they had overthrowen. Thus coming upon them in this disorder; he drave them to throw away their Weapons, and to yeeld unto him: and moreover, every man to take his Oath to serve him faithfully in this Warre, wherefoever he would leade them. Now *Neoptolemus* gathering a few together that fled, went with them unto *Craterus* and *Antipater*: who sent unto *Eumenes* to pray him to take their part, with condition that he should not onely enjoy the Countreys and Provinces still which he had in Government, but furthermore that they would give him others unto them, and make him stronger then ever he was: besides that by the acceptance of the offer, he should be taken for *Antipaters* good friend, where before he was ever reckoned his Enemy. Whereunto *Eumenes* made answer: that having alwaies been *Antipaters* Enemy, he could not of a sudden become his Friend, specially seeing him use his Friends as Enemies: howbeit otherwise that he was very willing to make *Craterus* Peace with *Perdiccas*, and to restore him againe to his favour, upon reasonable and indifferent conditions. And furthermore, that if he meant to assaile him, that then he would aide him so long as he had any breath in his Body, and would lose his life before he would breake his promise. This answer being brought unto *Antipater*, they fell to consult at leisure what was to be done. In the meane space, *Neoptolemus* that fled upon his overthrow, was come unto them: who told them how the Battell was fought, and besought them both very instantly (but *Craterus* chiefly) to give him aide if it were possible. For the *MACEDONIANS* were so farre in love with him, that if they did but see his Hat, and hear him speake, they would all arme themselves and follow him. For to speake a Troth, *Craterus* was had in great estimation among the *MACEDONIANS*: inasmuch as after *Alexanders* death, he was more desired of the common Souldiers, then any other Captaine, remembering how often he had for their sakes incurred *Alexanders* disgrace and displeasure, because he went about to perswade him to leave the King of *PERSIANS* manner, whereunto *Alexander* by little and little gave himself: and also for that he maintained and defended the custome

custome of the Countrey of *MACEDON*, the which every man through pride and exesse began to forsake and contemne. At that time therefore *Craterus* sent *Antipater* into *CILICIA*, and he himselfe with *Neoptolemus*, went against *Eumenes* with the best part of his Army, hoping to take him rardy and altogether unprovided, supposing he would give himselfe to pleasure and pastime, after so great a Victory. But *Eumenes*, like a wise and valiant Captaine, had taken such order, that he heard newes time enough of his Enemies coming, and had thereupon prepared his men in readinesse to resist him. Yet was not this the chiefe point of his skill in Warre: for he looked so precisely to his doings, that he did not onely keepe his Enemies from knowledge of any thing that he did; but making his men also to kill *Craterus* in Battell, before they knew against whom they should fight, and to keepe also so dreadfull an Enemy from their knowledge, that of all other shewed the passing skill of an expert Captaine. And to worke this feate the better, this was his policy. First, he made a rumour to be spred in his Hoast, how *Neoptolemus* and *Pigres* were againe come against him, with certaine Horsemen of all sorts gathered together, *CAPPADOCIANS* and *PAPHLAGONIANS*. And when he thought to have removed in the night, a great desire of sleepe came upon him, in the which he had a marvellous strange Dreame. For it seemed unto him that he saw two *Alexanders* preparing to fight one with another, either of them leading a battell of Footmen, ranged after the *MACEDONIAN* fashion: who coming to give charge the one upon the other; the goddesse *Minerva* came to aide the one, and *Ceres* likewise to aide the other. Then he thought that after they had fought a long time together, he whom *Minerva* aided was overthrowen, and that *Ceres* had gathered eares of Corne and made a Crown of them, to give him that had wonne the Field. Hereupon *Eumenes* perswaded himselfe that this Dreame made for him, and promised him Victory: for that he fought for a fertile Countrey of Corne, where was great plenty of it. For all the Fields were sowne with Corne in every place, that it was a pleasure to behold it, shewing the benefit of long Peace, to see all the Corne-fields how greene they looked. But when he understood that the Enemies had given their Souldiers for the Signall of Battell, *Minerva* and *Alexander*, then was his first imagination confirmed more then before. Whereupon, he gave *Ceres* and *Alexander* for Signall of the Battell to his Souldiers, and commanded every man to make him a Garland of Wheate-eares to wear on their heads, and that they should wreath Flowers and Nofegaies about their Pikes. He was in minde many times to make his trustiest Captaines privy against whom they should fight, and not alone to trust himselfe withall, to keepe so necessary a thing as that secret: yet in fine, he kept his first resolution, thinking it the safest way, not to commit this danger, but to himselfe. Now when he came to give Battell, he would place never a *MACEDONIAN* directly against *Craterus*, but set two companies of men at Armes that were strangers against him, the which *Pharnabazus* (*Atabazus* Sonne) and *Phonix* *Tenidian* did leade. Then he specially commanded, that so soone as they saw the Enemies before them, they should straight give charge, giving them no leisure to speake nor retire, neither to hearken to any Herald or Trumpet that they should send unto them: for he feared much that the *MACEDONIANS* would turne against him, if they once came to know *Craterus*. Now for himselfe, he led the right Wing of his Battell, with a Troope of three hundred men at Armes, the chiefe men of all his Army, where he would meete full with *Neoptolemus* front. When they had passed a little Hill that stood betweene both Battels, *Eumenes* Horsemen following his Commandement, ranne with full cariare to set upon their Enemies. *Craterus* seeing that, was amazed withall, and banned and cursed *Neoptolemus* that had deceived him in that sort, informing him that the *MACEDONIANS* would turne of his side, if they might but once see him: notwithstanding, he prayed them that were about him, to shew themselves like valiant men that day, and therewithall fiercely set Spurres to his Horse to meete with his Enemies. The encounter was very cruell on either side, and their Staves being broken, they fell straight to their Swords: but that day did not *Craterus* dishonour the memory of *Alexander*, for he slew many of his Enemies round about him, valiantly repulsed them that did assaile him, and many times overthrowen them. Yet in fine, one of the men of Armes of *THRACIA* gave him such a blow on the side, that he turned him off his Horse, and when he was down, many passed over him. But *Gorgias*, one of *Eumenes* Captaines knowing him, lighted from his Horse, and appointed men about him to guard him: howbeit it was too late, for he was drawing on, and even in the very pangs of death. *Eumenes* and *Neoptolemus* on the other side, which had been mortall Enemies of long time, being on fire with an old malice, they fought up and down the one for the other. And at the two first courses they could not one light upon the other, but at the third meeting, when they knew one another, then they set Spurs to their Horses, their Swords drawn and with great cries gave Charge upon each other. And their Horses met so fiercely together, as if two armed Gallies had met with their Prowes: and both the Captaines laying the bridles in their Horses necks, closed together, and with both hands strived to pluck off each others Head-piece, and to rent their Polrons from their shoulders. Whilest they were thus tearing each other, their Horses ran from them, and they fell to the ground, one holding the other fast as if they had wrestled together. *Neoptolemus* got up first: but as he rose, *Eumenes* cut the ham of his Legge, and raised himself up withall. *Neoptolemus* staying himselfe upon one Knee, his other Legge being very sore hurt, defended himselfe on the ground the best he could, from *Eumenes* that was on his feete, but he could give him no deadly wound: nevertheless himselfe had a blow on the necke, that laid him flat on the ground. Then *Eumenes* inflamed with choler against him, went about to strip him, and fell a reviling of him, and being in that furious mood, remembered not that *Neoptolemus* had his Sword yet, who hurt him under

Eumenes skill in Warre.

Eumenes Dreame.

Battell betwixt *Eumenes* and *Craterus*.

Craterus death.

Neoptolemus
slaine.

Eumenes Vic-
tory of Craterus
and Neoptole-
mus.

Sardis the
chiefe City of
Lydia.

The constancy
of Eumenes in
adversity.

Eumenes Stra-
tagem.

his Curaces, even about his Groine, not farre from his privy Parts : howbeit the wound made *Eumenes* worke afraid then there was cause of hurt, for that *Neoptolemus* strength was gone before the stroke came, dying presently upon it. *Eumenes* having stripped him, found him selfe very ill (by reason of his wounds) on his Armes and Legs, which had many a fore gash : notwithstanding, he got up on his Horse againe, and rode towards the other Wing of his Battell, thinking his Enemies had been fighting still. But there being told that *Craterus* had his death wound, he went straight to the place where he lay, and found him yet alive, not past knowledge. Then *Eumenes* lighted from his Horse, and wept, and taking him by the right hand, accursed *Neoptolemus* that had brought him to that pitifull state, and had also forced him to bein Battell against one of his dearest Friends, to make him the instrument of his utter undoing. This second Battell *Eumenes* wanne ten daies after the first Battell obtained, which got him great honour, for that he had discomfited one of his Enemies through wisdom, and the other by valiantnesse. But yet this bred him much ill will, not onely of his Enemies, but of his Friends also that tooke his part, when they bethought them, that he being a stranger, had with the Weapons and Power of the *MACEDONIANS* themselves, slaine the greatest and most famous Captaine among them. Now if *Perdiccas* had been so happy, as to have lived and received the advertisement of *Craterus* death, no doubt he had been the greatest person of all the *MACEDONIANS*. But as ill luck would have it, within two daies after that *Perdiccas* was slaine in a mutiny of his men in *EGYPT*, newes came to his Army of *Eumenes* Victory, and also of the death of *Craterus*. Whereupon the *MACEDONIANS* were so offended with *Eumenes*, that incontinently they condemned him to die, and gave *Antigonus* and *Antipater* Commission to execute the revenge. When *Eumenes* passing by Mount *Ida* (where the King kept a Race and breed of Horses) had taken away with him as many Horses as he would, and had sent Letters of advertisement thereof to the Kings Riders : *Antipater*, as it is reported, smiled, and in mockery said, that he marvelled to see *Eumenes* great care, to thinke that he should either give or receive any account of the Kings Goods. So *Eumenes* thought good to fight in the great Plaines of *LYDIA*, especially neare unto the chiefe City of *SARDIS*, because he was the stronger in Horsemen, and for that he would make *Cleopatra* see the power of his Army. Howbeit, being intreated by her (who feared blame of *Antipater*) he went further into high *PHRYGIA*, and wintered in the City of *CELENES*. But there *Polemon*, *Alcidas* and *Docimus*, fell in contention with him for leading of the Army, saying that they had as much right to leade the Army as he. *Eumenes* answered them. Truly here is the common saying up and down : Desperate men regard no danger. Now *Eumenes* having promised his Souldiers pay within three daies, to keepe his promise, sold them all the Farnes and Castles of that Country, together with the men and beasts of the same, whereof the Province was fully replenished. Thereupon his Lieutenants of the bands having bought certaine of them, went and tooke them by force, through *Eumenes* Engines of Battery which he suffered them to carry with him : and having taken them, they went and divided the spoile, paying every Souldier ratably his wages due. This device brought him againe in favour among his Souldiers. For certaine Papers being found in his Campe cast abroad by his Enemies, promising great Offices, and a hundred Talents besides to any man that killed *Eumenes* : the *MACEDONIANS* that served under him were so offended withall, that they presently set down an Order, that from that time forward a thousand of the best Souldiers among them (which also had Charge under them) should alwaies guard his Person, keeping Watch every night about him, as fell out by turnes one after another. Whereunto they all agreed : and *Eumenes* gave them those honours and rewards which the Kings of *MACEDON* were wont to give unto their Friends, and which they gladly received. For through their grant he had Authority to give Purple Cloakes and Hats to whom he thought good, which was the honourable Gift the King of *MACEDON* could give. It is true, that prosperity maketh simple men high-minded, whereby they seem (though they be not) very honourable, but specially when Fortune hath raised them to Honour and Wealth. But indeed he that is of a noble minde and stout courage, is best discerned in adversity : for he never yeelded to any troubles, as appeareth by *Eumenes*. For when he had lost a Battell among the *ORCYNIANS*, in the Realm of *CAPPADOCIA*, through the treason of one of his Souldiers he being pursued, yet never gaveth Traitor any leasure to flie to his Enemies for safety, but tooke him and trussed him up. And after he had fled for a time, he turned his Horse head upon a sudden, and leaving his Enemies side-hand of him that had him in chafe, he closely stole by them without their knowledge, and held on journeying so long, untill he came to the selfe same plaine where the Battell was fought. There he camped, and gathering up the dead Bodies (the Captaines by themselves, and the Souldiers apart) he burnt them with the Doores, Gates and Windows of all the Villages and Townes thereabouts that he could get together : and instead of Tombes for them, he raised up great heapes of Earth. Inasmuch as *Antigonus* coming thither immediately after, he wondered much at his valiantnesse and invincible courage. Removing thence, he met with *Antigonus* Carriage, and might easily without danger have taken a number of Prisoners, as well free as bond, and have gotten all the Riches and Treasure which they had spoiled in so many sundry Warres, Townes and Countries : howbeit he was afraid that if his Souldiers were laden with that spoile, it would make them more heavy to march, and unable to flie, but specially more tender to abide to runne from place to place a long time together, being the onely meane wherein he trusted to come to end this Warre. For he made account that *Antigonus* in the end would be wearie in following him so long a time, and therefore that he would turne some other way.

way. Moreover he perceived that it was impossible for him by his Authority to keepe the *MACEDONIANS* from taking such a Prey, as offered it selfe unto them : whereupon he commanded them to stay a while, and bait their Horse first, and then that they should go straight to spoile the Enemies Carriage. But in the meane time he secretly sent a Messenger to *Menander* (who had the Charge and Conduct of all the Carriage) to will him to flie with all speed out of the plaine, and to get him to the hanging of a Hill not far from thence, and safe from Horsemen, where they could not be environed, and there to fortifie himselfe, sending him word also, that he sent him this advertisement, for the old friendship and acquaintance that had been betweene them afore. *Menander* hearing what danger he was in, made his men trusse up their Carriage straight. Thereupon *Eumenes* openly sent certaine light Armed men to discover, and to bring him newes : and therewithall commanded them to arme, and bridle their Horses, as if he had meant to have led them against the Enemies. His Scouts were now returned, and told him that it was impossible either to distress or take *Menander*, for that he was fled into a place of such strength, and therefore was not to be come by. *Eumenes* seemed to be very sorry for it, howbeit he led his Army from thence notwithstanding. *Menander* afterwards reported this matter to *Antigonus*, and the *MACEDONIANS* that were in his Army, who did greatly commend *Eumenes*, and after that loved him better then ever they did before : because that having their Children in his hands whom he might have made Slaves, and their Wives also whom he might have defiled, he spared them all. Howbeit *Antigonus* to put them out of this humour, told them, Yea are deceived, my Friends : for it was not for your sakes, nor yet to pleasure you, that *Eumenes* tooke not your Wives, your Children, and your Goods, but onely for the fear he had to have shackles on his heeles, to let him from speedy flying. So *Eumenes* departing from thence, fled still before *Antigonus*, and wandering up and down, did himselfe with his Souldiers to get them somewhere else : either indeed for that he was carefull of them, or for that he was unwilling to have such a number about him, being too few to fight a Battell, and too many to hide his flying. In fine, he went to a strange place of situation, called *NORA*, in the Confines of *LYCONIA* and *CAPPADOCIA*, with five hundred Horsemen, and two hundred Footmen well Armed : and when he was come thither also, he gave every one leave to depart that asked him licence, because they could not have abidden the discommodity of the place, which was very straight, and the lacke of necessary Victuals, which they must needs have wanted, if the Siege did continue long : and thus departed from them with very good words and loving countenance. Shortly after came *Antigonus* before the Fort, but would not besiege it, before he sent for *Eumenes* to come to him upon his word. *Eumenes* answered him, that *Antigonus* had many of his friends about him, that after him might come to be the Heads of his Tribe, and that himselfe on the other side had not a Noble-man for whom he fought : and therefore if *Antigonus* would have him come and speake with him, that he should send him one of his chiefe Friends in Hostage. Againe, *Antigonus* being earnest with him, and telling him, it was reason he should come to him, for that he was the better man, and of greater power ; *Eumenes* answered him : I will acknowledge none better then my selfe, so long as I can hold my Sword in my hand. In the end, *Antigonus* (according to *Eumenes* request) sent his owne Nephew *Ptolome* into the Fort, and then came *Eumenes* out. At their meeting they both embraced and saluted each other, as friends of old acquaintance and familiarity, and so fell in talke of divers matters : but all this while *Eumenes* never once made request to depart in safety, neither yet demanded pardon, but onely desired the confirmation of his Charge and Government, and that he might be restored to that which was given him. They that were present at that meeting, marvelled much at *Eumenes*, and greatly commended his Routnesse. Now whiles they were thus in talke together, the *MACEDONIANS* came out of all partes of the Campe, to see what manner of man *Eumenes* was : because that after the death of *Craterus*, there was no talke among the *MACEDONIAN* Souldiers of any Captaine but of *Eumenes*. Nevertheless, *Antigonus* fearing they would do *Eumenes* some mischief, commanded them aloud to give backe, and made stones to be throwne among them to keepe them off him. All this notwithstanding he was faine in the end to put them off with his Guard, and to take *Eumenes* in his Armes, and had much ado to deliver him safely into his Fort againe. After this imparlance, *Antigonus* compassed this Fort of *NORA* round about with a Wall, and left a sufficient number of men to continue the Siege, and so went his way with the rest of his Army. In the meane time *Eumenes* remained besieged within his Fort, where there was plenty of Wheate, Water, and Salt, but of no other thing that was good to eate, nor of sweete taste, to sustaine them with their Bread. Yet with such as he had he kept them in good liking that were in house with him. For he made them every one after another sit at his Boord with him, and withall did fashion out that manner of diet, with a certaine life and familiarity of pleasant devices to entertaine them at their Meate. For besides that he sought to shew them as pleasant a countenance as he could, yet naturally he had a sweete faire Face, not looking like a man of Warre, that all the daies of his life had been trained up in it : but like a fresh youth, being of such a constitution of body, that the excellentest Work-man that ever was, could not better set out all the parts and proportion of a man, then were naturally to be seene in him. His speech was not harsh nor churlish, but very milde and pleasant, as appeareth by the Letters he wrote. Now for the Siege, there was nothing that more annoyed the besieged then the narrownesse of the Fort wherein they were, which was not above two Furlongs compass about, and their Houses so little and narrow, that they could scant turne them in them, and did eate and drinke without any manner of Exercise for themselves, or

Eumenes talke
with *Antigo-
nus*, and his
magnanimity.

Eumenes, be-
sieged in the
Fort of *Nora*.

Eumenes per-
sonage and
pleasantnesse.

Eumenes in-
dustry at the
Siege for
Marshall Ex-
ercise.

their Horse. Now *Eumenes* to take away the sluggishness that groweth by idleness, a thing most hurtfull to them that are acquainted with travell and paines, to keepe them in breath, and to make them the lighter to flie, if occasion were offered, put his men into the longest and widest Hall he had in his House (being fourteene Cubits long to walk up and down in) and taught them first of all to march faire and softly, and then by little and little to hasten their pace: for the Horses he had, them he made to be girt before, one after another, and then did softly trife them up with long Pulleys fastned to the beames, their hindmost part standing on the ground, and their foremost being aloft. The Horses being trified up in this manner, their riders came with loud cries behinde them and some with whips in their hands to lash them, that the Horse being mad withall, jerked out behinde, and sprang forward with his foremost legs to touch the ground, that they did but even raise it a little, so that every veine and sinew of them were strained by this meanes, that they blew, and were all of a foame withall; so good an exercise to them it was, as well to put them in breath, as to keepe their legs supple to run. After that, they had their Oates very cleane pickt and dressed, that they might digest them the sooner. *Antigonus* having long continued this Siege, news came unto him that *Antipater*, was dead in *MACEDON*, and that the Realm was in a great broile, through the Factions of *Cassander* and *Polyperchon*. *Antigonus* whose head was straight full of great imaginations, greedily coveting with himselfe the whole Kingdome of *MACEDON*, thought good to make *Eumenes* his Friend, that through his helpe he might attaine his desired purpose. Thereupon he sent *Hieronymus* unto him to treat of Peace, and gave him the forme of the Oath which he would have him sweare unto him. When *Eumenes* had seene it, he would not be sworne in that manner, but corrected it, and said: that he did referre himselfe to the judgement of the *MACEDONIANS* which kept him besieged, to judge which of those two formes was most meetest, that which *Antigonus* had sent him, or the same which he had corrected. For in *Antigonus* forme of Oath, there was a little mention onely made at the beginning of the bloud Royall, but in all the rest following, he bound *Eumenes* particularly to himselfe. But *Eumenes* in his forme of Oath, did first of all put *Olympias* the Mother of King *Alexander*, and the Kings his Sons afterwards: and for the rest he swore he would be Friend of the Friends, and Enemy of the Enemies, not of *Antigonus* onely, but of the Kings, and of *Olympias*. The *MACEDONIANS* being at the Siege before *NORA*, did better like the forme of *Eumenes* Oath, then they did that of *Antigonus*. So having given *Eumenes* his Oath, and made him sweare according to that forme, they raised their Siege, and sent also unto *Antigonus* to take his Oath. All this accomplished, *Eumenes* redelivered the *CAPPADOCIANS* their Hostages, (which he had kept in *NORA* with him) and they that came for them, gave him in their stead, Horse of Warre, Beasts of Carriage, Tents and Pavillions. Thus he began to gather his men againe together, which were dispersed abroad after his overthrow, so that in few daies he was above a thousand Horsemen, with whom he fled, fearing yet *Antigonus*: and he did wisely. For *Antigonus* had not onely commanded them to shut him up againe straighter then he was before: but besides that wrote sharpe Letters, and very angrily unto the *MACEDONIANS*, which had accepted the correction of the Oath. Whilest *Eumenes* wandered up and downe flying still, he received Letters from certaine in *MACEDONIA* (fearing *Antigonus* greatness) and specially from *Olympias*, which sent unto him to come into *MACEDON*, to take the Charge and Government of her young Sonne *Alexander*, whom they fought to put to death. Furthermore, he likewise received Letters from *Polyperchon*, and from King *Philip*, who commanded him to make War with *Antigonus* with his Army he had in *CAPPADOCIA*, and to put in his Purse of the Kings five hundred Silver Talents (which had been taken from him before) which were in the City of *CYNDES*: and besides, to defray the Charges of the Warres, as much as he thought meet. And therewithall also they wrote unto *Antigenes* and *Tentamus*, the two Captaines of the *Argyraspides*, to wit, the Souldiers with the Silver Shields, or Shields silvered, which were of the old Bands of *Alexanders* Army. These two Captaines having received these Letters, did use *Eumenes* with very good words, and shewed him great countenance: yet a man by their looks might easily conjecture that they envied him; for either of them both thought themselves men sufficient, and worthy to command *Eumenes*, not to aide him. Howbeit *Eumenes* behaved himselfe very wisely, for as touching their envy, he pacified that, because he tooke not the Money which he was commanded to take for his owne use, for that he had no neede of it. And as for their ambition and presumption, disdaining to be commanded by him, though they could neither tell how to command nor obey, he did reclaime them by a superstition he laid before them, which was this. He made them believe that *Alexander* did appeare to him in his sleepe, and that he shewed him a Pavillion sumptuously set out in the state and magnificence of a King, in the which was a Royall Throne: and told him, that if they would keepe their Councell-place in that Pavillion, he would be present among them, and aide them in all their counsels, and conducts of their Warres, so that they would alwaies begin by him. He easily perswaded *Antigenes* and *Tentamus* to believe that which he spake, who would not go to him to consult of any matters: neither did he thinke it honourable for himselfe to be seene to go to other mens Gates. Wherefore with all their consents they incontinently set up a goodly rich Pavillion, which was called *Alexanders* Pavillion: and there they kept their Councels and Assemblies for dispatch of all their weightiest Causes. After this, they went towards the high Countreies, and met with *Penceffas* on the way (*Eumenes* very great Friend) who joynd with them, and other great peers of the Realme, with all their power besides. This did greatly strengthen the Army of the Noblemen of *MACEDONIA*, as touching the

This was *Alexander* the Son of *Philip*, Father to *Alexander* whom they had summoned *Philip*. *Eumenes* made King *Philip* Lieutenant of his Army. *Argyraspides* *Alexanders* Souldiers, so called, for their silver Shields. *Eumenes* temperance.

Eumenes fained device.

the number of men, and their brave Armour and Furniture: but for their owne persons, because they had no man to command them since the death of *Alexander*, they were growne self-willed by dissolute liberty, and effeminate in their manner of life: and moreover they had gotten a Tyrannicall fiercenesse, nourished and increased by the vanities of the barbarous People. So that many of them being then together, could not be quiet one with another, but shamefully flattered the old bands of the *MACEDONIAN* Souldiers, giving them Money, and making them Banquets and Feasts of Sacrifices. And thus in short time, of a Campe they brought it to be a dissolute Taverne, where the Noblemen got into the Souldiers favour that they might be chosen Chieftaines of all the Army: like as the common Peoples Voices are bought in free Cities (where the People do rule) to be preferred to honourable States and Offices of the Common-wealth. Now *Eumenes* found straight that these peeres of the Realme disdained one another, howbeit that they all feared and mistrusted him, and fought but for opportunity to kill him. Wherefore to prevent this, he made as though he had occasion to occupy Money, and so borrowed a great Summe of them specially whom he knew most hated him, to the end that from thenceforth they should no more distrust, but trust him, standing in feare to lose the Money they had lent him. And thereof followed a strange thing: for other mens Money and Goods was the safety of his life. For where others give Money to save their lives, he by taking of Money saved his owne life. Now for the Souldiers of the *MACEDONIANS*, whilest they saw they were without danger of Enemies to make them afraid, they still hung upon them that gave them, being desirous to be made Generals, and came every morning to their uprising to waite upon them, and follow them wherefoever they went. But when *Antigonus* was come to Campe hard by them with a great and puissant Army, and that their case required then a valiant Captaine and skilfull Leader: not the Souldiers alone, but all the Peeres and States besides (which in Peace did brave it out) did then willingly (without motion made) submit themselves unto *Eumenes*, to be at his Commandement. For when *Antigonus* assayed all the waies he could to passe over the River of *Pastigris*, the Peeres which were laied in divers places to let him from passing over, heard nothing of it, so that there was none but *Eumenes* onely that resisted him, and fought with him, where he slew such a number of his men, that he filled the River with them, and tooke foure thousand of them Prisoners. Againe, when *Eumenes* was sicke, these old bands did more plainly shew what opinion they had of him, and of others, to wit, that they could banquet them, and make them goodcheere at their Houses; yet that *Eumenes* onely of all other was worthiest to be their Captaine, and to command them. For *Penceffas* having feasted them in the Kingdome of *PERSIA*, and given every Souldier a Mutton to Sacrifice, thought he had won great favour and credit among them. But shortly after, as the Army marched against their Enemies, *Eumenes* by misfortune fell dangerously sicke, and therefore would needs be carried in a Litter far from the Campe, to be out of the noyse, because he could take no rest. But they had not gone far, before they saw their Enemies, which having passed over certaine little Hills betwene them, were coming down into the Valley. When the Souldiers saw the glistering of the gilt Armour of their Enemies that glared in the Sunne, and the good order they marched withall in Battell ray, the Elephants with the Towers upon their backs, and the men at Armes with their Purple Coates upon their Armour (which was the Apparell they wore when they went to fight with their Enemies) then the foremost staid upon it, and cried out, willing them to send for *Eumenes* to leade them; for they would else go no further if they had not him for their General. And therewithall they raised their Pikes, and laid down their Shields at their feet, calling from one to another to stay, and to their private Captaines also: and told them plainly, that they would not stirre a foot from thence, nor fight at all, unless *Eumenes* were among them to leade them. *Eumenes* hearing of it, came to them with great speed, hastning his Slaves and Littermen to bring him thither: and then opening his Litter on every side he held out his right hand to the Souldiers, and told them he was very glad of the good opinion they had of him. The Souldiers also as soone as they saw him, saluted him in the *MACEDONIAN* Tongue, and tooke up their Shields, clapping them against their Pikes with a great shout, bidding their Enemies come when they would, they should be fought withall, now that their Captaine was among them. *Antigonus* on the other side, being informed by certaine Prisoners which his Souldiers had taken in Skirmish, that *Eumenes* was fallen very sore sicke, and by reason thereof was carried in a Litter, thought now he should have no great adoe to discomfit the rest of the Army, and therefore made all possible speed he could to fight. But when he came so neare, that he might easily see the order and countenance of his Enemies, who were set in such good order of Battell, that it could not on any waies be amended, he was much amazed withall, and pawed a great while; and in the meane time spied *Eumenes* Litter a farre off, carried from on end of the Battell to the other, whereat he laughed out aloud, as his manner was, and turning himselfe to his Friends, said: See, said he, I believe it is that Litter that maketh Warre with us, and doth offer us Battell. But with those words, he founded the retreat, and brought his men backe againe into his Campe. When this fear was a little passed over, the *MACEDONIANS* fell to their old trade againe, the Peeres to flatter the Souldiers, and the Souldiers to wax brave and stout against their Captaines: so that when they came to take their Garrisons for the winter time, they divided in a manner among them the whole Countreie of the *GABENIANS*, the first from the last being lodged almost a thousand furlongs off. Which *Antigonus* understanding, determined to set upon them, they mistrusting nothing; and so went suddainly towards them, by a shorter way then that he had already come.

Eumenes will-
lingnesse to
winde himself
out of danger.

Eumenes Bar-
tell with *Antigonus*, and his
Victory.

Antigonus
Souldiers ar-
med with gilt
Armours.

Antigonus
mocke to *Eumenes*.

Eumenes Strata-
gemes against
Antigonus.

Envy the
Companion
of Vertue.

Eumenes death
conspired.

Eumenes tore
all his Friends
Letters to keep
them out of
trouble.

The old bands
of the Macedo-
nians were eve-
ry man three-
score and ten
years old, and
most above
Eumenes Con-
flict with An-
tigonus

come, but the worser way a great deale, and where no water was to be had: in hope that if he met them thus disperfed asunder, their Captaines could not readily affemble them all together. But while he was in this his Journey, in the defart crooked way, he was so overtaken with such boiste-
rous winds and extreame bitter cold, that his Souldiers could go no further, but were forced to tarry still, to provide them present remedy against the fury of the time. Now the onely remedy they had, was to make numbers of fires: and by them their Enemies knew of their coming. For the barbarous People inhabiting the Mountaines, towards the Defart, being amazed to see such a number of fires in the Valley, sent presently with speed upon two Camels light laden, to advertise *Pencestas*, who being nearest unto the Mountaines was so feared with these newes, that he was at his wits end, not knowing what to do. For seeing his other Companions as much afraid as himselfe, he fled upon it, and carried all them with him which he met in his way. But *Eumenes* quieted this great feare, assuring them that he would stay the sudden attempt of their Enemies, and that they should come three daies later then they looked for: which they believed. Then did *Eumenes* send Messengers into every quarter to all the Captaines, commanding them speedily to put their men in readinesse, and to meet him in a certaine place which he appointed. Him-
selfe went in the meane time with other Captaines to chuse a fit ground to lodge a Campe, the which might easily be seene from the top of the Mountaines which they must passe that come from the Defart: and there fortified the same with Trenches, and divided it out into quarters, making Fire in every place, such a distance off one from another, as they use commonly to make in a Campe. It was no sooner done, but *Antigonus* came to the top of the Mountaines, and saw these Fires asfarre off, which grieved him much: for he thought that his Enemies had long before knowne of his coming, and that they came against him. Being afraid therefore left his En-
emies would compell him to fight, coming fresh upon him, his owne men being wearie and done with the paines they had abidden, coming through that defart Countrey: he tooke his way to leade backe his Army, not the nearest way by the which he came, but through the Coun-
treys richly inhabited and replenished with great Cities and good Townes, to refresh his over-wearied People. Yet seeing he had none Alarmes given, nor any Skirmishes offered him, (as they use commonly when both Armies are neare together) and that the Valley-men told him that they had seene none other Army but his, saying that round about there was store of Fires: then he straight mistrusted that it was one of *Eumenes* Stratagemes of Warre, wherewith he had deceived him. And therewithall he was in such a rage, that he went straight to the place where he thought to finde him, determining no more to steale upon him, but to put all to the hazard of a Battell. But in the meane time, the most part of the Host was gathered about *Eumenes*, for the great estimation every man had of his wisdom and sufficiency: inso much that they agreed and ordained, that he onely as their Lieutenant-Generall should command the whole Army. This spited the two Captaines of the ARGYRASPIDES, *Antigenes* and *Leutamus*, who bare him such an inward grudge, that from that time forth they practised his death: and assembling together with many of the States and particular Captaines, they fate in Councell to know when, and in what sort they should kill him. Howbeit the most Voices assembled in this Councell, were whole of opinion, that they should take the benefit of his service in leading the Battell, and that immediately after they should put him to death. This being thus resolved upon, *Eudamus* Captaine of the Elephants, and another called *Phadimus*, went secretly and told *Eumenes* what they had concluded upon in the Assembly against him, not for any good will that they bare him, or for that they sought to pleasure him, but onely because they were afraid to lose the Money they had lent him. *Eumenes* gave them great thanks, and commended their fidelity, and then reported it unto his best Friends, and told them: You see how I am environed with a Troope of wilde and brutish beasts. That done, he made his Will, and tore all the Letters and Writings that had been sent him, because he would not have them suffer for him after his death, that had sent him secret advertisements. Afterwards, when he had disposed of all his private matters in this sort, he stood in a doubt whether he should lose the Battell, giving his Enemies the Victory, or whether it were better for him to sie into CAPPADOCIA, through MEDIA and ARMENIA. Howbeit he resolved of nothing before his Friends. But when the mischief he was in, had put divers thoughts into his head, in fine, he determined to fight, and did set his Army in Battell-ray, perswading the GRECIANS as well as the barbarous People to stand to it like men. And as for the old Souldiers of the MACEDONIANS, they so little needed exhortation, that they themselves did exhort *Eumenes* to be of good courage, saying that their Enemies would never abide them, because they were all the oldest Souldiers, and of greatest experience that had been in all the Conquests of King *Philip*, and of his Sonne *Alexander*; and that it was never heard that they had been overthrowne in any set Battell, the most of them being three score and ten yeares old, and the youngest no lesse then three score. Whereupon, when they ran with great fury to give charge upon their Enemies, they cried out aloud speaking to the Souldiers of the MACEDONIANS that were under *Antigonus*: Ah wretches, come ye to fight with your Fathers? And so assailing them with a lusty courage, and in rage withall. In a short space overthrew the Squadron of the Enemies, and slew the most part of them in the Field. Thus was *Antigonus* Army cleane overthrowne on that side: but on the other side where his men of Armes were, through *Pencestas* cowardlinesse (that handled himselfe very ill at that Battell) he had the upper hand and wanne all their Carriage, through his foresight in the greatest fury of the Battell, and the strength of the place where the Battell was fought. For it was a marvellous great

great plaine of length, neither too deepe, nor yet too hard underfoot, but covered over with a small fine sand, much like to a drie sand the Sea casteth up, and leaveth upon the shore. This sand being scattered abroad by riding and going too and fro of so many thousands of men and Hories during the time of the Battell foughten, had raised such a mighty dust and white smoke in the Element, as if they had stirred or tempered white-lime together: which troubled their sight so sore, as they could see nothing before them: in respect whereof *Antigonus* might easily seize all their Carriage, themselves being never a whit the wiser. The Battell being come to this passe you have heard, *Tentamus* sent presently unto *Antigonus*, to pray him to redeliver them their Carriage again, which he had taken and carried into his Campe. *Antigonus* made him answer, that he would not onely redeliver the goods unto the ARGYRASPIDES; but would moreover use them with all the favour he could so farforth as they delivered *Eumenes* into his hands. Whereupon the ARGYRASPIDES tooke presently a wicked resolution, to deliver him alive into the hands of his Enemies. And with that determination they came near unto him, not making any countenance as though they would lay hands on him, but rather seeming to guard and defend his Person, as their manner was: some of them lamenting that their goods were gone: others telling him that he cared not now that he had won the Battell: and others accusing the Noble-men of cowardlinesse, saying, that the fault was in them that they had not the whole Victory. But in fine, one of them having spied his time, flew to him, and tooke his Sword out of his hand: the others straight laid hold of him, and bound both his hands behinde him with his owne girdle. *Antigonus* understanding it, sent *Nicanor* thither to take him out of their hands, and to bring him to him. Then *Eumenes* having made request unto them to suffer him to speake, as they brought him through the bands of these old MACEDONIAN Souldiers, it was granted him with condition, that he should make no motion unto them to turne from that they were determined to do, but to tell them of things, which (as he said) tended greatly to their benefit. Whereupon silence being made, he got up upon a little hillocke, and there spake unto them, putting forth his hands being bound. O wretched and faithlesse men, the wickedest that ever MACEDON bred! What so great Triumph or Victory, hath ever *Antigonus* wonne of you, having fought it such infinite waies, as you your selves doe now put into his hands, delivering him your Captaine bound and manacled? Will not this be to your great shame, that being Masters of the Field, you will grant the honour of the Victory unto your Enemy, onely for a little covetousnesse of Money and paltrey stuffe which you have lost? And yet is not this all, but the worst behinde: to send your Captaines as you do to pay the Ranfome of your baggage. "For my self, though now they leade me bound, yet do I remain free unovercome, van-
quisher of mine Enemies, and sold by them that should be my friends. Well, yet this request I onely make unto you in the Name of *Jupiter*, Protector of Armes, and for the honour of the gods, (unto whom all vowed Oathes ought faithfully to be kept) I pray and conjure you, to kill me your selves in this place. For all cometh to one end. To be slaine in *Antigonus* Campe by the hands of mine owne Enemies, will ever be counted your deed: and you may be assured he will not be angry withall, for he onely desireth *Eumenes* death, and not his life. If you will needs hold your hands from this attempt, unloose yet one of mine onely, that shall suffice to do the feat. And if for feare ye will not put a Sword in my hand, throw me bound yet hand and feete unto wilde Beasts: which if ye performe, then do I discharge you of your Oath taken between both my hands which ye have sworn unto your Captaine, as holily and perfectly performed. Upon this speech of *Eumenes*, all the rest of the Army had compassion of him, that they wept for tender affection. But the ARGYRASPIDES cried out to carry him away, and not give ear to his Preaching: and that it was a good deed to punish this wicked CHOERONESIAN, according to his deserts, considering that he had turmoiled the MACEDONIANS with endlesse Warre and Battell. And moreover, that it were too much shame that the worthiest Souldiers that ever served King *Philip* and *Alexander*, so painfully in all their Warres, should for recompence of their Service in their old age be turned a begging, their Wives having now lain three nights with their Enemies. With those words, they violently drave him on towards *Antigonus* Campe, who fearing lest the multitude of People that ranne to see him, would smother him in the presse, because every man ranne out of the Campe, he sent thither ten of the strongest Elephants he had, and a good number of men at Armes of the MEDES and PARTHIANS, to make way for him in the presse. When *Eumenes* was now come into *Antigonus* Campe, his heart would not serve him to see him in that miserable state, for that they had once been familiarly acquainted together. Whereupon, such as had him in their custody, came to *Antigonus* to aske him, how he would have him kept: who answered them: Like a Lion or an Elephant. Yet within a while after he tooke pity of him, and discharged him of his weightiest Irons, and sent one of his household Servants to him to see him well used, and suffered his friends to come and bring him any thing he lacked. Thus did *Antigonus* deferre many daies before he would determine ought of *Eumenes*, hearing every man speake, and pondering their purposes and severall opinions. *Nearchus* CRETAN, and his owne Sonne *Demarius* spake for *Eumenes*, and made suite to save his life, contrary to all the other Lords and Captaines that were about *Antigonus*, who would in any case have him die. *Eumenes* standing on these termes, asked his Keeper *Onomarchus* one day, what *Antigonus* meant, that having his Enemy in his hands, he did not quickly rid him out of his paine, or nobly deliver him? *Onomarchus* churlishly answered him againe, that the time was past now to shew his courage, as though he feared not death: and that he should have shewed it in the Field at the Battell. So helpe me *Jupiter*.

Eumenes be-
trayed by the
Argyraspides.

The Oration
of Eumenes to
the traitorous
Argyraspides
his Souldiers.

Antigonus an-
swer for keep-
ing of Eume-
nes being Pri-
soner.

The noble
minde of
Eumenes.
piter.

pitier (quoth he) so have I done, and if thou believest not me, aske them that set upon me: for I never met with man yet more strong then my selfe, *Onomarchus* replied againe: sith now therefore thou hast found a stronger then thy selfe, why then canst thou not abide his pleasure? In fine, when *Antigonus* had resolved of his death, he commanded them to give him no more Meate: and thus taking his sustenance from him, *Eumenes* was three daies a dying. In the meane time came such Newes, that suddenly the Campe removed, and therefore before their departure, a man was sent to *Eumenes* to dispatch him out of his paine. *Antigonus* licenced his friends to take his Body and burn it, and then to gather his ashes and bones to send them to his Wife and Children. *Eumenes* being slaine in this manner, the gods appointed none other Judges to revenge the disloyalty and treason of the ARGYRASPIDES and their Captaines, for betraying *Eumenes*, but *Antigonus* selfe: who detesting them as cruell murderers, and perjured Persons to the gods, appointed *Ithyrius* Governour of the Province of ARACHOSIA, to kill them every Mothers Son what way he could, that none of them might ever see MACEDON againe, nor the Greekish Sea.

The death of Eumenes.

The just reward of unfaithfulness.

THE COMPARISON OF EUMENES with SERTORIUS.



The Government of Eumenes and Sertorius.

Here we have set downe the things worthy memory of *Eumenes* and *Sertorius*. Now to compare them together, in this they were both alike: that they being strangers in a strange Countrey, and banished out of their owne, had alwaies been Captaines of divers Nations, and Chieftaines of great and warlike Armies. But this was proper to *Sertorius*, that all those of his Faction gave him the chiefe place of Authority, as the most sufficientest man among them, and worthiest to command: where *Eumenes* having many that contended against him for the chiefe rule and conduction of the Army, through his noble Deeds, obtained the chiefe place and Authority in the same. So that they obeyed the one, desiring to be governed by a good Captaine: and for their own safety gave place to the other, seeing themselves unable to command. For *Sertorius* being a ROMANE, governed the SPANIARDS and LUSITANIANS: and *Eumenes* a CHOERRONESIAN, the MACEDONIANS. Of the which the SPANIARDS of long time had been subject to the Empire of ROME: and the MACEDONIANS at that time had subdued all the World. Furthermore, *Sertorius* being then of great estimation, for that he was a Senator of ROME, and had charge of men of Warre before, came to the Dignity and Estate to be Chieftaine of a great Army. Where *Eumenes* came with small reputation, disdained for that he was but a Secretary: and when he began to come forwards, had not onely lesse meane to preferre him then *Sertorius* had, but greater lets and impediments also, to hinder his rising and estimation. For many, openly stood against him, and secretly conspired his death: and not as *Sertorius*, whom no man contraried from the beginning, untill his latter end, when certaine of his Companions secretly conspired against him. Therefore *Sertorius* end of all his dangers, was to overcome his Enemies: where *Eumenes* greatest dangers came through his Victories which he wanne of his owne men, through the malice of them that envied his Honour. Now for their Deeds of Armes, they are both in manner alike: but on the other side for their Conditions, *Eumenes* naturally loved Warre and contention, and *Sertorius* embraced peace and quietnesse. For *Eumenes* that might have lived in safety with Honour, if he would but have given place to his betters, and forsaken the Warres: liked better with the danger of his life to follow Martiall Feates, with the greatest Personages of MACEDON, and in the end so came to his death. *Sertorius* contrarily being unwilling

The deeds and conditions of Eumenes and Sertorius.

unwilling to come in trouble, was forced for the safety of his Person to take Armes against them that would not let him live in Peace. For had not *Eumenes* been so ambitious and stout to strive against *Antigonus* for the chiefe place of Authority, but could have been contented with the second, *Antigonus* would have been right glad thereof: where *Pompey* would never so much as suffer *Sertorius* to live in rest. So the one made voluntary Warre onely to rule, and the other against his will was compelled to rule, because they made Warres with him. Whereby it appeareth that *Eumenes* naturally loved Warre, preferring the covetous desire of a better Estate, above the safety of his life: and the other as a right Souldier, used the Warres onely for a meane to save his life by valiant defence of Armes. Furthermore, the one was slaine, mistrusting no treason against him: and the other, looking every houre for present death threatened him. Whereof the one argued a noble minde, not to mistrust them whom he thought his Friends: and the other shewed a faint heart, being taken when he meant to flie. So *Sertorius* death dishonoured not his life, suffering that of his owne Companions, which his deadly foes could never make him suffer. The other having no power to avoide his destiny before he was taken, and having sought meane to live being in Prison and Captivity, could neither patiently nor manfully abide his death. For begging life at his Enemies hands, he gave him his heart with his body, who before had but his body in his power.

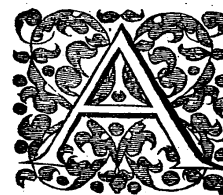
Sertorius death more honest, then the death of Eumenes.

THE LIFE OF AGESILAVS.



Ann. Mund.
3554.

Ant. Christ.
392.



Rehidamus the Sonne of *Zenxidamus*, having honourably reigned in LACEDÆMON, left two Sons behinde him: *Agis* which he begat of that Noble Lady *Lamprido*, and *Agessilavus* a great deale younger, which he had by *Eupolia*, *Melissippidas* Daughter. So the Kingdome falling by succession unto *Agis* the elder, the younger Son *Agessilavus* remaining a private Person, was brought up after the LACONIAN manner, which was a straight kinde of Life: but withall it taught Children how to obey. Whereof it is thought the Poet *Simonides* calleth SPARTA, *Damasimbratos*: to wit, making men civill: for that by continuance of custome, it frameth the Citizens to be obedient to the Lawes, as much or more then any other City that ever was in the World, taming them from their childhood, as they do young Colts. The Law dispenceth with the Heires apparent to the Crown, from that straight subjection and hard Life: but *Agessilavus* had that excellency in him above all others of his Estate, that he came to the Dignity and Honour to command, having from his youth learned to obey. The which undoubtedly was the cause, that he knew better then any other King, how to please and beare with his Subject, helping his

The Parentage of Agessilavus.

The instruction of Agessilavus.

Agessilavus learned to obey, before he came to command.

The modesty
of Agesilaus.

Agesilaus lame-
nile.

Alcibiades
committeeth a-
dultery with
King Agis
Wife.

Agesilaus crea-
tes King,
through Lysan-
ders means.

A lame King.

Agesilaus pro-
claimed King,
and Leotychides
a bastard.

Ephori were
certaine Of-
ficers authori-
sed to controll
the Kings in-
solency and in-
justice, if any
were by the
wiled.

his Royall State and princely behaviour grafted in him by nature, with that courtesie and familiari-
ty, which he had attained by education. At that time when he went in company with the Boyes
which were brought up together, *Lysander* fell in love with him, wondering at the modesty of his
wit. For having better Spirit, and being more constant in his opinion than any of the other Chil-
dren, striving ever to excell in all things, with such a vehemency he tooke all Travels in hand, that
it was unpoffible to overcome him, much lesse to compell him. He was on the other side so milde
and gentle, that every courteous word wrought in him better obedience then any feare could do;
because it grieved him more to be reprov'd, then to take upon him any paine or labour. And for
the deformity of his Leggs, the one being shorter then the other, in the flower of his youth, through
his pleasant wit, he ufed the matter so pleasantly and patiently, that he would merrily mocke
himselfe: which manner of merry behaviour did greatly hide the blame of the blemish. Yea fur-
ther, his life and courage was the more commendable in him, for that men saw that notwithstanding
his lameness, he refused no paine nor labour. Of his Person we have drawne no counterfeite, because
he would not in any wise have it drawn, and did expresse command by his Will, that they should
neither draw his Picture nor make any Mould or Image of his Body. Howbeit we finde that he was
small of Stature, whereby his preference promisd no great matters to them that beheld him. Yet
for that he was ever merry and pleasant, and never pensive nor troublesome in word nor looke,
even to the last end of his life he was better loved, then the most fair creature that lived. Notwith-
standing, the *Ephori* (as *Theophrastus* writeth) did condemne King *Archidamus* in a summe of Money
because he married a little Woman: saying, that he would beget them demy Kings, no Kings indeed.
In the time that his eldest Son *Agis* reigned King *Alcibiades*, being banished *ATHENS*, fled out of
SICILE into *LACEDÆMON*, and had not long remained in *SPARTA* before they suspected him that
he kept King *Agis* Wife, called *Timea*: for which cause *Agis* would not acknowledge the Child he
brought to be his Sonne, saying that *Alcibiades* had begotten him. But *Timea* cared not much for it,
as *Duris* writeth: for otherwhile as she fate amongst her Women, softly she called him *Alcibiades*,
not *Leotychides*. On the other side they report, that *Alcibiades* himself said it was for no hurt he meant
to any man, that he lay with Queen *Timea*, but onely for the desire he had that some of the Kings of
LACEDÆMON should be begotten of his Seed. Nevertheless at the length he was driven to forsake
LACEDÆMON, mistrusting King *Agis*, who ever after doubted of the Child, and thought him a
bastard: untill such time as being on his death Bed, *Leotychides* falling on his knees, wept, and so be-
haved himself, that *Agis* before many Witnesses, said he did acknowledge him for his Son. This not-
withstanding, when King *Agis* was dead, *Lysander* that had then overcome the *ATHENIANS* by Sea,
and was more in credit and Authority in the City of *SPARTA* then any other, practised to put the
Crown upon *Agesilaus* head, saying, that *Leotychides* had no interest unto it, because he was a bastard.
The like did divers other Citizens say of him, which loved *Agesilaus* Vertue, and liked him passingly;
for that he had been brought up from his childhood among them. But on the contrary part also, there
was a Soothsayer or Wifard in *SPARTA* called *Diopirbes*, that had a number of old Prophecies with-
out book, and was accounted a very skillfull man touching Prophecies and Divinations. He maintained
that it was not lawfull for any lame man to be King of *SPARTA*: and for proof thereof he told this
ancient Oracle before the Councell.

*As fastly as thy stomacke is, O Sparta take good heed.
And stand upon thy guard, and looke about thee, I thee reed,
For halting one day down will cast thine Empire to the ground.
By means of Warres and troubles great that shall inclose thee round.*

Lysander replied against it, saying, that if the *SPARTANS* were afraid of this Oracle, they should
rather beware of *Leotychides*. For the gods cared not, if any man lame of a foot aspired to be King:
but rather if he were a bastard, and not lineally descended of the Race of *Hercules*. For that, said
he, were to make the Kingdome halt. *Agesilaus* furthermore alleadged, that the god *Neptune* him-
selfe had witnessed, that *Leotychides* was a bastard: for he drave *Agis* by an Earthquake, to runne
out of his Wives Chamber, and that ten Moneths after that, and more, *Leotychides* was born. So
was *Agesilaus* upon these allegations not onely proclaimed King of *SPARTA*, but he had given
him moreover, as lawfull Heire, all his Brother *Agis* Goods, and *Leotychides* rejected as a bastard.
Notwithstanding, considring that his Parents by his Mothers side were very poor (yet honest
men) he left them the moiety of all the Goods: by which Act, *Agesilaus* wonne all their good wills,
where else they had envied him for his succession in the Kingdome. And (as *Xenophon* saith) by
obeying his Countrey, he grew to such power that he might doe whatsoever he would. The *Ephori*
and Senators at that time bare all the sway and Government of the Common-wealth; the
Ephores Office changing yearly, the other being for life: the which *Ephori* were onely ordained
to bridle the insolency of the Kings, for that they should not (as we have more amply written in
Lycurgus Life) have absolute power in their hands. Upon this occasion, the Kings that succeeded
in the Government, had (as it were) by Inheritance a present grudge and malice against them.
This notwithstanding, *Agesilaus* tooke a contrary course to all his Predecessours. For where others
presently quarrelled with the *Ephori* and Senators, *Agesilaus* did honour and reverence them,
and would never dispatch any matter without their privy, but was alwaies ready to goe when
they did send him. When he was set in his Chaire of State to give Audience, if any of the *Ephori*
chanced to come in, he would rise up unto them: and at the Election of any new Senator, he
would for honours sake present him a Gown and an Ox. And thus cunningly seeming to honour
and

and increase the dignity of the Senators, winning their good wills, he made his power great, and
the Realme much greater. Furthermore, his behaviour towards the rest of his Countymen was such,
as his enmity was lesse faulty then his friendship. For he did never hurt his enemies without just cause,
but he aided his friends even in unjust causes. And whereas he thought it a shame not to honour his
enemies when they had done well, he could not find in his heart to rebuke his friends when they did
amisse, but rather gloried in succouring and helping of them in their evil doings. For he thought it
no shame to serve his friends turne, howsoever it were. Again, when any of his adversaries offend-
ed, he was as sorry for it as any man, and as ready to bear with it if he were intreated: whereby he
allured and won the hearts of all men. The *Ephori* seeing that, and fearing his power, punished him
in money, for that he made the common love of his Countrey private to himself. For as natural Phi-
losophers hold opinion, that if contention and strife were taken out of Nature, it would come to
passe that the heavenly bodies should stand still, and also that the generation of all things should be
at a stay, by reason of the mutuall agreement between the world and them: even so, the Law-maker
of *LACEDÆMON* seemed to have allowed ambition and strife in the Commonwealth, as a spur to
vertue, by procuring alwaies some contention and emulation among great persons. And his reason
was, that this base and effeminate favour, in winking one at another when men are to be rebuked,
ought not of right to be called by the name of Concord. And sure some think that *Homer* also law
the same, for he would never else have made *Agamemnon* to have rejoiced to see *Ulysses* and *Achil-
les* at great words together, if he had not been of opinion, that envy and contention among great
men, were very available for the Commonwealth. Yet is not this thus simply to be allowed:
for contentions are hurtfull to Cities, where they are violent, and do bring great dangers with them.
Now when *Agesilaus* was entred into his Kingdome of *LACEDÆMON*, newes were brought him
out of *ASIA*, that the King of *PERSIA* prepared a great Navy to conquer the *LACEDÆMONI-
ANS* signiory by sea. *Lysander* being glad of this occasion, longing to be sent again to *ASIA*
to succor his friends whom he left there as Governors and Lieutenants of Cities and Provinces (of the
which, some of them were driven away by their Citizens, others also put to death for abusing their
authority, and ruling over-cruelly) perswaded *Agesilaus* to go into *ASIA*, to make war upon this
barbarous King, far from *GREECE*, before his Army were gathered together. And to compasse
this the easilier, he wrote unto his friends in *ASIA*, that they should send unto *SPARTA* to require
Agesilaus for their Captaine, and so they did. Thereupon *Agesilaus* going to the assembly of the
people, accepted the charge, with condition that they would give him thirty Captaines of the *SPAR-
TANS* to be counsellors and assistants to him in these warres, two thousand free *ILOTS*, and fixe
thousand of the confederates of *LACEDÆMON*. All this was immediately granted through *Lysan-
ders* friendship towards him, and he was sent away straight with the thirty Captaines which he had
requested; of the which *Lysander* was the chiefest, not onely for his riches and authority, but also
for the good will he bare unto *Agesilaus*: who thought himself more beholding to him for procuring
him this charge, then for his friendship he shewed him in bring him to be King. Now *Agesilaus* Army
being assembled at the haven of *Gerepha*, himself with certain of his friends went unto the City of
AULIDE, where in his sleep he dreamed that one said unto him: O King of the *LACEDÆMONI-
ANS*, thou knowest that never none but *Agamemnon*, and now thy self, was chosen General of all
GREECE: considering therefore that thou commandest the same people he did, that thou makest
warres with the selfe same enemies, departing from the selfe same place to go thither, it is reason that
thou make the selfe same sacrifice unto the goddesse, the which he made at his like departure. *Agesi-
laus* straight upon this vision, remembered that *Agamemnon* through the perswasion of the Sooth-
sayers did sacrifice his own daughter in the same place: yet this made him not afraid, but the next day
he told it to his friends, and said, he would sacrifice that unto the goddesse, which he thought would
please her well enough; and that he would not follow that cruell devotion of this ancient Captaine
Agamemnon. And with that, he brought a Hinde crowned with a Garland of Flowers, and com-
manded his Soothsayers to sacrifice her, and would not suffer him to have the honour to do the sa-
crifice that was appointed for the same purpose by the Governours of *BOEOTIA* according to the
custome of that place. The Governours of *BOEOTIA* understanding it were much offended, and
sent their Officers to will *Agesilaus* not to do any sacrifice there, contrary to the law and custome
of their Countrey. The Officers that were sent, performed their commision: and finding that
the beast was slaine, and the quarters of it upon the Altar, they tooke and hung them off the Altar
every way. This vexed *Agesilaus*, being ready to imbarke, and depart thence in choler against the
THEBANS, and mistrusted much his good successe by this unlucky prediction, which seemed to pro-
noscicate unto him, that he should prevaile according to his desire. Furthermore, when he was ar-
rived at *EPHEsus*, he presently millicked the honour he saw done unto *Lysander*, and the great
train that waited on him. For all the Countymen there repaired continually to his house; and when
he came abroad, they all followed him wheresoever he went; as though *Lysander* had indeed been in
authority to do what he would, and that *Agesilaus* onely had but the name to be General, so appoint-
ed by the law of *LACEDÆMON*. For in truth there was never *GRECIAN* Captaine in those parts
that had won him such estimation, nor that was more feared then he: nor there was never man that
was more beneficial to his friends, neither also that was more hurtfull to his enemies. All these things
being fresh in memory, the Countymen of that Countrey perceiving the simplicity of *Agesilaus*, and
how he was given to please the people, and carried no great majesty nor countenance with him,
and observing in *Lysander* that wonted roughnesse and sharpe speech wherewith they had beene

Agesilaus an
uprighter ene-
my than a
friend.

Whether con-
tention among
the nobility be
profitable in a
Common-
wealth.

Agesilaus jour-
ney into Asia.

Agesilaus dream
in Aulide.

Lysanders glory
diminished.

Agelilaus
grudge unto
Lyfander.

See the life of
Lyfander.

Ambitious
heads are very
dangerous in a
Common-
wealth.

Agelilaus deeds
in Asia, and the
falshood of Ti-
sapbernes.

Agelilaus craft.

acquainted before; every man obeyed him, and nothing was done but what he commanded. This first of all made the other SPARTANS angry, for that it appeared they were come as it were to serve *Lyfander*, and not not as to counsell the King: but after that, *Agelilaus* himself also grew discontented, although of his own nature he was not envious, nor sorry to see others honoured besides himself. Yet being a man ambitiously given, and of a noble courage, fearing if he should do any noble exploit in this war, that they would impute it unto *Lyfander*, for the great estimation he was of, he began to deale in this sort with him. First he contrariad all his counsels: and what matters soever he preferred, which he was desirous should have taken effect. *Agelilaus* would none of that, but took some other in hand. Furthermore, if any of *Lyfanders* followers came to make suite to him for his favour, perceiving that they did leane unto *Lyfander*, he sent them away without any thing done for them. In like case also in matters of judgements, if *Lyfander* were against any, they were fure to have the matter passe on their side. On the contrary part also, if *Lyfander* bare good will to the party, and favored the cause to gratifie him, they hardly escaped from setting a fine on their heads, *Agelilaus* continuing these shewes ordinarily of purpose, not by chance to one or two, but indifferently to all: *Lyfander* locking into the cause, diffembled not with his friends, but told them plainly, that it was for his sake they had those repulses and wrongs, and therefore did counsel them to wait upon the King, and those that had more credit then himself. Now *Agelilaus* supposed he gave that advice to make every man to malice him: wherefore, to despite him the more, he made him distributor of his victuals: and having done so, some say that he spake these words in open presence of many: Now let them go and honour my flesh-distributor, *Lyfander* being grieved withall, said unto the King: My Lord, you know how to oppresse your friends. And so do I, said *Agelilaus*, how to keep them under that would be greater then my selfe. It may be yet (replied *Lyfander*) I have not done as your Grace doth say: yet if you so conceive of me, put me I beseech you in some place of charge or office, where I may do you good service without offence. After this talke between them, *Agelilaus* sent him into HELLESPONT, where by practise he tooke prisoner a Noble man a PERSIAN, called *Spithridates*, out of *Pharnabazus* Province whereof he was Governor, and brought him to *Agelilaus* with a great summe of Gold and Silver, and neare about two hundred horsemen with him. All this notwithstanding, he forgat not his grudge to *Agelilaus*, but being offended still, sought opportunity and means to defeat the two houses of the privilege of the Kingdome, and to bring it in common to all the other houses of SPARTA: and surely he had made great broile (in my opinion) in the City of SPARTA, had he not been prevented by death, in a journey he made into BOEOTIA. Thus we see, that ambitious minds observing no meane, are in a Commweale oft times more hurtful then beneficial. For though *Lyfander* was indeed intolerable, to shew himself so ambitious, and out of time: yet was not *Agelilaus* ignorant neither, that there were divers other meanes lesse reproachful to punish such a Noble man, that offended only by greediness of honour. But to tell you my opinion, they were both blinded with one selfe passion: the one not to know his Princes power; and the other not to beare with his friends imperfection. Now *Tisaphernes* at the first being afraid of *Agelilaus*, made league with him, colourably letting him understand that the King would be content to let the Cities of GRECE in ASIA at liberty: notwithstanding, when he thought he had gathered force sufficient to fight with him, he proclaimed war. *Agelilaus* was very well content withall: for the expectation was great of him through GRECE, that he would do some noble exploit in his journey. Moreover he thought himself dishonoured for ever, that the ten thousand GRECIANS which were returned back from the farthest part of ASIA, even unto the sea Major (under the conduct and leading of *Xenophon* their Captaine) had overcome the King of PERSIAES Army as oft as they listed themselves: and that he which was the Lieutenant General of the LACEDÆMONIANS (who at that time commanded both sea and land) should not do some deed worthy memory among the GRECIANS. Presently therefore to revenge *Tisaphernes* perjury by just deceit, he made a countenance as though he would first invade the Countrey of CARIA. Whereupon this barbarous person *Tisaphernes* gathered all his power together. But *Agelilaus* on a suddaine returned back againe, and entered into PHRYGIA, tooke there many Cities, and wan great spoile, making his men see by experience, that to infringe and breake a league made and avowed by oath, was a sacrilege, and contemning of the gods. On the other side also, that to beguile his enemies, it was not only just and honourable, but also profitable and pleasant. Now *Agelilaus* being weaker in horsemen then his enemies, and finding the livers of the beasts which he had sacrificed, without heads, he returned into the City of PHEBUS, and there gathered horsemen together, letting the rich men understand (which would not themselves serve in person) that he did dispence with their persons, so that they did set out horse and man furnished for service in their place. Many of them took that course; and by this meanes *Agelilaus* within few dayes had leavyed a great number of men at Armes, instead of footmen that could do small service. For they that were unwilling to go to the wars, did hire them that were willing to serve in their place; and such as would not serve a horsebacke, did give them pay that were desirous to serve in their steads. In this he wisely followed King *Agememnonus* example, who did dispence with the person of a rich coward for going to the warres, by taking a good mare of him. Then *Agelilaus* commanded them that sold the prisoners by the Drum taken in the warres, that they should strip them naked, and so sell them, which they did. And sundry persons willingly bought their spoiles and raiment, but they scorned their bodies, because they saw them white skinned, soft and delicate: so that few men would out-bid the price for them, for that they thought those men unprofitable and good for nothing. *Agelilaus* also being present at this sale of purpose, said thus unto his men:

men: See, my friends, quoth he, these be the men against whom ye are to fight, and here be the spoiles for the which ye shall fight. The time being come now to put himself into the field, and to invade his enemies Countrey again, he gave out that he would enter LYDIA, not meaning to deceive *Tisaphernes* again, but *Tisaphernes* deceived himself. For he being deceived before by *Agelilaus*, gave no credit to this second rumor, but perswaded himself that doubtlesse *Agelilaus* meant then to enter into CARIA, and the rather for that it was a Woody Countrey, very ill for horsemen, in the which he was the weaker. This notwithstanding, *Agelilaus* invading (as he had given it out) the champion Countrey, in the which stood SARDIS the capital City of LYDIA, *Tisaphernes* was compelled to come to rescue it in haste; and being come thither with great speed with his horsemen he stole upon many of his enemies whom he found stragling out of order, spoiling the Countrey, and put the most of them to the sword. *Agelilaus* having intelligence of this, imagined with himselfe that the footmen of his enemy could not yet be arrived, and considering also that he had his Army whole about him, thought it best forthwith to bid him battell, rather then to delay time any longer. Thereupon he thrust in among the horsemen his light armed footmen, and commanded them straight to charge the enemy, whilst he caused the heavier armed men to follow at their heeles, as they did. But the barbarous people fled upon it immediately: and the GRECIANS lustily following the chase, tooke their Campe, and made great slaughter of them that fled. After this field foughten, they had leisure enough not only to spoile and over-run the Kings Countrey at their pleasure, but also to see the revenge taken of *Tisaphernes*, that was a vile man, and a cruell enemy to the GRECIANS. For the King of PERSIA made another his Lieutenant immediately in his roome, called *Tibbrautes*, who strake off *Tisaphernes* head, and sent unto *Agelilaus* to pray him to take peace with them, and to offer him store of gold and silver to depart out of his Countrey. Thereto *Agelilaus* answered, that for peace, it was not in him to make it, but the LACEDÆMONIANS; and that for his own part, it was an easier matter to enrich his souldiers then himselfe. And furthermore, that the GRECIANS thought it a dishonour to them, to take any gift of their enemies, other then spoiles. This notwithstanding, to gratifie *Tibbrautes* some what, for that he had taken revenge of a common enemy of all the GRECIANS; for the sum of thirty talents given him to defray his charges, he withdrew his Army out of LYDIA, and went into PHRYGIA. In his journey he received from the council of LACEDÆMON the Scytala or scrowle of parchment wreathed about, advertising him that the Citizens had made also their General by sea, as he was by land. *Agelilaus* onely of all men obtained this honour, who without comparison was of all other the worthiest man of fame in his time, as *Theopompus* witnesseth: and yet gloried rather to be commended for his vertue, then for the greatnesse of his authority. In this notwithstanding he was not to be blamed, when he made choice of one *Pisander* his wives brother, to be Lieutenant of the Navy, and forsooke other Captaines of better experience and elder years: seeking rather to please his wife, and to advance one of his kinne, then to regard the weale and safety of his Countrey. Afterwards he led his Army into *Pharnabazus* Countrey which he had in charge, where he found not onely plenty of all sorts of victuals, but gathered together also a wonderful masse of mony. From thence he went into the Realme of PAPHLAGONIA, and made league there with King *Cotys*, who for his vertue and constant fidelity was very desirous of his friendship. The like did *Spythridates*, forsaking *Pharnabazus*, and came unto *Agelilaus*: and after he was come to him, he never went from him, but always followed him wheresoever he went. *Spythridates* had a young Son that was passing faire, called *Megabates* (of whom *Agelilaus* had great liking) and likewise a faire young woman to his daughter, of age to be married, whom *Agelilaus* caused King *Cotys* to marry. So taking of King *Cotys* a thousand horsemen, and two thousand footmen light armed, he returned backe to PHRYGIA, and there destroyd *Pharnabazus* Countrey which he had in Government, who durst not meete him in the field, nor trust to his holds, but still fled from him, carrying all the chiefest things with him, sitting from place to place, untill that *Spythridates* accompanied with *Eripidas* the SPARTAN, followed him so neare, that he tooke his Campe, and all his treasure in it. But there did *Eripidas* shew himselfe so hard and cruell, over-straightly searching out part of the spoile that had been imbezled, compelling the barbarous people to deliver it againe, ransacking every corner for it; that *Spythridates* was offended withall, that on a suddaine he tooke the PAPHLAGONIANS with him, and went backe unto the City of SARDIS. This more grieved *Agelilaus* then any thing that hapened to him in all his journey, for that he lost so valiant a man as *Spythridates*, and such a number of good souldiers as he carried away with him. Moreover, he was afraid lest they would detect him of miserable covetousnesse, a thing which he ever was careful to avoid, not onely in his own person, but also to keep all his Countriemen from it. But besides these known causes, the love he bare to *Spythridates* Son pinched him nearely, though when the Boy was with him, he strived with his owne nature to subdue that naughty affection and desire he had of him. For when *Megabates* on a time came to make much of him and to kisse him, *Agelilaus* turned his face from the Boy. The Boy being ashamed of the repulse, durst no more come so familiarly, but saluted him aloofe off. *Agelilaus* then repented him that he had not suffered *Megabates* to kisse him, made as though he marvelled why he did not kisse him as he was wont to do. Then answered some of his familiars about him: Your selfe, O King, is in fault, because you durst not tarry, but were afraid to kisse so faire a Boy: for if he knew your minde, he would come againe, so that you turned your face no more away. When *Agelilaus* had heard them, he paused a while, and said never a word, but in fine answered them: It shall not need you say any thing to him, for it would do me more good I could refuse such an other kisse againe, then if all that I see before me were gold. Thus was *Agelilaus* disposed when

Sardis, the chief
City of Lydia.

Agelilaus victory
of *Tisapher-
nes*.

Agelilaus made
General of all
the Lacedæmo-
nians Navy.

Cotys King of
Paphlagonia,
became *Ageli-
laus* friend.

Agelilaus drave
Pharnabazus
out of his tents

The meeting
of Agesilaus and
Pharnabazus.

Agesilaus words
unto Pharna-
bazus.

Agesilaus to his
friends, was
without respect
as a friend.
Agesilaus let-
ter in the be-
half of his
friend.

Other read to
have pity and
to be wise.
Agesilaus say-
ing.
Agesilaus ver-
tues.

Megabates was with him: but in his absence he did so love him, that I dare scantily say, that if the boy had come againe into his presence, he would have refused a kisse at his hands. After that, Pharnabazus fought to speake with him, and one Apollonides a CYZICENIAN brought them together, that was a friend unto them both. Agesilaus, was the first that met at the place appointed with his friends, and tarrying for Pharnabazus coming, he laid him down upon the deep grasse in the shadow, under a faire cypress tree. Pharnabazus also came thither, and they spread soft skins long haired, and Tapetry excellently wrought of divers colours, for him to sit upon the ground. But being shamed to see Agesilaus laid on the bare ground in that sort, he also lay down by him, though he had upon him a marvellous rich Gowne, of excellent Tissue and passing colour. Now when they had embraced one another, Pharnabazus began first to speake, and lacked no good persuasions and just complaints, for that he having been (as he was) a friend unto the LACEDÆMONIANS in the warre against the ATHENIANS, was then spoiled and sacked by them. Agesilaus then finding that the SPARTANS that were about him at that meeting, hung down their heads for shame, not knowing how to answer him, considering that Pharnabazus had injury offered him, began to speak in this manner: Heretofore when we were friends with the King (my Lord Pharnabazus) we have used his goods like friends, but now that we are his enemies, like enemies we use them: and since we see that thou wilt needs be a slave of his, marvell not though we hurt thee for his sake. But when thou shalt like rather to be a friend of the GRECIANS then a slave to the King PERSIA, then make account that all these souldiers, this armour, our ships, and all we are to defend thy goods and liberty against him, without which, nothing that is honest can be looked for of mortal men. Thereupon Pharnabazus told him his minde plainly: Surely, said he if the King do send hither any other Captaine to be his Lieutenant, be sure I will then take your part straight; but on the other side, if he make me his Lieutenant in this war, trust to it, I will do him the best service I can against you. This answer passingly pleased Agesilaus who taking him by the hand, and rising up with him, said unto him: I would wish (my Lord Pharnabazus) having so noble a minde as thou hast, that thou wert rather our friend then an enemy. So Pharnabazus departing from thence with his men, his Sonne being left behind, ran to Agesilaus, and smiling told him, King Agesilaus, I will make thee my friend: and therewith gave him a dart he had in his hand. Agesilaus tooke it of him, and liking well the beauty of the young youth, and the courtesie he had offered him, looked about him if any man in his company had any proper thing that he might bestow on him. At the last he spied his Secretary Adams home, which had a rich caparison on: he straight tooke it from him, and gave the horse and furniture to this lively youth Pharnabazus Son, who never after forgate it. For it chanced afterwards, that being driven out of his Country by his brethren, and flying into PELOPONNESUS, Agesilaus made very much of him, and did not sticke to further him in his love abroad. For he had a great fancy and liking to a boy of ATHENS, whom they brought up in wrestling, one day to play for the best games. But when he was growne a big man and strong, and that he came to offer himselfe to be billed with them that should wraitle at the Games Olympical, being in some perill to be utterly refused; this PERSIAN that loved him, went unto Agesilaus, and besough his helpe, that this wrestler might not receive the foile to be rejected. Agesilaus being desirous to please him, performed his request with some difficulty. Thus Agesilaus in all things else was a strict observer of the Law: but in his friends causes to be straight laced in matters of justice, he said that was but an excuse for them that would do nothing for their friends. To this effect they finde a letter of his written unto Idrius Prince of CARIA, for the delivery of his friend. If Nicias have not offended, let him go; if he have offended, then pardon him for my sake: but howsoever it be, let him go. This was Agesilaus manner in the most part of his friends causes. Notwithstanding, occasions fell out often times, that he rather inclined to the benefit of the Commonwealt. As appeared one day when he was driven to remove in haste on a suddaine, and to leave one sicke behinde him whom he loved dearly: the sicke man calling him by his name as he was going his way, besought him that he would not forsake him. Agesilaus (as Hieronymus the Philosopher reported) turned backe againe and said: O how hard is it, both to love and to be wise! Now had Agesilaus spent two yeares in this warre, and was spoken of throughout ASIA, being marvellously commended to the King himselfe, and for his great honesty, his continence, his courtesie, and plain dealing. For when he rode out into the Country with his owne traine onely, he would ever lie in the holiest Temples of the Gods, because he would the gods themselves should be witnesses of his private doings; whereas commonly we are loth that men should see what we do. Furthermore, amongst so many thousand souldiers as were in his Campe, there could hardly be found a worse mattresse then that himselfe did lie upon every night. And as for heate and cold, he could as easily away with either of both, as if by constitution of body he had been born to abide any weather and season. But above all, it was a pleasant sight to the GRECIANS that dwelt in ASIA, when they saw the great Lords the Kings Lieutenants of PERSIA (which before were proud, cruell, rich, and given to all lust and pleasure) to honour and fear a man that went up and down in a poor Cape, being afraid of every short word that he spake like a LACONIAN, insomuch as many of them called to mind the Poets verses, who said:

As Mars hath no mercy, so Greece scorneth gold.

Now all ASIA being up and in garboile, they willingly yielded to him in every place, after he had taken order with the Cities, and had established the liberty of their Commonweale, without any bloodshed, or banishment of any person: he determined to go further into the land, and transporting the wars from the sea coasts of GREECE, to fight with the King of PERSIA in proper person

person, and with the wealth and happinesse of the ECBATANIANS and the SUSIANIANS, and by that meane to his leisure from him, who sitting still before, made the GRECIANS make warre one with another, by force of money corriping the Governours of every City. In the meane time came Epycidas the LACONIAN unto him, and brought him news how SPARTA was grievously troubled with wars, enforced on them by the other GRECIANS: and that therefore the Ephori did send for him home, and commanded him to return to defend his Country.

Agesilaus sent
for out of Asia.

Alas wretched Greece, how cruell slaughters hast
Thou brought upon thee, for to lay thee waste?

For how should a man otherwise call this envy, treason, and civil conspiracy among the GRECIANS, who overthrew their good fortune that made them happy before, turning their wars against the barbarous people out of GREECE, and now to bring it against themselves? I am not of Demaratus opinion the CORINTHIAN, that the said GRECIANS delight was taken from them, which saw not Alexander the Great sitting in Darius Royall throne: but rather I would think they should have wept, to have left this honour unto Alexander and the MACEDONIANS, fondly losing so many famous Captaines of GREECE, at the battels of LEUCTRES, of CORONEA, of CORINTH and famous ARCADIA. Nevertheless, Agesilaus never did better act in his life, nor ever shewed better example of obedience and justice due to his Country, then he did in his return home. For sith Hannibal that began to have ill successe in his warres, being in a manner driven out of ITALY, thought never (but compelled) to return againe into his Country, to obey his Countreimen, which called him home to defend the warres the ROMANS had made at their owne doores: and that Alexander the Great, also being sent home upon the like occasion, did not onely refuse to returne into MACEDON, but made a jest at it, when newes was brought him of the great battell which his Lieutenant Antipater had fought with King AGIS, saying: Methinks when I heare these newes, whilest we are overcomming of King Darius here, there hath been a battell of Rattes fought in ARCADIA, sith then (I say) these two famous Captaines have made so little account of their Country, may we not thinke the City of SPARTA blessed to have had such a King, that so much revered his Country and obeyed the Law, as receiving only a little scrowle of Parchment commanding him to returne, he forsooke a world of goods and wealth that he quietly enjoyed (with assured hope and certainty of more) and embarked forthwith, leaving all the allies and confederates of his Country very sorrowfull, for that he had given over so noble an enterprise, which he had so happily begunne? Yes sure Nay furthermore he passed not for the saying of Demoftratus PHACIAN, who said, that the LACEDÆMONIANS, in publique matters were the worthiest men, and the ATHENIANS in private causes. For as he had shewed himselfe a good King and an excellent Captaine to the Common-wealth, so was he always courteous privately to his familiar friends. And because the PERSIAN coine was stamped on the one side, with the print of an Archer; Agesilaus being ready to depart, said, that ten thousand Archers drave him out of ASIA. For so much was brought unto THEBES and ATHENS, and distributed among the Orators and Governours there, who through their Orations made both those great Cities to rise, and make warre against the SPARTANS. In his return Agesilaus having passed the strait of HELLESPOINT, took his way through the Country of THRACIA, and never intreated barbarous King nor people to suffer him to passe, but only sent unto them to know whether they would he should passe through their Country as a friend, or an enemy. All Countries and Nations else received very honorably to their power, save the people called THROCHALIANS, unto whom King Xerxes himselfe gave presents that he might passe friendly through their Country: who sent unto Agesilaus to demand a hundred silver talents, and a hundred women to suffer him to passe through their Country. But Agesilaus laughing them to scorn, answered again: Why, how chanceth it that they came not themselves to receive them? So therewithall he marched forward against these barbarous people who were ranged in battell-ray to stop his passage: howbeit he overthrew them, and slew a great number of them in the field. The like demand he made unto the King of MACEDON, whether he should passe through his Country as a friend, or an enemy. The King made him answer, he would consider of it. Well, let him thinke of it, quoth Agesilaus: we will go on in the meane time. The King then wondering at his great boldnesse, and fearing lest he would do him some hurt as he went, sent to pray him that he would passe through his Country as a friend. Now it chanced so that the THESSALIANS at that time were in league with the enemies of the LACEDÆMONIANS: therefore as he passed through their Country, he did spoile and forrage it as his enemies Country, and sent Xenocles and Scythia to the City of LARISSE, hoping to persuade them to take part with the LACEDÆMONIANS. These two Ambassadors were retained there as prisoners. The SPARTANS were marvellously offended withall: and thought good that Agesilaus should besiege LARISSE with his Army. But he answered them, he would not lose one of those men, to winne all THESSALIE: and therefore found means that he redeemed them againe by composition. Peradventure this is not to be marvelled at in Agesilaus that newes being brought him on a time, that in a great battell fought by the City of CORINTH, where were many worthy and valiant Captaines slaine of the enemies, and but few of the SPARTANS, he seemed not to rejoyce at it, but rather to fetch a grievous sigh, saying: O poore GREECE, how unfortunate art thou, to have slaine with thine owne hands so many valiant Captaines of thine owne people, as joyning together, might at one field have overcome all the

Agesilaus obe-
dience to his
Country.

Agesilaus darke
speech.

Agesilaus de-
spising and de-
ceiving the
barbarous peo-
ple, returned
home through
their Country.

Agelilaus overcame the Pharsalians. Narthaciummons.

The Eclipse of the Sun, Pisander, General of the Navy slain in battell. The Island of Guidos.

Agelilaus battell with the Thebans.

Helicon mons. The worthines of Agelilaus.

The Temple of Minerva Italian.

The constancy of Agelilaus.

barbarous people? The PHARSALIANS harrying and troubling the rereward of Agelilaus Army, he put forth five hundred horsemen which gave him so lusty a charge, that he overthrow them by force. For this victory, he set up tokens of Triumph upon the mountaine called *Narthacium*, and this victory pleased him above all the rest, because with the small number of horsemen which he had gotten together of himselfe, he had overthrowen the glory and pride of the enemies horsemen in battell, whereof they had vaunted many years before. Thither came *Diphris* one of the Ephores unto him, sent of purpose from SPARTA, to command him immediately to invade BOEOTIA, with his Army. Now though Agelilaus intended some other time with a greater power to enter BOEOTIA, yet because he would not disobey the Councils commandement of SPARTA, he told his men straight, that the battell for the which they returned out of ASIA was at hand, and therefore he sent for two Companies of them which lay in Campe by CORINTH. The LACEDÆMONIANS that were at SPARTA, to honour Agelilaus for that he had obeyed their commandement so readily, proclaimed in the City, that as many young men as were desirous to go aide the King, should come to enter their names. Notwithstanding, they only chose but fifty of the valiantest among them, and sent them unto him. In the meane time, Agelilaus passed through the Countrey of THERMOPILES, and coasting over the land of PHOCIDE, confederates to the LACEDÆMONIANS, he entred into BOEOTIA, and camped by the City of CHERONIA: where immediately after his arrival, he suddenly saw the Sunne Eclipsed, and darkened in the fashion of a new Moon. Even withall, came the newes of the death of *Pisander* unto him, who was slaine in a battell which he had lost by sea, fighting against *Pharnabazus* and *Conon*, hard by the Isle of GNIDOS. These newes were very heavy unto him, both for respect of the person his kinsman whom he lost, as also for the great losse that happened to the Common-wealth. Nevertheless, fearing his souldiers would be discouraged with the newes, and become faint-hearted, being ready to joyne battell, he commanded them that came from the Sea, to brute abroad a contrary tale to that they told him: and he himselfe to make good their speech, came out among them, with a Garland of flowers on his head, and did sacrifice to the gods, as thanking them for their good newes, sending to every one of his friends a peece of flesh sacrificed, as he commonly used to do, in any publique cause of joy. Then marching forward, he straight discovered his enemies farre off, and they likewise him: and thereupon put his men in battell ray, and gave the left wing unto the ORCHOMENIANS, leading himselfe the right wing. The THEBANS on the other side, placed themselves in the right wing of their Army, and gave the left unto the ARGIVES. *Xenophon* being at that battell on Agelilaus side, writeth that he never knew of the like field fought. At the first onler, the conflict was not great between both, neither held long, because the THEBANS brake the ORCHOMENIANS straight, and Agelilaus the ARGIVES. But when either side understood that the left wings of their battell were in great distresse and that they turned their backs, they returned suddenly againe. And where Agelilaus might easily have had the victory without any danger, if he had suffered the Squadron of the enemies to passe by him, and afterwards to have charged them in the rereward: of a noble courage to shew his valiantnesse, he gave charge upon the vaward, to have honour in overcoming them. The THEBANS on the other side no lesse valiantly received him, and fought lustily on all hands: but the cruellest fight was about Agelilaus person, with the fifty young men that were sent to guard him, who shewed themselves very valiant. Agelilaus was sore hurt, notwithstanding their valiant resistance. his armour being passed through with their Pikes and Swords in sundry places: Whereupon they environed him round amongst them, and kept him from the enemies, killing a great number of them, and many of themselves also being killed. In fine, finding the THEBANS too strong in the vaward, they were forced to do that which they refused at the first: and opening themselves, gave them passage through them. So when they were passed them, the SPARTANS perceiving how loosely and disorderly they marched, as thinking themselves out of all danger, followed them and gave charge upon their flank. But all this could not make the THEBANS flie: for they rejoycing for their victory at this battell, retired faire and softly unto the mountaine *Helicon*. But Agelilaus not withstanding he was very sore hurt, with many a grievous wound, would not go into his Pavillion to be dressed, before he had been first at the place where the battell was fought, and had seen his men that were slaine brought away in their armours. As many of his enemies as were fled into the Temple of *Minerva Italian*, which was not farre from thence (where also were set up tokens of triumph offered unto her a long time before the THEBANS, when they had overcome the Army of the ATHENIANS, under the conduct of *Sparton* their Captaine, and had slaine also *Tolmides* their Captaine in the field) he commanded his men they should let them go where they would. The next morning by breake of day, Agelilaus desirous to see if the THEBANS had any courage to come down to fight againe, commanded his souldiers to put Garlands upon their heads, and his Musicians to sound their *Shalmes* or Pipes, whilist he did set up a token of Triumph as victorious. Moreover, his enemies sending to him to aske leave to take away their dead men, he granted them truce for the time, and thereby confirmed his victory. After that, being carried to the City of DELPHES, where the Pythian games were played, he made a solemn procession and common sacrifice unto *Apollo*, and offered him the tenth part of all his spoiles which he had brought out of ASIA, which amounted to the summe of an hundred Talents. This thing done, he returned into his Countrey, where he was greatly honoured and esteemed of all his Citizens and Countermen, for his orderly life and noble behaviour: for he was no Changeling, but the selfe same man in state and condition that he was before he tooke his journey. He transformed not himselfe into strangers manners, as commonly other Captaines

taines do, that returne out of a farre Country where they have made wars: neither did he scorne his Country fashions, or shewed himselfe disobedient to the Lawes thereof, but alwayes kept and observed them, without any manner of alteration in his meate and drinke, in washing or bathing, in his wives apparell, in his armoury, or any way else in his houshold stufe, as if he had never passed over the River of *Eurotas*. Yet further, he left his old gates standing, that were of so great continuance, that they were thought to be those which *Aristodemus* had set up. *Xenophon* also said, that his daughters Canathrum was nothing more sumptuous than any others were. A Canathrum in LACEDÆMON, is a kind of Coach or Chariot after the likenesse of Griffins, Harts, or Goates: upon the which they carried young Wenches in solemne procession in the City. *Xenophon* wrote not what was the name of this daughter of Agelilaus: and *Dicaearchus* alio was much offended, that they neither knew Agelilaus daughters name, nor yet the mother of *Epaminondas*. Yet we find in the LACONIAN Chronicles, that Agelilaus wives name was *Cleora*, one of his daughters called *Apollia*, and the other *Prolyta*. Moreover, Agelilaus speare is seen to this day in the City of SPARTA, even like unto others, and no manner of difference. Now Agelilaus perceiving certaine Citizens of SPARTA to stand upon their reputation, and esteeming themselves above others, because they kept horse in their stable, perswaded his Sister *Cynisca* to send her Coach and Coach-horses to the Olympian games to runne for the best prize, onely to let the GRECIANS see, that it was no act of any vertue, but simply of riches and cost. Furthermore having *Xenophon* the Philosopher about him, whom he loved, and made great account of, he perswaded him to send for his Sons to LACEDÆMON, that they might be brought up there, where they should learn the noblest science that men could possibly learne, to wit, to obey, and to command. When *Lyfander* was dead, Agelilaus at his return out of ASIA, found a great faction and conspiracy raised by his meanes against him in SPARTA: and because, it might appeare what manner of Citizen *Lyfander* was when he lived, he was likely to have openly shewed and declared an Oration which he found among his writings (the which the Orator *Cleon Halicarnassensis* had written for him, and *Lyfander* should have conned without booke, to have spoken in open Assembly) that was to stirre innovation, and in manner have made a change of the whole Government of the Commonwealth of LACEDÆMON. Howbeit there was a grave Counsellour that having read the Oration and doubting the apparent reasons and perswasions alleadged, told him, that he would wish him not to plucke up the dead againe out of his grave, but rather to bury this Oration together with his body. Agelilaus liked the counsell, and proceeded no further. And for them that either were, or had been his enemies, he did them no hurt openly: but found the meanes to make some of them to be sent as Lieutenant of Army, or otherwise to have charge in the warres. In fine, he made it openly knowne, what covetous and wicked men they had been in their charges: so that when they were accused of it before the councill, he would then helpe and intreat for them. By this meanes he made them againe his friends, where they had been his enemies: infomuch as in the end, he had not one enemy at all. For the other King *Agessipolis* his colleague, whose father had been banished, he being a very young man, and of a gentle nature, medled not greatly with government of the Common-wealth. Nevertheless, he so behaved himselfe unto Agelilaus that he made him his very good friend: for both the Kings when they were in the City, did eate together in one hall. Then Agelilaus knowing that *Agessipolis* (as himselfe) was given to love, would ever minister talke to him of the goodly young boyes of the City, enticing him to love some one of them, which he himselfe did love: and therein he was both his companion and helper. For in these LACONIAN loves there was no manner of dishonesty offered, but a true affection and honest regard to frame the boy helowed unto vertue and honest conditions: as we have more amply declared in the life of *Lycurgus*, Agelilaus by this meanes, having the whole authority (above all men in the City) in his hands, made his halfe brother *Telenias* Generall by sea, and himselfe with the Army by land went to besiege the City of CORINTH, where with his brothers helpe by sea he took the long walls of the same. The ARGIVES which kept CORINTH at that time, at Agelilaus arrivall there, were solemnizing the feast of the Isthmian games: who made them flie, even as they came from sacrificing unto the god *Neptune*, driving them to leave all their preparation and solemnity. Then divers banished men of CORINTH that were in his Army, besought him that he would keep these Isthmian games: but he denied them, yet was contented they should themselves solemnize them; and so himselfe remained there, during the time of the feast, for their safety. Afterwards when Agelilaus was gone thence, the ARGIVES returned, and did celebrate the Isthmian games, and there were some of them which having wonne the game at the first, did also winne it at the second time: and others that were victorious before, were this second time overcome. Whereupon Agelilaus said, that the ARGIVES shewed themselves ranke cowards, that esteeming so much (as they did) these playes and sacrifices, they durst not once offer to fight with him for defence of the same. For himselfe, touching such like sportes and games, he ever thought it good to keep a meane, and not to be too curious. For he was contented to honour such solemne assemblies and common feasts with his presence, as were commonly used in SPARTA, and tooke great pleasure to see the sports between the young Boyes and Girles of SPARTA: howbeit touching the games, he seemed not to be acquainted with some of them, wherein others had great delight. As we read, that *Calpides* an excellent Stage Player (wonderfully esteemed of among the GRECIANS for a singular man in that Art) meeting Agelilaus on a time, at the first did his duty to him, and then arrogantly thrust himselfe among them that walked with him, thinking the King

Canathrum what it is.

Cleora, the wife of King Agelilaus. Apollia, and Prolyta, Agelilaus daughters.

Xenophon, great about Agelilaus

The practise of Lyfander about alteration of government

The wife counsell of a Senator at Sparta.

The policy of Agelilaus to win his enemies. Agelilaus, and Agessipolis Kings of Lacedæmon.

Telenias, Agelilaus halfe brother made Generall of the Army by sea.

Certaine Apocryphes of Agesilavus.

* Meaning that he was not well in his wits to be so presumptuous.

Agesilavus overcame the Acarnanians.

Antalcidas peace.

Phabidas possessed the Castle of Cadmea.

Agesilavus praised or justice.

King would have made much of him : but perceiving he made no countenance to him, in the end he asked him : O King *Agesilavus*, do you not know me ? *Agesilavus* looking upon him, answered : What, art not thou *Callipides* the Stage-Player ? and so made no further account of him. Another time being desired to hear a man that naturally counterfeited the Nightingales voice, he would not hear him, saying, I have often times heard the Nightingale it selfe. Another time also when *Menecrates* the Physician (having by good fortune cured a desperate disease) called himselfe *Jupiter*, and arrogantly usurped that name, presuming in a letter he wrote unto *Agesilavus*, to subscribe it in this manner, *Menecrates Jupiter*, unto King *Agesilavus*, greeting : *Agesilavus* wrote againe unto him, *Agesilavus* unto *Menecrates* * health. So, whilst *Agesilavus* was in the territory of *CORINTH* (where he had taken the Temple of *Juno*) beholding his souldiers forraging and spoiling the Countrey round about, Ambassadors came to him from *THEBES*, to pray him to make peace with the *THEBANS*. But he that alwayes hated the *THEBANS*, and besides that thought it then very requisite for the good successe of his doings, to make light of it, seemed as he neither heard nor saw them that spake unto him. But even at that very instant, as by divine revenge to cry quittance, there fell a great mishap upon him : for before the Ambassadors were gone from him, he had newes that one of their bands called the Mothers, were slaine every man by *Iphicrates* : which was the greatest losse that they in a long time before had sustained. For they lost a great number of valiant souldiers, all naturall *LACEDÆMONIANS* : who being well armed every man, were slaine by naked or light armed hirelings. Thereupon *Agesilavus* went straight into the field with hope to save them, or at the least to be revenged : but receiving certaine intelligence by the way that they were all slaine, he returned againe to the Temple of *Juno* from whence he came, and then sent for the Ambassadors of the *BOEOTIANS*, to give them audience. But they, to requite his former disdain unto them, made no manner of speech of peace, but only requested him to suffer them to enter into *CORINTH*. *Agesilavus* being offended, answered them : If it be to see your friends triumph of their victory, yemay safely do it to morrow. Thereupon the next morning taking the Ambassadors with him, he destroyed the *CORINTHIANS* Countrey, even to the walls of their City. And when he had made the Ambassadors see, that the Citizens of *CORINTH* durst not come out into the field to defend their Countrey, he gave them leave to depart. Then taking the remaine of that band that was overthrowne, which by flight had escaped, he brought them into *LACEDÆMON* againe, alwayes removing his Campe before day, and never encamped till darke night, because the *ARCADIANS* (their mortall enemies) should not rejoyce at their losse. After this voyage, to gratifie the *ACHAIANS*, he entred with them into the Countrey of *ACARNANIA*, and brought great spoiles from thence, after he had overcome them in battell. Moreover, when the *ACHAIANS* besought him to remaine with them all the Winter, to keep his enemies from sowing of their ground, he made them answer, he would not. For, said he, they will be afraid of warre the next year, when all their fields shall be sown with Corn : and so indeed it came to passe. For the Army returning againe, they made peace incontinently with the *ACHAIANS*. About that time, *Pharnabazus* and *Conon*, with the King of *PERSIAES* Army, being Lords of the Sea, without let of any destroyed and spoiled all the coast of *LACONIA*. Moreover, the City of *ATHENS* did reare up her walls againe by the helpe of *Pharnabazus* money, wherewith he had furnished them. Thereupon the *LACEDÆMONIANS* thought good to make peace with the King of *PERSIA*, and to that end sent *Antalcidas* Ambassador unto *Tiribazus*, most shamefully and cruelly betraying to the King, the *GRECIANS* inhabiting in *ASIA*, for whose liberty *Agesilavus* had made warres with him before. So, it was *Agesilavus* hap not to be foiled with any part of this shame : for *Antalcidas* that was his enemy, sought all the meanes he could to conclude this peace, for that he saw warre did daily increase the authority, honour, and fame of *Agesilavus*. Notwithstanding, he answered one of them, that reproved him for that the *LACEDÆMONIANS* did favour the *MEDS* : No, said he, they do not so, but the *MEDS* do play the *LACEDÆMONIANS*. Nevertheless, threatening warre to all the *GRECIANS*, which would not agree to the conditions of this peace, he compelled them to yeeld unto that the King of *PERSIA* liked. But surely he did this chiefly for respect of the *THEBANS*, to the end that they being enforced by the capitulations of the peace, to set the Countrey of *BOEOTIA* at liberty again, should be so much the weaker. This plainly appeared soone after by that that followed. For *Phabidas* having committed a foule act, in open peace to take the Castle of the City of *THEBES*, called *Cadmea*, offending thereby all the other *GRECIANS* (and the *SPARTANS* themselves also not being very well pleased withall, and those specially which were *Agesilavus* enemies) *Phabidas* being asked in great anger, at whose commandement he had done that sudden enterprise, to lay all the suspicion of the fact upon him, *Agesilavus* for *Phabidas* discharge, letted not openly to say, that the quality of the fact was to be considered of, whether it were profitable for the Commonwealth, or not : and that it was well done of him, the thing falling out profitable for his Countrey, to do it of his owne head without commandment. All this notwithstanding he was wont to say in private talke, that justice was the chiefeft of all vertues, and therefore that valiantnesse without justice was of no validity, and that if all men were just, valiantnesse were of no estimation. And to them that told him, the great King will have it so : Why, said he, and wherein is he better then my selfe, if he be no juster ? Judging very wisely therein, that they should esteeme a King (whether he was of great or small power) by his justice, as by the beame of Princely ballance. When peace was concluded, the King of *PERSIA* having sent him a private letter desiring his friendship, *Agesilavus* refused it, saying : that common friendship was enough betwixt them, and that they should need none other, so long

long as that was kept. But this notwithstanding, when it came to the point of performance, he went from his first good opinion. And gave place to his will and ambition, specially against the *THEBANS*, at that time when he did not only save *Phabidas*, but also procured the City of *SPARTA* to take the fault upon them which he had committed : and to justifie it, by keeping the Castle of *Cadmea* still and making *Archias* and *Leontidas* Governours of the City of *THEBES*, by whom *Phabidas* came by the Castle of *Cadmea*, and possessed it. Thereupon every man thought straight, that *Phabidas* was he that had put the matter in execution, but that *Agesilavus* gave the counsell to do it : as things falling out afterwards, did manifestly prove the supposition true. For, after that the *THEBANS* had driven the Garrison of the *LACEDÆMONIANS* out of the Castle of *Cadmea*, and restored their City againe to liberty, burthening them that they had traiterously slaine *Archias* and *Leontidas* (who indeed were Tyrants, though in name Governours) he made warre with them : and *Cleombrotus*, reigning then King with him after *Agesipolis* death, was sent before into *BOEOTIA* with an Army : *Agesilavus* was dispensed with by law for going any more to the wars, by reason of his age, for that he was forty yeares old from the first groweth of haire on his face, and therefore went not that journey : being ashamed that the *THEBANS* should now see him fight to revenge the Tyrants deaths, who had but a little before taken Armes for the banished men against the *PHILASIANS*. At that time there was a *LACONIAN* called *Sphodrias*, of the contrary faction unto *Agesilavus* : and was then Governor in the City of *THESPIES*, a valiant and stout man of his hands, but ever fuller of vain hope, then of good judgement. He desiring fame, and supposing that *Phabidas* came to dignity and great estimation through his valiant enterprise at *THEBES* : perswaded himself that he should win much more honour, if of himselfe he took the haven of *Piræa*, suddenly stealing up on the *ATHENIANS* by land, cutting them off by that meanes from all trade by sea. It was thought commonly that this was a practise devised by *Pelopidas* and *Gelon*, Governours of *BOEOTIA*, what had allured certaine men to faine themselves very devout and friendly to the *LACEDÆMONIANS*. These men praising and extolling *Sphodrias* to his face, put him in the head that they knew none so worthy as himselfe alone, to take in hand so noble an enterprise. Thus by their perswasions they trained him on to this attempt, which for vilencie was nothing inferior unto that treacherous winning of the Castle of *Cadmea* at *THEBES* : although it was attempted with lesse hardinesse and diligence. For day was broken when he was yet in the plain of *THRIASION*, where he made account to have been at the walls of *Piræa* by night. Furthermore it is reported, that the men he brought with him, seeing certaine fires from the Temples of the City of *ELEUSTIN*, were all afraid and amazed : yea he himselfe also fainted perceiving he was discovered, and so turned backe with shame and dishonour to the City of *THESPIES*, without any exploit done, saving only a little spoile taken. Thereupon accusers were straight sent from *ATHENS* unto *SPARTA*, who upon their arrivall found that they needed not accuse him, for that the Council and Governours of the City had already sent for him to come unto them, to condemne him of high treason. But he durst not return to *SPARTA*, fearing the fury of his Countreimen, thinking indeed that they would seem as though the wrong had beene done to them, because it should not be thought that they had caused it to be done. This *Sphodrias* had a Son called *Cleonymus*, a very faire Boy, with whom *Archidamus* (*Agesilavus* Son) was farre in love : who then was marvellous sorry to see this Boy he loved, in so great danger to lose his Father, and yet durst not be seene to helpe him, because *Sphodrias* was one of *Agesilavus* adversaries. Notwithstanding, *Cleonymus* making his moan to him with teares in his eyes, and praying him to pacifie his Father *Agesilavus* (whom they feared above all men else) *Archidamus* followed his father three or four dayes together, and durst not breake the matter to him : in fine, the day of the next Session being at hand, when judgement should be given on *Sphodrias*, he boldly ventured to tell him, how that *Cleonymus* had prayed him to be an humble suiter to him touching his Fathers fact. *Agesilavus* understanding that his Sonne loved *Cleonymus*, would not withdraw him from loving him, because the Boy even from his childhood gave alwayes good hope that one day he would sure make as honest a man as any other whosoever : neither made he any countenance to his Sonne, as though he would do any thing at his suite, but only answered him, for that, he would doe as became him in such a case. Whereupon *Archidamus* being bashfull, left comming any more to *Cleonymus*, where before he would see him oftentimes in a day. This made *Sphodrias* friends despaire of his life more then before, untill *Erymoches*, one of *Agesilavus* familiars talking with them, told them that for the fact it selfe, *Agesilavus* thought it a shamefull deed, and as much disliked it as might be : but for *Sphodrias* selfe, that he tooke him for a valiant man, and saw that the Common-wealth had neede of men of such service. This was *Agesilavus* common talke to please his Sonne, when any man came to speake to him of *Sphodrias* accusation. Infomuch that *Cleonymus* found straight how *Archidamus* had dealt as faithfully and friendly for him as might be : and then *Sphodrias* friends also tooke heart againe unto them, to sollicite his cause, and to be earnest suiters for him. *Agesilavus* among other had this speciall property, that he loved his children dearly : and a tale goeth of him, that he would play with them in his house when they were little ones, and ride upon a little cock-horse, or a reed, as on horsebacke : infomuch as a friend of his taking him one day with the manner, playing among his children, he prayed him to say nothing, till he had little children himselfe. In fine, *Sphodrias* was quit by his Judges. The *ATHENIANS* understanding it, sent to proclaime warre with the *LACEDÆMONIANS*. Whereupon *Agesilavus* was much reproved, because that to please the fond affection of his Son, he had hindered justice, and brought his City to be accused among the *GRECIANS* for such grievous crimes. *Agesilavus* perceiving that King *Cleombrotus* his companion went

Sphodrias practise (orake the haven of *Piræa* at *Athens*.

Sphodrias accused of treason.

How *Sphodrias* was saved from death.

Agesilavus cockered his children too much

Agésilas journey into Boeotia Antalcidas saying.

Rhetra, of Lycurgus.

Agésilas subtle device to shew the weakness of the allies.

Agésilas fell suddenly sicke of a dangerous disease.

Epaminondas the Theban sent Ambassador unto Lacedæmonians.

The strife betwixt Agésilas and Epaminondas for the liberty of Boeotia

went with no very good will to make warre with the THEBANS, he breaking the order set downe for leading of the Army, which was kept before, went to the warres himselfe in person, and so invading BOEOTIA, he both received and did great hurt. Whereupon *Antalcidas* seeing him hurt one day, Now truly (said he) the THEBANS have paid you your deserved hire, for teaching them against their will to be souldiers, that neither had will nor skill to fight. For indeed they the THEBANS became better souldiers and warriors than they were before, being daily trained and exercised in Armes through the continual invasions of the LACEDÆMONIANS. Also this was the reason, why the old Father *Lycurgus* his lawes called *Rhetra*, did forbid them to make war too oft with one selfe people, because that by compulsion they should not be made expert souldiers. For this cause did the confederates of LACEDÆMON hate *Agésilas*, saying, that it was not for any known offence to the state, but for very spite and private malice of his owne, that he fought to undo the THEBANS in this manner: and that to follow his humor, they consumed themselves going yearly to the warres one while this way, another while that way, without any necessity at all, following a few LACEDÆMONIANS, themselves being alwayes the greater number. Then it was, that *Agésilas* desiring to make them see what number of men of warre they were, used this device. On a time he commanded all the allies to sit down together one with another by themselves, and the LACEDÆMONIANS also by themselves. Then he made a Herald proclaim that all Pot-makers should stand up on their feet. When they were up, he made them cry to the Braiers to rise also. After them in like manner, the Carpenters: then the Masons, and so consequently all occupations one after another. So that at the length the confederates obeying the proclamation, were all in manner on their feet. The LACEDÆMONIANS, not one of them rose: because all base mechanicall crafts were forbidden them to occupy. Then *Agésilas* laughing at them: Lo, my friends (said he) do you not see now that we bring more souldiers to the field then ye do? At his return from this journey of THEBES, passing by the City of MEGARA, as he went up into the Council-house within the Castle, there suddenly tooke him a great Crampe in his left leg, that swelled extremely, and put him to great paine, men thinking that it was but blood which had filled the veines: a Physician of SYRACUSA in SICILE being there, straight opened a veine under the Ankle of his foot, which made the paine to cease: notwithstanding there came such abundance of blood, that they could not stanch it, so that he swounded oft, and was in great danger of present death. In fine, a way was found to stop it, and they carried him to LACEDÆMON, where he lay sicke a long time, so that he was past going to the warres any more. The SPARTANS in the meane time received great overthrowes both by sea and land, and among other, their greatest overthrow was at the battell of LEUCTRES, where the THEBANS overcame and slew them in plaine battell. Then the GRECIANS were all of one minde to make a generall peace, and thereupon came Ambassadors and Deputies from all the Cities of GREECE, and met at LACEDÆMON to that end. One of these Deputies was *Epaminondas*, a notable learned man, and a famous Philosopher, but as yet unskillfull in warres. He seeing how the other Ambassadors curried favour with *Agésilas*, onely he of the rest kept his gravity to speak freely, and made an Oration, not for the THEBANS alone, but for all GREECE in general, declaring to them all, how warres did onely increase the greatnesse and power of the City of SPARTA, and contrarily did minish and decay all other Cities and Townes of GREECE: and for this cause, that he did counsel them all to conclude a good and perfect peace indifferently for all, to the end it might continue the longer, when they were all alike. *Agésilas* perceiving then that all the GRECIANS present at the assembly gave him good eare, and were glad to hear him speake thus boldly of peace, asked him openly, if he thought it meet and reasonable, that all BOEOTIA should be set clear at liberty againe? *Epaminondas* presently and boldly againe asked him, if he thought it just and requisite to set all LACONIA clear againe at liberty? *Agésilas* being offended therewith, stood up on his feet, and commanded him to answer plainly whether they would set all BOEOTIA at liberty or not? *Epaminondas* replied unto him with the self same speech againe, and asked him whether they would set all LACONIA at liberty or not? That nettled *Agésilas* so, that (being also glad of such a cloake, for the old grudge he ever bare unto the THEBANS) he presently put the name of the THEBANS out of the Bill of those which should have been comprised within the league, and cryed open war upon them in the Market-place. For the rest he licensed the other Deputies and Ambassadors of the people of GREECE to depart, with this conclusion, that they should lovingly take order among themselves for the controversie betwixt them, if they could peaceably agree together: and they that could not fall to such agreement, that then they should try it by wars, for it was a hard thing to take up all quarrels among them. King *Cleombrotus* by chance was at that time in the Country of PHOCIDE with his Army, unto whom the *Ephori* wrote, that he should forthwith spoile the THEBANS Country: and therewith also they sent to all their confederates to come and aide them, which had no great fancy to the journey, and were loth to make war with them, but yet durst not refuse to go, nor disobey the LACEDÆMONIANS. And notwithstanding that there were many signes prefiging ill lucke, as we have written in the life of *Epaminondas*, and that *Prothous* LACONIAN was against the enterprise of this war all that he could, *Agésilas* would needs forward, hoping he had now found opportunity to be revenged of the THEBANS, sith all GREECE besides was in peace and at liberty, themselves onely exempted from Treaty of peace. If there had been no other thing in it but the very shortness of time, that made it manifest enough that this war was begun in a jeere, without any manner of reason. For the general peace amongst the GRECIANS was concluded at SPARTA the fourteenth of May, & the LACEDÆMONIANS were overcome at the battell of LEUCTRES the fifth

fifth of June: so as there was but twenty dayes between them. There were slaine a thousand LACEDÆMONIANS with their King *Cleombrotus*, and the choicest and the valiantest SPARTANS about him. Among them was also slaine that goodly young man *Cleonymus*, *Sphodrias* Son, of whom we spake before: who having been beaten down thrice at the Kings foote, three times got up againe, but at the length was slaine, valiantly fighting against the THEBANS. This great overthrow changing to the LACEDÆMONS unlooked for, and withall so glorious a victory unto the THEBANS, as GRECIANS fighting with GRECIANS had never the like: the vanquished City of SPARTA notwithstanding deserved no lesse honour and commendation for her fortitude and worthinesse, then did the victorious City of THEBES. For as *Xenophon* writeth, that as among good men even in table talke, and in their sports and mirth, there falleth out ever some thing of wit worth the noting and bearing away: even so in like case, no lesse but rather more, ought Noblemens words to be weighed, and their countenances marked, as well in adversitie as in prosperity. At that time by chance there was a common feast day in the City of SPARTA, which was full of strangers that came to see the dances and sports of them that shewed naked in the Theater, when as the messengers arrived that brought the newes of the battell lost at LEUCTRES. The *Ephori* knowing then that the rumour straight ran all about, that they were all undone, and how they lost the signiory and commandment over all GREECE, would not suffer them for all this to breake off their dance in the Theater, nor the City in any thing to change the forme of their feast, but sent unto the parents (to every mans house) to let them understand the names of them that were slaine at the battell, they themselves remaining still in the Theater to see the dances and sports continued, to judge who carried the best Game away. The next morning when every man knew the number of them that were slaine, and of those also that were escaped, the parents and friends of them that were dead, met in the Market-place, looking chearefully on the matter, and one of them embraced another. On the other side, the parents of them that escaped, kept their houses with their Wives, as folke that mourned. If any of them had occasion to go abroad out of their houses for any matter of necessity, ye would see him look so heavily and sad, that he durst not talke with you, lift up his head, nor look you in the face. Besides all this, even amongst the women there was greater difference: for the mothers of them that were to return from the battell, were sad and sorrowfull, and spake not a word: contrarily, the mothers of them that were slaine, went friendly to visite one another, to rejoyce together. Now when the people saw that their confederates began to forsake them, and did daily looke that *Epaminondas* glorying in his victory, would invade PELOPONNESUS, then they began to be pricked in conscience about the Oracles of the gods, thinking that this misfortune came to their City for that they had thrust out of the Kingdome a man perfect of limbes, to place an impotent person, being specially warned by the gods to beware of that above all things. This notwithstanding, they had him in such veneration for his valiantnesse, and his authority was such thereby, that they did not onely use him in warre as their King and soveraigne Captaine, but in civil causes also wherein there rose any question, they ever used his counsel and advice: as they did, when they durst not punish them (according to the penall lawes) that fled from the battell, whom they call at SPARTA Trefantas (being a great number of them, and men of the noblest houses, and of greatest power within the City) lest they should move some stir or commotion among them. (For by law, they can beare no Office in the Common-wealth: it is shame and reproach to give them any wives, and also to marry any of theirs: whosoever meeteth them, may lawfully strike them, and they must abide it, and not give them a word againe: they are compelled to wear the poore tottered cloth Gownes, patched with cloth of divers colours; and worst of all, to shave one side of their beards, and the other not.) Whereupon, finding the danger great to deale with them, to execute the law according to the infamy they deserved, specially then standing in need of a great number of men of warre, they referred themselves altogether unto *Agésilas*, to take such order in it as he thought good: but *Agésilas* then, without changing or altering any thing of the law, said in open assembly at LACEDÆMON, that for that day they should let the law alone, notwithstanding, that afterwards it should stand in force. By this policy he kept the law inviolate, and saved also the honour of those poore men: and withall, to put these youths againe in heart, being amazed with this fear, he led the Army into the Country of ARCADIA, and would give no battell, but onely tooke a small City of the MANTINEANS, and foraged the Country. This againe did a little revive the City of SPARTA with some hope, to make that it should not utterly despaire. But shortly after, *Epaminondas* invaded the Country of LACONIA with forty thousand footmen well armed, besides an infinite number of other light armed, and naked people, that followed his Campe for the spoile: so that in all, there were about threescore and ten thousand fighting men that came in with him to invade LACONIA. It was well neare six hundred years sith the DORIANS possessed LACEDÆMON, and in all that time till then they never saw enemies in their Country that durst invade them: but then they fackled and burnt all that came in their way. even unto the River of *Eurotas*, and hard adjoining unto SPARTA, and no man durst come out to resist them. For *Agésilas* (as *Theopompus* writeth) would not suffer the LACEDÆMONIANS to go out to fight against such a tempest and fury of warre; but having fortified the middlest of the City, and guarded every end of the streets with souldiers, he patiently bare all the braggies and threats of the THEBANS, which challenged him out to fight, and bade him come in the field to defend his Country, that onely was the cause of all these their calamities, having himself procured this warre. If this went to *Agésilas* heart, no lesse grievous were those troubles to him that rose within the City: as the cries and running to and fro of the old men, which

The Lacedæmonians slaine at the battell of Leuctres. Cleombrotus King of the Lacedæmonians slaine. Cleonymus the Son of Sphodrias slaine at Cleombrotus foot. Xenophon saying.

The constancy and fortitude of the Spartans.

The fortitude of the Spartan women.

Trefantas be cowards, or faint hearted men.

Punishment at Sparta, for cowardly souldiers.

Epaminondas invadeth Laconia with threescore, and ten thousand men.

Certain witty
answers.

Conspiracies
at Lacedæmon
under Agesilaus
Ifforim, the
temple of Di-
ana.

A fine device
to apprehend
the traitors.

The departure
of the Thebans
out of Laconia.

Agesilaus saved
the City of
Sparta.

were mad to see that they did before their eyes: and of silly women also, which no ground nor place, could hold, but ranne up and downe as fraught of their wits, to hear the noise the enemies made and to see the fire which they raised all the fields over. Much more sorrowfull also did this make him, when as he bethought himselfe, that entering into his Kingdom at such time as the City of SPARTA was in greatest prosperity that ever it was, he now saw his honour eclipsed, and the glory of his Kingdome overthrowne: and the rather, for that himself had often vaunted, that LACONIAN women had never seen the smoake of any enemies Campe. And as they say of *Antalcidas* one day, that he answered an *ATHENIAN* that contended with him about the valiantnesse of one anothers Nation, alleading for himselfe, that the *ATHENIANS* had often driven the *LACEDÆMONIANS* from the River of *Cephissus*: It is true, said the *LACONIANS*; but we did never drive you from the River *Eurotas*. The like answer made a meane man of SPARTA, to one of the *ARGIVES* that cast him in the teeth. There are divers of your *LACONIANS* buried in the Countrey of *ARGOLIDE*. So are there none of yours, said he, buried in *LACONIA*. It is reported, that *Antalcidas* being one of the *Ephori* at that time, did secretly send his children into the Isle of *CITHERA*, fearing lest the City of SPARTA should be taken, *Agesilaus* perceiving that the enemies forced to passe over the River to enter the City, he stood to defend the middle part of the City, being the highest place of the same, and there had his men set in order of battell. Now at that time, by chance the River of *Eurotas* was swelled greater then of ordinary, by reason of the Snow waters that fell abundantly: which troubled more the *THEBANS* with the coldnesse, then roughnesse of the same in passing it over. Some shewing *Agesilaus* how *Epaminondas* marched formost before his battell, he beheld him a great while, and his eye was never off him, saying never a word but this only: Oh, what a noble fellow is that? *Epaminondas* having done all that he could possible to give the *LACEDÆMONIANS* battell, even within the City selfe of SPARTA, that he might there have set up some tokens of triumph, he could never entice *Agesilaus* to come out of his Fort: wherefore he was driven in the end to depart thence, and so went to destroy all the rest of the Countrey. There fell out a conspiracy of two hundred men in SPARTA, who of long time had had an ill meaning with them, and took that quarter of the City where the Temple of *Diana* stood called *Ifforim*, a place of strong situation, and ill to disresse. Hereupon the *LACEDÆMONIANS* in fury would straight have set upon them. But *Agesilaus* fearing great mutiny and stirre upon it, commanded that no man should stirre: and himself unarmed, in a poore Gowne went thither, crying out to them that had taken that strength: Sirs, ye have not obeyed my commandement, this is not the place I appointed you to assemble in, neither all of you in one place; for I willed you to disperse your selves, some one way, some another way, shewing them the quarters of the City. The traitors hearing these words, were glad, as thinking that their intent was not betrayed: and so leaving that strength, went into those parts of the City that he had shewed them. *Agesilaus* then bringing others thither, possessed the Fort of *Ifforim*, and took fiftene of those conspirators, and put them to death the next night following. Howbeit then there brake out another conspiracy farre greater then the first, of the SPARTANS themselves, which were secretly gotten together into a house, to make some sudden stirre and garboile; and to punish them in so great a trouble, it was hard: on the other side to neglect it, the conspiracy was over dangerous. *Agesilaus* having consulted with the *Ephori*, did put them all to death, without any judgement of law: where never SPARTAN before them suffered death, without due order of law. Again, whereas divers of their neighbors, and of the *ILLOTS* themselves (whom they had billed in their hands of fouldiers) stole away and ranne to their enemies, which did much discourage them that remained: he warned his men that they should every day go to their Couches where they lay, and that they should take away their armour that were fled, and hide it, because they should not know the number of them that were fled in this fort. Now for the departure of the *THEBANS*, some say that they went out of *LACONIA* by reason of the Winter that came on, whereupon the *ARCADIANS* discharged their Bands, and every one departed his way in disorder. Others also hold opinion, that they continued there three monethes together, during which time they destroyed the most part of the Countrey. *Theopompus* writeth notwithstanding, that the Captaines of the *THEBANS* having determined to depart, there came one *Phrixus* a SPARTAN unto them, sent from *Agesilaus*, who brought them ten talents that they should depart out of their Countrey. Thus had they money given them to defray their charges homewards, to do that, which they themselves had long before determined to have done. And yet do I wonder, how it is possible that all other Historiographers knew nothing of this, and that *Theopompus* onely could tell of it. All do acknowledge truly, that *Agesilaus* onely was the cause that the City of SPARTA was saved: who leaving his ambition and selfe-will, being passions borne with him, did wisely foresee their safety. Nevertheless, after this great overthrow, he could never raise SPARTA againe to her former greatnesse. For like a whole body, which having acquainted it selfe continually with a moderate diet, with the least disorder doth surfeit presently, and so putteth all in danger: even so *Lycurgus* having framed a perfect state of Government in the Commonwealth of SPARTA, to make her Citizens live in peace and amity together; when they did enlarge it by great Kingdomes and Realmes, the which the good Law-maker thought unmeet to continue happy life, they were straight overthrowne, and all went to wracke. By this time *Agesilaus* was grown old, and could no more go to warres for very age: but his Sonne *Archidamus*, with the aide which *Dionysius* the tyrant of SYRACUSA sent unto them, wan a battell against the *ARCADIANS*, called

called the tearlesse Battell; for there died not one of his men; and they slew a great number of their Enemies. This Victory plainly shewed the great weaknesse and decay of the City of SPARTA. For in former times it was so common a thing unto them to overcome their Enemies in Battell, that they did sacrifice nothing else to the gods in token of thanks, within the City, but a poore Cocke and they that had fought the Battell, made no boast of it, neither did they that heard the newes, greatly rejoyce at it. For when they had wonne that great Battell at the City of MANTINEA, which *Thucydides* describeth, the *Ephori* onely sent the Messenger that brought the newes, for reward, a piece of powdered meate, and no other thing. But then when newes was brought of this Victory, and that they understood *Archidamus* came home victorious, neither man nor woman could keepe the City, but the father himselfe went first of all to meete him, with the teares in his eyes for joy, and after him all the other Magistrates and Officers of the City; and a swarme of old folke both men and women came downe to the Rivers side, holding up their hands to Heaven, and thanking the gods, as if their City had redeemed and recovered her shame and lost honour, and began now to rise againe, as before it did. For until that time, some say, that the Husbands durst not boldly looke their Wives in the faces, they were so ashamed of their great losses and miserable estate. Now the City of MESSINIA being by *Epaminondas* reedified and replenished with People, he called home againe out of all parts, the natural Inhabitants of the same. The SPARTANS durst not fight with him (nor to hinder his purpose) though it spighted them to the hearts, and were angry with *Agesilaus*, for that in his reigne they had lost all that Territory, which was as great as all *LACONIA* selfe, and for goodnesse and fertility to be compared with the best parts of all *GREECE*, the which they had quietly possessed many yeares before. And this was the cause why *Agesilaus* would not agree to the Peace which the *THEBANS* sent to offer him: and all because he would not relinquish that in words, which the Enemies kept in deeds. Therefore being wilfully bent once more to fight with them, he went not onely without recovering the thing he looked for, but had in manner also lost the City of SPARTA by a war-like Stratagem, in the which he was deceived. For the MANTINEANS being newly revolted againe from the alliance of the *THEBANS*, and having sent for the *LACEDÆMONIANS*, *Epaminondas* receiving intelligence that *Agesilaus* was departed from SPARTA with all his Power to aide the MANTINEANS, marched away secretly by night from *TEGGA*, without the privy of the MANTINEANS, and went straight to SPARTA; the which he had almost surprized on the sudden, going another way then *Agesilaus* came (being in manner without men to defend it. Howbeit a *THESIAN* called *Euthymus*, as *Calisthenes* saith (or as *Xenophon* writeth, a *CRETAN*) brought *Agesilaus* newes of it; who dispatched a Horse-man straight to advertise them of the City of SPARTA, and marching forward himselfe to returne, stayed not long after before he arrived. He was no sooner come, but incontinently also came the *THEBANS*, who passing over the River of *Eurotas*, gave assault to the City. Then *Agesilaus* perceiving that there was no more place nor time of security as before, but rather of desperation and courage, he valiantly defended it, more then an old mans yeares could beare. Thus, through courage and desperate minde, whereto he was never brought before, neither did ever use it; he put by the danger, and saved the City of SPARTA from *Epaminondas* hands, setting up marks of Triumph for repelling of the Enemies, and making the women and children of SPARTA to see the *LACEDÆMONIANS* how honourably they rewarded their Nurse and Countrey for their good education, but *Archidamus* chiefly of all other, fought wonderfully that day, running into every part of the City, with a few about him, to repulse the Enemies wheresoever the danger was greatest. It is said also, that at that time there was one *Isadas* the Sonne of *Phabidas*, that did marvellous strange things to behold, both in the face of his Enemies, as also in the sight of his Friends. He was of goodly personage, and at that time in the prime of his youth: and being starke naked, and unarmed, his bodyointed with oyle, having in one hand a Bore-staffe, and in the other a Sword, in this manner he went out of his house, and ranne amongst them that fought, killing and overthrowing his Enemies that withstood him, and was not once hurt, either for that the gods preserved him for his manhoods sake, or else because men thought him more then a man. The *Ephori* immediately gave him a Crowne, in honour and reward of his valiantnesse: but withall they set a Fine on his head to pay a thousand Silver Drachmas for his rash attempt, to hazard himselfe in Battell, unarmed for defence. Shordy after they fought another great Battell before the City of MANTINEA. There *Epaminondas* having overthrowne the first Ranks of the *LACEDÆMONIANS*, and courageously disressing the rest, valiantly following the chase, there was one *Anticrates* a *LACONIAN*, who receiving him (as *Diodorides* writeth) slew him with his Bore-speare. The *LACEDÆMONIANS* to this day notwithstanding, do call the off spring of this *Anticrates*, *Machariones*, as much to say, as Sword-men, as though he had slaine him with a Sword. The *LACEDÆMONIANS* did esteeme this *Anticrates* so much, for that deadly stroke he gave (because they were afraid of *Epaminondas* while he lived) that they gave him that slew him, great Honours and Dignities, and discharged all his off-spring and kinned from payment of Subsidy and common Contributions, which priviledge one *Callicrates*, a Kinman of this *Anticrates*, enjoyed even in our time. After this Battell, and death of *Epaminondas*, the *GRECIANS* having taken peace generally amongst them, *Agesilaus* would needs exclude the *MESSINIANS* from being sworne to this Peace, saying: That they need not sweare, because they had no City. Now, forasmuch as all the *GRECIANS* else did receive them as amongst the number, and tooke their oath unto this Peace, the *LACEDÆMONIANS* brake

The tearlesse
Battell of *Ar-
chidamus* over-
coming the
arcadians. The *Lacedæ-
monians* were
not wont to
rejoyce much
at any Victory.

Messina resto-
red againe by
Epaminondas.

Epaminondas
second Jour-
ney unto Spar-
ta. *Agesilaus* repu-
sed *Epaminon-
das* from Lacedæ-
mon.

The fortitude
of *Archidamus*.

The valiant-
nesse of *Isadas*
a Spartan.

The death of
Epaminondas.
Machariones
why so called.

Y y off

*Agefilaw
greedy of
Warres.*

off from this generall Peace, and none but they onely made Warre, in hope to recover the MESS-
ENIANS Country; and all through the allurements of *Agefilaw*, who for this cause was thought of
the GRECIANS a cruell and unsatiable man for Warres, to deale so craftily, and all to breake this
generall League. Againe, he brought himselfe in discredit with all men, being compelled to make his
City bare of Money, borrowing of them still, and raising sundry Contributions amongst them: whereas
indeed it had been his best way to have ended all these miseries, having so happy an occasion offered at
that time, and not to have lost so great an Empire of so many Townes and Cities both by Sea and
Land, and all to plague his Country, to winne the Land and riches of the MESSENIANS. But
yet was this most shame unto him of all other, when he gave himselfe unto one *Tachos*, a Captaine of
the EGYPTIANS, every man thinking it a shamefull part of him, that such a personage as he (re-
puted the chiefeest man of all the GRECIANS, and the which had filled the World with report of
his fame and glory) should for Money let out his person to hire, and the glory of his name, unto a bar-
barous person, a traytor and rebell to his King and Master, to become a mercenary Captaine and Sould-
ier to do him Service. And moreover, he being now fourscore yeares of age and upwards, his body
all mangled with wounds, though he had undertaken this honourable charge for the recovery of
the liberty of the GRECIANS, yet had his ambition deserved some blame: for noble acts have their
time, yea rather the good and ill do nothing differ from other, but in meane and mediocrity. But
Agefilaw had no regard of all this, and thought no manner of shame in service, specially for benefit
of the Common-wealth, but perswaded himselfe that it was a dishonour to him to live idle in a City
and do nothing, till death should come and make his summons: thereupon therefore he leaved men
of Warre through all GREECE with the Money *Tachos* sent unto him, and with them tooke Sea, ha-
ving thirty SPARTANS Councillors and assistants to him, as he had in his first Journey. Now *A-
gefilaw* being arrived in EGYPT, all the chiefe Captaines and Governours of King *Tachos* came to
the Sea shore, and honourably received him: and not they onely, but infinite numbers of EGYPT-
IANS of all sorts (that were marvellous desirous of him, for the great fame that went abroad of
Agefilaw) came thither from all parts to see what manner of man he was. But when they saw no
stately Traine about him, but an old gray-beard layed on the grasse by the Sea side, a little man that
looked simply of the matter, and but meanly apparelled in an ill-favoured thread-bare Gowne: they
fell a laughing at him, remembering the merry tale, that a mountaine should bring forth, and was
delivered of a mouse. Besides all this, they wondered when they saw men bring him Presents to
welcome him, that he tooke Meale, Calves, and Geese, and such grosse things: and refused all Con-
fections, Perfumes, and other delicacies, praying them that offered those dainty things to him, to give
them to the ILOTS his Slaves. *Theophrastus* writeth, that he delighted marvellously in the Rush
Papyrus, and liked the Garlands they made of them, for their fitnessse and the handfomnesse, the
which he carried home with him when he departed thence. Having spoken at that time with *Tachos*,
who was assembling his Army to go on his Journey, he was not made Captaine-generall, as he loo-
ked he should have bene, but was appointed onely Colonell of all the strangers, *Chabrias* Gen-
erall of all the Army by Sea, and the chiefe of all the rest was *Tachos* himselfe in person. This at the
first grieved *Agefilaw* to the heart, being driven whether he would or not, to beare with the vanity
and pride of this EGYPTIAN. So he failed with them into PHENICIA, against the PHENICI-
ANS, imbalming himselfe against his noble disposition and minde, and gave him place, untill he saw
time of revenge. It chanced that one *Neftanebos* a Nephew of this *Tachos*, having the leading of
part of this Army, rebelled against him, and being chosen King by the EGYPTIANS, he sent un-
to *Agefilaw*, and prayed him to come and take his part. The like he did also unto *Chabrias*, and
prayed him to joyne with him, promising great rewards unto them both. *Tachos* understanding that,
besought them both that they would not forsake him. *Chabrias* for his part also did likewise intreat
Agefilaw, and perswaded him what he could, to continue friendship with *Tachos*. *Agefilaw* answer-
ed him: For thee, *Chabrias*, thou comest of thine owne good will, and therefore mayest doe what
thou thinkest good, but so is it not with me: for I am sent hither a Captaine by my Country, to
serve the EGYPTIANS, and therefore it were no honesty for me to make Warre with him, whom
I am sent to serve and aide: were it not that they themselves which sent me, do now command me
the contrary. This answer being made, he sent certaine of his men to SPARTA to accuse *Tachos*,
and to commend *Neftanebos*. Both they also for their parts sent to intreat the Councill of LAC-
EDÆMON: the one as being alwaies their friend and confederate, and the other promising to be their
faithfull friend thenceforth. The LACEDÆMONIANS having heard the requests of both, an-
swered them openly, that *Agefilaw* should consider of this matter: and wrote secretly to him,
that he should doe what he thought best for the Common-wealth of SPARTA. So *Agefilaw* ta-
king with him the mercenary Souldiers which he had brought out of GREECE, went unto *Nefta-
nebos*, cloaking his departure, that it was for the benefit of his Country, to bewray a wicked
thing: but indeed taking away the Vizard to benefit his Country, they might by a better name
rightly have termed it Treason. Howbeit the LACEDÆMONIANS placing the chiefeest point of
honour, to consist in the benefit of their Country, did acknowledge nothing to be justice, but that
which they thought might serve for the advancement of the glory of SPARTA. *Tachos* seeing
himselfe forsaken thus by his mercenary strangers, fled. But now on the other side, there arose an-
other King in the City of MENDES against this *Neftanebos*, who having leaved to the number
of a hundred thousand fighting men, came to fight with *Neftanebos*. But he thinking to encour-
age *Agefilaw*, told him, that indeede they were a great number of men of all sorts together,
and

*Agefilaw de-
rived of the
Egyptians.*

*Agefilaw de-
spised all dain-
ty things.*

*Agefilaw for-
saketh Tachos,
and goeth un-
to Neftanebos.*

and specially men of handy-craft, and therefore that they were not to be feared, because they knew
not what Warre meant. But *Agefilaw* answered him againe: It is not their number that I feare, but
their rudenesse and unskilfulnesse, which is hardelt of all to deceive. For war-like stratagems do most
prevail against men that have greatest feare and experience: and therefore they foresee one thing ra-
ther then another. But men of no judgement nor experience, neither feare danger, nor have fore-
cast, and therefore do give him no more advantage that seeketh to deceive them, then the Wrestler
by sleight is able to overthrow him whom he cannot stir nor remove. Afterwards the MENDES-
IAN King himselfe sent unto *Agefilaw*, to winne him if he could. *Neftanebos* then began to be
afraid. For when *Agefilaw* counsellled him to try it by Battell as soone as he could, and not to pro-
long this Warre against ignorant men that had no skill to fight, but yet for their over-multitude might
intrench him round about, and prevent him in divers things: then he began to feare and suspect him
more, and thereupon retired into a great City, well walled about, and of great strength. *Agefilaw*
being offended that he mistrusted him thus, tooke it inwardly: but being ashamed to turne againe un-
to the third, and also to depart without any Exploit done, he followed him, and inclosed himselfe
within those Walls. The Enemies pursuing him hard, came unto the City, and began to intrench
it round, to keepe him in. Then the EGYPTIAN *Neftanebos* fearing a long Siege, determined to
give them Battell. Thereto the hired GRECIANS gave consent, as desiring no better match, and
the rather also for that there was but small store of Corne within the City. But *Agefilaw* perswa-
ding the contrary, would in no wise consent to it: whereupon the EGYPTIANS thought worse
of him then before, and plainly called him Traytor to their King. Howbeit he did patiently beare
all these accusations, expecting time to performe an Exploit he intended, which was this: The En-
emies had cast a deepe Trench without to compasse them in. When this Trench drew neare to end,
and that both ends lacked not much of meeting, tarrying till night came on, he commanded the GRE-
CIANS to arme and to put themselves in readinesse: then he came unto the EGYPTIAN, and
said unto him: Lo here is an excellent occasion presented to save thee, which I would not acquaint
thee withall till I saw it brought to the perfection I looked for, fearing lest otherwise we should have
lost it. Now sith the Enemies themselves have with their owne hands given us the way to save our
selves by this Trench they have cast, the which as much as is finished thereof doth hinder their great
multitude to helpe themselves, and that which is yet left unfinished, doth give us opportunity to fight
with them of even hand: determine to shew thy valour, and following us, save thy selfe and thy
People. For the Enemies which we shall assaile before us, shall never be able to abide us: and the o-
ther by means of the Trench which defendeth us on every side, can no way hurt us. *Neftanebos*
hearing his words, wondered at his great widdome, and so thrusting in among the GRECIANS, did
assaile the Enemies: the which were soone overthrowne and put to flight, as many as durst resist and
make head against them. *Agefilaw* having wonne *Neftanebos* againe to trust him, he once againe
deceived his Enemies with the like subtilty wherewith he had first beguiled them, and which they knew
not how to avoid. For one while he made as though he fled, and inticed them to follow him: sud-
denly againe he would turne this way and that way. In fine, he brought all this great multitude into
a straight sluice, walled about on either side, with great broad ditches full of running water: so that
when they were even in the midst of it, he suddenly stopped their passage with the front of his Bat-
tell, which he cast to the breadth of the sluice, and thus made his number of fighting men equall with
the multitude of his Enemies, which could never compasse him in behinde, nor flanke him on the
sides. They having in this sort made some small resistance, in the end turned their backs and fled,
and left a great number slaine in the Field: the residue after that last Overthrow forsooke their Cap-
tains, and fled stragling here and there. Thus the Affaires of the EGYPTIAN King after that time
had good successe, and he was quietly stablished in his Kingdome, making much of *Agefilaw*: and
doing him all honour possible, prayed him to tarry with him all that Winter. Howbeit he would
needes hasten home to his Country, which was in Warre with others, knowing that his City of
SPARTA was without Money, because they were driven to give Pay to Strangers. Thereupon
Neftanebos in the end tooke his leave of him very honourably, presenting him a Gift (besides all o-
ther honours he did him) of two hundred and thirty Silver Talents in ready Money, to defray the
charges of the Warre in his Country. Howbeit the Sea being rough in the Winter-quarter, he died
by the way, having notwithstanding recovered Land with his Ships in a desert place of the Coast of
LYBIA, which was called the Haven of *Menelaus*, after he was fourescore and foure yeares old: of
the which he had reigned one and forty yeares King of SPARTA, and thirty yeares thereof and
more he was alwaies taken and reputed for the greatest person, and in manner Chiefeistaine-generall of
all GREECE, untill the Battell of LEUCTRES. Now the LACEDÆMONIANS having a cu-
stome to bury the dead bodies of their Citizens that died out of their Country, in the same place
where they departed (the bodies of their Kings excepted) the SPARTANS which were at that
time about *Agefilaw*, anointed his body with waxe for lacke of honty, and carried him home to
SPARTA in this manner. His Sonne *Archidamus* succeeded him in the Kingdome, whose Issue suc-
cessively reigned after him, unto the time of *Agis* (who was the fifth King in succession after
Agefilaw) whom indeed *Leonidas* put to death, because he sought to restore the
LACEDÆMONIANS ancient discipline and forme of life.

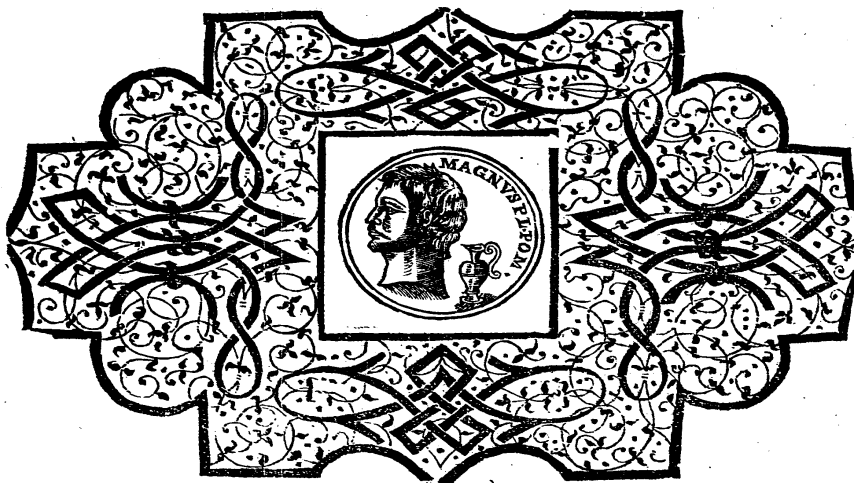
In whom stratagems take most effect.

The stratagem of *Agefilaw* against the EGYPTIANS.

The liberality of King *Neftanebos* unto *Agefilaw*. The death of *Agefilaw*. The reigne of *Agefilaw* body anointed with waxe for lacke of honey.

The end of the Life of *Agefilaw*.

THE LIFE OF POMPEY.



Ann. Mund.
3873.

Ant. Christ.
75.

The Father of
Pompey hated
in Rome.
Strabo, the Fa-
ther of Pompey.

The love of
the Romans
unto Pompey.

The favour of
Pompey.

Flora the Cur-
tizan loved
Pompey.

HE ROMANES seemed to have loved Pompey from his childhood, with the selfe-affection that *Prometheus* in the Tragedie of *Aeschylus* appeareth to have borne unto *Hercules*, after that he was delivered by him: when he said:

*So great a hate I have not to the Father,
But that I love the Sonne of him much rather.*

For the ROMANES never shewed more bitter hate against any other Capitaine, then they did unto *Strabo Pompey's* Father. Truly so long as he lived, they feared his greatnesse obtained by Armes, for indeed he was a noble Capitaine: but being stricken with a Thunderbolt, and dead, they tooke him from the Beire whereon his body lay as they carried him to buriall, and did thereto great villany. Contrariwise, never any other ROMANES (but Pompey) had the Peoples earnest good wills so soone, nor that in prosperity and adversity continued longer constant, then unto Pompey. One onely cause procured the Fathers hate, and that was, an unsatiable and greedy desire of Money. But Pompey his Sonne, was for many occasions beloved: as for temperance of life, aptnesse to Armes, eloquence of tongue, faithfulness of word, and courtesie in conversation: so that there was never man that requested any thing with lesse ill will then he, nor that more willingly did pleasure any man when he was requested. For he gave without disdain, and tooke with great honour. Furthermore, being but a child, he had a certaine grace in his looke that wanne mens good wills before he spake: for his countenance was sweet, mixed with gravity, and being come to mans state, there appeared in his gesture and behaviour a grave and Princely Majesty. His haire also stood a little upright, and the cast and soft moving of his eyes, had a certaine resemblance (as they said) of the Statues and Images of King *Alexander*. And because every man gave him that name, he did not refuse it himselfe: inso much as there were some which sporting-wife did openly call him *Alexander*. Whereupon *Lucius Philippus* a Confull, was not ashamed to say openly in an Oration he made in Pompey's favour, that it was no marvell if he being *Philip* did love *Alexander*. It is reported also, that when *Flora* the Curtizan waxed old, she much delighted to talke of the familiarity which she had with Pompey being a young man: telling that after she had lien with him, she could not possibly rise from him, but she must needs give him some sweet quip or pleasant taunt. She would tell also how one of Pompey's familiars and companions called *Geminus*, fell in love with her, and was a marvellous earnest Suiter to obtaine her good will: and that she answered him flatly, she would not, for the love she bare to Pompey. *Geminus* thereupon brake the matter to Pompey himselfe. Pompey desirous to pleasure him, granted the request: howbeit *Geminus* after that, would not come neare *Flora*, nor speake unto her, albeit

albeit it appeared that he yet loved her. But *Flora* tooke this not Curtizan-like, for she was sicke a long time for very griefe of minde, and she thought she tooke upon it. All this notwithstanding, it is said that this *Flora* had then such fame for her passing grace and beauty, that *Cecilius Metellus* setting forth and beautifying the Temple of *Castor* and *Pollux*, with goodly Tables and Pictures, among the rest, he caused her Picture to be lively drawne for her excellent beauty. Furthermore, Pompey against his nature, dealt very hardly and uncourteously with the Wife of *Demetrius*, his franchized Bondman (who while he lived was in great credit with him, and dying, left her worth foure thousand Talents) fearing to be taken with her beauty, which was very singularly faire, left he should be thought in love with her. Now though herein he seemed to be very circumspect, and to cast the worst, yet could he not thus scape the detracting tongues of his ill-willers: for they did accuse him, that to please and content his Wives, he would let passe and winke at many things that were against the profit of the Common-wealth. To prove his sober and temperate diet, and how he was contented with common Meats, a word (they say) he spake when he was very sicke, and could taste no meate, is specially noted. For to bring his stomach to him againe, his Physician willed him to eate a Thrush. So seeking all about to get him one, there was no Thrush to be bought for Money, for they were out of season. Norwithstanding, one told him that he should not misse of them at *Lucullus* Houise, for he kept them up all the yeare through. Why, what then, said he, if *Lucullus* riot were not, should not Pompey live? Therewithall, letting his Physicians counsell alone, he made them dresse such meate as was every where common. But of that we will speake more hereafter. Now Pompey being a young man, and in the Field with his Father that was in Armes against *Cinna*, there lay with him in his Tent a companion of his, called *Lucius Terentius*; who being bribed with Money, had promised *Cinna* to kill him, and other Confederates also had promised to set their Capitaines Tent on fire. This Conspiracy was revealed unto Pompey as he sate at supper, which nothing amazed him at all, but he dranke freely, and was merrier with *Terentius* then of custome. So when it was bed time, he stole out of his owne Tent, and went unto his Father to provide for his safety. *Terentius* thinking the houre come to attempt his Enterprize, rose with his Sword in his hand, and went to Pompey's Bed where he was wont to lie, and gave many a thrust into the Mattresse. After he had done that, all the Campe was straight in an uprore for the malice they bare unto their Capitaine, and the Souldiers in all haste would needes have gone and yeilded to their Enemy, beginning already to overthrow their Tents, and to trusse away bagge and baggage. The Capitaine for feare of this tumult, durst not come out of his Tent: notwithstanding Pompey his Sonne ranne amongst the mutinous Souldiers, and humbly besought them with teares in his eyes, not to doe their Capitaine this villany; and in fine threw himselfe flatly to the ground overthwart the gate of the Campe, bidding them march over him, if they had such a desire to be gone. The Souldiers being ashamed of their folly, returned againe to their lodging, and changing minde, reconciled themselves with their Capitaine, eight hundred onely excepted, which departed. But immediately after that *Strabo*, Pompey's Father, was departed out of the World, Pompey being his Heire, was accused for the Father, to rob the common Treasure. Howbeit he confessed and avowed, that it was *Alexander* one of his Fathers infranchized Bondmen that had stolen the most part of it, and brought him in before the Judges. Norwithstanding, he was accused himselfe, for taking away the royles and arming cords of Hunters nets, and Bookes that were taken in a sculum. He confessed the having of them, and that his Father gave him them when the City was taken: howbeit that he had lost them since, when *Cinna* returned unto Rome with his Souldiers, who breaking into his Houise by force, spoyled him of all that he had. His matter had many dayes of hearing before definitive sentence, in which time Pompey shewed himselfe of good spirit and understanding, more then was looked for in one of his yeares: inso much as he wanne such fame and favour by it, that *Antistius* being Prætor at that time, and Judge of his matter, fell into such a liking with him, that secretly he offered him his Daughter in marriage. Then that matter being by friends broken to Pompey, he liked of the match, and the parties were secretly assured. This was not so closely conveyed, but the People perceived it, by the care and paines *Antistius* tooke to favour his matter. Inso much, when the Judges gave judgement, and cleared him, all the People together, as if they had bene agreed, cried out with one voyce, *Talassio*, *Talassio*, being the usuall and common cry they used of old time at Mariages in Rome. This custome by report of ancient folke came up in this manner. At what time the chiefe Peeres and Lords of Rome did ravish the Souldiers Daughters, which came to Rome to see common Sports played, there chanced a few rascals (as Hog-heards or Neat-heards) to carry away a goodly faire woman. They fearing she should be taken from them, cried out in the streets as they went, *Talassio*, as if they would have said, she is for *Talassio*. This *Talassio* was a young Gentleman well knowne, and beloved of most men: so that such as heard him but named onely, did clappe their hands for joy, and cried out with them, *Talassio*, commending the choice they had made for him. So, hereof they say came this custome, that ever since they have cried this word *Talassio* unto them that are newly married, because the marriage of that faire young Maide proved fortunate, and happy unto *Talassio*. And this methinks foundeth nearest to the truth of that they report of this Wedding-cry of *Talassio*. Shortly after this judgement given, Pompey married *Antistia*. After that, going unto *Cinna's* Campe, they wrongfully accused him of somewhat, whereupon he being afraid, secretly stole away. Now when they could not finde him in *Cinna's* Campe, there ranne straight a rumour abroad, that *Cinna* had put him to death. Thereupon, they that of long time had maliced *Cinna*, did set upon him for this occasion. But he thinking

The temperance of Pompey in diet.

The Treason of *Lucius Terentius* against Pompey.

Pompey accused for robbing the common Treasure.

The cause of the cry of *Talassio* at Mariages in Rome.

Pompey married *Antistia*.

The death of
Cinna.

Pompey's first
Captainship
under Sylla.

Pompey was
Chieftaine of
an Army at
23 yeares of
age.
The City of
Auximium.

Pompey goeth
unto Sylla.

Pompey's Vic-
tory of the
Marians.

Pompey joyned
with Sylla.

Pompey called
Imperator of
Sylla.

The bold
speech of
Sylla did unto
Pompey.

to save himselfe by flying, was straight overtaken by a private Capitaine that followed him with his Sword drawne in his hand. Cinna seeing him, fell downe on his knees before him, and took his Seale from his finger wherewith he sealed his Letters, which was of great price, and offered it him. Tush, said the Capitaine, I come not to seale any Covenant, but to chastise a Villaine and cruell Tyrant: and therewithall thrust his Sword through him, and slew him presently. Cinna being slaine in this fort, Carbo succeeded him, and tooke the Government in hand, being a more cruell Tyrant then the first. Shortly after came in Sylla, being wished for, and desired of the most part of the ROMANES, for the grievous oppressions and miseries they endured, that they thought themselves happy to change Governour: for their City was brought into such misery, as hoping no more to see ROME recover her last liberty, they desired yet a more tolerable bondage. Now Pompey at that time was in a place of ITALY called PICENUM (now the Marches of ANCONA) where he had certaine inheritance, but much more great love and good will of the City for his Fathers sake. He seeing that the noblest men of ROME forsooke their Houses and Goods, to flee from all parts unto Sylla's Campe, as unto a place of safety, would not go to him as a fugitive and cast-away to save himselfe, without bringing him some Power to increase his Army, but would honourably go thither with an Army, as he that meant first to do himselfe pleasure. So he left the good will of the PICENTINES, who willingly tooke his part, and rejected them that were sent by Carbo. Among them there was one Tindius, that stepping forth, said that Pompey which came from the Schoole the last day, must now in haste be a Capitaine. But they were so offended with his speech, that they straight dispatched him, and killed him out of hand. After that time Pompey being but three and twenty yeares old, tarrying to receive no authority from any man, took it upon him of himselfe; and causing a Tribunal to be set up in the middle of the Market-place of AUXIMUM, a great populous City, he commanded the two Brethren called the VENTIDIANS (being the chieftest men of the City, and they that for Carbo's sake withstood his doings) without delay forthwith to avoid the City: and so began to leave men, and to appoint Capitaines, Serjeants, Centiniers, and such other Officers as appertaine to Martiall Discipline. Then he went to all the other Cities of the same Marches, and did the like. They that tooke part with Carbo, fled every man, and all the rest willingly yielded unto him: whereby in short space he had gotten three whole Legions together, Munition to entertaine them, Carriages, and all manner of Beasts for carriage. In this sort he tooke his Journey towards Sylla, not in haste, as a man afraid to be met with by the way, but by small Journeys, staying still where he might hurt his Enemy, causing the Cities every where as he came to revolt from Carbo. Nevertheless, three Capitaines of the contrary part; Carina, Celsus, and Brutus, all three did set upon Pompey together, not all in a front, nor of one side, but in three severall places they compassed him with their Armies, thinking to have made him sure at the first onset. This nothing amazed Pompey, but putting forth his force together in one place, he first marched against Brutus, having placed his Horsemen (among the which he was himself in person) before the Battell of his Footmen. Now the men of Armes of the Enemy which were GAULES, coming to give Charge upon him, he ran one of the chieftest among them through with his Lance and slew him. The other GAULES seeing him slaine, turned their backs, and brake their owne Footmen: so that at length they all fled for life. Therewithall the Capitaines fell out among themselves, and some fled one way, some another way, the best they could. Then the Townes round about, thinking that they were dispersed for feare, came all in to Pompey, and yielded themselves. Afterwards Scipio the Consull coming against Pompey to fight with him, when both Battels were in manner ready to joyn, before they came to throwing of their Darts, Scipio's Souldiers saluted Pompey's men, and went on their side: so was Scipio driven to flee. And in fine, Carbo himselfe having sent after him divers Troopes of Horsemen by the River of Arfis, Pompey made towards them, and did so fiercely assaile them, that he drave them into such places as was almost impossible for Horsemen to come into. Whereupon they seeing no way to scape, yielded themselves Horse and Armour, all to his mercy. Sylla all this while heard no newes of these Overthrows: wherefore, as soone as he understood of it, fearing lest Pompey should miscarry, being environed with so many Capitaines of his Enemy, he made haste to march towards him for to aide him. Pompey understanding of his approach, commanded his Capitaines to arme their men, and put them in Battell ray, that their Generall might see them bravely appointed when he should present them unto him: for he looked that Sylla would do him great honour; and indeed he did him more honour then Pompey looked for. For when Sylla saw him afar off coming towards him, and his Army marshalled in so good order of Battell, and such goodly men that so bravely advanced themselves, being courageous for the Victory they had obtained of their Enemies, he lighted on foote. When Pompey also came to do his duty to him, and called him Imperator (as much as Emperour, or Sovereigne Prince). Sylla resaluted him with the selfe name, beyond all mens expectation present, little thinking that he would have given so honourable a name unto so young a man as Pompey, who had not yet beene Senator: considering that he himselfe did contend for that Title and Dignity, with the Faction of Marius and Scipio. Furthermore, the entertainment that Sylla gave him every way, was answerable to his first kindeesse offered him. For when Pompey came before him, he would rise and put off his Cap to him: which he did not unto any other Noblemen about him. All this notwithstanding, Pompey gloried nothing the more in himselfe. Wherefore when Sylla would straight have sent him into GAULE, because Metellus that was there, was thought to have done no Exploit worthy of so great an Army as he had with him: Pompey answered him againe, that he thought it no reason to displace an ancient Capitaine that was of greater fame and experience

experience then himselfe: yet if Metellus of himselfe were contented, and would intreat him, that he would willingly go and helpe him to end this Warre. Metellus was very glad of it, and wrote for him to come. Then Pompey entring GAULE, did of himselfe wonderfull Exploits, and did so revive Metellus old courage and valiantesse to fight, which now began to faint, like boyling Copper that being poured upon the cold and hard Copper, doth melt and dissolve it, as fast or faster then fire it selfe. For like as of a Wrestler, who hath beene counted very strong, and the chieftest in all Games, having ever borne the prize away where he had wrestled, they never record among them his childish victories and wrestlings, as things of no account: even so I am afraid to speake of the wonderfull deedes that Pompey did in his childhood, because they are obscured in respect of the infinite great Warres and Battels which he had wonne afterwards. For I am afraid that whilst I should go about particularly to acquaint you with his first beginnings, I should too lightly passe over his chieftest Acts and most notable Enterprizes, which do best declare his naturall disposition and singular wit. Now when Sylla had overcome all ITALY, and was proclaimed Dictator, he did reward all his Lieutenants and Capitaines that had taken his part, and did advance them to honourable place and dignity in the Common-wealth, frankly granting them all that they requested him. But for Pompey, reverencing him for his valiantesse, and thinking that he would be a great stay to him in all his Wars, he sought by some meanes to alie him to him. Metella his Wife being of his opinion, they both persuaded Pompey to put away his first wife Antistia, and to marry Emelia the Daughter of Metella, and of her first Husband, the which also was another mans Wife, and with childe by her Husband. These Marriages were cruell and tyrannicall, siter for Sylla's time, rather then agreeable to Pompey's nature and condition: to see Emelia, this new married Wife, taken from her lawfull Husband, to marry her great with childe; and shamefully to forsake Antistia, who not long before had lost her Father, and for respect of her Husband that did put her away. For Antistius was murdered within the very Senate-house, being suspected to take part with Sylla for his Sonne-in-law Pompey's sake: and her Mother voluntarily put her selfe to death, seeing her Daughter received such open wrong. By these apparent causes, those unfortunate Marriages fell out into a miserable Tragedie, by meanes of the death of Emelia, who shortly after miserably died with childe in Pompey's House. Then came newes to Sylla, that Perenna was gotten into SICILE, and that he had made all that Island at his devotion, as a safe place to receive all Sylla's Enemies: that Carbo also kept the Sea thereabouts with a certaine number of Ships: that Domitius also was gone into AFRICK: and divers other Noblemen that were banished, that had escaped his Proscriptions and Outlawries, were all in those parts. Against them was Pompey sent with a great Army. Howbeit he no sooner arrived in SICILE, but Perenna left him the whole Island, and went his way. There he favourably dealt with all the Cities, which before had abidden great trouble and misery, and set them againe at liberty, the MAMERTINES only excepted, which dwelt in the City of MESSINA. They despising his Tribunal and Jurisdiction, alledged the ancient Order and Priviledge of the ROMANES, set downe in times past amongst them. But Pompey answered them in choler: What doe ye prattle to us of your Law, that have our Swords by our sides? It seemeth also that Pompey dealt too cruelly with Carbo in his misery. For sith he must needs die, as there was no remedie but he should, when it had beene better they had killed him when he was taken: for then they would have imputed it to his malice that so had commanded it. But Pompey after he was taken, made him to be brought before him, that had beene thrice Consull at ROME, to be openly examined, and he sitting in his Chaire of State or Tribunal, condemned him to die in presence of them all, in the great audience and murthering of every one that was present. So Pompey bade them take him away and carry him to execution. When Carbo came to the Scaffold where he should be executed, and seeing the Sword drawne that should cut off his head, he prayed the Executioners to give him a little respite and place to untrusse a point, for he had a paine in his belly. Caius Oppius also, one of Julius Caesar's friends, wrote that he dealt very cruelly in like manner with Quintus Valerius. For Pompey, said he, knowing that he was excellently well learned, as any man could be, and saw like unto him: when he was brought unto him, he took him aside, and walked a few paces about in thorn when he had questioned with him, and learned of him what he could, he commanded his Guard to carry him away, and to dispatch him. Howbeit we may not give too light credit to all that Oppius writeth, speaking of Julius Caesar's friends or foes. For Pompey indeed was compelled to make away the greatest personages of Sylla's Enemies that fell into his hands, being notoriously taken; but for the rest, all those that he could secretly suffer to steale away, he was contented to wince at, and would not understand it: and moreover did helpe some besides to save themselves. Now Pompey was determined to have taken sharp revenge of the City of the HIRMAEANS, which had lately taken the Romans part. But Sthenus one of the Governours of the City, craving audience of Pompey, told him he should doe them wrong and injustice, if he should pardon him that committed all the fault, and should destroy them that had not offended. Pompey then asking him, what he was that durst take upon him to say the offence of them all, Sthenus answered straight, that it was himselfe, that had persuaded his friends, and compelled his enemies, to doe that which they did. Pompey being pleased to heare the franke speech and boldnesse of this man, first forgave him the fault he had committed, and consequently all the other HIRMAEANS. Pompey understanding that his Souldiers did kill divers then in the high-ways, he sealed up all their Swords, and whole Seale forever was broken, he was well favouredly punished. Pompey being busied about these matters in SICILE, received Letters and Commission from Sylla and the Senate, to depart thence immediately into AFRICK, to make Warre

Pompey went
to aide Metellus
in Gaule.

Wonderfull
Victories of
Pompey.

Pompey put
away his Wife
Antistia, and
married Emelia,
the Daughter of
Metella Sylla's
Wife.
The death of
Antistius.

Pompey sent
from Sylla into
Sicilie.

Law must give
place to Armes

The death of
Carbo.

The death of
Q. Valerius.

The bold
speech of
Sthenus.

Pompey sealed
up his Souldiers
Swords.

Pompey Journey into Africa under Sylla against Domitius.

Domitius captured by Pompey with his Army

Pompey's victory of Domitius

Domitius slain

Pompey took King Juba's

Pompey's Conquests at twenty four years of age.
The love of the Soldiers unto Pompey.

Pompey called Magnus by Sylla.

Warre upon *Domitius* with all his power, who had leaved already more men of Warre then *Marius* had, not long before, when he came out of *AFRICK* into *ITALY*: and had there overthrowne all the *ROMANES* doings, being become of a fugitive out-law, a cruell Tyrant. *Pompey* thereupon having speedily put himselfe in readinesse to take the Sea, left *Memmius* his Sisters Husband Governor of *SICILE*: and so himselfe imbarqued, and hoised Saile with sixscore Gallies; and eight hundred other Ships or Bottomes, to transport their Victuals, Munition, Money, Engines of Batttery, and all other carriage whatsoever. After he was landed with all his Fleete, part at *UTICA*, and part at *CARTHAGE*, there straight came to him seven thousand Souldiers from the Enemies, and yeelded themselves, besides seven whole Legions that he brought with him. They say moreover, that at his arrivall, he had a present chance happened unto him to be laughed at: for it is reported, that certaine of his Souldiers stumbled on a Treasure by chance, and got thereby a great masse of Money. The residue of the Army hearing that, thought sure that the Field where this Treasure was found, was full of Gold and Silver, which the *CARTHAGINIANS* had hidden there long before in time of their calamity. *Pompey* hereupon, for many dayes after, could have no rule of his Souldiers; neither could he choose but laugh to see so many thousand men digging the ground, and turning up the Field: untill in the end they wearied themselves, and came and prayed him then to leade them where he thought good, for they had payed well for their folly. *Domitius* came to *Pompey*, with his Army set in Battell ray. Howbeit there was a certaine quagmire before him, that ranne with a swift running streame, very ill to get over: besides that, from the very breake of day it had poured downe and rained so fast, and was so great a winde withall, that *Domitius* thinking all that day they should not fight, commanded his People to trusse away, and remove. *Pompey* on the other side, finding this an excellent fit occasion for him, suddenly made his men to march, and passed over the Valley. The Enemies perceiving that, being altogether out of order, were marvellously amazed, and in that hurly burly would have made resistance. But they were neither all together, nor yet evenly set in Battell ray, and had besides the winde beating the raine full in their faces. So did the storme much hurt unto the *ROMANES* also, for they could not see one another: inso much as *Pompey* himselfe was in great danger of being killed by one of his owne Souldiers, who not knowing him, asked him the word of the Battell, and was somewhat long before he answered him. In fine, when he had overthrowne his Enemies with great slaughter (for they say, that of twenty thousand of them, there were but three thousand saved) *Pompey's* Souldiers saluted him by the name of Imperator: but he answered them, that he would not accept the honour of that Name; so long as he saw his Enemies Campe yet standing: and therefore, if it were so they thought him worthy of that Name, that first they should overthrow the Trench and Fort of their Enemies, wherein they had intrenched their Campe. The Souldiers when they heard him say so, went presently to assaile it. There *Pompey* fought bare-headed, to avoid the like danger he was in before. By this meanes they tooke the Campe by force, and in it slew *Domitius*. After that Overthrow, the Cities in that Countrey came and yeelded themselves, some willingly, and others taken by force: as also they tooke King *Juba* that had fought for *Domitius*, and his Realme was given to *Pompey*. But *Pompey* being desirous further to imploy his Power, and the good fortune of his Army, went many dayes journey into the maine Land, and still conquered all where he came, making the Power of the *ROMANES* dreadfull unto all the barbarous People of that Countrey, the which made but small account of them at that time. He said moreover, that the wilde Beasts of *AFRICK* also should feele the force and good successe of the *ROMANES*: and thereupon he bestowed a few dayes in hunting of Lions and Elephants. For it is reported, that in forty dayes space at the uttermost, he had overcome his Enemies, subdued *AFRICK*, and had established the Affaires of the Kings and Kingdomes of that Countrey, being then but foure and twenty yeares old. So when he returned unto the City of *UTICA*, Letters were brought from *Sylla*, willing him to discharge all his Army, and to remaine there with one Legion onely, tarrying the coming of another Capitaine that should be sent to succed him in the Government of that Countrey. This commandement grieved him not a little, though he made no shew of it at all: but his Souldiers shewed plainly that they were offended. For when *Pompey* prayed them to depart, they began to give out broad speeches against *Sylla*, and told directly that they were not determined (whatsoever became of them) to forsake him, and they would not that he should trust unto a Tyrant. *Pompey* seeing that he could not perswade them by any reason to be quiet, rose out of his Chaire and retired into his Tent weeping. But the Souldiers followed him, and brought him againe to his Chaire of State, where he spent a great part of the day, they intreating him to remaine there and command them, and he desiring them to obey *Sylla*, and leave their mutinies. But in fine, seeing them importunate to presse him to it, he sware he would kill himselfe, rather then they should compell him, yet they scant left him thus: Hereupon it was reported unto *Sylla*, that *Pompey* was rebelled against him. *Sylla* when he heard that, said to his friends: Well, then I see it is my destiny in mine old dayes to fight with children. He meant so, because of *Marius* the younger, who had done him much mischief, and had besides put him in great danger. But afterwards understanding the troth, and hearing that all generally in *ROME* were determined to go and meete *Pompey*, and to receive him with all the honour they could: because he would go beyond them all in shew of good will, he went out of his House to meete him, and embracing him with great affection, welcomed him home, and called him *Magnus*, to say, Great, and commanded all them that were present to give him that Name also. This notwithstanding some say, that it was in *AFRICK* this Name was first given him by

by a common cry of all his whole Army, and that afterwards it was confirmed by *Sylla*. Indeede it is true, that *Pompey* himselfe being sent Proconsull into *SPAIN*, long time after that, was the last that subscribed all his Letters and Commissions with the name of *Pompey* the Great: for this name then was so commonly knowne and accepted, as no man did envie it. And therefore rightly is the wisdom of the ancient *ROMANES* to be both commended and had in admiration, which did not onely reward service in the Field with such honourable Names and Titles, but Civill Service and good Government also in Peace at home. For there were two, whom the People of *ROME* called *Maximi*, to say, very great: of the which *Valerius* was the one, for that he made Peace and agreement betwixt the People and Senate: the other was *Fabius Rullus*, for that he put from the Senate certaine Bondmen infranchised, who through their riches and favour had obtained that place. After that, *Pompey* required the honour of Triumph, but *Sylla* denied it, alleadging that none could enter in Triumph into *ROME* but Consuls or Prætors. For sith *Scipio* the first, who in *SPAIN* had overcome the *CARTHAGINIANS*, never desired this honour of Triumph, being neither Consull nor Prætor, much lesse should he stand upon demand of Triumph into *ROME*, when that through his young yeares he was not yet a Senator: and besides, it would purchase him envie of his Honour and Greatnesse. These reasons did *Sylla* alleadg against *Pompey*, and told him plainly, that if he were bent to stand in it, he would resist him. All this blanked not *Pompey*, who told him frankly againe, how men did honour the rising, not the setting of the Sunne: meaning thereby, how his owne honour increased, and *Sylla's* diminished. *Sylla* heard him not very perfectly what he said; but perceiving by their countenances that stood by, that they wondered at it, he asked what it was he said. When it was told him, he marvelled at the boldnesse of so young a man, and then cried out twice together, Let him then triumph a Gods name. Many being offended therewith, *Pompey* (as it is reported) to anger them more, would needs be brought in in triumphant Chariot drawne with foure Elephants: for he had taken many of them from those Kings and Princes which he had subdued. Howbeit the Gate of the City being too narrow, he was driven to leave the Elephants, and was contented to be drawne in with Horses. Now his Souldiers that had not all things as they looked for, and which was promised them, going about to trouble and hinder his Triumph, he said he passed not for it, and that he would rather let alone all his preparation of Triumph, then once to yeeld to flatter them. Whereupon, there was a famous man at that time called *Servilius*, who at the first was one of the chiefest against *Pompey's* Triumph, who said openly, Now I know that *Pompey* indeed is great, and deserveth Triumph: being evident enough, that if he would, he might then have easily become made Senator: he sued not for that, but as they say, fought honour by a stranger meane lesse honourable. For if he had become made Senator so young, it had not bene so great a matter: but to have such honour before he was Senator, that was marvellously to be noted. But this wanne him the more favour and good will still amongst the common People: for they were glad when after his Triumph they saw him in company amongst the *ROMAN* Knights. On the other side, it spighted *Sylla* to see him come so fast forward, and to rise to so great credit: notwithstanding being ashamed to hinder him, he was contented to keepe it to himselfe untill that *Pompey* by force, and against *Sylla's* will, had brought *Lepidus* to be Consull, by the helpe and good will of the People, that furthered his desire. Thereupon *Sylla* seeing *Pompey* returning overthwart the Market-place from the Election, with a great Train of followers to honour him, he said unto him: O young man, I see thou art glad of this Victory, and so hast thou cause; for it is a goodly thing out of doubt to have had such favour of the People, as for thy sake to have made *Lepidus* Consull (the vilest person of all men) before *Catulus* the honestest man of the City: but I will tell thee one thing, see that thou sleepe not, and looke well to thy businesse, for thou hast advanced a dangerous enemy to thy selfe. Now the chiefest thing wherein *Sylla* discovered most his ill will unto *Pompey*, was in his last will and Testament: for he gave Legacies unto every one of his friends, and some of them he made Tutors and Overseers of his Sonne, but he made no mention of *Pompey* at all. This notwithstanding *Pompey* tooke it well enough. And where *Lepidus* and some other would have kept *Sylla's* body from buriall in the Field of *Mars*, and that his Funerall should not be openly solemnized, he contrariwise brought him very honourably and safely to the ground. Shortly after *Sylla's* death, his words of prophecy unto *Pompey* concerning *Lepidus*, proved true. For *Lepidus* usurping the Authority which *Sylla* had before, not colourably, but openly entred straight in Armes, stirring up againe those of *Marius* faction, whom *Sylla* could not be avenged of, and which lay lurking a long time, spying for occasion to rise againe. True it is, that his Colleague and fellow-Consull *Catulus* (whom the best and foundest part of the People followed) was thought a marvellous honest man, both just and modest: howbeit, a better Governour in Peace, then a good man of Warre, inso much as time required *Pompey's* skill and experience. So *Pompey* stood not doubtfull which way he would dispose himselfe, but tooke part straight with the Nobility and honestest men, and was presently chosen Capitaine of their Army against *Lepidus*, who had already wonne the greatest part of Italy, and with an Army under the conduct of *Brutus*, kept *GAULE* on this side the Mountaines called *GALLIA CISALPINA*. And for the rest, *Pompey* easily overcame it: howbeit he lay a long time before *MODONA*, besieging of *Brutus*. In the meane season *Lepidus* came to *ROME*, and being hard at the Walls, demanding the second Consullship, made them afraid in the City with the great numbers of men he had about him, gathered together of all sorts. Howbeit this feare was cooled straight, by a Letter which *Pompey* sent to *ROME*, advertising how he had ended this Warre without any blood-shed: for *Brutus* either betraying his Army, or being betrayed of it, yeelded himselfe unto *Pompey*, who gave him a certaine number

The wisdom of the *Romanes* commended for rewarding foreigne and home service.

Valerius and *Rullus* called *Maximi* in *Rome*.

Pompey's stout answer unto *Sylla*.

Pompey not being Senators, triumph against the Law

Marcus Lepidus created Consull.

Sylla fallen from the love of *Pompey*.

Lepidus moved with Civill Warre.

Pompey as a Knight of Rome such to be discharged from the Warres. Pompey himselfe to the Censor.

Pompey and Crassus made friends.

Pompeys pride and glory.

The beginning of the Pirats Warre.

The power and insolency of the Pirats.

The Pirats Navy, a thousand Ships.

that the Knights of ROME having served a certaine time in the Warres appointed by their order, should bring their Horse into the middle of the Market-place before the two Censors, declaring every Capitaine under whom they had served, in what Journeys and Countreys they had beene: and having also delivered account of their good behaviour and service, they then prayed to be dismissed from the Warres. Now if it appeared that they had done good service, then were they honourably rewarded: or otherwise, openly shamed and punished. At that time, *Gellius* and *Leptinus* the two Censors, being honourably set in their Tribunal or Judgement-seate, taking view of all the ROMEAN Knights that mustered before them, to be seene and examined, they marvelled when they saw Pompey coming at the farther end of the Market-place, having all the markes of a Consull borne before him, and himselfe leading his Horse in his hand by the bridle. When Pompey came neerer, and that they saw it was he, he commanded his Serjeants that carried his Axes before him, to make roome for him to passe by the Barres with his Horse, where the Censors sat. Then the People flocked about him, wondering and rejoycing, being very silent. The Censors themselves also were marvellous glad to see him so obedient to the Law, and did him great reverence. In fine, the elder of the Censors did examine him in this sort. Pompey the Great, I pray thee tell me if thou hast served so long time in the Warres as the Law did appoint? Then answered Pompey aloud: Yes verily that I have, and under no other Capitaine then my selfe. The People hearing this Answer, made an open shout for joy, they were so glad to hear it: and the Censors themselves came from their Judgement-seate, and went to accompany Pompey home to his House, to please the great multitude of People that followed him, clapping of their hands with great signes of joy. At the end of their Consulship, when milking increased further betwene Pompey and Crassus, there was one *Gaius Aurelius*, of the order of Knighthood, who till that time never spake in open Assembly, but then got up into the Pulpit for Orations, and told the People openly, how *Jupiter* had appeared to him in the night, and had commanded him to tell both the Consuls from him, that they should not leave their Charge and Office before they were reconciled together. For all these words Pompey stirred not. But Crassus first tooke him by the hand, and spake openly to him before the People: My Lords, I thinke not my selfe dishonoured to give place to Pompey, sith you your selves have thought him worthy to be called the Great, before he had any haire on his face, and unto whom you granted the honour of two Triumphs before he came to be Senator. When he had said his minde, they were made friends together, and so surrendered up their Office. Now for Crassus, he held on his former manner of life which he had begun. Pompey as neare as he could, gave over to please mens causes any more, and began by little and little to withdraw himselfe from frequenting the Market-place, and matters of judgement, coming seldome abroad, and when he did, he had alwaies a great Traine following him. It was a rare thing also to see him any more come out of his House, or talke with a man, but he was ever accompanied with a great number, and he rejoyced to himselfe to see that he had alwaies such a Traine after him: for that made him to be honoured the more, and gave him greater countenance to see him thus courted, thinking it dishonour to him to be familiar with meane persons. For men that rise by Armes, are easily despised, when they come to live like private Citizens: because they cannot fashion themselves to be companions with the common People, (who Citizen-like use a common familiarity together) but looke to be their betters in the City, as they are in the Field. Yea and contrarily, they do acknowledge themselves to be their inferiours in Warres, will thinke foule scorn if they be not their superiours in peace. And by this meanes when they have a noble Warriour among them that followed publick Causes, (which hath triumphed for many Victories and Battels he hath obtained) they obscure his Glory, and make him an underling unto them: whereas they do not otherwise envie any Souldiers that are contented equally to give them place and authority, as plainly appeared shortly after by Pompey himselfe. By such an occasion, the power of Pirats on the Sea, tooke beginning in the Countrey of *CILICIA*, which was not reckoned of at the first, because it was not perceived until they grew bold and venturous in King *Mithridates* Warres, being hired to do him service. And afterwards the ROMEANS being troubled with Civil Warres, one fighting with another, even at ROME Gates, the Sea not being looked to all this while, it set them a gogge, and made them go farther then ever they did before. For they did not onely rob and spoyle all Merchant-venturers by Sea, but rifled also the Islands and Townes upon the Sea-coast: insomuch as then there joyned with them men of great Wealth and Nobility, and of great wisdom also, and entered into their fellowship, as into a commendable faculty. Now they had set up Arsenals or Store-houses in sundry places, they had sundry Havens and Beacons on the Land, to give warning by fire all along the Sea-coast, and those well kept and watched: moreover, they had great Fleets of Ships ready furnished, with excellent good Gallies of Ores, skillfull Pilots and Mariners, their Ships of swift saile, and Pinnaces for discovery, but withall so gloriously set out, that men lesse hated their excesse, then feared their force. For the Peoples of their Gallies were all gilt, the Coverings of the same all of Purple Silke, delighting onely to make a glorious shew of their Pillage. All the Sea-coast over, there was no sight of any thing but Musick, singing, banqueting, and rioting, Prizes of Capitaines and men of great quality, and ranfome of 1000 Prisoners: and all this was to the shame and dishonour of the ROMEANS. Their Ships were about 1000 in number, and they had taken 400 Townes. They had spoyled and destroyed many holy Temples that had never been touched before: as the Temple of the Twins in the Isle of *CLAROS*, the Temple of *Venus Strabon*, the Temple of Earth in the City of *HERMION*, and the Temple of *Esculapim* in *EPIDAUROM*: the Temples of *Neptune* in *ISTHOMOS*, *TENARIA*, and

and *CALABRIA*: and the Temples of *Apollo* in *ACTIUM*, in the Isle of *LEUCADES*: the Temples of *Juno* in *SAMOS*, in *ARGOS*, and in *LUCANIA*. They had also many strange Sacrifices and certaine Ceremonies of Religion among themselves, in the Mount *Olympus*, and among other, the Mistry of *Mithres*, which is the Sunne: and remaineth yet in being unto this day, being first shewed by them. But besides all these insolent parts and injuries they did the ROMEANS upon the Sea, they wentaland, and where they found any houses of Pleasure upon the Sea-coast, they spoyled and destroyed them: and on a time they tooke two ROMEAN Prators, *Sexitius* and *Belinus*, being in their Purple Robes, with their Sergeants and Officers attending on them, and carried them quite away. Another time also they stole away the Daughter of *Antonius* (a man that had received honour of Triumph) as she went a walking abroad in the Fields, and she was redeemed for a great summe of Money. But yet the greatest spite and mockery they used to the ROMEANS, was this, that when they had taken any of them, and that he cried he was a Citizen of ROME, and named his Name: then they made as though they had been amazed, and afraid of that they had done. For they clapped their hands on their thighs, and fell down on their knees before him, praying him to forgive them. The poore Prisoners thought they had done it in good earnest, seeing they humbled themselves as though they seemed fearfull. For some of them came unto him, and put shooes on his feet: others clapt a Gown on the backe of him after the ROMEAN fashion; for fear (said they) lest he should be mistaken another time. When they had plaide all this pageant, and mocked him their bellies full: at the last they cast out one of their Ship-ladders, and put him on it, and bad him go his way, he should have no hurt: and if he would not go of himselfe, then they cast him over the board by force, and sent him packing. These Rovers and Sea-pirates had all the Sea *Mediterraneum* at commandement: insomuch there durst not a Merchant looke out, nor once traffick that Sea. And this was the onely cause that moved the ROMEANS (fearing scarcity of Victuals, and a great dearth) to send Pompey to recover the Signiory againe of the Sea from these Pirats. The first man that moved it might be decreed, that Pompey should not be onely Admirall or Generall by Sea, but should have absolute power to command all manner of persons as he thought good, without any account to be made of his doings in his charge, was *Gabinus*, Pompeys friend. The summe of this Decree gave him full power and absolute Authority of all the Sea from *Hercules* Pillars, and of the maine Land, the space of foure hundred Furlongs from the Sea, (for the ROMEANS Dominions at that time in few places went further then that: notwithstanding within that compass were many great Nations and mighty Kings.) Furthermore, it gave him power to choofe of the Senate fiftene Lieutenants, to give unto every one of them severall Provinces in charge, according to his discretion: and also to take money out of the Treasure, of the generall Receivers of the State, to defray the charges of a Fleet of two hundred saile, with full power besides to leave what men of Warre he thought good, and as many Gallies and Mariners as he listed. This Law when it had been read over among them, the People confirmed it with very good will. Yet the Noble-men and chiefe of the Senate thought that this Authority did not onely exceed all envie, but also that it gave them apparent cause of feare, to give such absolute power unto a private person. Whereupon they were all against it but *Cesar*, who favoured the Decree, not so much to pleasure Pompey as the People, whose favour he sought. The Noble-men fell marvelously out with Pompey: and at the length one of the Consuls was very hot with him, and told him he looked to follow *Romulus* steps, but peradventure he would come short of that end he made. Thereupon the People thought to have killed him. After that, *Catulus* stood up to speake against this Edict. The People at the first heard him quietly, because he was a worthy man. Then he began without any shew of envie, to speake many goodly things in the praise of Pompey, and in fine, advised the People to spare him, and not to venture in such dangerous Warres (one after another) a man of so great account, as they ought to make of him. If ye chance to lose him, said he, whom have you then to put in his place? The People then cried out: Your selfe. Then perceiving that he lost his labour, seeking to turne the People from their determination, he left it there, and said no more, *Rufinus* rose next after him to speake, but he could have no audience. When he saw that he could not be heard, he made a signe with his fingers, that they should not give Pompey alone this Authority, but joyne another with him. The People being offended withall made such an outcry upon it, that a Crow flying over the Market-place at that instant, was stricken blind and fell down amongst the People. Whereby it appeareth that a fowle falling out of the aire to the ground, did not fall for that the aire is broken or pierced with any force or fury: but because the very breath of the Voice (when it cometh with such a violence, as it maketh a very Tempest in the Aire) doth stricke and overcome them. Thus for that day, the Assembly brake up, and nothing past: and at the day appointed when this Decree should passe by Voices of the People, Pompey went abroad into the Countrey. There being advertised that the Decree was past for the confirmation of his charge, he returned again that night into the City, because he would avoide the envie they would have borne him to have seene them run out of all parts of the City unto him, to have waited on him home. The next morning he came abroad, and sacrificed unto the gods: and audience being given him at an open Assembly, he handled the matter so, that they gave him many things besides to enlarge his power, almost doubling the preparation set down and appointed at the first Decree. For he ordained that the Common-wealth should arme him five hundred Ships, and they leaved for him six score thousand Footmen, and five thousand Horsemen, and chose besides foure and against the twenty Senators, which had every one of them been Generals of Armies, and two generall Treasurers.

The Pirats scorning of the ROMEANS, when they were taken.

Gabinus Law for Pompeys Authority against the Pirats.

At the Voice of the People, a Crow flying fell down.

furers also. While things were thus preparing, the price of Victuals fell by chance, which rejoiced the People so much, that they stucke not to say, that the Name of Pompey onely had already ended this Warre. This notwithstanding, he divided all the Sea betweene the Lands into thirteene Regions, and in every of them he appointed a certaine number of his Ships, and moreover one of his Lieutenants over them. Thus having disperfed his power all abroade, he brought all the Pyrates Ships that were in a Fleete together, within his danger: and when he had taken them, he brought them all into a Dock. Now for them that had disperfed themselves betimes, or that otherwise could scape his generall chase they fled all into CILICIA, as Bees into the Bee-hive, against whom he would needs goe himselfe in person with threescore of his best Ships. Howbeit he cared not though he went not before he had scourd all the THUSCAN Sea, the Coast of LYBIA, SARDINIA, SICILE, and of CORSICA, of all those Theeves which were wont to keepe thereabouts, and this he did within forty daies space, taking infinite paines, both himselfe and his Lieutenants. Now when one of the Consuls called *Piso*, did all the best he could to hinder Pompeys preparation, and had discharged his Oare-men, for that he envied Pompeys prosperitie: Pompey sent his Ships before to make towards ITALY to arrive at the City of BRUNDISIUM. He in the meane time went through THUSCAN to ROME, where, so soone as his coming was knowne, all the People ranne out to meet him, as if he had been absent a long time: and that which made the People more joyfull to see him, was the suddaine change of Victuals unlooked for, that daily came to the Towne out of all parts. But *Piso* went neare to be deprived of his Consulship: for *Gabinus* had the Decree written, and ready to present to the People. But Pompey would not suffer it. So, having gently brought all to passe as he desired, he went unto the City of BRUNDISIUM, and there tooke Sea, and hoisted saile. Now though his hasty Voyage, and shortnesse of time made him passe by many good Cities without coming into them: notwithstanding, he would not so passe by the City of ATHENS, but landed there, and after he had sacrificed to the gods, returned to imbarke againe. At his going out of the City, he read two Writings that were made in his praise, the one within the Gate which said thus:

*The humbler that thou doest thy selfe as man behave,
The more thou doest deserve the Name of God to have:*

And the other Writing was without the Gate, which said,

*We wist for thee, We waite for thee,
We worship thee, we waite on thee.*

Now because Pompey having taken certaine of these Rovers by Sea that kept together, did use them gently when they required pardon, and having their Ships and bodies in his power, did them no hurt at all: their other Companions being in good hope of his merer, fled from his other Captaines and Lieutenants, and went and yeilded themselves, their Wives and Children into his hands. Pompey pardoned all them that came in of themselves, and by that meanes he came to have knowledge of the rest, and to follow them where they went, whom he tooke in the end: but knowing that they deserved no pardon, they hid themselves. Yet the most part and the richest of them, had conveyed their Wives, Children and Goods, and all other their Family unmeet for Warres, into strong Castles and little Townes upon Mount *Taurus*: and such men as were able to carry Weapons, imbarked, and lay before a City of CORACESIUM, where they tarried Pompey, and gave him Battell first by Sea, and there were overcome, and afterwards they were besieged by Land. Howbeit shortly after, they prayed they might be received to mercy, and thereupon yeilded their Bodies, Townes, and Ilands, which they had fortified, and were hard to have taken and worfe to have approached. Thus was this Warre ended, and all the Pyrats in lesse then three Moneths driven from the Sea wheresoever they were. He wan also a great number of other Ships, besides foure score and ten Gallies armed with Copper Spurres. And touching the men whom they had taken (who were in number above twenty thousand persons) he did not onely consider whether he should put them to death, but also thought it no wise part on the other side to let them go at liberty, to gather force againe, being so great a number of them as indeed they were, and all poor men and Soldiers. Therefore weighing with himselfe that man by nature is not born a wilde or a savage beast, but contrarily becometh a brute beast changing nature, when he falleth to Vice: and againe is made tame, and civill in time, changing place and manner of life: (as the brute beasts that being wilde by nature do also become gentle and tractable, with gentler usage by continuance) he determined to draw these Pyrates from the Sea into the upland, and to make them feele the true and innocent life, by dwelling in Towns, and manuring the Ground. Some of them therefore he placed in certaine small Townes of the CILICIANS, that were scant inhabited, and were very glad of them, giving them Land to keepe them with. The City of the SOLIANS also, that notlong before had been destroyed by *Tigranes* the King of ARMENIA, being desirous to replenish that againe, he placed many of them there. He bestowed divers also in the City of DYMA in the Countrey of ACHATA, which at that time lacked Inhabitants, and had great store of very good Land. Now therefore his Enemies reproved him greatly: and for that he did in CRETA, they that were his best and greatest Friends misliked him. For *Metellus* that gentle person (a cousin to that *Metellus* which was his Colleague, and made Wars in SPAIN with him against *Sertorius*) was sent Prator into CRETA, before Pompey was chosen Generall against the Pyrates. This CRETA, next unto CILICIA, was even a second Den of Pyrates. *Metellus* finding there a great number of these Theeves, took many of them and put them to death, even all that came to his hands. Then, such as had escaped from him, being straightly besieged, sent unto Pompey to pray him

The courtesie
of Pompey unto
Piso.

The Victory
of Pompey upon
the Pirates.

How men are
tamed.

of pardon, and to take them to mercy: declaring unto him, that the Isle of CRETA was within the precinct of his charge, because all parts of that Region from the Sea, came just within the compasse limited him on the Land. Pompey pardoning them upon their submission, wrote unto *Metellus*, and Fact against *Metellus*. commanded him to leave off his Warre, and therewithall charged all the Cities, that they should not obey *Metellus* Commandements. After that he sent *Lucius Octavius* one of his Lieutenants, who entered into the Towns *Metellus* besieged, and fought for the Pirats. This made Pompey not onely hated and envied, but derided also: for that under his Name he had protected such vile Theeves, that had neither God nor Law, and given them his Authority to save their lives, for a little envy and emulation he bare unto *Metellus*. And therefore they rightly reprove *Achilles*, and say that he shewed not the part of a wise man, but of a young fool besides himself, for desire of Glory making a signe to the GRECIANS, forbidding them to strike at *Hector*, to the end that as *Homer* said:

Left he too late should to the Battell runne,

When others had the Honour of it wonne.

But Pompeys Fact was worfe then this: for he fought for the common Enemies of the World, and onely to deprive a ROMANE Prator of Triumph, who had done great good service to have destroyed them. This notwithstanding, *Metellus* left not off his Warre for Pompeys Letters, but having taken the Pirates by assault, he put them to death: and afterwards having done *Octavius* open shame through his Campe, he let him goe. When *Newes* came to ROME, that the Pirates Warre was brought to good end, and that Pompey having no other service in hand, went visiting the Cities up and downe, one *Manlius* a Tribune of the People, put forth another Decree unto them of this effect: That Pompey taking all the Army *Lucullus* had, and the Provinces under his Government, with all BITHYNIA, which *Glabrio* kept, should goe make Warre upon the Kings, *Tigranes* and *Mithridates*, keeping in his hands notwithstanding all his jurisdiction and Army by Sea, in as Royall manner as he had it before. In fine, this was even to one man Monarch and absolute Prince of all the ROMANE Empire. For by this second Decree, he had all these Countries, not named in his former Commission, added to amplify his Authority, as PHRYGIA, LYCAONIA, GALATIA, CAPPADOCIA, CILICIA, high COLCHIDA and ARMENIA, with all the Armies and Forces with the which he had overcome those two mighty Kings. Then the Senate stucke not so much at the injury that was offered unto *Lucullus*, depriving him of the honour of his doings, to give it to another, that should rather succeed him in honour of Triumph, then in danger of Warres, knowing that they did him too manifest injury, and shewed themselves too unthankfull: but that which most grieved them, was to see Pompeys power established in a plaine tyranny. Hereupon therefore one of them perswaded and encouraged another, stoutly to withstand this edict, and not to suffer their liberty to be lost in this sort. Notwithstanding, when the day came that this Decree should passe, they were so afraid to anger the People, that their hearts failed them, and none durst speake against it but *Catulus* onely, that earnestly inveighed against the passing of it a long time together, and greatly blamed the People. At the length, perceiving he had wonne never a man to take his part, he oftentimes cried out to the Senate, that they should looke to seeke out some Mountaine or high Rocke to retire safely unto, to defend their liberty, as their Ancestors had done in old time before them. All this prevailed not, for the Decree passed by the Voices of all the Tribes, as it is reported. And thus was Pompey in his absence made Lord almost of all that, which *Sylla* by force of Armes, and with great effusion of Bloud (having made himselfe Lord of ROME) had before in his Power. When Pompey had received Letters from ROME, advertising him what the People had past in that behalf, some say that at the receipt of them in the presence of his familiar Friends that were about him, and rejoiced with him for congratulation) he knit his browes, and clapped on his thigh, as though it grieved him marvellously to have such great Offices and charge laid upon him, one in the necke of another, and burst forth in these words: O gods, shall I never see an end of such a world of troubles as I have! Had it not been better for me to have been a meane man borne and unknown, then thus continually to be in Warre with Armour on my backe? What, shall I never see the time, that breaking the neckes of spite and envy against me, I may yet once in my life live quietly at home in my Countrey with my Wife and Children? When Pompey spake those words, his familiar Friends could not abide to see his deepe dissimulation, knowing that besides his naturall ambition, and covetous desire to rule, he was glad in his heart that he had his Charge, for the contention that was betwixt him and *Lucullus*: which his deeds forthwith bewrayed. For he presently sent out Precepts into every quarter, commanding all sorts of Soldiers to come to him immediately, and made all the Princes and Kings within precinct of his Charge to come unto him, and going through the Countries, altered and changed all that *Lucullus* had established before. Furthermore, he did release the penalties enjoyned them, and took from them also the Gifts that *Lucullus* bestowed on them. In fine, this was all his purpose and desire: to make them that honoured *Lucullus* know, that he had no further power and authority to do any thing. *Lucullus* finding himselfe hardly handled by Pompey, the friends of either side thought good they should meet and talke together: which came so to passe, for they meet in the Countrey of GALATIA. And because they both were Captaines of the ROMANE Armies, and had done many famous Acts, they had their Sergeants and Officers that carried the bundels of Rods before them, wreathed all about with Lawrell Boughes. When they met, *Lucullus* came out of a close and woody Countrey, all covered with green Trees; and Pompey on the other side had passed through a great sandy plaine, where no Tree was growing, Thereupon *Lucullus* Sergeants seeing the Lawrell Boughes

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Achilles dis-
honell Fact.

Pompey appoin-
ted *Lucullus*
successor.

The boldnesse
of *Catulus* in
dissuading
Manlius Law.

Pompeys great
dissimulation.

Quarrell be-
twixt Pompey
and *Lucullus*.

Pompey and *Lu-
cullus* meeting
in Galatia.

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drie and withered away, which Pompey's Sergeants carried, they gave them of their green and fresh Boughs to beautifie the Rods and Axes. This was a plaine token that Pompey came to take Lucullus honour from him. In truth Lucullus had been Consul before Pompey, and so was he also older man then he: yet the dignity of Pompey was greater, because he had triumphed twice. At their first meeting, their entertainment and discourse was with great ceremony and courtiesse as might be, one highly praising the others Deeds, rejoicing at each others good successe: but at parting they fell to hot words together, Pompey upbraiding Lucullus avarice, and Lucullus Pompeys ambition, so that their friends had much ado to part them. Lucullus departing thence, divided the Lands in GALATIA, which he had conquered, and bestowed them and other Gifts on such as he thought good. Pompey on the other side camping hard by him, specially commanded the People in every part to obey him in nothing that he did: and besides he tooke all his Souldiers from him leaving him onely sixteene hundred; which he supposed were such, as for disdain and ill will they bare him, would do him but small service. Furthermore, to blemish the glory of his doings, he told every body Lucullus had fought with the pompe and shadow onely of these two Kings, and that he had left him to fight with all their whole force and power, Mithridates being then prepared for Warres, with Shields, Swords, and Horses. Lucullus for revenge on the other side said, that Pompey went to fight but with a shadow of Warre, like a cowardly buzzard that preieth upon dead bodies, which others have slaine: and to cut asunder the remaine of this Warre ended by another, as he had done before, attributing the honour of the overthrow of Sertorius, Lepidus and Spartacus, to himself, where indeed Metellus Cressus, and Catulus did overcome them. And therefore it was no marvell, that he fought the glory and honour to Triumph for the Kingdomes of PONTUS and ARMENIA: fith that through his subtle practises he had obtained Triumph for a few slaves and fugitives. Lucullus being now gone his way, Pompey sent good Garrisons unto all the Coasts upon the Sea, from the Province of PHOENICIA, unto the Realme of BOSPHORUS. That done, he tooke his journey by land towards Mithridates, who had in his Campe thirty thousand Footmen, and two thousand Horsemen, and yet durst not offer Battell, but camped first upon a Mountaine of great strength, and hard to get up on: notwithstanding shortly after, he forsooke it for lack of Water. He was no sooner gone thence, but forthwith Pompey tooke it: who, conjecturing by the nature of the Plants and Trees in that place which were very green, and also by divers holes he found, that by reason thereof should be some Springs, he commanded them to digge wells in every corner; so that in a very short time all his Camp had Water enough, and he wondered at Mithridates that he could not finde that out in all the time he lay there. In the end, he went and camped round about Mithridates, and intrenched him with a Wall within his owne Campe: who after he had abidden the Siege five and forty daies, fled away with all the choice of his Army, unknowing unto Pompey, having first slaine all the sick and impotent persons within his Campe. After that, Pompey found him another time by the River of Euphrates, and went and lodged hard by him. But fearing that Mithridates would passe over the River before he could prevent him in time, he raised his Campe againe, and marched away at midnight. About that time, they say, that Mithridates saw that in a Dreame which did Prognosticate what would happen. He thought, that having the winde in the poope of the Ship, he was under faile in the midst of the Sea of *Mare Bosporum*, and that he was marvellous glad of it, and rejoiced with them that sailed with him, thinking himselfe certainly past all danger: yet suddainly againe, that all this Joy left him, and that he floa ted up and down the waves of the Sea, upon a little piece of the Ship that was broken, trusting to the mercy of the Winds. As he was troubled with this ill favoured Dreame, certaine of his Familiars came to him and told him, that Pompey was come so neare, that there was no shift, but they must needs fight to defend their Campe. Thereupon his Captaines straight began to put his men in battell ray, ready to fight. Pompey understanding they prepared to make defence, was in doubt to venture his men to fight in the darke, thinking it better to compasse them in to keepe them from flying, and then in the morning to set upon them more easily, his men being the better Souldiers. But Pompeys old Captaines were so earnestly in hand with him to perswade him they might fight, that in the end he was contented they should give charge. Now it was not so dark but they could somewhat see, for the Moon that was very low and upon her setting, gave light enough to discern the body of a man: yet because the Moon was very low, the shadow which gave out further far then their bodies, came almost even to their very Enemies, which did let them that they could not certainly judge what space of ground was between them, but imagining that they were hard by them, they cast their Darts at the ROMANS, but they hurt never a man, for their bodies were a great way from them. The ROMANS perceiving that, rah upon them with great cries. But the barbarous People durst not abide their charge they were so afraid, but turned their backs, and ran away for life, so that they were slaine down right. Thus were there ten thousand of the barbarous People slaine and more, and their Campe also taken. As for Mithridates himself, at the beginning of the onfet, he made a lane through the ROMANS with eight hundred Horsmen, and passed cleane through them. But incontinently his men dispersed upon it, some one way, some another way, so that he was left alone but with three persons onely, whereof Hypsicratea was one of the number, which had ever been valiant and had a mans heart: whereupon, for that cause Mithridates called her Hypsicratea. She at that time being arrayed like a man of Armes of PERSTIA, and mounted also on a Horse after the PERSTIAN manner, was never weary with any long Journey the King made, nor never left to waite upon his Person, until such time as the King came to a strong Castle called *Inora*, where was great store of Gold and Silver. Howbeit Tigranes sent to let him, and further proclaimed by Trumpet, that he would give a hundred

Pompeys Journey againt Mithridates.

Mithridates Dreame.

Pompey overthrew Mithridates.

Hypsicratea Mithridateses Concabine otherwise called Hypsicratea, for her valiantnesse like a man.

dred Talents to him that could kill him. Thereupon, passing by the head of the River of Euphrates, he fled through the Countrey of COLCHIDE. In the meane time, Pompey invaded the Countrey of ARMENIA, at the request of Tigranes the younger, who was revolted againt his Father, and went to meet with Pompey at the River of Araxes, which hath his beginning almost about the head of Euphrates: but it runneth towards the East, and falleth into *Mare Caspium*. So they both together marched on further into the Countrey, receiving such Towns as yielded unto them. But King Tigranes (that not long before had been consumed and destroyed by Lucullus) understanding that Pompey was of a milde and gentle nature, he received his Garrisons into his strongest Forts and Royall Houses, and went himselfe with his Friends and Kinsmen to meet Pompey, and to yield himselfe unto him. When he came hard to his Camp, being a horse-back, there came out two Sergeants of Pompeys and commanded him to light and go in a foot, for there was never man seen a horse-back within the ROMANS Campe. Tigranes did not onely obey them, but further plucked off his Sword and gave it them: and in fine, when he came almost to Pompey, taking of his Royall Hat from his head, he would have laid it at Pompeys feet, and falling down most shamefully on the ground, imbraced himselfe to embrace Pompeys knees. But Pompey himselfe prevented him, and taking him by the hand, made him to sit down by him on the one side of him, and his Son on the other. Then he said unto them both: as for the other losses you have sustained heretofore, you must thank Lucullus for them; who hath taken from you SYRIA, PHOENICIA, CILICIA, GALATIA, and SOPHENA: but for that you have left you till my coming, I will let you enjoy it, paying to the ROMANS a fine of six thousand Talents for the injury you had done them, provided also, that your Son have the Kingdome of SOPHENA for his part. Tigranes accepted the Conditions of Peace. The ROMANS then saluted him King. He was so glad thereof, that he promised to give every Souldier half a Mina, every Centiner ten Minas, and to every Colonell of a thousand men a Talent. His Son was very angry withall: inasmuch as Pompey sending for him to come to Supper to him, he answered againe, that was not the friendship he looked for at Pompeys hands, for he should finde many other ROMANS that would offer him that courtiesse. Pompey for his answer, clapped him up as a Prisoner, and kept him to beled in Triumph at ROME. Shortly after, Phraates King of PARTHIA sent Ambassadors to Pompey to demand this young Prince, that was his Sonne in law, and to tell him that the River of Euphrates must be the uttermost Confines of his Conquests. Pompey answered againe, that Tigranes had more right to his Sonne, then the Father in Law: and as for limiting of his Borders, that he would do it with justice. So, leaving Afranius in ARMENIA, to keepe the Countrey, Pompey passed by other Nations which inhabit about Mount Caucasus, having Mithridates in chafe: of which Nations, two of the chiefest and of greatest power, are the ALBANIANS and IBERIANS. The IBERIANS do stretch out unto Mount Moschimus, and to the Realme of PONTUS. The ALBANIANS lie towards the East, and *Mare Caspium*. These men first suffered Pompey to passe through their Countrey, upon his sending to them. But winter having stollen upon the ROMANS while they were there, and they busily occupied about Saturnes Feasts: the barbarous People having leaved about forty thousand fighting men in one Campe together, came and passed over the River of Cyranus. (This River cometh from the Mountaines of the IBERIANS, and receiving the River of Araxes into it, which passeth through ARMENIA, disperfed it selfe into twelve severall Moneths, and so falleth into *Mare Caspium*. Some notwithstanding hold opinion, that Cyranus received not the River of Araxes into it, but that it runneth by it selfe, and falleth into the same Sea, neare unto the mouths of the other.) Pompey might if he would, have kept them from coming over the River, yet did he suffer them quietly to passe over. When they were all over, he went againt them, overcame them in Battell, and slew a great number of them in the Field. Afterwards he pardoned their King, submitting himselfe unto Pompey by his Ambassadors, and made Peace with him. Then from thence he went againt the IBERIANS, who were no lesse in number then the ALBANIANS were at the first, and also better Souldiers, and were resolutely bent to do good service unto Mithridates, and to drive out Pompey. These IBERIANS were never subject to the Empire of the PERSIANS, nor of the MEDES, and escaped also from being subject to the MACEDONIANS, for that Alexander never said in the Countrey of HYRCANIA: whom also Pompey overcame in a great and bloody Battell, having slaine nine thousand in the Field, and taken ten thousand Prisoners. From thence he went into the Countrey of COLCHIDE. There Servilius met him by the River of Phasis, with the Fleet of Ships with the which he kept all *Mare Ponticum*. Now to follow Mithridates further, who had hid himself amongst a People that were neighbours unto the Straights of BOSPHORUS, and the Maritimes Meotides he found it a hard piece of work. Furthermore also, he had newes that the ALBANIANS were rebelled againe, which drew him back to be revenged of them. Thereupon he had made a strong defence a great way along the River side, with a marvellous number of great Trees, feld and layed across one over another. Furthermore, when he had with great difficulty passed through them, he fell into an ill-favoured Countrey, where he should travell a great way before he could come to any Water. Thereupon he caused ten thousand Goats Skins to be filled with Water, and to went forward to meet with his Enemies whom he found by the River of Abas, being six score thousand Footmen, and twelve thousand Horsmen; but all (or the most of them) armed with wilde Beasts Skins. Their Chieftaine was Cossis the Kings owne Brother. He, when the Battell was begun, flew upon Pompey, and threw a Dart at him, and hurt him in the Flanke. Pompey on the other side, ranne him through with his Lance on both sides, and slew him stark

Tigranes yielded himself to Pompey.

Tigranes laid his Diadem at Pompeys feet.

Tigranes Son a Prisoner.

Ambassadors sent from the King of Parthia unto Pompey.

Caucasus Mount.

Albanians, and Iberians, what manner of People.

Cyranus fl.

Pompey overthrew the Albanians.

Pompey overcame the Iberians.

Phasis fl.

The Albanians rebel againt Pompey.

Abas fl.

Pompey slew Goss the Kings Brother of the Albanians. The Amazones. Cle and Lelages. People that do company with the Amazones. Thermodon fl.

Stratonice Mithridates chief Harlot.

Pompeys abstinence from taking of Gifts.

Mithridates remembrances.

Rutilius an Historiographer.

Pompeys fault.

Pompeys journey into Syria.

starke dead. Some say also, that there were certaine AMAZONES at this Battell, which fought on the barbarous Peoples side, coming from the Mountaines that run along the River of *Thermodon*. For, after the Overthrow given, the ROMANES spoyling the dead, found Targets and Buskins of the AMAZONES, but not a body of a Woman among them. They also do inhabit on the side of the Mountain *Caucasus* that looketh towards *Mare Hyrcanum*, and do not border upon the ALBANIAN: but the GELB and the LELEGES are betwixt them, with whom they company two Moneths onely every year, meeting together by the River of *Thermodon*; all the rest of the year they live apart by themselves. After this Battell, *Pompey* going to invade the Countrey of *HYRCANIA*, as farre as *Mare Caspium*, he was compelled to goe backe againe for the infinite number of deadly venomous Serpents which he met with, being come within three daies journey of it. So he returned backe againe into *ARMENIA* the lesse, and there received Presents which were sent unto him from the Kings of the *ELYMIA*N and the *MEDES*, and wrote very courteously unto them againe: howbeit he sent *Afranius* with part of his Army against the King of the *PARTHIANS*, who had invaded the Countrey of *GORDINA*, and harried and spoyled the King *Tigranes* Subjects. Notwithstanding he drave him out, and followed him unto *ARIELITIDE*. Furthermore, all the Lemmans and Concubines of King *Mithridates* being brought unto *Pompey*, he would touch none of them, but sent them all home againe to their Parents and Friends, because the most of them were either the Daughters of Princes, of Noblemen, or of Captaines. Notwithstanding, *Stratonice* that of all the rest of his Lemmans had most credit about *Mithridates*, unto whom he had left the Charge of his Castle, where the greatest part of his Treasure of Gold and Silver lay, was a Singers Daughter, who (as they said) was not rich, but an old man. She having sung one night before *Mithridates*, being at Supper, he fell in such fancy with her, that he would needs have her lie with him the same night, and the old man her Father went home offended, because the King would not so much as give him one gentle word. But the next morning when he arose, he marvelled to see the Tables in his House full of Plate of Gold and Silver, and a great company of Serving-men, Groomes of Chamber and Pages, and that they had brought him marvellous rich Apparell, and a Horse ready at the Gates bravely furnished, as the Kings Familiars did use when they went abroad into the City: he thought it was done in mockery, to have made sport with him, and therefore would have run his way, had not the Serving-men kept him, and told him that they were a great rich mans goods that died of late, which the King had bestowed on him and that all this he saw, was but a little Portion in respect of the other Goods and Lands he gave him. So the old man believing them, at the length did put on this Purple Gown they brought him, and got up on Horseback, and riding through the Streets cried, All this is mine, all this is mine. Certaine laughing him to scorne for it, he told them: Masters, ye may not wonder to hear me thus crie out, but rather, that I throw not Stones at them I meet, I am so mad for joy. Such was *Stratonices* Birth and Parentage, as we have told you. She did then deliver this Castle into *Pompeys* hands, and offered him many goodly rich Presents, but he would take none of them, other then such as served to adorne the Temples of the gods, and to beautifie his Triumph, and left all the rest with *Stratonice* her selfe, to dispose as she thought good. In like manner also, the King of the *IBERIAN*S, having sent him a Bed-reed, a Table, and a Chaire of cleane Gold, praying him to take it as a remembrance from him: he delivered it over unto the Treasurers custody, to be accountable for it unto the Senate. In another Castle called *Canon*, he found certaine secret Letters sent from *Mithridates*, which pleased him marvellously to reade, because thereby he plainly understood the Kings nature and inclination. For in them were mentioned that he had poisoned (besides many other) *Ariarathes* his owne Sonne, and *Alcaus* the *SARDINIAN*, because he had wonne the Bell, at the Horse-race before him. There was also interpreting of Dreames, that either himselfe or his Wives had dreamed, and also Love-letters betwixt *Monima* and him, *Theophanes* writeth also, that there was found an Oration of *Rutilius*, in the which he enticed and perswaded *Mithridates* to put all the ROMANES to death that were in *ASIA*. Howbeit in reason men thinke that this was a shamefull lie, maliciously devised by *Theophanes*, who hated *Rutilius*, because he was but a counterfeite to him: or peradventure to gratifie *Pompey*, whose Father *Rutilius* in his Histories describeth to be as wicked a man as ever lived. Thence *Pompey* departed towards the City of *AMISUS*. There his ambition brought him to commit such Facts, as he himselfe did condemne before in *Lucullus*: for that his Enemy being yet alive, he tooke upon him, to establish Lawes, to give Gifts, and distribute such Honours, as Captaines that had obtained Victory were wont to doe, when they had ended all Warre and trouble. For he himselfe (*Mithridates*, being yet the stronger in the Realme of *BOSSPHORUS*, and having a great puissant Army about him) did all that which he reproved another for, appointing Provinces, and giving out Gifts to every man according as he deserved: to gratifie twelve barbarous Kings, with divers other Princes, Lords and Captaines that came to him thither. Writing also to the King of *PARTHIA*, he did decline to give him that Title, which others were wont to doe in the direction of their Letters, calling him King of Kings. Furthermore, he had a wonderfull great desire to winne *SYRIA*, and to go through the Countrey of *ARABIA*, even unto the red Sea, because he might enlarge his Conquests and Victories every way, even unto the great Sea *Oceanum*, that compasseth all the whole Earth. For in *LYBIA*, he was the first ROMANE that conquered all to the great Sea. On the other side, in *SPAIN*e he enlarged the Empire of *ROME*, and brought the Confinnes thereof unto *Mare Atlanticum*. And thirdly, having lately the *ALBANIAN*S in chafe, he came almost unto *Mare Hyrcanum*. Thus he put himselfe in Journey, intending his circuite unto the red Sea, specially because he saw *Mithridates*

dates so ill to follow, and worse to overcome by force when he fled, then when he fought any Battell: and that made him say, that he would leave a sharper Enemy behinde him then himselfe; and that he meant *Famine*. For he appointed Souldiers with sufficient number of Ships, to lie in waite for the Merchants that failed to the Countrey of *BOSSPHORUS*, to carry them any Victuals or other Merchandizes, prohibiting them upon paine of death that should attempt it. Then he went forward with the best part of his Army, and in his way, found the bodies of the dead ROMANES which *Mithridates* had overthrowne under the leading of *Triarius* their Captaine, and were yet unburied. So he caused them all to be taken up, and honourably buried. *Lucullus* having forgotten, or otherwise neglected to doe it, in my conscience that was the chiefe cause why his men did hate him. *Pompey* now having by *Afranius* subdued the *ARABIAN*S dwelling about Mount *Amanus*, went himselfe in Person into *SYRIA*, and made a Government and Province of it, being wonne of the ROMANE Empire, for that it lacked a lawfull King: and conquered all *JUDA* also, where he tooke King *Aristobolus*, and builded certaine Cities there, and delivered others also from bondage, which by Tyrants were forcibly kept, whom he chastised well enough. Howbeit he spent the most part of his time there, deciding of Controversies, pacifying of Contentions and quarrels by Arbitrement, which fell out betwixt the free Cities, Princes and King, and sent of his Friends into those places where he could not come himselfe. For on a time when he was chosen Arbitrator betwixt the *PARTHIANS* and the *ARMENIAN*S, touching the Title of a Countrey which both parties claimed, he sent three Commissioners thither to judge definitively betwixt them both. If *Pompeys* fame and renowne were great, no lesse was his Vertue, Justice and Liberality, which indeed did hide many faults, his Friends and Familiars about him did commit. For truly he was of so gentle a nature, that he could neither keepe them from offending, nor yet punish them when they had offended. Notwithstanding, he did use them so well that complained unto him, or that had to doe with him in any matter, that he made them contented patiently to beare their covetousnesse and straight dealing. One of his chiefe Familiars about him whom he loved best, was called *Demetrius*, a bondman enfranchised, who otherwise was very discreet in his doings, but being somewhat too bold of his good Fortune: of him they make this mention. *Cato* the Philosopher being at that time a young man, yet of good judgement and of a noble minde, in *Pompeys* absence went to see the City of *ANTIOCH*. Now for himselfe, his manner was alwaies to goe on foot, and all his friends besides that did accompany him to honour him, were on Horseback. He perceiving as farre off, a great sort of People coming towards him all in white, and of one side of the Street little Children, and on the other Boyes, round about him as in a ring: at the first he was angry withall, thinking they had done it for his sake to honour him, that they made this Procession, which he in no wise would have had done. Thereupon he commanded his Friends to light from their Horses, and go on foot with him. But when they came neare to the Gate of the City, the Master of the Ceremonies that led this Procession, having a Garland on his Head, and a Rod in his hand, came unto them, and asked them, where they had left *Demetrius*, and when he would come? *Catoes* Friends laughed to heare this question: then said *Cato*, Alas poore City: and so passed by it. Notwithstanding, *Pompey* himselfe was cause that *Demetrius* had the lesse ill will borne him, then otherwise he should have had: because they saw how boldly he would use *Pompey*, and how well he would take it without offence. It is reported, that when *Pompey* oftentimes had bidden some to Dinner or Supper; while he was entertaining and welcoming of them, and would tarry till they were all come: *Demetrius* would be set at the Board, and presumptuously have his Head covered even to the very eares. And furthermore, before he returned into *ITALIA* out of his journey, he had already purchased the goodliest Houses of Pleasure, and fairest Walkes that were about *ROME*, and had sumptuous Gardens also, the which the People commonly called, *Demetrius* Gardens: though his Master *Pompey* was but meanelly housed till his third Consulship. Howbeit afterwards, he built that famous stately Theater, called *Pompeys* Theater; and joynd unto that also another House, as a Pent-house to his Theater, farre more sumptuous and stately then the first, and yet no more then needed. In-fomuch as he that was Owner of it after him, when he came into it, he marvelled, and asked whereabouts it was that *Pompey* dined and supped. These things are reported thus. Now the King of the *ARABIAN*S, that dwelt about the Castle called *Petra*, having never until that time made any account of the ROMANES Army was then greatly afraid of them, and wrote unto *Pompey*, that he was at his devotion, to doe what he would command him. *Pompey* thereupon to prove him, whether he meant as he spake, brought his Army before this Castle of *Petra*. Howbeit this Voyage was not liked of many men, because they judged it was an occasion found out to leave following of *Mithridates*, against whom they would have had him rather have bent his force, being an ancient Enemy to *ROME* and that began to gather strength againe, and prepared (as they heard say) to leade a great Army through *SCYTHIA* and *PANNONIA* into *ITALIA*. But *Pompey* thinking he should sooner diminish his power by suffering him to go on with Warres, then that he should otherwise be able to take him flying: would not toile to follow him in vaine. And for these causes he would needs make Warres in other places, and linger time so long, that in the end he was put by his hope. For when he was not farre from the Castle of *Petra*, and had lodged his Campe for that day: as he was riding and manning his Horse up and down the Campe, posts came flinging to him from the Realme of *PONTUS*, and brought him good newes, as was easily to be discerned as farre off by the heads of their Javelings, which were wreathed about with Lawrell Boughs. The Souldiers perceiving that, flocked straight about him: but *Pompey* would make an end of his riding first, before he

Pompey brought Syria into the forme and Government of a Province.

Pompeys Vertues. The power and infolency of Demetrius. Pompeys enfranchised bondmen.

Catos exclamation against Demetrius. Pompeys enfranchised bondmen.

Pompeys Theater.

The King of Arabia. Petra submittech himselfe to Pompey.

Mithridates
death.

The value of
Mithridates
scabbard of his
Sword.

Pompey return
out of Asia.

Mutia, the
Wife of Pom-
pey.

Pompey for-
sooke his Wife
Mutia.

Pompey at his
returne out of
Asia discharg-
ed his Sould-
iers.

Pompeys ho-
nourable re-
turne to Rome
out of Asia.
A Law for
Triumph.

Cato resisteth
Pompeys alli-
ance.

he read these Letters. Howbeit they crying to him, and being importunate with him, he lighted from his Horse, and returned into his Campe, where there was no stone high enough for him to stand upon to speake unto them; and againe, the Souldiers would not tarry the making of one after the manner of their Campe, which men of War do make themselves, with great Turves of Earth, laying one of them upon another: but for haste and earnest desire they had to hear what newes there was in the Letters, they laied together a heape of Saddlestone upon another, and Pompey getting up on them, told how Mithridates was dead, and had killed himselfe with his owne hands, because his Sonne Pharnaces did rebell against him, and had wonne all that which his Father possessed: writing unto him, that he kept it for himselfe and the ROMANS. Upon these newes, all the Campe, ye may imagine, made wonderful joy, and did Sacrifice to the gods, giving them thanks and were as merry as if in Mithridates Person alone, there had died an infinite number of their Enemies. Pompey by this occasion, having brought this Warre more easily to passe then he hoped for, departed presently out of ARABIA; and having speedily in few daies passed through the Countries lying by the way, he came at length to the City of AMISUS. There he found great Presents that were brought unto him from Pharnaces, and many dead bodies of the Kings Bloud, and amongst the rest, Mithridates Corpe, which would not well be discerned by his Face, because they that had the carrying of his Body had forgotten to drie up the braine: nevertheless, such as desired to see him, knew him by certaine scarres he had in his Face. For Pompey would in no wise see him: but to avoide envy, sent him away unto the City of SINOPE. He wondered much at the marvellous sumptuous rich Apparell and Weapons that he wore. The scabbard of his Sword (which cost foure hundred Talents) was stolen by Publius, and sold to Ariarathes. Also a Hat of Mithridates, of wonderful workmanship, being begged of Caius his Foster-Brother was secretly given to Fannus the Son of Sylla, without Pompeys privy. But afterwards when Pharnaces understood of it, he punished the parties that had imbezelled them. Pompey having ordered all things, and established that Province, went on his Journey homewards with greater Pompe and Glory. So coming unto MITYLENE, he released the City of all Taxes and Payments for Theophanes sake, and was present at a certaine Play they yearly make for Games, where the Poets report their Works contending one with another, having at that time no other matter in hand, but Pompeys Acts and Gestes. Pompey exceeding well of the Theater, where these Plaies were made, and drew a Modell or Platforme of it, to make a statelier then that in ROME. As he passed by the City of RHODES, he would needs heare all the Rhetoricians dispute, and gave every one of them a Talent. Pofidonius had written the disputation he made before Pompey, against Hermagoras the Rhetorician, upon the theame and proposition Pompey selfe did give them, touching the Generall question, Pompey did the like at ATHENS unto the Philosophers there. For he gave towards the redeifying of the City againe, fifty Talents. So he thought at his returne home into ITALY, to have been very honourably received, and longed to be at home to see his Wife and Children, thinking also that they long looked for him: but the god that hath the charge given him to mingle Fortunes prosperity with some bitter sop of adversity, laid a block in his way at home in his owne House to make his returne more sorrowfull. For Mutia his Wife had in his absence played false at Tables. But Pompey being then farre off, made no account of the reports nor tales that were told him. Howbeit, when he drew neare unto ITALIE, and that he was more attentive to give eare to the ill reports he heard, then he sent unto her to tell her, that he refused her for his Wife, writing nothing to her at that time, neither ever after told the cause why he had forsaken her. Notwithstanding, in Ciceroes Epistles, the cause appeareth. Furthermore, there were rumors ranne abroad in ROME, which troubled them sore, being given out that he would bring his Army straight to ROME, and make himselfe absolute Lord of all the ROMANE Empire. Crassus thereupon, either for that he believed it indeed to be true or, (as it was thought) to make the accusation true, and the envy towards Pompey the greater, conveyed himself, his family and goods suddenly out of ROME. So Pompey when he came into ITALIE, called all his Souldiers together; and after he had made an Oration unto them, as time and occasion required, he commanded them to sever themselves, and every man to repaire home to apply his businesse, remembering to meet at ROME together at the day of his Triumph. His Army being thus dispersed, and straight reported abroad for newes, a marvellous thing happened unto him. The Cities seeing Pompey the Great without Souldiers, having but a small traine about him of his familiar Friends onely, went all of them to meet him, not as though he were returned home from his great Conquests, but from some Journey taken for his pleasure. Such was the love of the People to him, that they accompanied him to ROME, whether he would or not, with a greater power then that he had brought into ITALIE: so that if he had been disposed to have made any innovation in the Common-wealth, he had not needed his Army. In those daies there was a Law, that no man should enter into ROME before his Triumph: whereupon Pompey sent to the Senate, to pray them to deferre the chusing of Consuls for a few daies, because he might be present to further Piso, who sued for the Consulship that yeare. They denied him his request, by Cato's meanes that hindered it. Pompey marvelling to hear of boldnesse and plaine speech, which he onely used of all other to defend his just Causes, had a marvellous desire to win him, and to make him his Friend. So Cato having two Nieces, Pompey desired to marry the one himselfe, and the other for his Son. But Cato mistrusting this desire of Pompey, that it was a colour onely to win and corrupt him, denied him flatly. His Wife and Sister on the other side, they were angry with him for refusing to make alliance with Pompey the Great. About that time it chanced, that Pompey being very desirous to prefer Afranius to be Consul, he caused certain Money

to

to be given among the Tribes of the People, and the same was delivered out to some, even in his own Gardens: This thing being reported abroad in the City, every man spake ill of Pompey: that he put the Consulship to sale for Money unto those that could not deserve it by Vertue, fith himselfe onely had obtained it by purchase of many a noble and worthy deed. Then said Cato to his Wife and Sister: Loe now, we had been partakers of this fault too, had we matched with Pompey. When they heard it, they confessed he had reason to refuse the match, for equity and his honour. But now to his Triumph: For the statelinessse and magnificence thereof, although he had two daies space to shew it, yet he lacked time: for there were many things prepared for the Shew, that were not seen, which would have served to have set out another Triumph. First there were Tables carried, whereon were written the Names and Titles of all the People and Nations for the which he triumphed, as these that follow: The Kingdome of PONTUS, ARMENIA, CAPPADOCIA, PAPHLAGONIA, MEDIA, COLCHIS, IBERIA, ALBANIA, SYRIA, CILICIA, and MESOPOTAMIA: and furthermore, the People that dwell about PHOENICIA and PALAESTINE, JUDAEA, and ARABIA: and all the Pirats which he had overcome both by Sea and by Land, in all parts of the World. In all these Countries he tooke about a thousand Castles, few lesse then nine hundred Townes and Cities: of Pyrates Ships eight hundred; and nine and thirty desolate Townes left without Inhabitants, replenished againe with People by him. Moreover, these Tables declared, that the revenue of the Common-wealth of ROME before these Conquests he made, amounted yearly but to five thousand Miriades: and that from thenceforth with the summes he had added unto the former revenue, they should now receive eight thousand and five hundred Miriades: and that he brought presently in ready Gold and Silver, and in Plate and Jewels, to put into the common Treasure, the value of twenty thousand Talents, besides that which had been distributed already among the Souldiers: of the which, he that had leaft for his share, had fiftene hundred Drachmaes. The Prisoners that were led in the shew of this Triumph, besides the Captaines of the Pyrates, were these that follow: The Sonne of Tigranes King of ARMENIA, with his Wife and Daughter: the Wife of King Tigranes himselfe, called Zosime: Aristobolus King of JUDY: Mithridates Sister, with five Sonnes of hers, and some Ladies of SCYTHIA. The Hostages also of the IBERIANS and the ALBANIANS and also of the Kings of the COMMAGENIANS: over and besides a great number of other marks of Triumphs which himselfe or his Lieutenant had won at sundry Battels in divers places. But the greatest honour that ever he wan, and which never other Consul of the ROMANS but himselfe obtained, was this, that he made his third Triumph of the three parts of the World. Divers other ROMANS had triumphed thrice before him: howbeit he first triumphed of AFRICA: the second time of EUROPE: the third time of ASIA. So that it appeared by these three Triumphs, that he had triumphed in manner of all the land that is inhabited, being at that time) as it is reported by them which compare his doings unto Alexander the Great) under foure and thirty yeares of age, though in troth at that time he was neare forty. O happy had it been for him, if he had died when he had Alexanders Fortune: for all his life afterwards, made his prosperity hateful, or his adversity miserable: impugning the honour and authority he had gotten by his valiantnesse, favouring mens unjust Causes: the more he furthered them, the more he lessened his honour, and unawares brought his greatnesse to nothing. For like as when the strongest places of a City, which receiving their Enemies into them, do give them the benefit of their owne strength: even so through Pompeys Power, Caesar growing to be great, overthrew him in the end with the selfe same meanes he employed to the overthrow of others. And thus it fortuneth: Lucullus at his returne out of ASIA (where Pompey had uncourteously used him) was then very well taken of the Senate, and much more when Pompey was also come to ROME. For the Senate did counsell and encourage him to deale in the Affaires of the State, seeing him waxe very slow, and given too much to his ease and pleasure, by reason of his great Wealth he had gotten. So when Pompey was come, he began to speake against him; and through the friendship and assistance of Cato, confirmed all his doings in ASIA, which Pompey had broken and rejected. Pompey finding he had such a repulse of the Senate, was driven to have recourse unto the Tribunes of the People, and to fall in friendship with light young men. Of the Tribunes, the most impudent and vilest person was Clodius, who received him, and made him a Prey unto the People. For he had Pompey ever at his elbow, and against his honour carried him up and down the Market-place after him, to speake as occasion served, to confirme any matter or device which he preferred unto him to flatter the common People. And further, for recompence of his good will, he craved of Pompey (not as a thing dishonourable, but beneficiall for him) that he would forsake Cicero, who was his Friend, and had done much for him in matters of Common-wealth. Pompey granted his request. Thereupon Cicero being brought in danger of Law, and requiring Pompeys friendship to helpe him, he shut his door against them that came to speake in his behalfe, and went out himselfe at another back door. Cicero thereupon fearing the extremity of Law, willingly forsooke ROME. At that time, Julius Caesar returning home from his Prætorship out of SPAIN, began to lay such a Plot, that presently brought him into great favour, and afterwards much increased his power, but otherwise utterly undid Pompey and the Common-wealth. Now he was to sue for his first Consulship, and considering the enmity betwixt Pompey and Crassus, if he joynd with the one, he made the other his Enemy: he devised to make them friends, a thing seeming of great honesty at the first sight, but yet a pestilent device, and as subtil a practise as could be. For the power of the City being before divided into two parts, (as a Ship evenly ballast of each side) maintained the Common-wealth upright; and being now brought into one mans power, there was no possibility to withstand it, so that all fell to wracke

Pompeys third
Triumph.

The Countries
conquered by
Pompey.

Captives led
in Pompeys
third Tri-
umph.

Pompey conqu-
ered three parts
of the World:
Africke, Europe,
and Asia.

Pompey Tri-
umphed thrice
before the age
of forty yeares.
The change of
Pompeys For-
tune and hon-
our.

Lucullus belee-
ved of the Se-
nate at his re-
turne out of
Asia.

Lucullus in-
venged against
Pompey, by Ca-
to's assistance.
Pompey joynd
with Clodius,
Tribune of the
People.

Pompey forsak-
eth his Friend
Cicero.

Caesar reconcil-
ed Pompey and
Crassus.

in

Caesars Law for
dividing of
Lands.
Lex Agraria.

Pompey gave
his consent
with Caesar, for
passing his Law
Agraria.

Pompey married
Julia the
Daughter of
Caesar.

Tribulus the
Comill,
driven out of
the Market-
place by Pom-
pey.

The Law A-
graria confirm-
ed by the
People.

Gauls and Il-
lyria appointed
unto Caesar.
Piso and Gabi-
nius Consuls.
Cato foretold
the ruine
of the Com-
mon-wealth,
and of Pompey.

Clodius the
Tribune set-
teth upon Pom-
pey.

Pompey was
graciously
soured of Clo-
dius.

in the end. Whereupon *Cato* wisely told them afterwards, that said, the civill Warres betwixt *Pompey* and *Caesar* was cause of the destruction of the Common-wealth: that their enmity and discord was not the chiefe original cause of this misery, but rather their friendship and agreement. For by their friendship *Caesar* was choen Confull, who straight fell to flatter the People and poore men, and made a Law for the restoring of the Colonies belonging to *ROME* and for distributing of Lands to them that had none, imbasing the Majesty and Dignity of the chiefe Magistrates, and making the Confullship in a manner no better then the Tribuneship of the People. *Bibulus* his Colleague and fellow Confull, did what he could to resist him, and *Cato* also did aide him to his power, untill *Caesar* openly brought *Pompey* into the Pulpit for Orations before the People, and calling him by his Name, asked him if he did give his consent to the Decrees which he did set forth. *Pompey* answered him, he did. Why then, said *Caesar*, if any man will by force let the passing of this Law by Voices of the People, wilt thou then come to helpe them? Yes that I will indeed, said *Pompey*: against them that threaten with the Sword, I will bring both Sword and Target. *Pompey* in all his life never did not spake thing that men more miliked, then that which he said at that time. His Friends excused him, and said it was a word passed his mouth before he was aware: but his deeds afterwards shewed, that he was altogether at *Caesars* Commandement. For not many daies after, he married *Julia* the Daughter of *Caesar*, which was affianced or made sure before unto *servilius Capius*, when no man thought of it: and to pacifie *Capius* anger, he gave him his owne Daughter in marriage, whom he had also promised before unto *Fanffus*, the Sonne of *Sylla*: and *Caesar* also married *Calpurnia* the Daughter of *Piso*. After this, *Pompey* filling all *ROME* with Souldiers, did what he would by force. For as the Confull *Bibulus* came into the Market-place accompanied with *Lucullus* and *Cato*, they fuddainly set upon him, and brake the bundels of Rods which his Officers carried before him: and some one, whatsoever he was, cast a basket of horf-Dung upon his head. Moreover, the two Tribunes that were in his company, were also very fore hurt. By this meanes having cleared the Market-place of all their Enemies, they passed the Law for divison of Lands, as they would themselves. The People being fleshed with this bait, were contented to be ruled by them as they would, and would never stick at any matter that they would have passed. So were all *Pompeys* matters confirmed, which *Lucullus* was against: and they appointed unto *Caesar* also, the Government of the *GAULES* on this side and beyond the *ALPES*: and *ILLYRIA* for five yeares space, with four whole Legions. The next day following were appointed Consuls, *Piso* *Caesars* Father in law, and *Gabinus* the greatest flatterer *Pompey* had about him. But now while things stood in these termes, *Bibulus* though he were Confull, kept himselfe close in his Houfe for eight Moneths space, and onely sent out Bils and set them up on every post in open places, accusing *Pompey* and *Caesar*. *Cato* on the other side, as if he had been inspired with the spirit of Prophecie, told openly in the Senate-Houle, what would become of the Common-wealth and *Pompey*. *Lucullus* growing old, lay still and took his pleasure, and would no more meddle in the Common-wealth. At that time it was that *Pompey* said, it was more unseasonable for an old man to follow his pleasure, then to attend matters of the Common-wealth. Yet himselfe shortly after was so doted of his young Wife, that he would follow her up and down in the Countrey, and in his Gardens, and leave all Affaires of weight aside. Whereupon *Clodius* being then Tribune of the People, dispised *Pompey*, and began to enter into seditious attempts. For when he had driven *Cicero* out of *ROME* and had sent away *Cato* to make Warres in *CYPRUS*, and that *Caesar* also was occupied in *GAULE*, and finding that the People in like case were at his Commandement, because to flatter them he did what they would have him: he attempted incontinently to undoe some thing that *Pompey* had established. Amongst other things, he took young *Tigranes* out of Prison, and ever carried him up and down with him wherefoever he went, and continually pickt quarrels unto *Pompeys* Friends, to try what credit he had. In the end *Pompey* coming abroad one day into the common Assembly, to hear how a matter of his was handled, this *Clodius* having a company of vagabonds and desperate men about him, that cared not what they did: he sitting in a place where he might be seen from the rest, began to aske these questions out aloud: Who is the licentious Captain in all this City? What man is he that seeks for a man? What is he that scratcheth his head with one finger? They, like a company of Dancers and Singers, when he spake and clapped his hands on his Gown, answered him straight aloud to every question, that it was *Pompey*. This went to *Pompeys* heart, that was not wont to hear himselfe so ill spoken of openly, neither was acquainted with any such kinde of fight: but yet it made him bite the lippe more, when he saw the Senate glad to see him thus aflamed and reproved, as a just revenge and punishment for his vile betraying and forfaking of *Cicero*. So great stirre and uproare being made upon this in the Market-place, and many men sore hurt, and one of *Clodius* bondmen being taken also in the preffe of the People with a Sword in his hand, very neare unto *Pompey*: making this his colour (but otherwise fearing *Clodius* insolvency and proud words) he would never after come into the Market-place, as long as *Clodius* was Tribune, but kept at home still, consulting with his Friends what way he should take to appease the anger of the Senate against him. Thereupon one of his Friends called *Culeo*, perswaded him to put away his Wife *Julia*, and utterly to refuse *Caesars* friendship, and to sticke againe to the Senate: but he would none of that. Notwithstanding he was contented to hearken unto them that gave him counsell to call *Cicero* home againe, who was *Clodius* mortall Enemy, and in great favour with the Senate. Thereupon he brought *Cicero* Brother into the Market-place, to move the matter to the People, with a great number of men about him, where they fell to blowes, and divers were slaine of either side: notwithstanding,

he

he overcame *Clodius*. Thus *Cicero* being called home by Decree of the People, when he was come, he brought *Pompey* againe in favour with the Senate, and standing with the Law propounded to give *Pompey* Authority to cause Corne to be brought to *ROME*, he once againe made him have power both by Land and Sea over all the Territories of the *ROMANS*. For all the Havens, Martts, and Faires, and all Store-houses of Corne, yea moreover all the Trade of Merchandize and Tillage, came under *Pompeys* hands. Then *Clodius* accusing him, said: that the Senate had not made this Law for the dearth of Victuals, but that they made a dearth of Victuals, because the Law should passe, to revive *Pompeys* Power and Authority againe, that was almost under foot. Other say, that this was a device of *Lentulus Spinther* the Confull, who gave *Pompey* the greater Authority, because he might be sent to put King *Ptolomy* againe into his Kingdome. This notwithstanding, *Canidius* the Tribune preferred another Law to send *Pompey* without an Army, with two Sergeants onely to carry the Axes before him, to bring *Ptolomie* in favour againe with the *ALEXANDRIANS*. This Law seemed not to milike *Pompey*: but the Senate with honest colour put by this Law, as being afraid lest *Pompeys* person would miscarry in so doing. Nevertheless, little Papers were found throwne about the Market-place, and the Senate-house, declaring that *Ptolomie* desired *Pompey* might come to aide him in *Spinthers* stead. *Timagenes* writeth notwithstanding, that *Ptolomie* went to *ROME*, and left *EGYPT*, without any occasion given him, at the perswasion of *Theophanes*, who perswaded him to doe so, because he would give *Pompey* occasion to make new Warres. But *Theophanes* craft and subtilty made not this matter so credible, as *Pompeys* wit and good nature made it altogether untrue: for his ambition was nothing so vile or ill, as that was. So *Pompey* having now full Authority to cause Corne to be brought to *ROME*, he sent then his Lieutenants and Friends abroad, and himselfe in person went into *CYCLIS*. Now being ready to returne againe, there arose such a storme of winde in the Sea, that the Mariners were in doubt to weigh their Anchors. But himselfe first imbarked, and commanded them straight to hoise saile, crying out aloud, It is of necessity I must goe, but not to live. So, through his boldnesse and good spirit, using the good Fortune he had, he filled all the places of Mart, and Markets with Corne, and all the Sea besides with Ships: insomuch, the plenty he brought did not onely furnish the City of *ROME*, but all their neighbours also about them, and came like a lively Spring that disperfed it selfe through all *ITALIE*. About that time, the great Conquests that *Caesar* made in *GAULE*, did set him aloft. For when they thought that he was occupied in Warres farre from *ROME*, with the *BELGIANS*, *SVVISSES*, and English-men, he by secret practise, was in the midst among the People at *ROME*, and most against *Pompey* in the weightiest Affaires of the Common-wealth. For he had the power of an Army about his Person, which he did harden with paines and continuall practise, not with intent to fight onely against the barbarous People: but for the Battels he had with them, were in manner but as a hunting sport, by the which he made himselfe invincible, and dreadful to the World. But furthermore, by the infinite Gold and Silver, and the incredible spoiles and Treasure which he wan upon the Enemies whom he had overcome: and by sending great Presents also to *ROME*, to the *Aediles*, *Prators*, Consuls, and their Wives, he purchased him many Friends. Therefore, after he had passed over the *ALPES* againe, and was come to winter in the City of *LUCIA*, a world of People (both men and Women) and of the Senate themselves almost two hundred Persons (and amongst them, *Crassus* and *Pompey* by Name) went out of *ROME* unto him. Furthermore, there were seen at *Caesars* Gate, sixscore Sergeants carrying Axes before *Prators*, or *Proconsuls*. So *Caesar* sent every one backe againe, either full of Money, or good words: but with *Pompey* and *Crassus*, he made a match, that they two together, should sue to be Consuls, and that he himselfe would lend them good aide to *ROME*, at the day of Election, to give their Voices. And if they were chosen, that they should then practise by Decree of the People, to have the Governments of some new Provinces and Armies assigned them: and withall, that they should adorne the Government of those Provinces he had, for five yeares more. This pack being bewrayed and spread abroad through *ROME*, the honestest sort misliked much thereof. Whereupon *Marcellinus* at an open Assembly of the People, did aske them both, if they would sue for the Consullship at the next Election. So, they being urged by the People to make answer, *Pompey* spake first, and said: Peradventure he would, peradventure not. *Crassus* answered more gently, that he would do that which should be best for the Common wealth. Then *Marcellinus* sharply inveying against *Pompey*, he angrily againe cast him in the teeth, and said, that *Marcellinus* was the rankest churle, and the unthankfullest beast in the world: for that of a dumb man, he had made him Eloquent, and being in manner starved and famished, many a time he had filled his belly. This notwithstanding, divers that before were determined to sue for the Consullship, went no further in it, saying *Lucius Domitius*, whom *Cato* counselled and incouraged not to give it over: for, said he, thou dost not contend for the Consullship, but to defend the common liberty of thy Countrey against two Tyrants. *Pompey* therefore fearing *Cato* a Faction, lest that having all the Senates good wils, he should draw also the best part of the People after him, thought it not good to suffer *Domitius* to come into the Market-place. To this end therefore, he sent men armed against him, who at the first onset, slew the Torch-bearer that carried the Torch before him, and made all the rest to flie: amongst whom also *Cato* was the last man that retired, who was hurt in his elbow defending of *Domitius*. *Pompey* and *Crassus* being become Consuls after this sort, they ordered themselves nothing the more temperately, nor honestly. For first of all, the People being about to chuse *Cato* *Prator*, *Pompey* being at the Assembly of the Election, perceiving that they would chuse him, brake up the Assembly, falsely alledging that he had

Commission
given to Pom-
pey for bring-
ing Corn into
Rome.

The restoring
again of Pto-
lomis King of
Egypt to his
Realme.

Great repaire
unto Caesar
wintering at
Lucia.

The violence
of Pompey ob-
taining the se-
cond Consul-
ship.

Pompey and
Crassus second
Consulship
noted

Provinces di-
vided unto
Pompey,
Cæsar and
Crassus.

noted certaine ill signes; and afterwards, the Tribes of the People being bribed and corrupted with Money, they chose *Antius* and *Vatinus* Prætors. After that, by *Trebonius* Tribune of the People, they published Edicts, authorising *Cæsar* charge for five yeares longer, according to the appointment they had made with *Cæsar*. Unto *Crassus* also they had appointed SYRIA, and the Warre against the PARTHIANS. Unto *Pompey* in like case, all AFRICK, and both SPAINES, with four Legions besides: of the which, at *Cæsar*'s desire, he lent him two Legions to helpe him in his Warre in GAULE. These things done, *Crassus* departed to his Province, at the going out of his Consulship: and *Pompey* remained at ROME about the dedicating of his Theater, where he caused many goodly Playes to be made, both for exercise of person, as also for Learning and Musicke, and caused wilde Beasts also to be baited and hunted, and killed five hundred Lions. But of all things, there was no such fearfull sight and terrible Fight, as was between the Elephants. This great charge and bountifull expence, defrayed by *Pompey*, to shew the People pastime and pleasures, made him again to be very much esteemed of, and beloved amongst the People. But on the other side, he wan himselfe as much ill will and envy, in committing the Government of his Provinces and Legions into the hands of his Lieutenants, whilest he himselfe roamed up and down the pleasant places of ITALY, with his Wife at his pleasure: either because he was far in love with her, or else for that she loved him so dearly, that he could not finde in his heart to leave her company. It was reported of her (being knowne of many) that this young Lady *Julia* loved her Husband more dearly, not for *Pompey*'s flourishing age, but for his assured continence, knowing no other Woman but her: besides also, he was no solemne man, but pleasant of conversation, which made Women love him marvellously, unless we will reprove the Curtisan *Flora*'s Testimony. It is certaine, that at an Election of the *Ædiles*, men rising suddenly in hurly burly, drew their Swords, and many were slain about *Pompey*: inasmuch as his clothes being bloudied, he sent his men home in haste to fetch him other to change him. His young Wife that was great with childe, seeing his clothes bloudy, took such a fright upon it, that she fell down in a swoon before them, that they had much ado to recover her; and yet she fell straight in labour upon it, and was delivered. So that they themselves, which blamed him most for his good will he bare unto *Cæsar*, could not reprove the love he bare unto his Wife. Another time after that, he was great with childe again, whereof she died, and the Childe lived not many daies after the Mother. As *Pompey* was about to carry her into the Countrey to be buried, to a House he had there near unto the City of ALBA, the People by force took her Corps, and carried it into the Field of MARS, more for the pity they took of the young Lady, then to pleasure either *Cæsar* or *Pompey*: and yet what the People did for them, it appeared rather they did it more for *Cæsar*'s sake being absent, then for *Pompey* that was present. But straight when his alliance was broken, which rather covered then bridled their ambitious desire to rule, there arose a new stirre in ROME immediatly, and every mans mouth was full of prittle prattle and seditious words. Not long after that also came newes that *Crassus* was overthrown, and slain in PARTHIA: who was a manifest stay and let to keepe them two from civil Wars, for that they both feared him, and therefore kept themselves in a reasonable sort together. But when Fortune had taken away this third Champion, who could have withstood the better of them both that had overcome the other, then might have been said of these two which remained, as the Comickall Poet said:

*See how these Champions purposing each others force to try,
With nointed skin, and dusty hands, stand vanishing valiantly.*

So little can Fortune prevaile against nature, having no power to stop covetousnesse: sith so large and great an Empire, and such a wide Countrey besides could not containe the covetous desire of these two men. But though they had often both heard and read:

*Among the gods themselves all things by Lot divided are,
And none of them intrudes himselfe within his neighbours share.*

Yet they thought that the Empire of ROME was not enough for them, which were but two. But *Pompey* spake openly in an Oration he made unto the People, that he ever came to Office before he looked for it, and also left it sooner then they thought he would have done: and that he witnessed by discharging his Army so soone. Then thinking that *Cæsar* would not discharge his Army, he sought to make himselfe strong against him, by procuring Offices of the City, without any other alteration. Neither would he seeme to mistrust him, but he plainly shewed that he did despise and contemne him. But when he saw that he could not obtaine the Offices of the City as he would, because Citizens that made the Elections were bribed with Money, he then left it without a Magistrate, so that there was none either to command, or that the People should obey. Hereupon there ranne a brute straight, that there must needs be a Dictator made, and the first man that propounded it, was *Lucilius* Tribune of the People, who perswaded them to chuse *Pompey*. But *Cato* stucke so stoutly against it, that the Tribune had like to have lost his Office, even in the Market-place. But then many of *Pompey*'s Friends stepped up, and excused him, saying: that he neither fought, nor would have the Dictatorship. Then *Cato* commended him much, and prayed him to see good order kept in the Common-wealth. *Pompey* being ashamed to deny so reasonable a request, was carefull of it. Thereupon two Consuls were chosen, *Domitius* and *Messala*: but afterwards when the state began to change againe by the death of one of the Consuls, and that divers were more earnestly bent to have a Dictator then before, *Cato* fearing it would breake out with fury, determined to give *Pompey* some Office of reasonable Authority, to keepe him from the other more tyrannicall. Inasmuch, as *Bibulus* himselfe being chiefe of the Senate, and *Pompey*'s Enemy,

Variance among the Senate for Pompey's honour.

my, was the first that moved *Pompey* might be chosen Consul alone: for, said he, by this means, either the Commonwealth shall be rid of the present trouble: or else it shall be in bondage to an honest man. This opinion was marvelled at, in respect of him that spake it. Whereupon, *Cato* standing up, it was thought straight that he would have spoken against him: but silence being made him, he plainly told them, that for his own part he would not have been the first man to have propounded that was spoken: but sithence it was spoken by another, that he thought it reasonable and meet to be followed. And therefore, said he, it is better to have an Officer to command, whatsoever he be, rather then none: and that he saw no man fitter to command, then *Pompey*, in so troublesome a time. All the Senate liked his opinion, and ordained that *Pompey* should be chosen sole Consul, and that if he saw in his discretion he should need the assistance of another companion, he might name any whom he thought good, but not till two moneths were past. Thus was *Pompey* made Consul alone by *Sulpicius*, regent for that day. Then *Pompey* made very friendly countenance unto *Cato*, and thanked him for the honour he had done him, praying him privately to assist him with his counsel in the Consulship. *Cato* answered him, that there was no cause why he should thank him, for he had spoken nothing for his sake, but for respect of the Commonwealth onely: and for his counsel, if he would aske it, he should privately have it, if not, yet that he would openly say that which he thought. Such a man was *Cato* in all his doings. Now *Pompey* returning into the City, married *Cornelia*, the daughter of *Metellus Scipio*, not a maiden, but late widow of *Publius Crassus* the sonne, that was slaine in PARTHIA, to whom she was married a maiden. This Lady had excellent gifts to be beloved besides her beauty: for she was properly learned, could play well on a Harpe, was skilfull in musick and Geometry, and tooke great pleasure also in Philosophy, and not vainly without some profit. For she was very modest and sober of behaviour, without bawling and foolish curiosity, which commonly young women have that are induced with such singular gifts. Her father also, was a noble man, both in blood and life. Notwithstanding, these unlike marriages did nothing please some: for *Cornelia* was young enough to have been his sons wife. Now the best Citizens thought, that therein he regarded not the care of the Commonwealth, being in such a troublesome time, which had chosen him onely, as her remedy to redresse the same: and that he in the mean time gave himselfe over to marrying and feasting, where rather he should have been careful of his Consulship, which was disposed upon him against the law for common calamities sake, that otherwise he had not come by, if all had been quiet. Furthermore, he sharply proceeded against them which by bribery and unlawful meanes came to office: and having made laws and ordinances for the administration of justice, otherwise he dealt justly and uprightly in all things, giving safety, order silence and gravity, to matters of judgement, with force of Armes, himselfe being present: saying that when his father in law was also accused among other, he sent for three hundred and threescore Judges home to his house, praying them to helpe him. Whereupon, when the accuser *law Scipio* accompanied by the Judges themselves, returning into the Market-place, he let fall his suit. This made *Pompey* againe be condemned, and blamed also more then before, for that he having made a law, that no man should praise the offenders, whilest their matter was a hearing, came himselfe and openly praised *Plancus* being accused. Thereupon *Cato* being one of the Judges, stopped his ears with both his hands, saying: that he might not hear an offender praised, seeing it was forbidden by law. But therefore he was refused for a Judge, before they gave sentence. Notwithstanding, *Plancus* was condemned by all the rest of the Judges, to *Pompey*'s great shame and reproach. Shortly after, *Hypseus* one that had been Consul, being likewise accused, watching *Pompey* on a time as he came out of his bath to go to supper, upon his knees he besought *Pompey*'s favour and helpe: but he flatly passed by him, and gave him no other answer, but told him, he married his supper and said nothing else to him. This inconstancy was much reprovred in *Pompey*. Howbeit otherwise he fer all things in good order, and chose his father in law *Scipio*, for his colleague and fellow in the Consulship, for the five last moneths. After that, he caused the government of his Provinces to be appointed him for foure yeare more, with commission to take yearly out of the treasure a thousand talents to defray the charges of his warre. *Cæsar*'s friends seeing that, stepped up for him, and prayed that there might also be had some consideration of him, that had likewise great warres for the Empire of ROME: saying, that his good service deserved, either that they should make him Consul againe, or else that they should prolong his charge and government, so as he may yet peaceably enjoy the honour to command that which he had conquered, to the end that no other successeur might reape the fruit of his labour. Much stirre and contention being about this matter at ROME, *Pompey* as though for good will he meant to excuse the envy they might have borne *Cæsar*, said: that he had received letters from him, by the which he requested a successeur, and to be discharged of this warre: and furthermore, that he thought it good they should grant him priviledge to demand the second Consulship, although he were absent. Which *Cato* stoutly withstood, saying, that he must returne home as a private man, leaving his Army, should come in person to crave recompence of his Country. But because *Pompey* made no reply nor answer to the contrary, men suspected straight that he had no great good liking of *Cæsar*, and the rather, because he had sent unto him for the two legions which he had lent him, under colour of his war against the PARTHIANS. But *Cæsar* though he smelt him wherefore he sent for his souldiers, returned them home with liberal reward. About that time, *Pompey* fell sicke at NAPLES of a dangerous disease, whereof notwithstanding he recovered again. The NEAPOLITANS thereupon, by perswasion of *Praxagoras*, one of the chiefe men of their City, did sacrifice to the gods for his recovery. The like did

Cato spake in
in *Pompey*'s fa-
vour.

Pompey chosen
Consul.

Pompey mari-
ed *Cornelia*, the
daughter of
Scipio.
The vertues of
Cornelia, the
daughter of
Metellus Scipio.

Pompey's severity
against those
that obtained
office by bribes.

Pompey's
Provinces af-
signed him
four yeares sur-
ther.

Pompey fell sicke
at Naples.
Great joy
being for the re-
covery of *Pom-
pey*'s health.

Frides, and foot
conceit made,
Pompey despise
Cesar.

Appius loathed
Pompey and fed
his humor.

Paul the Con-
sull bribed by
Cesar.
Curio and An-
tonius.
Tribunes of
the people bri-
bed by Caesar.

Pompey chosen
to go against
Cesar.

Cicero moveth
reconciliation
between Caesar
and Pompey.

also their neighbours round about : and in fine, it ran so generally through all ITALY, that there was no City or Town (great or small) but made open feasts and rejoycing for many dayes together. Besides, the infinite number of people was such, that went to meet him out of all parts, that there was not place enough for them all, but the high wayes, Cities, Townes, and ports of the sea, were all full of people, feasting and sacrificing to the gods, rejoycing for his recovery. Divers also went to meet him, crowned with Garlands, and so did attend on him, casting Nofegaies and flowers upon him. Thus was his journey the noblest sight that ever was, all the way as he came : howbeit men thought also, that this was the chiefest cause of the beginning of the civill warres. For he fell into such a pride, and glorious conceit of himself, with the exceeding joy he took to see himself thus honoured : that forgetting his orderly government, which made all his former doings to prosper, he grew too bold in despising of *Cesar's* power, as though he stood in no need of other power to care or withstand him, but that he could overcome him as he would, far more easily, then he could have done before. Furthermore, *Appius* thereupon returned from GAULE, that brought him his two legions backe againe which he had lent unto *Cesar*, reproaching much his doings which he had done there, and giving out many foule words against *Cesar*. For he said, that *Pompey* knew not his own strength and authority, that would seek to make himselfe strong, by other power against him : considering that he might overcome him with his own legions he should bring with him, so soon as they saw but *Pompey* in the face, such ill will did *Cesar's* own souldiers bear him, and were marvellous desirous besides to see himselfe. These flattering tales so puffed up *Pompey*, and brought him into such a security and trust of himselfe, that he mocked them to scorne which were afraid of warres. And to those also which said, that if *Cesar* came to ROME, they saw not how they could resist his power, he smilingly answered them againe, and bad them take no thought for that : for as oft, said he, as I do but stampe with my foote upon the ground of ITALY, I shall bring men enough out of every corner, both footemen and horsemen. In the mean time, *Cesar* gathered force still upon him, and therefore drew nearer unto ITALY, and sent of his souldiers daily to ROME to be present at the election of the Magistrates, and many of them that were in Office, he wanne with money : amongst whom, was *Paul*, one of the Consuls, whom he wanne of his side, by meanes of a thousand five hundred talents. And *Curio* the Tribune of the people, whom he discharged of an infinite debt he ought : and *Marke Antony* also, who for *Curio's* sake, was discharged likewise for part of the debt which *Curio* ought, being also bound as himselfe. Furthermore, it was found that a Capitaine or Centurion sent from *Cesar*, being near unto the Senate, understanding that the Councell would not prolong *Cesar's* government which he required, clapping his hand upon the pommel of his sword : Well said he, this shall give it him. So, to be short, all that was done and said, tended to this end. Notwithstanding, the petitions and requests that *Curio* made in *Cesar's* behalfe, seemed somewhat more reasonable for the people : for he requested one of the two, either to make *Pompey* to put down his Army, or else to licence *Cesar* to have his Army as well as he. For, either being both made private men, they would fall to agreement of themselves : or else being both of like strength, neither of both would seek any alteration, fearing one another, but would content themselves either of them with their own. Or otherwise, he that should weaken the one, and strengthen the other, should double his power whom he feared. Thereto very shortly replied the Consul *Marcellus*, calling *Cesar* theefe, and said that he should be proclaimed an open enemy to ROME, if he did not disperse his Army. This notwithstanding, in fine, *Curio*, *Antony*, and *Piso* procured that the Senate should decide the matter. For, said he, all those that would have *Cesar* leave his Army, and *Pompey* to keepe his, let them stand on the one side. Thereupon the most part of them stood at one hand. Then he bad them againe come away from them that would have them both leave their Armies. Then there remained onely but two and twenty that stood for *Pompey* : and all the rest went on *Curio's* side. Then *Curio* looking aloft for joy of the victory, went into the Market-place, and there was received of his Tribune faction, with shouts of joy and clapping of hands, and infinite Nofegaies and Garlands of flowers thrown upon him. *Pompey* was not then present to see the Senators goodwill towards him : because by the law, such as have commandement over souldiers, cannot enter into ROME. Notwithstanding *Marcellus* standing up, and said : that he would not stand trifling, hearing of orations and arguments, when he knew that ten legions were already passed over the Alpes, intending to come in Armes against them : and that he would not send a man unto them, that should defend their Country well enough. Straight they changed apparell at ROME, as their manner was in a common calamitie. *Marcellus* then coming through the Market-place unto *Pompey*, being followed of all the Senate, went unto him, and told him openly : *Pompey* I command thee helpe thy Country with that Army thou hast already, and also to leavy more to aide thee. The like speech did *Lentulus* use unto him who was appointed one of the Consuls the yeare following. Now, when *Pompey* thought to leavy souldiers in ROME to bill them, some would not obey him, a few others went willingly to him with heavy hearts, and the most part of them cried, Peace, peace. *Antony* also, against the Senates mind, read a letter unto the people sent from *Cesar* containing certaine offers and reasonable requests, to draw the common peoples affection towards him. For his request was that *Pompey* and he should both of them resigne their governments, and should dismisse their Armies to make all well, referring themselves wholly to the judgement of the people, and to deliver up account unto them of their doings. *Lentulus* being now entred into his Consulship, did not assemble the Senate. But *Cicero* lately returned out of CICELY, practised to bring them to agreement, propounding that *Cesar* should leave GAULE, and all the rest of his

his Army, reserving onely two legions and the government of ILLYRIA, attending his second Consulship. *Pompey* liked not this motion. Then *Cesar's* friends were contented to grant that he should have but one of his legions. But *Lentulus* spake against it, and *Cato* cried out on the other side also, that *Pompey* was deceived, and they both, So all Treaty of peace was cut off. In the mean time, news came to ROME that *Cesar* had won ARIMINUM, a fair great City of ITALY, and that he came directly to ROME with a great power. But that was not true : for he came but with three thousand horse, and five thousand footmen, and would not tarry for the rest of his Army that was yet on the other side of the mountains in GAULE, but made haste rather to surpris his enemies upon the sudden, being afraid and in garboile, not looking for him so soon : rather then to give them timeto be provided and to fight with them when they were ready. For when he was come to the River side of *Rubicon* (which was the utmost confine of the Province he had in charge towards ITALY) he stayed suddenly, weighing with himself the great enterprise he took in hand. At the last, as men that being of a marvellous height from the ground, do headlong throw themselves down, closing up their eyes, and withdrawing their minds from the thought of the danger : crying out these words onely unto them that were by, in the Greeke tongue, ἀντιστοχὸν κίβητο : in English, let Die be cast (meaning hereby to put all in hazard, and according to our Proverbe, to set all on fix and seven) he passed over with his Army. Now, the news of his coming being carried to ROME, they were in such a marvellous fear, as the like *Cesar's* laying : Let the die be cast. For all the Senate ran immediately unto *Pompey*, and all the other Magistrates of the City fled unto him also. *Tullius* asking *Pompey* what power he had to resist them, he answered him, faulting somewhat in his speech : that he had two legions ready which *Cesar* sent him backe againe, and that he thought with the number of them which he had leaved in halte, he should make up the number of thirty thousand fighting men. Then *Tullius* cried out openly : Ah, thou hast mocked us *Pompey* : and thereupon gave order they should send Ambassadors unto *Cesar*. There was one *Phaonius* in the company, who otherwise was no ill man, saying that he was somewhat too bold, thinking to counterfeit *Cato's* plain manner of speech : he bad *Pompey* then stampe his foote upon the ground, and make those souldiers come which he had promised them. *Pompey* gently bare with *Phaonius* mocke. But when *Cato* told him also, what he had prophesied before hand of *Cesar*, he answered him againe : Indeed thou hast prophesied more truly then I, but I have dealt more friendly then he. Then *Cato* thought good that they should make him Lieutenant Generall of ROME with full and absolute power to command all, saying : that the selfe same men which do the greatest mischief, know best also how to remedy the same. So he immediately departed into SICILY, having the charge and government of that Country : and also every one of the other Senators went unto the charge they were appointed. Thus all ITALY being in Armes, no man knew what was best to be done. For they that were out of ROME, came flying thither from all parts : and those on the other side that were within ROME, went out as fast, and forsooke the City in his trouble and disorder. That which might serve being willing to obey, was found very weak : and that that on the other side which by disobedience did hurt, was too strong and ill to be governed by the Magistrates, having law to command. For there was no possibility to pacifie their fear, neither would they suffer *Pompey* to order things as he would : but every man followed his own fancy, even as he found himselfe grieved, afraid, or in doubt, and in one day they were in divers minds. *Pompey* could hear nothing of certainty of his enemies. For some one while would bring him news one way, and then againe another way : and then if he would not credit them, they were angry with him. At the length, when he saw the tumult and confusion so great at ROME, as there were was no mean to pacifie it : he commanded all the Senators to follow him, telling all them that remained behind, that he would take them for *Cesar's* friends, and so at night departed out of the City. Then the two Consuls fled also, without doing any sacrifice to the gods, as they were wont to do before they went to make any wars. So *Pompey*, even in his greatest trouble and most danger, might think himselfe happy to have every mans goodwill as he had. For, though diverse misliked the cause of this war, yet no man hated the Capitaine : but there were moe found that could not forsake *Pompey* for the love they bare him, then were there that followed him to fight for their liberty. Shortly after *Pompey* was gone out of ROME, *Cesar* came to ROME, who possessing the City, spake very gently unto all them he found there, and pacified their fear : saying that he threatened *Metellus*, one of the Tribunes of the people to put him to death, because he would not suffer him to take any of the treasure of the Common-wealth. Unto that cruell threat, he added a more bitter speech also, saying : that it was not so hard a thing for him to do it, as to speak it. Thus having put down *Metellus*, and taken that he needed to serve his turn, he took upon him to follow *Pompey*, thinking to drive him out of ITALY, before that his Army he had in SPAIN should come to him. *Pompey* in the mean time, having taken the City of BRUNDISIUM, and gotten some ships together : he made the two Consuls presently imbarke with thirty Ensignes of footmen, which he sent beyond the sea before unto DYRRACHIUM. And incontinently after that, he sent his father in law *Scipio*, and *Cniscus Pompey* his son, into SYRIA, to provide him ships. Himself on the other side, fortified the rampiers of the City, and placed the lightest souldiers he had upon the walls, and commanded the BRUNDISIANS not to stir out of their houses : and further, he cast trenches within the City, at the end of the streets in divers places, and filled those trenches with sharpe pointed stakes, saving two streets onely, which went into the haven. Then the third day after, having imbarked all the rest of his souldiers at his pleasure, he suddenly lifting up a signe into the aire, to give them warning which he had left to guard the rampiers : they straight ranne to *Pompey* forthwith speed, and quickly received them into his ships, he weighed Anchor, and hoised saile. *Cesar* kept Italy.

perceiving the wals naked outward, he straight mistrusted that Pompey was fled: who hasting after him had almost run upon the sharpe stakes, and falln into the trenches, had not the BRUNDISIANS given him warning of them. So he stayed, and ran not overthwart the City, but fetched a compasse about to go to the haven: where he found that all the ships were under sail, two ships only excepted, upon the which were left a few souldiers. Some thinke that this departure of Pompey, was one of the best stratagemes of warre that ever he used. Notwithstanding, Caesar marvelled much, that he being in a strong City, and looking for his Army to come out of SPAIN, and being master of the sea besides, that he would ever forsake ITALIE. Cicero also reproved him, for that he rather followed Themistocles counsell, then Pericles: considering that the troublesome time was rather to be likened unto Pericles, then Themistocles time. Yea Caesar himself shewed, that he was afraid of the time. For when he had taken Numerius one of Pompeys friends, he sent him unto Pompey at BRUNDISIUM, to offer him reasonable conditions of peace: But Numerius followed Pompey, and sailed away with him. By this meanes, Caesar in threecore dayes being Lord of all ITALY without any bloodshed: he was very desirous to follow with speed after Pompey. But because he had no ships ready, he let him go, and halted towards SPAIN, to joyne Pompeys Army there unto his. Now Pompey in the mean space, and gotten a marvellous great power together both by sea and by land. His Army by sea was wonderful. For he had five hundred good ships of warre, and of Gallies, Foists, and Pinnaces, an infinite number. By land, he had all the flower of the horsemen of ROME, and of ITALY, to the number of seven thousand horse, all rich men of great houses, and valiant mindes. But his footmen, they were men of all sorts, and raw souldiers untrained, whom Pompey continually exercised, lying at the City of BEROEA, not sitting idly, but taking paines, as if he had been in the prime of his youth. Which was to great purpose to incourage others seeing Pompey being eight and fifty years old, fight on foot armed at all peeces, and then on horsebacke, quickly to draw out his sword while his horse was in his full career, and easily to put it up againe, and to throw his dart from him, not onely with such agility to hit point blanke, but also with strength to cast it such a way from him, that few young men could do the like. Thither came diverse Kings, Princes, and great Lords of Countries, and yielded themselves unto him: and of ROMANE Captaines that had borne office, he had of them about him, the number of a whole Senate. Amongst them came unto him Labienus also, who before was Caesars friend, and had alwayes been with him in his wars in GAULE. There came unto him also, Brutus the son of that Brutus which was slaine in GAULE, a valiant man, and which had never spoken unto Pompey untill that day, because he took him for a murderer of his father: but then willingly followed him as a defender of the liberty of ROME. Cicero himself also, though he had both written and given counsell to the contrary, thought it a shame to him not to be amongst the number of them that would hazard their lives for defence of their Country. There came unto him also Tadius Sextus even into MACEDON, notwithstanding that he was an old man, and lame of one of his legges: whom others laughing to scorne to see him come, when Pompey saw him, he rose and went to meet him, judging it a good token of their good wills unto him, when such old men as he, chose rather to be with him in danger, then at home with safety. Hereupon they sate in counsell, and following Catoes opinion, decreed that they should put no Citizen of ROME to death but in battell, and should sack no City that was subject to the Empire of ROME, the which made Pompeys part the better liked. For they that had nothing to do with the wars, either because they dwelt far off, or else for that they were so poor, as otherwise they were not regarded: did yet both indeed and word favour Pompeys part, thinking him an enemy both to the gods and men, that wished not Pompey victory. Caesar also shewed himself very merciful and courteous, where he overcame. For when he had won all Pompeys Army that was in SPAIN, he suffered the Captaines that were taken to go at liberty, and onely reserved the souldiers. Then coming over the Alpes againe, he passed through all ITALY, and came to the City of BRUNDISIUM in the Winter quarter: and there passing over the sea, he went unto the City of ORICUM, and landed there. Now Caesar having Vibius, one of Pompeys familiar friends with him, whom he had taken prisoner: he sent him unto Pompey, to pray again that they might meet, and both of them disperse their Armies within three dayes, and being reconciled (giving their faith one to another) so to recurre into ITALIE like good friends together. Pompey thought againe, that these were new devises to intrap him. Thereupon he suddenly went down to the sea, and tooke all the places of strength by the sea side, safely to lodge his Campe in, and all the ports, creekes, and harbours for ships to lie in rode: so that what wind soever blew on the sky, it served his turne, to bring him either men, victuals, or money. Caesar on the other side was so distressed both by sea and by land, that he was driven to procure battell, and to assault Pompey even in his owne Forts; to make him come to fight with him: of whom most times he ever had the better in all skirmishes; saving once, when he was in danger to have lost all his Army. For Pompey had valiantly repulsed his men, and made them flee, and had slaine two thousand of them in the field: but he durst not enter pell mell with them into their Campe, as they fled. Whereupon Caesar said to his friends, that his enemy had won the victory that day, if he had knowne how to overcome. This victory put Pompeys men in such courage, that they would needs hazard battell. And Pompey himselfe also, though he wrote letters unto strange Kings, Captaines, and Cities of his confederacy, as if he had already wonne all: was yet afraid to fight another battell, thinking it better by tract of time, and distress of victuals, to overcome him. For Caesars men being old and expert souldiers, and wont ever to have the victory when they fought together: he knew they would be loth to be brought to fight any other kind of way, to be driven to often removing of their Campe from place to place, and still to

Cicero reproved Pompey.

Caesar leaveth Pompey, and goeth into SPAIN. Pompeys power in Greece.

Pompey being at BEROEA, traineth his souldiers.

Labienus forsaketh Caesar, and goeth to Pompey.

Cicero followeth Pompey.

The clemency of Caesar.

Caesar coming out of Spain returned to Brundisium.

Pompey overthrew Caesar.

to fortifie and intrench themselves, and therefore that they would rather put it to adventure out of hand, and fight it out. But notwithstanding that Pompey had before perswaded his friends to be quiet, and not to stirre, perceiving that after this last bickering, Caesar being scantied with victuals raised his Campe, and departed thence to go into THESSALY, through the Country of the ATTICENSIANS: then he could no more bridle their glory and courage, which cried, Caesar is fled: let us follow him. And others, let us return home again into ITALY. And others also sent their friends and servants before to ROME, to hire them houses neare the Market-place: intending when they came thither to sue for Offices in the Common-wealth. Some there were also that in a jollity would needs take ship, and saile into the Isle of LESBOS, unto CORNELIA (whom Pompey had left thither) to carry her that good newes, that the war was ended. Thereupon assembling the Councell, Africanius thought it best to winne ITALY, for that was the chiefeest marke to be shot at in this warre: for whosoever obtained that, had straight all SICILE, SARDINIA, CORSICA, SPAIN, and GAULE at commandment. Furthermore, that it was a dishonour to Pompey (which in reason should touch him above all things) to suffer their Country to be in such cruell bondage and subjection unto slaves and flatters of Tyrants, offering it self as it were into their hands. But Pompey neither thought it honourable for him, once againe to flee from Caesar, and to make him follow him, his fortune had given him opportunity to have Caesar in chafe: nor lawful also before the gods, to forsake his father in law Scipio, and many other also that had been Consuls, dispersed abroad in GREECE and THESSALIE, which should immediately fall into Caesars hands, with all their riches and Armies they had. Furthermore, he said, that they had care enough for the City of ROME, which drew the warres farthest off from them: so as, they remaining safe and quiet at home (neither hearing nor feeling the misery of warres) might in the end peaceably receive and welcome him home, that remained conquerour. With this determination, he marched forward to followe Caesar, being determined not to give him battell, but to besiege him, and onely to compasse him in still being neare unto him, and so to cut him off from victuals. There was also another reason that made him to follow that determination. For it was reported to him, that there was a speech given out among the ROMANE Knights, that so soon as ever they had overcome Caesar, they must also bring Pompey to be a private man againe. Some say therefore, that Pompey would never afterwards imploy Cato in any great matters of weight in all this warre: for when he followed Caesar, he left him to keep his carriage by the sea side, fearing that so soon as Caesar were once overcome, he would make him straight also resigne his authority. Pompey following Caesar in this manner faire and softly, they cried out upon him, that he made no warre with Caesar, but against his Country and the Senate, because he might be still in authority: and that he would never leave to have them for his servants and guard about him, which should rule and command the world. Furthermore, Domitius Aenobarbus, calling him continually Agamemnon, and King of Kings: made him much to be envied. Phoenius also mocked him as much as the other, that spake most boldst: for he went crying up and down, My masters, I give you warning, you are like to eat no THUSCULAN figges this yeare. And Lucius Afranius also, he that had lost the Army which he had in SPAIN, and was also suspected for a traytor, seeing Pompey then refused to come to battell: I marvel, said he, that they which accuse me, do not lustily go to finde him out, whom they call the Marchant and common buyer of Provinces, to fight with him presently? With these and many such other lewd speeches, they compelled Pompey in the end (who could not abide to be ill spoken of, and would not deny his friends any thing) to follow their vaine hope and desires, and to forsake his own wise determination: the which thing, no good ship-master, and much lesse a chiefe and soveraigne Captaine over so many Nations and so great Armies, should have suffered and consented unto. Now, he that did alwayes commend the Phisitians, that would not follow the fond desire of the sicke patients: was himselfe contented to obey the worst part of his Army, fearing their displeasure, where their life or health stood in hazard. For who would thinke or judge them to be wise men, and in their wits, who walking up and downe their Campe, did already sue to be Consuls and Prætors? considering that Spinther, Domitius, and Scipio, were at strife together, making friends to be high Bishop (which office Caesar had) as if they should have fought with Tigranes King of ARMENIA, or with the King of the NABATHIANS, which had camped by them, and not with Caesar and his Army: who had taken a thousand Townes by assault, had subdued above three hundred severall Nations, and had wonne infinite battells of the GERMANES and GAULES, and was never overcome, he had also taken a Million of men prisoners, and had likewise slaine so many at diverse battells. All this notwithstanding, they of Pompeys side still being importunate of him, and troubling him in this sort in fine, when they were come into the fields of PHARSALIA, they compelled Pompey to call a counsell. There Labienus, Generall of the horsemen standing up, sware before them all, that he would not returne from the battell, before he had made his enemies to flee. The like oath all the rest did take. The next night following, Pompey thought in his dreame, that he came into the Theater, and that the people to honour him, made a marvellous great clapping of their hands: and that he himselfe did set forth the Temple of VENUS the Conquerour with many spoiles. This vision partly put him in good courage, and partly againe made him doubt: for that he was afraid, because Caesars family was descended from this goddesse VENUS, that his dreame did signifie, that he should have the honour of the victory, with the spoiles he should winne of him. Besides all this, there were sudden and fearfull noises heard in his Campe, without any apparent cause, that waked all the Campe upon it. At the fourth watch, when the watch is renewed in the morning,

Pompey followeth Caesar into THESSALY.

Pompey mocked of his own souldiers.

Caesars conquests.

Labienus Generall of Pompeys horsemen. Pompeys dream before the battell of Pharsalia.

Wonderfull noises heard in Pompeys campe.

Pompey's Army
set in battell ray
in Pharsalia.

Cæsars order of
fight.

Pompey's ordi-
nance of his
battell.
Cæsars mislik-
eth Pompey's
ordenance.

Battell betwixt
Cæsars and Pom-
pey in Pharsalia

Caius Crassinius
giveth the on-
set of Cæsars
side.

there was scene a marvellous great light over Cæsars Campe, and they were all at rest, which flamed like a burning torch, and fell into Pompey's Campe. The which Cæsar himselfe said he saw, when he went to visite the watch. At the breake of the day, Cæsar being determined to raise his Campe, and to go to the City of SCOTUSA, as his souldiers were busie about overthrowing of their Tents, and sending away their baggage and baggage before: there came Scouts unto him, that brought him word they saw a great deale of Armour and weapon carried too, and fro in their enemies Campe, and heard a noise and bustling besides, as of men that were preparing to fight. After these came in other Scouts, that brought word also that their Voward was already set in battell ray. Then Cæsar said, that the day was now come they had longed for so fore, and that they should now fight with men, not with hunger, nor with want of victuals: and thereupon gave order presently that they should put out the red Coate of Armes upon his Tent, which was the signe the ROMANES used to shew that they would fight. The souldiers seeing that out, left their carriage and Tents, and with great shouts of joy ranne to Arme themselves. The Captaines of every band also bestowed every man in such place as he should fight, and so they conveyed themselves into battell ray, without any tumult or disorder, as quietly, as if they should have entered into a dance. Pompey himself led the right Wing of his Army against Antony. The middle of the battell he gave unto Scipio his Father in law being right against Domitius Calvinus. The left Wing also was led by Lucius Domitius Enobarbus, the which was guarded with men of Armes, all the horsemen were placed on that side, to distresse Cæsar if they could, that was directly against them: and to overthrow the tenth Legion that was so much accounted of, being the valiantest souldiers the enemy had in all his Army, among the which Cæsar did ever use to fight in person. Cæsar then seeing the left Wing of his enemies so strong with the guard of the horsemen, and being afraid of the brightness of their Armour: brought forward six Ensignes for supply, which he placed hard behind the tenth Legion, commanding them that no man should stirre, least their enemies should discover them. And furthermore, when the horsemen of the enemies should come to give charge upon them, that then they should runne with speed on the one side of the foremost Ranks, and not to throw their darts farre from them, as the valiantest souldiers are wont to do, to come to the sword the sooner: but to throw them upwards in their enemies eyes and faces. For, said he, these brave fellows and fine dancers, will never abide to have their faces marred. And this was Cæsars device at that time. Pompey being on horsebacke, rode up and down to consider the ordinance of both battells: and perceiving that his enemies stood still in their ranks, looking for the signall of battell, and that his own battell on the other side waved up and down disorderly, as men unskillfull in warres: he was afraid they would flie before they were charged. Thereupon he straightly commanded them in the Voward, that they should steadily keep their ranks, and standing close together should so defend themselves, receiving the charge of the enemy. But Cæsar disliked of that device, for thereby, said he, the force of their blowes was lessened, and in withholding them from giving the charge, he not onely tooke away that courage which the assaillant carrieth with him coming with fury: but made them more- over faint-hearted, in receiving the charge of the enemies. In Cæsars Army, there were about two and twenty thousand fighting men: and in Pompey's Army, somewhat above twice as many. Now, when the word of battell was given of either side, and that the Trumpets did sound the alarme: every man began to looke to himselfe. But a few of the chiefe of the ROMANES, and certaine GRECIANS that were there also out of the set battell, perceiving the imminent danger, began to berinke them: to what passe the ambition and wilfull contention between these two men, had brought the State of ROME. For the weapons of kinsmen, the bands of brethren, the Ensignes all alike, the flower of so many valiant men of one City, did serve for a notable example, to shew how mans nature prick forward with covetousnesse, is quite blind and without reason. For if they could have beene contented quietly to have governed that which they had conquered: the greatest and best part of the world, both by sea and by land was subject unto them. Or otherwise, if they could not have quenched their unfeatable desire of victory and triumph, they had occasion of warre enough offered them against the PARTHIANS and GERMANES. Furthermore they had enough to do besides to conquer SCYTHIA, and the INDIANS: and wichall, they had had an honest colour to have cloaked their ambitious desires, if it had been but to have brought the barbarous people to a civill life. For what horsemen of SCYTHIA, or ARROWES of PARTHIA, or riches of INDIANS, could have abidden the power of threescore and ten thousand ROMANE souldiers, and specially being led by two famous Captaines, as Pompey, and Cæsar? whose names, these strange and farre Nations under stood long before the name of the ROMANES: so great were their victories, having conquered so many wild and barbarous people. They both being then in Armes the one against the other, not regarding their honour which made them so ambitious: did not spare their owne Country, who had untill that time remained invincible, both in fame and prowess. For, the alliance that was made between them, the love of Julia, and marrying with her, was suspected from the beginning to be but a deceit, and a pledge as it were of a conspiracy made between them, for a private benefit, more then for any true friendship. Now when the fields of PHARSALIA were covered over with men, with horse and armour, and that the signall of battell was given on either side: the first man of Cæsars Army that advanced forward to give charge, was Caius Crassinius, Captain of sixscore and five men, to perform a great promise which he had made unto Cæsar. For Cæsar, when he came out of his Tent in the morning, seeing him, called him to him by his name, and asked him what he thought of the successe of this battell? Crassinius holding out his right hand unto him, coura-

courageously cried: Oh Cæsar, thine is the victory, and this day thou shalt commend me either alive or dead. Then remembering these words, he brake out of the ranks, and many following after him ran amongst the midst of his enemies. Straight they came to the sword and made great slaughter. But he pressing forward still, one with a thrust ran him through the mouth, that the words point came through at his necke. Thereupon Crassinius being slaine, the battell was equal: Pompey did not make his left Wing march over suddenly, but stayed, and cast his eyes abroad to see what his horsemen would do, the which had already divided their companies, meaning to compass in Cæsar, and to make the small number of horsemen which he had before him, to give backe upon the squadron of his footmen. On the other side, as soon as Cæsar had given the signall of battell, his horsemen retired backe a little, and the six Ensignes which he had placed secretly behind them, being three thousand fighting men, ran suddenly to assaile the enemy upon the flanke, and when they came neare unto the horsemen, they threw the points of their darts upwards according to Cæsars commandment, and hit the young gentlemen full in their faces. They being utterly unskillfull to fight, and least of all looking for such manner of fight: had not the hearts to defend themselves, not to abide to be hurt as they were in their faces, but turning their heads, and clapping their hands on their faces, shamefully fled. They being overthrown, Cæsars men made no account to follow them, but went and gave charge upon the battell of footmen in that place specially where they had no guard of horsemen, whereby they might easilier be compassed about. Thus, they being charged by them in the flanke, and in the Voward also by the tenth Legion, perceiving themselves (contrary to their expectation) compassed about by their enemies, where they thought to have environed them: they could make no longer resistance. They also being likewise driven to flie, when Pompey saw the dust in the element, and conjectured the flying of his horsemen: what mind he was of then, it was hard to say. For by his countenance, a man might well thinke he was like a man amazed, and at his wits end, forgetting that he was Pompey the great: for that he went straight into his Campe, and spake never a word to any man, rightly verifying Homers verses to this effect:

But mighty Jove who sits aloft in Ivory Chariot high,
Strake Ajax with so great a fear, that Ajax by and by
Let fall his Leatherne Target, made of tough Oxe hide seven fold,
And ran away, not looking backe, for all he was so bold.

In this estate Pompey entred into his Tent, and fate down there a great while, and spake never a word: untill such time as many of the enemies entred pell mell with his men that fled into his Campe. And then, he said no more, but, What, even into our Campe? and so rising up, he put a Gowne on his backe even fit for his misfortune, and secretly stole out of the Campe. The other Legions also fled: and great slaughter was made of the Tent keepers, and their servants that guarded the Campe. For Asinius Pollio writeth (who was at that battell on Cæsars side) that there were slaine onely but six thousand souldiers. Howbeit at the taking of this Campe, Cæsars souldiers then found plainly the madnesse and vanity of Pompey's men. For, all their Tents and pavilions were full of Nosesgays and Garlands of Mirtle, and their Couches all covered with Flowers: their tables full of bowles of Wine, and men prepared ready to do sacrifice for joy, rather then to arme themselves to fight. Thus went they to battell, carried away with this vaine and foolish hope. When Pompey was gone a little way from his Campe, he forsook his horse, having a very few with him: and perceiving that no man pursued him, he went on foot fair and softly, his headfull of such thoughts and imaginations, as might be supposed a man of his like calling might have, who for foure and thirty years space together, was wont continually to carry victory away, and began then even in his last caite, to prove what it was to flie, and to be overcome: and who thought then with himself, how in one hours space he had lost the honour and riches which he had gotten in so many foughten fields and battels, horsemen, and of such a great Fleet of Ships on the sea, and then to go as he did in such poor estate, and with so small a train, that his very enemies who sought him, knew him not. Thus when he was passed the City of LARISSA, and coming to the valley of Tempe: there being a thirst, he fell down on his belly and dranke of the River. Then rising up again, he went his way thence and came to the sea side, and took a fishers cottage where he lay all night. The next morning by break of the day, he went into a little boat upon the River, and took the free men with him that were about him: and as for the slaves, he sent them backe againe, and did counsell them boldly to go to Cæsar, and not to be afraid. Thus rowing up and down the shore side, in this little boat, he spied a great ship of burden in the maine sea, riding at Anchor, which was ready to weigh Anchor, and to saile away. The master of the ship was a ROMANE, who, though he was not familiarly acquainted with Pompey, yet knew him by sight very well. He was called Peticius, who had dreamed the night before, that he saw Pompey speak unto him, not like the man he was wont to be, but in poverty and in misery. So, he had told this dream unto the Mariners which sailed with him (as men commonly use to do, specially when they dreame of such weighty matters, and being at leisure wichall) and at the very instant, there was one of the Mariners that told him, he saw a little boate on the River rowing towards them, and that there were men in it that shooke their cloakes at them, and held out their hands. Thereupon Peticius standing up, knew Pompey straight, even in like case as he had dreamed of him the night before: and clapping his head for anger, commanded his Mariners to let downe his boate, and gave his hand, calling him Pompey by his name, mistrusting (seeing him in that estate) what misfortune had happened to him. Thereupon, not looking to be intreated,

Crassinius slaine.

Pompey's horse-
men put to
flight by Cæsar.

Pompey flying
in the fields of
Pharsalia.

Asinius Pollio
reporteth this
battell.

The miserable
state of Pom-
pey.

Peticius dreame
of Pompey.

Pompey imbar-
ken in a *sticium*
ship a *Romane*.

intreated, nor that he should tell him of his mishap, he received him into his ship, and all those he would have with him, and then hoisted saile. With Pompey there were both the *Lentuli* and *Faonius*. Shortly after also, they perceived King *Deiotarus* coming from the River to them, that beckened and made signes to receive him: which they did. At supper time, the master of the ship, made ready such meate as he had aboard. *Faonius* seeing Pompey for lacke of men to waite on him, washing of himselfe: ran unto him, washed him, and annointed him, and afterwards continued still to waite upon him, and to do such service about him, as servants do to their masters, even to washing of his feet, and making ready of his supper. When a simple man saw him, that could no skill of service, he said:

Good gods, how every thing becometh noble men?

Pompey arriveth
in the Isle of
Lesbos, at the
City of *Mity-
lene*.

Pompey passing then by the City of *AMPHIPOLIS*, coasted from thence into the Isle of *LESBOS*, to go fetch his wife *Cornelia* and his son being then in the City of *MITYLENE*. There having cast out his Anchor, and riding at rode, he put a messenger on the shoar, and sent him unto the City to his wife: not according to her expectation, who was still in good hope by continuall letters and newes brought unto her, that the warre was ended and determined by the City of *DYRRACHIUM*. This messenger now finding her in this hope, had not the heart so much as to salute her, but letting her understand rather by his teares then words, the great misfortune Pompey had: told her, the must dispatch quickly, if she would see Pompey with one ship onely, and none of his own but borrowed. The young Ladie hearing these newes, fell down in a fount before him, and neither spake nor stirred of long time: but after she was come to her selfe, remembring that it was no time to weepe and lament, the went with speed through the City unto the sea side. There Pompey meeting her, took her in his armes, and embraced her. But she sinking under him, fell down and said: Out alas, wo worth my hard fortune, not thine (good husband) that I see thee now brought to one poor ship, who before thou marriedst thy unfortunate *Cornelia*, wert wont to sail these seas with five hundred ships. Alas, why art thou come to see me, and why diddest thou not leave me to cursed fate and my wicked destiny: fith "my selfe is cause of all this thy evil? Alas, how happy a woman had I been, if I had been dead before I "heard of the death of my first husband *Publius Crassus*, whom the wretched *PARTHIANS* "slew? And how wise a woman had I been, if (according to my determination) I had killed my "selfe immediately after him: where now I live to bring yet this misfortune unto Pompey the Great? It is reported that *Cornelia* spake these words, and that Pompey also answered her in this manner.

The sorrow of
Cornelia for
Pompeys over-
throw.

The meeting
of Pompey and
his wife, *Cornelia*.

The words of
Cornelia unto
Pompey

Pompey answered
unto *Cornelia*.

Pompey reasoneth
with *Cra-
tippus* the Philo-
sopher, about
divine provi-
dence.

Pompey arriveth
at *Attalia*, in
the Country of
Pamphylia.

Pompeys great
error, and *Cae-
sars* crafty de-
vice.

"Peradventure, *Cornelia* mine, thou hast known a better fortune, which hath also deceived thee, be-
"cause the hath continued longer with me then her manner is. But since we are born men, we must
"patiently bare these troubles, and prove fortune againe. For it is no impossible matter for us again
"to come into prosperity out of this present misery, as to fall out of late prosperity into present calamity. When *Cornelia* heard him say so, she sent back into the City for her stuffe and family. The
MITYLENIANS also came openly to salute Pompey, and prayed him to come into the City, and not
to refresh himself: but Pompey would not, and gave them counsel to obey the Conqueror, and not
to fear any thing, for *Cesar* was a just man, and of a courteous nature. Then Pompey turning
Cratippus the Philosopher, who came among the Citizens also to see him: made his complaint unto
unto him, and reasoning a little with him about divine providence. *Cratippus* courteously yielded un-
to him, putting him still in better hope, fearing lest he would have growne too hote and troublesome,
if he should have holden him hard to it. For Pompey at the length might have asked him, what pro-
vidence of the gods there had been in his doings? And *Cratippus* might have answered him, that for
the ill government of the Commonwealth at *ROME*, it was of necessity that it should fall into the
hands of a soveraigne Prince. Peradventure *Cratippus* might then have asked him: how and whereby
Pompey wouldst thou make us believe, if thou hadst overcome *Cesar*, that thou wouldst have used
thy good fortune better then he? But for divine matters, refer them to the gods as it pleaseth them.
Pompey taking his wife and friends with him, hoisted saile, and landed no where, but compelled to take
fresh acates and water. The first City he came unto, was *ATTALIA* in the Country of *PAMPHY-
LIA*. Thither came to him certaine Gallies out of *CILICIA*, and many souldiers also, inso much
he had threecore Senators of *ROME* againe in his company. Then understanding that his Army by
sea was yet whole, and that *Cato* had gathered together a great number of his souldiers after the over-
throw, whom he had transported with him into *AFRICKA*: he lamented, and complained unto his
friends, that they had compelled him to fight by land, and not suffered him to helpe himselfe with
his other force wherein he was the stronger: and that he kept not still neare unto his Army by sea,
that if fortune failed him by land, he might yet presently have repaired to his power ready by sea, to
have resisted his enemy. To confesse a truth, Pompey committed not so great a fault in all his war,
neither did *Cesar* put forth a better device, then to make his enemy fight farre from his Army by sea.
Thus Pompey being driven to attempt somewhat according to his small ability, he sent Ambassadors
unto the Cities. To others, he went himselfe in person also to require money, wherewith he manned
and armed some ships. This notwithstanding, fearing the suddaine approach of his enemy, left he
should prevent him before he could put any reasonable force in readines for to resist him: he be-
thought himself what place he might best retire unto for his most safety. When he had considered of
it, he thought that there was never a Province of the *ROMANS* that could save and defend them.
And for other strange Realmes, he thought *PARTHA* above all other, was the best place to re-
ceive them into at that present (having so small power as they had) and that it was best able to helpe
and aide them. Other of his counsell were of minde to go into *AFRICKA*, unto King *Juba*. But
Theophanes

Theophanes *LESEIAN* said, he thought it a great folly, to leave *EGYPT* which was but three daies
sailing from thence, and King *Ptolemy* (being but lately come to mans state, and bound unto Pompey
for the late friendship and favour his father found of him) and to go put himself into the hands of the
PARTHIANS, the vilest and unfaithfullest Nation in the word, and not to prove modesty of a *RO-
MANE*, that had been his father in law, whose prosperity if he could have endured, he would have
been the chieftest man: and now to put himself to *Arfaces* good will, who could not away with *Crassus*
when he lived. Further, he thought it an ill part also, for him to go carry his young wife of the noble
house of *Scipio*, amongst the barbarous people, who thinke it lawfull for them to use what villany and
insolency they list to any. For, admit she have not the villany offered her by them: yet is it an unadecent
thing, to think she might have been dishonoured they having her in their power, to do it. There was
no perswasion (as they say) but this onely that turned Pompey unto *Euphrates*. For it seemeth that
Pompey: counsell, and not his fortune made him take that way. Being determined therefore to flie into
EGYPT, he departed out of *CYPRUS* in a Gally of *SELEUCIA* with his wife *Cornelia*. The
residue of his train imbarked also, some into Gallies, and others into Merchants ships of great bur-
den, and so safely passed the sea without danger. When Pompey heard news that King *Ptolemy* was in the
City of *PELUSIUM* with his Army, making war against his sister: he went thither, and sent a mes-
senger before unto the King, to advertise him of his arrivall, and to intreat him to receive him. King
Ptolemy was then but a young man, inso much as one *Porcinus* governed all, the whole Realm under him.
He assembled a Councell of the chieftest and wisest men of his Court, who had such credit and author-
ity as it pleased him to give them. They being assembled, he commanded every man in the Kings name
to say his mind touching the receiving of Pompey, whether the King should receive him or not. It was
a miserable thing to see *Porcinus* an Eunuch of the Kings, and *Theodorus* of *CHIO*, and hired school-
master to teach the young King *Rhetoricke*, and *Achillas* *EGYPTIAN* to consult among themselves
what they should do with Pompey the Great. These were the chieftest counsellors of all his Eunuchs,
and of those that had brought him up. Now did Pompey ride at Anchor upon the shore side, expecting
the resolution of his councell: in the which the opinions of other were divers, for some would not
have received him: other would that he should be received. But the Rhetorician *Theodorus* to shew
his eloquence, perswaded them, that neither the one nor the other was to be accepted. For, said he,
if we receive him, we shall have *Cesar* our enemy, and Pompey our Lord: and if we do deny him
on the other side, Pompey will blame us for refusing of him, and *Cesar* for not keeping of him. There-
fore this should be the resolution, to fend to kill him: for thereby we should win the good will of the
one, and not fear the displeasure of the other: and some say moreover, that he added this mocke
withall: A dead man bites not. They being determined of this among themselves, gave *Achillas*
commission to do it. He taking with him *Septimius* (who had charge aforetime under Pompey) and
Salvius another Centurion also, with three or four souldiers besides, they made towards Pompeys
Gally, about whom were at that time the chieftest of his train, to see what would become of this
matter. But when they saw the likelihood of their entertainment, and that it was not in Princely
shew and manner, nor nothing answerable to the hope which *Theophanes* had put them in, seeing so
few men come to them in a fither boate: they began then to mistrust the small account that was made
of them, and counseled Pompey to returne backe, and to lanch againe into the sea, being out of the
danger of the hurling of a dart. In the mean time, the fither boat drew near, and *Septimius* rose
and saluted Pompey in the *ROMAN* tongue, by the name of Imperator, as much as soveraigne Cap-
taine: and *Achillas* also spake to him in the Greek tongue, and bade him come into his boate, because
that by the shore side, there was a great deal of mud and sand bankes, so that his Gally should have
no water to bring him in. At the very same time, they saw a far off divers of the Kings Gallies, which
were arming with all speed possible, and all the shoare besides full of souldiers. Thus, though Pom-
pey and his company would have altered their mindes, they could not have told how to have escaped:
and furthermore, shewing that they had mistrusted them, then they had given the murthrer occasion
to have executed his cruelty. So taking his leave of his wife *Cornelia*, who lamented his death before
his end: he commanded two Centurions to go down before him in the *EGYPTIANS* boate, and
Philip one of his slaves enfranchised, with another slave called *Scynus*. When *Achillas* reached out
his hand to receive him into his boat, he turned him to his wife and son, and said these verses of *So-
phocles* unto them:

*The man that into Court comes free,
Must there in state of bondage be.*

These were the last words he spake unto his people, when he left his owne Gally and went into the
EGYPTIANS boate. The land being a great way off from his Gally, when he saw never a man
in the boate speake friendly unto him, beholding *Septimius*, he said unto him: Methinkes my friend I
should know thee, for that thou hast served with me heretofore. The other nodded with his head
that it was true, but gave him no answer, nor shewed him any courtesie. Pompey seeing that no
man spake to him, tooke a little booke he had in his hand, in the which he had written an oration
that he meant to make unto King *Ptolemy*, and began to reade it. When they came neare the shoar,
Cornelia with her servants and friends about her, stood up in her ship in great feare, to see what
should become of Pompey. So she hoped well, when she saw many of the Kings people on the
shoare, coming towards Pompey at his landing, as it were to receive and honour him. But even as
Pompey tooke *Philip* his hand more easily, *Septimius* came first behind him and thrust him through
with his sword. Next unto him also, *Salvius* and *Achillas* drew out their swords in like manner,
Pompey

Theophanes *Les-
bian* perswaded
Pompey to flie
into *Egypt*.

Pompey arriv-
eth in *Egypt* &
goeth to *Pelu-
sum*.

Porcinus an
Eunuch, and
groom of the
chamber to
King *Ptolemy*,
ruleth all *Egypt*.

The delibera-
tion of the *E-
gyptians*, for the
receiving of
Pompey.

Theodorus per-
suaded them
to kill Pompey.
A dead man
bites not.
Achillas ap-
pointed to kill
Pompey.

How Pompey
was received
into *Egypt*.

Pompey the Great cruelly slain as he landed.
The manliness and patience of Pompey at his death.

Pompey then did no more but took up his Gowne with his hands and hid his face, and manly abid the wounds they gave him, onely sighing a little. Thus being nine and fifty years old, he ended his life the next day after the day of his birth. They that rode at Anchor in their ships, when they saw him murdered, gave such a fearful cry, that it was heard to the shoar: then weighing up their Anchors with speed, they hoisted saile, and departed their way, having wind at will that blew a lusty gale, as soon as they had gotten to the main sea. The *ÆGYPTIANS* which prepared to row after them, when they saw they were past their reach, and unpossibile to be overtaken, they let them go. Then having striken off Pompeys head, they threw his body overboard, for a miserable spectacle to all those that were desirous to see him. Philip his enfranchised bondman remained ever by it, untill such time as the *ÆGYPTIANS* had seen it their bellies full. Then having washed his body with salt water, and wrapped it up in an old shirt of his, because he had no other shift to lay it in: he sought upon the sands, and found at length a peece of an old fisher boate, enough to serve to burne his naked body with, but not all fully out. As he was busie gathering the broken peeces of this boate together, thither came unto him an old *ROMAN*, who in his youth had served under Pompey, and said unto him: O friend, what art thou that preparest the funerals of Pompey the Great? Philip answered, that he was a bondman of his enfranchised. Well, said he, thou shalt not have all this honour alone, I pray thee let me accompany thee in so devout a deed, that I may not altogether repent me to have dwelt so long in a strange Country, where I have abidden such misery and trouble: but that to recompence me withall, I may have this good hap, with mine hands to touch Pompeys body, and to helpe to bury the onely and most famous Captaine of the *ROMANES*. The next day after, Lucius Lentulus not knowing what had passed, coming out of *CYPRUS*, sailed by the shoar side, and perceived a fire made for funerals, and Philip standing by it, whom he knew not at the first. So he asked him, what is he that is dead and buried there? But straight fetching a great sigh, alas, said he, perhaps it is Pompey the Great. Then he landed a little, and was straight taken and slain. This was the end of Pompey the Great. Not long after, Caesar also came into *ÆGYPT* that was in great wars, where Pompeys head was presented unto him: but he turned his head aside and would not see it, and abhorred him that brought it as a detestable murder. Then taking his ring wherewith he sealed his letters, whereupon was graven a Lion holding a sword: he burst out a weeping. Achilles and Potinus he put to death. King Ptolemy himselfe also, being overthrown in battell by the River of Nilus, vanished away, and was never heard of after. Theodorus the Rhetorician escaped Caesars hands, and wandered up and down *ÆGYPT* in great misery, despised of every man. Afterwards Marcus Brutus (who slew Caesar) conquering *ASIA*, met with him by chance, and putting him to all the torments he could possibly devise, at the length slew him. The ashes of Pompeys body were afterwards brought unto his Wife Cornelia, who buried them in a Towne of hers by the City of *ALBA*.

The End of Pompeys Life.

The funerals of Pompey.

Lucius Lentulus slain.
Caesar arriveth in Egypt.
Pompys ring.
The murderers of Pompey put to death.



TH

THE COMPARISON OF POMPEY with AGESILAUS.



Now that we have declared unto you the lives of Agesilaus and Pompey, let us compare their manners and conditions together, which are these. First, Pompey came to his honour and greatnesse by his integrity, and so advanced himself, and was a great aide unto Sylla, doing many noble exploits, helping him to rid those tyrants out of *ITALY*, who held it in bondage. But Agesilaus usurped the Kingdome of *LACEDÆMON*, against the law of gods and men, condemning Leotychides for a bastard, whom his brother avowed to be his lawful son, and contemned besides the Oracle of the gods, which gave warning of a lame King. Furthermore, Pompey did honour Sylla while he lived, and when he was dead, gave his body honourable buriall in despite of Lepidus: and married his daughter unto Faustus the son of Sylla. Agesilaus contrarily did dishonour Lyfander upon light occasion: but Pompey had done no lesse for Sylla, then Sylla had done for him. Lyfander on the other side, had made Agesilaus King of *LACEDÆMON*, and Lieutenant Generall of all *GREECE*. Thirdly, the injuries that Pompey did unto the Commonwealth, were done of necessity to please Caesar and Scipio, both of them his fathers in law. Agesilaus also, to satisfy his sons love, saved Sphodrias life that had deserved death, for the mischief he had done the *ATHENIANS*: and he willingly also took part with Phœbidas, not secretly, but openly, because he had broken the peace made with the *THEBANS*. To conclude, what hurt Pompey did unto the *ROMANES*, either through ignorance, or to pleasure his friends: the same did Agesilaus unto the *LACEDÆMONIANS*, though anger and selfe-will, in renewing warre with the *BOEOTIANS*, upon a full peace concluded. If we shall reckon of the fortune of the one and the other, in the faults they committed: Pompeys fortune unto the *ROMANES* was unlooked for. But Agesilaus would not suffer the *LACEDÆMONIANS* to avoide the lame Kingdome, though they knew it before. For though Leotychides had been proved a bastard ten thousand times, yet had not the race of the *Eurytomides* failed, but they could have found another lawful King among them, that should have gone upright: had not Lyfander, favouring Agesilaus kept the true meaning of the Oracle from the *LACEDÆMONIANS*. On the other side againe for matters of government, there was never such an excellent device found out, as was done by Agesilaus, to help the fear and danger the *LACEDÆMONIANS* were in, for those that fled at the battell of *LECTRES*, when he counselled them to let the law sleep for that day. Neither can any man match Pompeys with the like, who, to shew his friends what power he was of, did break the laws which himselfe had made. For Agesilaus being driven of necessity to abolish the law, to save the life of his Citizens, found such a device that the Law was not hurtful to the Commonwealth, neither yet was put down for fear it should do hurt. I must needs commend this for a great vertue and civility in Agesilaus, who so soon as he received the Scytala (or scrowle of parchment from the Ephori) returned into his Country, and left the war of *ASIA*. He did not as Pompey, who made himselfe great to the benefit of the Commonwealth, and for the Commonwealths sake, did forsake such honour and so great authority, as never Captain before him, but Alexander the Great, had the like in those parts. But now to other matter. Touching their battells and exploits in wars, the multitude of victories and triumphes that Pompey obtained, and the great Armies that he led: Xenophon himselfe if he were alive, could not compare Agesilaus victories unto his: although for the singular vertues and qualities he had in him, for recompence thereof he had liberty granted him, to write and speak of Agesilaus what he thought good. Methinks also, there was great difference betwixt Pompey and Agesilaus, in their equity and clemency towards their enemies. For, whilest Agesilaus went about to conquer the *THEBES*, and utterly to race and destroy the City of *MESSINA*, the one being an ancient City of his Country, and the other the capital City of *BOEOTIA*.

How Pompey and Agesilaus came to their greivance.

The faults of Agesilaus and Pompey.

Things done by Agesilaus and Pompey in warres.

Agesslaus lost
the feignory
of the Laceda-
monians.

Pompeys fault
to forsake
Rome.

A speial point
of a skilfull
Captain.

TIA: he had almost lost his own City of SPARTA, for at the least he lost the commandement and rule he had over the rest of GREECE. The other contrarily gave Cities unto pyrates to dwell in, which were willing to change their trade and manner of life: and when it was in his choice to leade Tigranes King of ARMENIA, in triumph at ROME, he chose rather to make him a confederate of the ROMANES, saying, that the preferred perpetuall honour before one dayes glory. But since it is reason we should give the first place and honour of the discipline of wars, unto a Captain of the greatest skill and experience in wars: the LACEDAMONIAN then leaveth the ROMANES far behind. For first of all Agesslaus never forsooke his City, though it was besieged with threecore and ten thousand men, and that there were very few within the same to defend it, the which also a little before had been overthrowen at the battell of LEUCTRES. And Pompey on the other side, hearing that Caesar with five thousand footmen only had taken a Town in ITALIE, fled from ROME in very great fear. And therein he cannot be excused of one of these two: either that he fled cowardly for so few men, or else that he had a false imagination of more. For he conveyed his wife and children away, but he left all the rest without defence and fled: where indeed he should either have overcome, valiantly fighting for defence of his Country, or else have received the conditions of peace which the conquerors should have offered him. For he was a Citizen and allied unto him. And he that thought it an untolerable thing, to prolong the tearm of his government, or to grant him a second Consulship: did now give him opportunity, suffering him to take the City of ROME, to say unto Metellus the Tribune and the rest, that they were all his prisoners. Sith therefore it is the chiefeft point of an excellent Captain, to compell his enemies to fight when he findeth himself the stronger, and also to keep himself from compulsion of fight when he is the weaker: Agesslaus excelling in that, did ever keep himself invincible. Caesar also had great skill therein, to keep himself from danger being the weaker, and again could tell how to compell Pompey to hazard battell, to his utter destruction by land, where he was the weaker: and by this means he made himself Lord of the treasure, victuals, and allo of the sea, which his enemies had in their hands without fighting. That which they alledge in his excuse, is that which most doth condemne him, specially for so great and skillful a Captain. For as it is likely enough, that a young Generall of an Army may easily be brought from his wife and safe counsel, with rumor and tumult of a few fearful men, that should perswade him it were a shame and dishonour for him if he did otherwise: yet were this no strange matter, but a fault to be pardoned. But for Pompey the Great, whose Campe the ROMANES called their Country, and his tent the Senate, and called all the Prators and Consuls that governed at ROME, rebels and traitors to the Common-wealth of ROME; who could excuse him (who was never seen commanded by other then himself, but had been alwayes chief Captain and General in any war he made, and ever had the upper hand) but that he was drawn on by the scoffes of Faonius and Domitius, to hazard battell, to endanger the whole Empire and liberty of ROME, only for fear they should call him King Agamemnon? Who, if he had so much regarded present infamy, he should have fought from the beginning for the defence of the City of ROME, and not to have taken example of Themistocles policy by flying, and afterwards to think it a shame as he did, to lye in THESSALIE a time without fighting. Neither did God appoint them the fields of Pharsalia for a Theater, or close Campe, of necessity to fight which of them should have the Empire of ROME. Further, there was no Herauld to summon him to fight, as there are at games of price, where he must answer to his name, and come and fight, or else to loose the honour of the Crown unto another. But there were infinite other fields and Towns (and as a man would say the whole earth) which the commodity of his Army by sea gave him choice to conquer, if he would rather have followed the steps of Fabius Maximus, of Marius, of Lucullus, or of Agesslaus himself: who did patiently abide no lesse tumults within the City self of SPARTA, when the THEBANS went to summon him to come out to fight for all the rest of his Country. And in EGYPT also, he did abide many false accusations against him, wherewith the King himself did burthen him, praying him alwayes to have a little patience. In fine, having followed the best counsell which he had determined with himself from the beginning, he saved the EGYPTIANS against their wills: and furthermore, he did not onely keep the City of SPARTA from so great a danger, but did also set up tokens of triumph in the same against the THEBANS, whereby he was not compelled at that time to lead them out to the slaughter, and besides that, gave his Citizens occasion to obtain victory afterwards. Hereupon Agesslaus was highly praised of them, whose lives he had saved against their wills. And Pompey contrarily was blamed by themselves through whom he had offended: yet some say, that he was deceived by his father in law Scipio. For he meaning to keep the most part of the money to himself which he had brought out of ASIA, did hasten and perswade Pompey to give battell, telling him that there was no money left. The which though it had been, a worthy Capitaine should not so lightly have been brought into error, upon a false account to hazard himself to loose all. Thus may we see what both of them were, by comparing them together. Furthermore, for their journeys into EGYPT, the one fled thither by force: the other willingly went thither with small honour, for moneys sake to serve the barbarous people, with intent afterwards to make war with the GREEKES. Lastly, in that which we accuse the EGYPTIANS for Pompeys sake: for the like matter do they again accuse Agesslaus. For the one was cruelly put to death, and betrayed by them whom he trusted: and Agesslaus. For the one was cruelly put to death, and betrayed by them whom he trusted: and Agesslaus forsook them which trusted him, and went to his enemies, having brought aide to fight against them.

Pompey flying
into Egypt is
excused.

THE

THE LIFE OF ALEXANDER the Great.



Ann. Mund.
3614.

Ant. Christ.
334

HAVING determined in this volume to write the Life of King Alexander, and of Julius Caesar, that overcame Pompey; and being to speake of many things, I will use none other Preface, but onely desire the Readers not to blame me though I do not declare all things at large, but briefly touch divers, chiefly in those, their noblest acts and most worthy of memory. For they must remember, that my intent is not to write Histories, but onely Lives. For the noblest deeds do not alwaies shew mens vertues and vices, but oftentimes a light occasion, a word, or some sport, makes mens naturall dispositions and manners appeare more plaine, then the famous Battels wonne, wherein are slaine ten thousand men; or the great Armies, or Cities won by sieg, or assault. For like as Painters or drawers of Pictures, which make no account of other parts of the body, do take the resemblances of the face and favour of the countenance, in the which consisteth the judgement of their manners and disposition: even so they must give us leave to seeke out the signes and tokens of the minde onely, and thereby shew the life of either of them, referring you unto others to write the Wars, Battels, and other great things they did. It is certaine that Alexander was descended from Hercules by Cavanus, and that by his Mothers side, he came of the blood of the AEsacides by Neoptolemius. They say also, that King Philip his Father when he was a young man, fell in fancy with his Mother Olympias, which at that time also was a young Maiden, and an Orphan without Father or Mother, in the Isle of SAMOTHRACIA, where they were both received into the mistery and fraternity of the Houle of the religious: and that afterwards, he did aske her in marriage of her Brother Arrymbas, with whose consent they were married together. The night before they lay in wedded bed, the Bride dreamed, that lightning fell into her belly, and that withall, there was a great light fire that dispersed it selfe all about in divers flames. King Philip her Husband also, shortly after he was married dreamed that he did seale his wives belly, and that the seale wherewith he sealed, left behind the print of a Lion. Certaine Wisards and Soothsayers told Philip, that this Dreame gave him warning to looke straight to his wife. But Aristander the LEMESIAN answered againe, that it signified his wife was conceived with childe; for that they do not seale a vessell that hath nothing in it: and that she was with childe with a boy, which should have a Lions heart. It is reported also, that many times as she lay asleep in her bed, there was seene a Serpent lying by her, the which was the chiefeft cause (as some presuppose) that withdrew Philips love and kindnesse from her, and caused him that he lay not so oft with her, as before he was wont to do: either for that he feared some charme or enchantment, or else for that he thought himself unmeet for her company, supposing her to be beloved of some god. Some do also report this after another sort: as in this manner. That the women in those parts of long time, have beene commonly posselt with the spirit of Orpheus, and the divine fury of Bacchus, whereupon they are called Cleodones, and Mimallones (as much, as war-like and fierce) and do many things like unto the women of EDONIA and THRACIA, dwelling about the Mountaine Emus. Hereby it appeareth, that this word Treskevin signifieth in the Greeke Tongue, too superstitiously given to the Ceremonies

The face sheweth mens manners and conditions.

The Parentage of Alexander.

Olympias the wife of Philip King of Macedonia.

Olympias Dreame.

Olympias Serpent.

B b b

Alexander the Great practised Physick.

Some thinke that this place should be meant of the rich Coffer, that was found among King Darus Jewels, in the which Alexander would have all Homers Works kept.

Alexanders first Soldier-lare.

The City of Alexandria.

The quarrels of Philip with Olympias and Alexander.

Alexander mocketh Philip his Father.

Aridaus King of Persia, who Philip had begotten of common Strumpet, Lima.

Philip King of Macedonia slain by Pausanias.

would exercise practice also, and helpe his friends when they were sick: and made besides certaine remedies, and rules to live by: as appeareth by his Letters he wrote, that of his owne nature he was much given to his Booke, and desired to read much. He learned also the liads of *Homer*, of *Aristotiles* correction, which they call, *the Iliads*, the corrected, as having passed under the rule: and laid in every night under his beds head with his Dagger, calling it (as *Ovidius* writeth) the institution of Martiall Discipline. And when he was in the high Countreys of Asia, where he could not readily come by other Books, he wrote unto *Harpalus* to send them to him. *Harpalus* sent him the Histories of *Philistus*, with divers Tragedies of *Eurypides*, *Sophocles*, and *Aeschylus*: and certaine Hymnes of *Telephus* and *Philostratus*. Alexander did reverence *Aristotle* at the first, as his Father, and so he tearmed him: because from his naturall Father he had life, but from him, the knowledge to live. But afterwards he suspected him somewhat; yet he did him no hurt, neither was he so friendly to him as he had been: whereby men perceived that he did not beare him the good will he was wont to do. This notwithstanding, he left not that zeale and desire he had to the study of Philosophy, which he had learned from his youth, and still continued with him. For he shewed divers testimonies thereof. As the honour he did unto *Anaxarchus* the Philosophier: The fifty talents which he sent unto *Demetrius*, *Dandamis*, and *Calanias* of whom he made great account. When King *Philip* made Warre with the *BRYZANTINES*, Alexander being but sixteen years old, was left his Lieutenant in *MACEDON*, with the custody and charge of his great Scale: at what time also he subdued the *MACEDONIANS* which had rebelled against him; and having wonne their City by assault, he drave out the barbarous People, and made a Colony of it, of sundry Nations, and called it *ALEXANDROPOLIS*, to say, the City of Alexander. He was with his Father at the Battell of *CHERONEA* against the *GREECIANS*, where it was reported, that it was he that gave charge first of all upon the holy Band of the *THEBANS*. Furthermore, there was an old Oke scene in my time, which the Countrey men commonly call *Alexanders Oke*, because his Tent or Pavilion was fastned to it: and not far from thence is the Charnell house, where those *MACEDONIANS* were buried that were slaine at the Battell. For these causes, his Father *Philip* loved him very dearly, and was glad to heare the *MACEDONIANS* call Alexander King, and himselfe their Captaine. Howbeit the troubles that fell out in his Court afterwards, by reason of *Philips* new marriages and loves, bred great quarrell and strife amongst the women: for the mischief of diffention and jealousie of women, doth separate the hearts of Kings one from another, whereof was chiefest cause, the sharpnesse of *Olympias*, who being a jealous woman, fretting and of a revenging minde, did incense Alexander against his Father: But the chiefest cause that provoked Alexander, was *Attalus*, at the Marriage of *Cleopatra*, whom *Philip* married a Maiden, falling in fancy with her when himselfe was past marriage. This was the matter, *Attalus* being Uncle unto this *Cleopatra*, fell drunke at the Marriage, and being in his cups, he perswaded the *MACEDONIANS* that were at the Feast, to pray to the gods, that they might have a lawfull Heire of *Philip* and *Cleopatra*, to succede him in the Kingdome of *MACEDON*. Alexander being in a rage therewith, threw a Cup at his head, and said unto him: Why, Traytor, what art thou takinge for a Bastard? *Philip* seeing that, rose from the boord, and drew out his Sword, but by good fortune for them both, being troubled with choler and Wine, he fell downe on the ground. Then Alexander mocking him, Lo, said he to the *MACEDONIANS*, here is the man that prepared to goe out of *MACEDON* into Asia, and stepping onely from one bed to another, ye see him laid along on the ground. After this great insolency, he tooke his Mother *Olympias* away with him, and carrying her into his Countrey of *EPIROS*, he left her there, and himselfe afterwards went into *ILLYRIA*. In the meane time, *Demetrius* *CORINTHIAN*, a friend of King *Philip*, and very familiar with him, came to see him. *Philip* when he had courteously welcomed him; asked him how the *GREECIANS* did agree together. Truly, O King, quoth he, it imports you much to inquire of the agreement of the *GREECIANS*, when your owne Court is so full of quarrell and contention. These words nipped *Philip* in such sort, and caused him to know his fault, that through *Demetrius* means, whom he sent to perswade Alexander to returne, Alexander was made to come backe againe. Now when *Pezodorus*, a friend of *CARIA* (desiring for necessities sake, to enter in League and friendship with *Philip*) offered his eldest Daughter in marriage unto *Aridaus* King *Philip* Sonne, and had sent *Aristocritus* Ambassador into *MACEDON* for that purpose: the friends of Alexander and his Mother, began to inveigle him with new reports and suspitions, how *Philip* by his great Marriage would add to his uter undoing, and leave him his Heire in the Kingdome. Alexander being nettled therewith, sent one *Thessalus* a Player of Tragedies into *CARIA* to *Pezodorus* to perswade him to leave *Aridaus*, that was a Bastard and a Foole, and rather to make alliance with Alexander. This offer pleased *Pezodorus* far better, to have Alexander his Son-in-law, then *Aridaus*. *Philip* understanding this, went himselfe into Alexanders chamber, taking *Philotas* with him (the Sonne of *Pammeno*) one of his familiars, and bitterly rooke up Alexander, telling him that he had a base minde, and was unworthy to be left his Heire after his death, if he would cast himselfe away, marrying the Daughter of a *CARIAN*, that was a Slave and Subject of a barbarous King. Thereupon he wrote Letters unto *CORINTH*, that they should send *Thessalus* bound unto him. And furthermore he banished out of *MACEDON*, *Harpalus*, *Nearchus*, *Phrygius* and *Ptolemy*, his Sons companions: whom Alexander afterwards called home againe, and placed them in great authority about him. Shortly after, *Pausanias* sustaining villany by the counsell and commandement of *Aridaus* and *Cleopatra*, craying justice of *Philip*, and finding no amends he converted all his anger against him, and for his spite slew him himself. Of this murder most men accused Queene *Olympias*, who (as it is reported) alluring this young man,

having

having just cause of anger, to kill him. And Alexander also went not cleare from suspicion of this murder. For some say that *Pausanias* after this villany was done him, complained unto Alexander, and told him how he had beene abused: who recited these Verses of *Euripides* to him, in the Tragedie of *Medea*, where she said in anger, that she would be revenged:

Both of the Bridegroome, and the Bride,
And of the Father-in-law.

Notwithstanding, afterwards he caused diligent search to be made, and all them to be severely punished that were of the conspiracy: and was angry also that his Mother *Olympias* had cruelly slaine *Cleopatra*. So he came to be King of *MACEDON* at twenty yeares of age, and found his Realme greatly envied and hated of dangerous Enemies, and every way full of danger. For the barbarous Nations that were neare Neighbours unto *MACEDON*, could not abide the bondage of strangers, but desired to have their naturall Kings. Neither had *Philip* time enough to bridle and pacifie *GREECE*, which he had conquered by force of Armes: but having a little altered the Governments, had through his insolency left them all in great trouble, and ready to rebell, for that they had not long beene acquainted to obey. Thereupon Alexanders Councell of *MACEDON*, being afraid of the troublesome time, were of opinion, that Alexander should utterly forsake the affaires of *GREECE*, and not to follow them with extremity, but that he should seeke to winne the barbarous People by gentle means, that had rebelled against him, and wisely to remedie these new stirs. But he far otherwise determined to stablish his safety by courage and magnanimity: perswading himselfe, that if they saw him toope and yeeld at the beginning, how little soever it were, every one would be upon him. Thereupon, he straight quenched all the rebellion of the barbarous People, invading them suddenly with his Army, by the River of *DANUBY*, where in a great Battell he overthrew *Syrms* King of the *TRIBALLIANS*. Furthermore, having intelligence that the *THEBANS* were revolted, and that the *ATHENIANS* also were confederate with them: to make them know that he was a man, he marched with his Army towards the Straight of *Thermopolis*, saying, that he would make *Demosthenes* the Oratour see (who in his Orations, whilst he was in *ILLYRIA*, and in the Countrey of the *TRIBALLIANS*, called him childe) that he was growne a stripling passing through *THESSALY*, and should finde him a man before the Walls of *ATHENS*. When he came with his Army unto the Gates of *THEBES*, he was willing to give them of the City occasion to repent them: and therefore onely demanded *Phanias* and *Prothytes*, authours of the rebellion. Furthermore, he proclaimed by Trumpet, pardon and safety unto all them that would yeeld unto him. The *THEBANS* on the other side, demanded of him *Philotas* and *Antipater*, two of his chiefest servants, and made the Crier proclaime in the City, that all such as would defend the liberty of *GREECE*, should joyne with them. Then did Alexander leave the *MACEDONIANS* at liberty to make Warre with all cruelty. The *THEBANS* also fought with greater courage and desire then they were able, considering that their Enemies were many against one. And on the other side also, when the Garisof of the *MACEDONIANS* which were within the Castle of *CADMEA*, made a Salley upon them, and gave them Charge in the Reer-ward: then they being environed of all sides, were slaine in manner every one of them, their City taken, destroyed and razed even to the hard ground. This he did, specially to make all the rest of the People of *GREECE* afraid by example of this great calamity and misery of the *THEBANS*, to the end none of them should dare from thenceforth once to rise against him. He would cloake this cruelty of his under the complaints of his Confederates, the *PHOCIANS* and *PLATEIANS*: who complaining to him of the injuries the *THEBANS* had offered, could not deny them justice. Notwithstanding, excepting the Priests, and the religious, and all such as were friends unto any of the Lords of *MACEDON*, all the friends and kinred of the Poet *Pindarus*, and all those that had dissuaded them which were the Rebels, he sold all the rest of the City of *THEBES* for Slaves, which amounted to the number of thirty thousand persons, besides them that were slaine at the Battell, which were six thousand more. Now amongst the other miseries and calamities of the poore City of *THEBES*, there were certaine *THRACIAN* Souldiers, who having Spoiled and defaced the house of *Timoclea*, a vertuous Lady, and of noble parentage, they divided her Goods among them: and the Capitaine having ravished her by force, asked her, whether she had any where hidden any Gold or Silver. The Lady told him she had. Then leading him into her Garden, she brought him unto a Well, where she said she had cast all her Jewels and precious things, when she heard the City was taken. The barbarous *THRACIAN* stooped to looke into the Well: the standing behinde him, thrust hie in, and then threw stones enough on him, and so killed him. The Souldiers when they knew it, tooke and bound her, and so carried her unto Alexander. When Alexander saw her countenance, and marked her gate, he supposed her at the first to be some great Lady, she followed the Souldiers with such a majesty and boldnesse. Alexander then asking her what she was: she answered, that she was the Sister of *Theagenes*, who fought a Battell with King *Philip* before the City of *CHERONEA*, where being Generall, he was slaine valiantly fighting for the defence of the liberty of *GREECE*. Alexander wondering at her noble answer and courageous deed, commanded no man should touch her nor her children, and so freely let her go whither she would. He made League also with the *ATHENIANS*, though they were very sory for their miserable fortune. For the day of the solemne Feasts of their Misteries being come, they left it off, mourning for the *THEBANS*: courteously entertaining all those, that flying from *THEBES* came to them for succour. But whether it was for that his anger was past him, following therein the nature of Lions: or because that after so great an example of cruelty, he would shew a singular clemency againe: he did not onely pardon the *ATHENIANS* of all faults committed,

Bbb 3

but

The beginning of Alexanders Reigne.

Alexander overcame Syrmus King of the Triballians.

Thebes wonne and razed by Alexander.

A noble act of Timoclea a noble woman of Thebes.

Alexander chosen
General of
all Greece.

Alexanders
talks with Di-
ogenes.

Wander full
signes appear-
ing unto Alex-
ander before
his Journey
into Asia.

Alexanders Ar-
my in Asia.

The liberality
of Alexander.
Alexanders
laying of A-
chilles.

but did also counsell them to looke wisely to their doings, for their City one day should command all GREECE, if he chanced to die. Men report, that certainly he oftentimes repented him that he had dealt so cruelly with the THEBANS, and the griefe he tooke upon it, was cause that he afterwards shewed himselfe more mercifull unto divers others. Afterwards also he did blame the fury of *Bacchus*, who to be revenged of him, made him kill *Clitus* at the Table being drunke, and the MACE-
DONIANS also to refuse him to go any further to conquer the INDIANS, which was an imperfec-
tion of his Enterprize, and a diminishing also of his Honour. Besides, there was never THEBAN
afterwards, that had escaped the fury of his Victory, and did make any Petition to him, but he had
his suite. Thus was the estate of THEBES as you have heard. Then the GRECIANS having af-
sembled a generall Councell of all the States of GREECE within the Straights of PELOPONNE-
sus, there it was determined that they would make Warre with the PERSIANS. Whereupon
they chose *Alexander* General of all GREECE. Then divers men coming to visit *Alexander*, as
well Philosophers, as Governours of States, to congratulate with him for his election, he looked that
Diogenes Sinapien (who dwelt at CORINTH) would likewise come againe ere the rest had done: but
when he saw he made no reckoning of him, and that he kept still in the Suburbs of CORINTH, at a
place called CRANUM, he went himselfe unto him, and found him laid all along in the Sun. When
Diogenes saw so many coming towards him, he sat up a little, and looked full upon *Alexander*. *Alex-
ander* courteously spake unto him, and asked him, if he lacked any thing. Yea said he, that I do:
that thou stand out of my Sunne a little. *Alexander* was so well pleased with this answer, and mar-
velled so much at that great boldnesse of this man, to see how small account he made of him: that
he came thither in the daies which they call unfortunate, on which daies no man used to aske *Apollo*
any thing. This notwithstanding, he sent first unto the Nunne which pronounced the Oracles, to
pray her to come unto him. But she refused to come, alleading the custome which forbade her to
go. Thereupon *Alexander* went thither himselfe in person, and brought her out by force into the
Temple. She seeing then that he would not be denied, but would needs have his will, told him: My
Sonne, for that I see, thou art invincible. *Alexander* hearing that, said, he desired no other Oracle,
and that he had as much as he looked for. Afterwards when he was even ready to go on with his Voy-
age, he had divers signes and tokens from the gods: and amongst other, an Image of the Poet *Orphe-
us* made of Cyprus, in the City of LEBETHRES, in those daies did sweate marvellously. Many
men fearing that signe, *Aristander* the Soothsayer bade *Alexander* be of good cheare, and hope well;
for he should obtaine noble Victories that should never be forgotten, the which should make the Po-
ets and Musicians sweate to write and sing them. Then, for his Army which he led with him, they
told that do set downe the least number, say, that they were thirty thousand Footmen, and five thousand
Horsemen: and they that say more, do write, foure and thirty thousand Footmen, and foure thousand
Horsemen. *Aristobolus* writeth, that *Alexander* had no more but three score, and ten Talents to pay
his Souldiers with: and *Darius* writeth, that he had no more Provision of Victuals, then for thirty
daies onely. And *Onesicritus* saith moreover, that he did owe two hundred Talents. Now, notwith-
standing that he began this Warre with so small ability to maintaine it, he would never take Ship
before he understood the state of his friends, to know what ability they had to go with him, and before
he had given unto some, Lands; and unto others, a Towne; and to others againe, the Custome of
some Haven. Thus by his bounty, having in manner spent almost the Revenues of the Crowne of
MACE-
DON, *Perdiccas* asked him: My Lord, what will you keepe for your selfe? Hope, said he.
Then, quoth *Perdiccas* againe, we will also have some part, since we go with you: and so refused the
Revenue which the King had given him for his Pension. Many others did also the like. But such as
were contented to take his liberality, or would aske him any thing, he gave them very frankly, and
such liberality spent all the Revenue he had. With this desire and determination, he went on to
the Straight of HELLES-
PONT, and going to the City of ILIUM he did Sacrifice unto *Diana*, and
made funerall effusions unto the demy-gods (to wit, unto the Princes which died in the Warre of
TROIA, whose bodies were buried there) and specially unto *Achilles*, whose grave he anointed
with oile, and ranne naked round about it with his familiars, according to the ancient custome of Fu-
nerals. Then he covered it with Nofegayes and Flowers, saying, that *Achilles* was happy, who while
he lived had a faithfull friend, and after his death an excellent Herauld to sing his praise. When he had
done, and went up and downe the City to see all the Monuments and notable things there, one asked
him, if he would see *Paris* Harpe. He answered againe, he would very faine see *Achilles* Harpe,
who played and sung upon it all the famous acts done by valiant men in former times. In the meane
time, *Darius* King of PERSIA, having leaved a great Army, sent his Captaines and Lieutenants to
barry *Alexander* at the River of GRANICUS. There was *Alexander* to fight of necessity, being
the onely barre to stop his entry into ASIA. Moreover, the Captaines of the Councell about him,
were afraid of the depth of this River, and of the height of the banke on the other side, which was
very high and steepe, and could not be wonne without fighting. And some said also that he should
have speciall care of the ancient regard of the Moneth: because the Kings of MACE-
DON did never
use to put the Army into the Field in the Moneth of Dason, which is June. For that, said *Alexan-
der*, we will remedy soone: let them call it the second Moneth, Artemisium, which is May. Fur-
thermore,

thermore, *Parmenio* was of opinion, that he should not meddle the first day, because it was very late.
Alexander made answer againe, that HELES-
PONT would blush for shame, if he were now afraid
to passe over the River, since he had already come over an arme of the Sea. Thereupon he himselfe
first entred the River with thirteene Guidons of Horsemen, and marched forwards against an infinite
number of Arrows which the Enemies shot at him, as he was coming up the other banke, which was
very high and steepe, and worst of all, full of armed men and Horse-men of the Enemies: which stay-
ed to receive him in Battell-ray, thrusting his men downe into the River, which was very deepe, and
ran so swift, that it almost carried them downe the streame: inso much that men thought him more
rash then wise, to leade his men with such danger. This notwithstanding, he was so willfully bent,
that he would needs over, and in the end with great ado recovered the other side, specially because
the Earth slid away, by reason of the mud. So when he was over, he was driven to fight pell mell
man to man, because his Enemies did set upon the first that were passed over, before they could put
themselves into Battell-ray, with great cries, keeping their Horses very close together, and fought
first with their Darts, and afterwards came to the Sword when their Darts were broken. Then man-
ny of them set upon him alone, for he was easily to be knowne above the rest by his Shield, and the
lunder part of his Helmet, about the which there hung from the one side to the other, a marvellous
faire white Plume. *Alexander* had a blow with a Dart on his thigh, but it hurt him not. Thereupon
Rofaces and *Spithridates*, both two chiefe Captaines of the PERSIANS, setting upon *Alexander*
at once, he left the one, and riding straight to *Rofaces*, who was excellently armed, he gave him
such a blow with his Lance, that he brake it in his hand, and straight drew out his Sword. But so
soone as they two had closed together, *Spithridates* coming at the one side of him, raised himselfe up-
on his stirrups, and gave *Alexander* with all his might such a blow on his head with a Battell-axe, that
he cut the crest of his Helmet, and one of the sides of his Plume, and made such a gash, that the
edge of his Battell-axe touched the very haire of his head. And as he was lifting up his hand to strike
Alexander againe, great *Clitus* preventing him, thrust him through with a Partisan; and at the very
same instant, *Rofaces* fell dead from his Horse with a wound which *Alexander* gave him with his
Sword. Now whilst the Horsemen fought with such fury, the Squadron of the Battell of the MACE-
DONIANS Footmen had passed the River, and both the Battells began to march one against the
other. The PERSIANS stucke not manfully to it any long time, but straight turned their backs
and fled, saving the GRECIANS which tooke pay of King *Darius*: they drew together upon a
Hill, and craved mercy of *Alexander*. But *Alexander* setting upon them, more of will then discre-
tion, had his Horse killed under him, being thrust through the flanke with a Sword. This was not
Bucephalus, but another Horse he had. All his men that were slaine or hurt at this Battell, were hurt
amongst them valiantly fighting against desperate men. It is reported that there were slaine at this
first Battell, twenty thousand Footmen of these barbarous People, and two thousand five hundred
Horsemen. On *Alexanders* side, *Aristobolus* writeth, that there were slaine foure and thirty men
in all, of the which, twelve of them were Footmen. *Alexander* to honour their valiantnesse, caused
every one of their Images to be made in brasse by *Lysippus*. And because he would make the GRE-
CIANS partakers of this Victory, he sent unto the ATHENIANS three hundred of their Targers,
which he had wonne at the Battell; and generally upon all the other Spoiles he put this honourable
Inscription, *Alexander the Sonne of Philip, and the Grecians, excepting the Lacedemonians, have
wonne this spoyle upon the barbarous Asians*. As for Plate of Gold or Silver, also Purple Silkes, or
other such precious things which he got among the PERSIANS, he sent them all unto his Mother,
a few except. This first Victory of *Alexander*, brought such a sudden change amongst the barbar-
ous People in *Alexanders* behalfe, that the City selfe of SARDIS, the chiefe City of the Empire
of the barbarous People, or at the least through all the Low-countries and Coasts upon the Sea, yeel-
ded straight unto him, and the rest also, saving HALICARNASSUS and MILETUM, which did still
resist him: howbeit at length he tooke them by force. When he had so conquered all thereabout,
he stood in doubt afterwards what he were best to determine. Sometimes he had a marvellous de-
sire, hotly to follow *Darius* wheresoever he were, and to venture all at a Battell. Another time a-
gain, he thought it better first to occupie himselfe in conquering these Low-countries, and to make
himselfe strong with the Money and Riches he should finde among them, that he might afterwards
be the better able to follow him. In the Countrey of LYDIA, neare unto the City XANTHUS,
they say, there is a Spring that brake of it selfe, and overflowing the bankes about it, cast out a little
Table of Copper from the bottome, upon the which were graven certaine Characters in old Letters,
which said: that the Kingdome of the PERSIANS should be destroyed by the GRECIANS. This did
farther so encourage *Alexander*, that he made haste to cleare all the Sea-coast, even as farre as
CILICIA and PHOENICIA. But the wonderfull good successe he had, running along all the
Coast of PAMPHILIA, gave divers Historiographers occasion to set forth his doings with admi-
ration, saying: that it was one of the wonders of the World, that the fury of the Sea, which unto
all other was extreme rough, and many times would swell over the tops of the high rocks upon the
cliffes, fell calme unto him. And it appeareth, that *Menander* himselfe in a Comedy of his, doth
witnesse this wonderfull happinesse of *Alexander*, when merrily he saith:

O great Alexander, how great is thy State?
For thou with thy selfe mayest thus justly debate:
If any man living I list for to call,
He cometh, and humbly before me doth fall.

Battell betwixt
Alexander and
Darius at the
River of Gya-
nicus.

Clitus saved *Alexander*.

Alexanders Vi-
ctory of the
Persians at
Granicus.

And

*And if through the surges my journey do ly.
The waves give me way, and the Sea becomes dry.*

Yet *Alexander* himselfe simply writeth in his Epistles (without any great wonder) that by Sea he passed a place called the Ladder, and that to passe there, he tooke Ship in the City of PHASELIDES. There he remained many daies: and when he saw the Image of *Thodestes* PHASELITAN, standing in the Market-place, he went in a Dance thither one evening after Supper, and cast Flowers and Garlands upon his Image, honouring the memory of the dead, though it seemed but in sport; for that he was his companion when he lived, by meanes of *Aristotle* and his Philosophy. After that he overcame also the PISIDIANS, who thought to have resisted him; and conquered all PHRYGIA besides. There in the City of GORDIUS, which is said to be the ancient seat of King *Midus*, he saw the Chariot that is so much spoken of, which is bound with the barke of a Cornell-tree, and it was told him for a troth, of the barbarous People, that they believed it was a Prophecy: That whosoever could undo the band of that barke, was certainly ordained to be King of all the World. It is commonly reported, that *Alexander* proving to undo the band, and finding no ends to undo it by, they were so many-fold wreathed one within the other, he drew out his Sword, and cut the knot in the midst: so that then many ends appeared. But *Aristobolus* writeth, that he had quickly undone the knot, by taking the bolt out of the Axe-tree, which holdeth the beame and body of the Chariot, and so severed them asunder. Departing thence, he conquered the PAPHLAGONIANS and CAPPADOCIANS; and understood of the death of *Memnon*, that was *Darius* Generall of his Army by Sea, and in whom was all their hope to trouble and withstand *Alexander*: whereupon he was the bolder to go on with his determination, to leade his Army into the high Countreys of ASIA. Then did King *Darius* himselfe come against *Alexander*, having leaved a great Power at SUS A, of six hundred thousand fighting men, trusting to that multitude, and also to a dreame, the which his Wifards had expounded rather to flatter him, then to tell him truly. *Darius* dreamed that he saw all the Army of the MACEDONIANS on a fire, and *Alexander* serving of him in the self-same attire that he himselfe wore when he was one of the Chamber unto the late King his Predecessor: and that when he came into the Temple of *Belus*, he suddenly vanished from him. By this Dreame it plainly appeared, that the gods did signifie unto him, that the MACEDONIANS should have noble successe in their doings, and that *Alexander* should conquer all ASIA, even as King *Darius* had done, when he was but Aigandes unto the King: and that shortly after, he should end his life with great honour. This furthermore made him bold also, when he saw that *Alexander* remained a good while in CILICIA, supposing it had beene for that he was afraid of him. Howbeit it was by reason of a sicknesse he had, the which some say he got by extreme paines and travell, and others also, because he washed himselfe in the River Cydnus, which was cold as ice. Howsoever it came, there was none of the other Physicians that durst undertake to cure him, thinking his disease incurable, and no Medicines to prevaile that they could give him, and fearing also that the MACEDONIANS would lay it to their charge, if *Alexander* miscarried. But *Philip* ACARNANIAN, considering his Master was very ill, and bearing himselfe of his love and good will towards him, thought he should not do that became him, if he did not prove (seeing him in extremity and danger of life) the utmost remedies of Physick, what danger soever he put himselfe into: and therefore tooke upon him to minister unto *Alexander*, and perswaded him to drinke it boldly if he would quickly be whole, and go to the Warres. In the meane time, *Parmenio* wrote him a Letter from the Campe, advertising him, that he should beware of *Philip* his Physician, for he was bribed and corrupted by *Darius*, with large promises of great riches that he would give him with his Daughter in marriage, to kill his Master. *Alexander* when he had read this Letter, laid it under his beds head, and made none of his nearest familiars acquainted therewith. When the houre came that he should take his Medicine, *Philip* came into his Chamber with other of the Kings familiars, and brought a cup in his hand with the Potion he should drinke. *Alexander* then gave him the Letter, and withall, cheerfully tooke the cup of him, shewing no manner of feare or mistrust of any thing. It was a wonderfull thing, and worth the fight, how one reading the Letter, and the other drinking the Medicine both at one instant, they looked one upon another, howbeit not both with like cheerful countenance. For *Alexander* looked merrily upon him, plainly shewing the trust he had in his Physician *Philip* and how much he loved him: and the Physician also beheld *Alexander* like a man perplexed and amazed, to be so easily accused; and straight lift up his hands to Heaven, calling the gods to witness that he was innocent; and then came to *Alexander*'s beds side, and prayed him to be of good cheare, and boldly to do as he would advise him. The Medicine beginning to worke, overcame the Disease, and drave for the time, all his naturall strength and powers to the lowest parts of his body: insomuch as his speech failed him, and he fell into such a weaknesse, and almost swooning, that his pulse did scant beate, and his senses were well-near taken from him. But that being past, *Philip* in few daies recovered him againe. Now when *Alexander* had gotten some strength, he shewed himselfe openly unto the MACEDONIANS: for they would not be pacified, nor perswaded of his health, untill they had seene him. In King *Darius* Campe, there was one *Amyntus* a MACEDONIAN, and banisht out of his Countrey, who knew *Alexander*'s disposition very well. He finding that *Darius* meant to meete with *Alexander* within the Straights and Valleys of the Mountaines, besought him to tarry rather where he was, being a plaine open Countrey round about him, considering that he had a great Host of men to fight with a few Enemies, and that it was most for his advantage to meete with him in the open Field. *Darius* answered him againe, that he was afraid of nothing but that he would flie, before he could come to him. *Amyntus* replied:

The memory of *Thodestes* honoured by *Alexander*.

The City of *Gordius* in *Phrygia*, where King *Aidas* kept.

Darius Army and Dreame.

Alexander sicknesse in *Cilicia*, *Cydnus* fl.

The wonderfull trust of *Alexander* in his Physician.

replied: For that O King, I pray you feare not: for I warrant you upon my life he will come to you, yea and is now onwards on his way coming towards you. All these perswasions of *Amyntus* could not turne *Darius* from making his Campe to march towards CILICIA. At the self-same time also, *Alexander* went towards SUS A to meete with him. But it chanced one night that the one of them missed the other, and when day was come, they both returned backe againe: *Alexander* being glad of this hap, and making haste to meete with his Enemy within the Straights. *Darius* also seeking to win *Alexander*, lodging from whence he came, and to bring his Army out of the Straights, began to finde the fault and error committed: for that he had shut himselfe up in the Straights (holden in on the one side with the Mountaine, and on the other with the Sea, and the River of *Pindarus* that ran between both) and that he was driven to disperse his Army into divers Companies, in a stony and ill-favoured Countrey, fit for horsetmen to travell, being on the contrary side a great advantage for his Enemies, which were excellent good Footmen; and but few in number. But now, as Fortune gave *Alexander* the Field as he would wish, to fight for his advantage, so could he tell excellently well how to let his men in Battell ray to win the Victory. For albeit that *Alexander* had the less number by many then his Enemy, yet he had such policy and cast with him, that he foresaw all, and would not be environed. For he did put out the right Wing of his Battell a great deale farther then he did his left Wing, and fighting himselfe in the left Wing in the foremost ranks, he made all the barbarous People flie that stood before him: howbeit, he was hurt on his thigh with a blow of a Sword. *Chares* writeth, that *Darius* flie did hurt him, and that they fought together man to man. Notwithstanding, *Alexander* himselfe writing of this Battell unto *Antipater*, saith, that indeed he was hurt on the thigh with a Sword: howbeit it put him to no danger: but he writeth not that *Darius* hurt him. Thus having wonne a famous Victory, and slaine above a hundred and ten thousand of his Enemies, he could not yet take *Darius*, because he fled, having still foure or five furlongs vantage before him: howbeit he took his Chariot of Battell wherein he fought, and his Bowe also. Then he returned from the chase, and found the MACEDONIANS sacking and spoiling all the rest of the Campe of the barbarous People, where there was infinite Riches (although they had left the most part of their Carriage behinde them in the City of DAMAS, to come lighter to the Battell) but yet reserved for himselfe all King *Darius* Tent, which was full of great number of Officers, of rich Moveables, and of Gold and Silver. So, when he was come to the Campe, putting off his Armour, he entred into the Bath and said: Come on, let us go and wash of the sweat of the Battell in *Darius* owne Bath. Nay, replied one of his familiars, in *Darius* Bath: for the Goods of the vanquished are rightly the Vanquishers. When he came into the Bath, and saw the Basins and Eures, the Boxes, and Vials for Perfumes, all of cleare gold, excellently wrought, all the Chambers perfumed passing sweetly, that it was like a Paradise, when going out of his Bath, and coming into his Tent, seeing it so stately and large, his heart was full of mirth, and he lay in such sumptuous sort, that it was wonderfull. The curbed him into his familiars, and said: This was a King indeed, was he not thinke ye? As he was ready to go to his supper, word was brought him, that they were bringing unto him amongst other Ladies taken prisoner, King *Darius* Mother and his Wife, and two of his Daughters unmarried: who having lost their Chariot and Bowe, burst out into lamentable cries, and violent beating of themselves, thinking *Darius* had beene slaine. *Alexander* pawed a good while, and gave no answer, pitying more their misfortune, then rejoicing at his owne good hap. Then he presently sent one *Leontius* unto them, to let them understand that *Darius* was alive, and that they should not neede to be afraid of *Alexander*, for he did not fight with *Darius*, but for his Kingdome onely: and as for them, that they should have at his hands all that they had of *Darius* before. When he had his whole Kingdome in his hands. As these words pleased the captive Ladies, so the deedes that followed, made them still his clemency to be no lesse. For first, he suffered them to bury as many of the PERSIAN Lords as they would, even of them that had beene slaine in the Battell, and so take as much Silkes of the Spoiles, Jewels, and Ornaments, as they thought good to honour their funerals with: and also did lesse no part of their honour, nor of the number of their Officers and Servants, nor of any joy of their Estate which they had before, but did allow them also greater Pensions then they had before. But above all, the Princeliest grace, and most noble favour that *Alexander* shewed unto these captive Princesses, which had alwaies lived in honourable fame and civility, was this: That they never heard word, or so much as any suspicion that should make them to be dishonoured, or dishonoured: but were privately amongst themselves, unvisited or repaid unto by any man, but of their owne, not as if they had beene in a Campe of their Enemies. But as if they had beene kept in some close Monastery: although *Darius* Wife (as it is written) was passing faire, as *Darius* also was a goodly Prince, and that his Daughters likewise did resemble their Father and Mother. *Alexander* thinking it more Princely for a King, as I suppose, to conquer himselfe, then to overcome his Enemies, did neither touch them, nor any other Maide of Wife, before he married them, *Darius* onely excepted; who being left *Memnon*'s Widow (Generall of King *Darius* by Sea) was taken by the City of DAMAS. She being excellently well-learned in the Greeke Tongue, and of good entertainment (being the Daughter of *Artabazus*, who came of a Kings Daughter) *Alexander* was bold with her by *Parmenio*'s procurement (as *Aristobolus* writeth) who invited him to embrace the company of so excellent a Woman, and passing faire besides. Furthermore, beholding the other PERSIAN Ladies beside which were Prisoners, what goodly faire Women they were, he spake it pleasantly, that the Ladies of PERSIA made mens eyes sore to behold them. Notwithstanding, preferring the beauty of his continency before their

Darius contented with *Amyntus* profitable counsell.

Battell betwixt *Darius* and *Alexander* in *Cilicia*.

Alexander's victory of *Darius* in *Cilicia*.

Darius Mother, Wife, and two Daughters, taken by *Alexander*.

The clemency of *Alexander* unto the captive Ladies.

The chastity of *Alexander*.

Alexander's pleasant speech of womens beauty.

their sweet faire faces, he passed by without any sparke of affection towards them, more then if they had been Images of stone without life. To confirme this, *Philoxenus* whom he had left his Lieutenant in the Low-countries upon the Sea-coast, wrote unto him on a time, that one *Theodorus* a Merchant of *TARENTUM*, had to sell two goodly young boyes, marvellous faire, and therefore that he sent unto him to know his pleasure, if he would buy them. Therewith he was so offended, that many times he cried out aloud: O my friends, what villany hath ever *Philoxenus* scene in me, that he should devise (having nothing to do there) to purchase me such infamy? whereupon he wrote unto him from the Campe, with reproachfull words, that he should send that vile *TARENTINE* Merchant *Theodorus* and his Merchandize to the Devill. He sharply punished also one *Agus*, that wrote unto him he would buy a young boy called *Crobylus* (who for beauty bare the onely name in *CORINTH*) and bring him to him. Another time also, when he heard that *Damon* and *Timosthen* *MACEDONIANS*, under *Parmenio's* charge, had deflowered two of the Souldiers wives that were strangers, and waged of him, he wrote unto *Parmenio* to looke unto it, and to examine the matter: and if he found them guilty of the rape, that then he should put them both to death, as brute beasts borne to destroy mankind. And in that Letter he wrote thus of himselfe: For my selfe, said he, I have neither scene, nor desire to see *Darius* wife: neither have I suffered any speech of her beauty before me. Moreover he said, that he did understand that he was mortall by these two things: to wit, sleepe, and lust: for, from the weaknesse of our nature proceedeth sleepe, and sensuality. He was also no greedy-gut, but temperate in eating, as he shewed by many proofs: but chiefly in that he said unto the *Princesse Ada*, whom he adopted for his Mother, and made her Queen of *CARIA*. For when (for the love she bare him) she daily sent him sundry delicate dishes of Meats, Tarts, and Marchpaines, and besides the meate it selfe, the Pastlers and Cookes to make them, which were excellent workmen: he answered that he could not tell what to do with them, for he had better Cooks then those, appointed him by his Governour *Leosidas*, to wit: for his dinner, to rise before day, and to march by night: and for his supper, to eatte little at dinner. And my Governour, said he, would oftentimes open the chests where lay bedding and apparell lay, to see if my mother had put any fine knacks or conceits among them. Furthermore, he was lesse given to Wine, then men would have judged. For he was thought to be a greater lubber then he was, because he sate long at the boord, rather to talke then drinke. For ever when he drank he would propound some tedious matter, and yet but when he was at leisure. For having matters to do, there was neither Feast, Banquet, Play, Marriage, nor any pastime that could stay him: as they had done other Captaines. The which appeareth plainly by the shortnesse of his life, and by the wonderfull and notable deeds he did in that little time he lived. When he had leisure, after he was up in the morning, first of all he would do Sacrifice to the gods, and then would go to dinner, pulling away all the rest of the day, in hunting, writing something, taking up some small matters, or else in studying. If he went any Journey of no halty business, he would exercise himselfe by the way as he went, shooting in his Bowe, or learning to get up or out of his Chair without any assistance. Oftentimes also for his pastime, he would hunt the Foxe, or catch Beasts, as appeareth in his Booke of Remembrances of every day. Then when he came to his Lodging, he would enter into his Bath, and rub and anoint himselfe: and would aske his Pantelers and Carvers, if his Supper were ready. He would ever suppe late, and was very curious to see, that every man at his boord were like served, and would sit long at the Table, because he ever loved to talke, as we have told you before. Otherwise he was as noble a Prince and gracious to waite upon, and as pleasant, as any King that ever was. For he lacked no grace nor comelinesse to adorne a Prince, from that he would be something over-busie in glorying of his owne deeds, much like unto a bragging Souldier: neither was he contented himselfe to please his owne humour that way, but would also make his familiars to scold him even to his teeth. And this was many times the destruction of honest men about him, the which would never praise him in his presence, hating the flatterers, nor yet durst say lesse of the praises which they gave him. For of the first they were affamed, and by the second they fell in danger. After Supper, he would wash himselfe againe, and sleepe untill noone the next day following, and oftentimes all day long. For himselfe, he was nothing curious of dainty Dishes: for when any did send him rare Fruits, or Fish, from the Countreys neare the Sea side, he would send them abroad unto his friends, and seldom keepe any thing for himselfe. His Table notwithstanding was alwaies very honourably served, and did still increase his fare, as he did enlarge his Conquests, till it came to the summe of ten thousand Drachmas a day. But there he stayed, and would not exceed that summe: and moreover commanded all men that would feast him, that they should not spend above that summe. After this Battell of *Issus*, he sent unto the City of *DAMAS*, to take all the Gold and Silver, the Carriage, and all the women and children of the *PERSIANS* which were left there, where the men of Armes of the *THESSALIANS* sped them full well: for therefore did he send them thither, because he saw that they had fought valiantly at the day of the Battell: and so were the rest of his Army also well stored with Money. There the *MACEDONIANS* having tasted first of the Gold, Silver, Women, and barbarous life: as Dogs by scent do follow the track of Beasts, even so were they greedy to follow after the Goods of the *PERSIANS*. First *Alexander* thought it best to winne all the Sea-coast. Thither came the Kings of *CYPRUS* and *PHOENICIA*, and delivered up to him the whole Island, and all *PHOENICIA*, saving onely the City of *TYRE*. That City he besieged seven Moneths together by Land, with great Bulwarks and divers Engines of Battary, and by Sea, with two hundred Gallies. During this Siege, *Alexander* dreamed one night, that *Hercules* held out his hand unto him over the Walls of the City, and called him by his name: and there were divers *TYRIANS*

Alexander tem-
perate in eating

How *Leosidas*
brought up *Alexander*.

Alexanders life
when he was at
leisure.

Alexander a
pleasant Prince
as any could be

Alexander be-
sieged the City
of *TYRE*.

RIANS also that dreamed in like sort, that *Apollo* told them that he would go unto *Alexander*, because he was not pleased with their doings in the City. Thereupon they bound his Image (which was of a wonderfull bignesse) with great chaines, and nailed him downe fast to the bafe, as if he had been a Traytor that would have yielded himselfe unto their Enemies, and called him *Alexandrine*, as much as favouring *Alexander*. *Alexander* had there also another Dreame: for he dreamed he saw a Satyr as far off sporting with him, and when he thought to have come neare to have taken him, he still escaped from him: untill at the length, after he had run a good while after him, and intreated him, he fell into his hands. The Soothsayers being asked what this Dreame should signifie, answered probably, by dividing Satyrs into two, and then it is *ad viciu*, which signifieth, the City of *TYRE* shall be thine. And they do yet shew unto this day, the Fountaine where *Alexander* thought he saw the Satyr. Continuing this Siege, he went to make Warre with the *ARABIANS*, that dwell upon the Mountaine *Antiliban*, where he was in great danger of being cast away, onely because he heard his Tutor *Lyfimachus* that followed him, lay boastingly, that he was not inferiour, nor older then the *Phoenix*. For when they came at the foote of the Mountaine, they left their Horses, and went up on foote: and *Alexander* was of so courteous a nature, that he would not leave his Tutor *Lyfimachus* behinde him (who was so weary that he could go no farther) but because it was darke night, and for that the Enemies were not far from them, he came behinde to encourage his Tutor, and in manner to carry him. By this meanes unawares, he was far from his Army with very few men about him, and benighted besides: moreover, it was very cold, and the way was very ill. At the length, perceiving divers fires which the Enemies had made, some in one place, and some in another, trusting to his valiantnesse, having alwaies provided remedy in extremity, when the *MACEDONIANS* were distressed, himselfe ever putting to his owne hand, he ran unto them that had made the fires next him, and killing two of the barbarous People that lay by the fire side, he snatched away a fire-brand, and ran with it to his owne men, who made a great fire. At this the barbarous People were so afraid, that they ran their way as fast as they could. Other also thinking to come and set upon him, he slew them every man, and so lay there that night, himselfe and his men without danger. Thus *Chares* reporteth this matter. Now for the Siege of *TYRE*, that fell out thus. *Alexander* caused the most part of his Army to take rest, being over-harried and wearied with so many Battels as they had fought: and sent a few of his men onely to give assault unto the City, to keepe the *TYRIANS* occupied, that they should take no rest. One day the Soothsayer *Aristander* sacrificing unto the gods, having considered of the signes of the intrails of the Beasts, did assure them that were present, that the City should be taken by the latter end of the Moneth. Every body laughed to heare him: for that day was the very last day of the Moneth. *Alexander* seeing him amazed, as one that could not tell what to say to it, seeking ever to bring those tokens to effect, which the Soothsayers did prognosticate, commanded them that they should not reckon that day the thirtieth day, but the seven and twentieth: and immediately upon it made the Trumpet sound the Alarum, and gave a hotter assault to the wall, then he had thought to have done before. They fought valiantly on both sides, inasmuch, as they that were left in the Campe, could not keepe in, but must needs run to the aid to helpe their companions. The *TYRIANS* seeing the assault so fore on every side, their hearts began to faile them, and by this meanes was the City taken the self-same day. Another time also, when *Alexander* was before *GAZA*, the chiefe City of *SYRIA*, there fell a clod of Earth upon his shoulder, out of the which there flew a Bird into the aire. The Bird lighting upon one of the Engines of his Battary, was caught with the Nets made of sinews which covered over the ropes of the Engines, *Aristander* did prognosticate, that it signified he should be hurt in his shoulder, notwithstanding, that he should yet take the Towne. And indeede it came so to passe. When he sent great Presents of Spoyles which he wanne at the sacke of this City, unto his Mother *Olympias*, *Cleopatra*, and divers others of his friends: among other things he sent unto *Leosidas* his Governour, five hundred Talents weight of Frankincense, and a hundred Talents weight of Myrrhe: remembering the hope he put him into when he was a Childe. For, as *Alexander* was upon a day sacrificing unto the gods, he tooke both his hands full of Frankincense to cast into the fire, to make a perfume thereof. When his Governour *Leosidas* saw him, he said thus unto him: When thou hast conquered the Countrey where these sweete things grow, then be liberall of thy Perfume: but now, spare that little thou hast at this present. *Alexander* calling to minde at that time his admonition, wrote unto him in this sort: We do send thee plenty of Frankincense and Myrrhe, because thou shouldst no more be a niggard unto the gods. There was brought unto him a little Coffe also, which was thought to be the preciouslest thing, and the richest that was gotten of all the Spoyles and Riches, taken at the overthrow of *Darius*. When he saw it, he asked his familiars that were about him, what they thought fittest, and the best thing to be put into it. Some said one thing, some said another thing: but he said, he would put the *Iliads* of *Homer* into it, as the worthiest thing. This is confirmed by the best Historiographers. Now if that which the *ALEXANDRIANS* report upon *Heraclides* words, be true, then it appeareth that he did profit himselfe much by *Homer* in this Journey. For it is reported, that when he had conquered *EGYPT*, he determined to build a great City, and to replenish it with a number of *GRECIANS*, and to call it after his name. But as he was about to inclose a certaine ground, which he had chosen by the advice of his Engineers and Worke-masters, the night before he had a marvellous Dreame, that he saw an old man standing before him, full of white haire, with an honourable presence, and coming towards him, said these Verses:

Alexanders
Dreame at the
City of *TYRE*.

Alexanders se-
cond Dreame
againe at *TYRE*.

Alexanders
Journeys against
the Arabians.
Antiliban Mount.

The courage
and agility of
Alexander.

The City of
TYRE besieged
and taken by
Alexander.

Alexander took
the City of
GAZA.

The building
of the City of
Alexandria.
Alexander's
Dreame in
Egypt.

Within

Within the foming Sea there lies a certaine Island, right
Against the shore of Egypt, which of ancient Pharo's height.

The Isle of
I have.

As soone as he arose the next morning, he went to see this Isle of PHAROS, the which at that time was a little above the mouth of the River of Nilus, called Canobia, howbeit it is now joynd unto firme Land, being forced by mans hand. This he thought the meetest place that could be, to build the City which he had determined. For it is as a tongue or a great bar of earth, broad enough, that separateth a great Lake on the one side, and the Sea on the other, the which doth joyne hard to a great Haven. Then he said that Homer was wonderfull in all his things, but that amongst others, he was an excellent Architector: and commanded that straight they should cast the Platforme of the City, according to the situation of the place. Now they found at that time, no chalke, nor white earth there to marke withall, wherefore they were driven to take meale, and with that did marke out upon the earth being blacke the compasse of the Towne that was round and circular, and being divided into two equall parts, either of them resembled the skirts and fashion of the MACEDONIAN cloake. Alexander liked this draught passingly well. But there arose upon the sudden out of the River or Lake, such an infinite multitude of great Fowle of all sorts, that they covered the element as it had beene a cloud, and lightning within this circuit, did eat up all the meale, and left not a crum. Alexander liked not these signes. Notwithstanding, his Soothsayer bade him not be discouraged, for they told him it was a signe that he should build a City there, so plentifull of all things, that he should maintaine all sorts of People. Then he commanded them, unto whom he had given the charge of the building, that they should go forward with their worke, and he himselfe in the meane time, tooke his journey to go visite the Temple of Jupiter Hammon. The journey was long, and there were many troubles by the way, but two dangers above all the rest most speciall: the first, lacke of water, because they had to travell many daies journey through a great Desart: the second was, the danger of the rising of the South winde by the way, to blow the sand abroad, which was of a wonderfull length. And it is reported, that on a time there rose such a tempest in that Desart, that blew up whole hills of sand, which slew fifty thousand men of Cambyfes Army. Every man in Alexanders Traine did know these dangers very well: howbeit it was hard to dissuade Alexander from any thing which he had a desire unto. For, fortune favouring him in all his attempts, made him constant and resolute in his determinations: and his noble courage besides, made him invincible in all things he tooke in hand; inso much as he did not onely compell his Enemies, but he had power also of time and place. In that Voyage, in stead of these former dangers spoken of, he had many helpes, the which are supposed were sent him from the gods, by the Oracles that followed afterwards. For in a certaine sort they have believed the Oracles that were written of him. First of all, the wonderfull water and great showers that fell from the Element, did keepe him from feare of the first danger, and did quench their thirst, and moistned the drynesse of the sand in such sort, that there came a sweete fresh aire from it. Furthermore, when the markes were hidden from the Guides to shew them the way: and that they wandred up and downe they could not tell where: there came Crows unto them that did guide them flying before them: flying fast when they were behind them follow them, and stayed for them when they were behinde. But Calisthenes writeth a greater wonder then this, that in the night time, with the very noise of the Crows, they brought them againe into the right way, which had lost their way. Thus Alexander in the end, having passed through this Wildernesse, he came unto the Temple he sought for: where the Prophet or chiefe Priest saluted him from the god Hammon, as from his Father. Then Alexander asked him, if any of the murderers that had killed his Father, were left alive. The Priest answered him, and bade him take heede he did not blaspheme, for his Father was no mortall man. Then Alexander againe rehearsing that he had spoken, asked him, if the murderers that had conspired the death of Philip his Father were all punished. After that, he asked him touching his Kingdome, if he would grant him to be King over all the World. The god answered him by the mouth of his Prophet, he should: and that the death of Philip was fully revenged. Then did Alexander offer great Presents unto the god, and gave Money large to the Priests, and Ministers of the Temple. This is that the most part of Writers do declare touching Alexanders demand, and the Oracles given him: Yet did Alexander himselfe write unto his Mother, that he had secret Oracles from the god, which he would onely impart unto her, at his returne into MACEDON. Others say also, that the Prophet meaning to flatter him in the Greeke Tongue to welcome him the better, would have said unto him, O Paidion, as much as deare Sonne: but that he tripped a little in his tongue, because the Greeke was not his naturall tongue, and placed an s, for an n, in the latter end, saying, O Paidios, to wit, O Sonne of Jupiter: and that Alexander was glad of that mistaking. Whereupon there ranne a rumour straight among his men, that Jupiter had called him his Sonne. It is said also, that he heard Pfsammon the Philosopher in EGYPT, and that he liked his words very well, when he said that god was King of all mortall men. For (quoth he) he that commandeth all things, must needs be god. But Alexanders selfe spake better, and like a Philosopher, when he saith that god generally was Father to all mortall men, but that particularly he did elect the best sort for himselfe. To conclude, he shewed himselfe more arrogant unto the barbarous People, and made as though he certainly believed that he had beene begotten of some god: but unto the GREECIANS he spake more modestly of divine generation. For in a Letter he wrote unto the ATHENIANS touching the City of SAMOS, he said: I gave ye not that noble free City, but it was given you at that time by him whom they called my Lord and Father: meaning Philip. Afterwards also being stricken with an Arrow, and feeling great paine of it: My friends, said he, this blood which is spilt is mans blood, and not as Homer said,

The saying of
Pfsammon the
Philosopher, of
the providence
of God.

Alexander as-
scribeth god-
head to himselfe

No such as from th'immortall gods flow

And one day also in a marvellous great thunder, when every man was afraid, Anaxarchus the Rhetorician being present, said unto him: O thou Sonne of Jupiter, wilt thou do as much? No, said he, laughing on him, I will not be so fearefull to my friends, as thou wouldst have me: disdaining the service of Fish to my Board, because thou seest not Princes heads served in. And the report goeth also that Alexander upon a time sending a little Fish unto Hephestion, Anaxarchus should say as it were in mockery, that they which above others seeke for fame with great trouble and hazard of life, have either small pleasure in the world, or else as little as others have. By these proofs and reasons alleadged, we may thinke that Alexander had no vaine nor presumptuous opinion of himselfe, to thinke that he was otherwise begotten of a god, but that he did it in policy to keepe other men under obedience, by the opinion conceived of his godhead. Returning out of PHOENICIA into EGYPT, he made many Sacrifices, Feasts, and Processions in honour of the gods, sundry Dances, Tragedies, and such like pastimes goodly to behold: not onely for the sumptuous setting out of them, but also for the good will and diligence of the Setters forth of them, which strived every one to exceed the other. For the Kings of the CYPRIANS were the Setters of them forth, as at ATHENS they drew by Lot a Citizen of every Tribe of the People, to defray the charges of these pastimes. These Kings were very earnest who should do best, but specially Nicocreon, King of SALAMINA, in CYPRUS: and Pasocrates, Lord of the City of SOLES. For it fell out to their Lot to furnish two of the excellentest Players, Pasocrates furnished Athenodorus, and Nicocreon Thessalus: whom Alexander loved singularly well though he made no shew of it, untill that Athenodorus was declared Victour, by the Judges deputed to give sentence. For when he went from the Playes, he told them he did like the Judges opinion well, notwithstanding, he would have beene contented to have given the one halfe of his Realme, not to have seen Thessalus overcome. Athenodorus being condemned upon a time by the ATHENIANS, because he was not in ATHENS at the Feasts of Bacchus, when the Comedies and Tragedies were played, and a fine set on his head for his absence: he besought Alexander to write unto them in his behalfe, that they would release his Penalty. Alexander would not so do, but sent thither his Money whereof he was condemned, and payed it for him of his own Purse. Also when Lycos SCARPHIAN, an excellent Stage-player had pleased Alexander well, and did soitt in a Verse in his Comedy, containing a Petition of ten Talents: Alexander laughing at it, gave it him. Darius at that time wrote unto Alexander, and unto certaine of his friends also, to pray him to take ten thousand Talents for the ranfome of all those Prisoners he had in his hands, and for all the Countries, Lands and Signiories on this side the River of Euphrates, and one of his Daughters also in marriage, that from thenceforth he might be his Kinsfeman and friend. Alexander imparted this to his Councell. Amongst them Parmenio said unto him: If I were Alexander, quoth he, surely I would accept this offer. So would I indeed, quoth Alexander again, If I were Parmenio. In fine, he wrote again unto Darius, that if he would submit himselfe, he would use him courteously: if not, that then he would presently march towards him. But he repented him afterwards, when King Darius Wife was dead with child: for without dissimulation it grieved him much, that he had lost so noble an occasion to shew his courtesie and clemency. This notwithstanding, he gave her body honourable buriall, sparing for no cost. Amongst the Eunuchs of the Queenes Chamber, there was one Tiresus taken prisoner, among the Women: who stealing out of Alexanders Camp, taking his horse back, rode unto Darius to bring him news of the death of his Wife. Then Darius beating of his head, and weeping bitterly, cried out aloud: O gods, what wretched hap have the PERSIANS! that have not onely had the Wife and Sister of their King taken prisoners even in his life time, but now that theis dead in travell of Child, she hath been deprived of princely buriall. Then spake the Eunuch to him, and said: For her buriall, most gracious King, and for all due honour that might be wished her, PERSIA hath no cause to complaine of her hard fortune. For, neither did Queen Statira your Wife whilest she lived prisoner, nor your Mother, nor Daughters, want any part or jot of their honour they were wont to have before, saving only to see the light of your honour, the which, god Oromasdes grant to restore again (if it be his will) unto your Majesty: neither was there any honour wanting at her death (to set forth her stately Funerals) that might be gotten, but more, was lamented also with the teares of your Enemies. For Alexander is as mercifull in Victory, as he is valiant in Battell. Darius hearing the Eunuchs words, being vexed in mind for very grief: took the Eunuch aside into the secretest place of his Tent, and said unto him: If thou be not, with the misfortune of the PERSIANS, become a MACEDONIAN, but doest in thy heart acknowledge Darius for thy soveraigne Lord and Master: I pray thee, and do also conjure thee, by the reverence thou bearest unto this bright light of the Sunne, and to the right hand of the King, that thou do tell me truly. Are these the least evils which I lament in Statira, her imprisonment and death? And did she not in her life make us more miserable by her dishonour, then if we had dishonourably fallen into the hands of a cruell Enemy? For, what honest communication I pray thee, can a young Victorious Prince have with his Enemies Wife a prisoner: having done her so much honour as he hath done? Darius going on with these speeches, Tiresus the Eunuch fell down on his knees, and besought him not to say so, neither to blemish the Vertue of Alexander in that sort, nor yet so to dishonour his Sister and Wife, deceased, and thereby also to deprive himselfe of the greatest comfort he could wish to have in his calamity, which was to be overcome by an Enemy that had greater Vertues then a man could possibly have: but rather that he should wonder at Alexanders Vertue, who had shewed himselfe chaster to the Ladies, then valiant against the PERSIANS. And therewithall, the

Alexander
made Feasts
and Playes.

Darius sent
Ambassadors
unto Alexander.

Statira, King
Darius Wife,
died in travell
of child.

Tiresus report to
Darius of Sta-
tiras buriall.

Darius talke
with Tiresus the
Eunuch.

The commen-
dation of Alex-
ander's chastity.
Darius prayer
unto the gods.

Darius Army
of ten hundred
thousand fight-
ing men a-
gainst Alexan-
der, at the Riv-
er of Euphra-
tes.

The magna-
nimity of Alex-
ander.

Alexander
third Battell
with Darius.

Eunuch confirmed the great honesty, chastity, and noble minde of *Alexander*, by many great and deepe Oathes. Then *Darius* coming out among his friends againe, holding up his hands unto the heavens, made his prayer unto the gods: "O heavenly gods, Creatours of men, and Protectors of Kings and Realmes: first, I beseech you grant me, that restoring the PERSIANS againe to their former good state, I may leave the Realme unto my Successors, with that glory and fame I received of my Predecessors: that obtaining Victory, I may use *Alexander* with that great Honour and courtesie, which he hath in my misery shewed unto those I loved best in the world. Or otherwise if the time appointed be come, that the Kingdome of PERSIA must needs have end, either through divine revenge, or by naturall change of earthly things: then good gods yet grant, that none but *Alexander* after me, may sit in *Cyrus* Throne. Divers Writers doe agree, that these things came even thus to passe. Now *Alexander* having conquered all ASIA on this side of the River of *Euphrates*, he went to meet with *Darius*, that came downe with ten hundred thousand fighting men. It was told him by some of his friends to make him laugh, that the Slaves of his Army had divided themselves in two parts, and had chosen them a Generall of either part, naming the one *Alexander*, and the other *Darius*: and that at the first, they began to skirmish onely with clods of Earth, and afterwards with fistes, but at the last, they grew so hot, that they came to plaine Stones and Staves, so that they could not be parted. *Alexander* hearing that, would needs have the two Generalls fight hand to hand one with the other: and *Alexander* selfe did arme him that was called *Alexander*, and *Philotas* the other which was called *Darius*. All the Army thereupon was gathered together to see this combat between them, as a thing that did betoken good or ill lucke to come. The fight was sharpe between them, but in the end, he that was called *Alexander* overcame the other: and *Alexander* to reward him, gave him twelve Villages, with privilege to go after the PERSIAN manner. Thus it is written by *Eratosthenes*. The great Battell that *Alexander* fought with *Darius*, was not (as many Writers report) at Arbeles, but at Gaufameles, which signifieth in the PERSIAN Tongue, the House of the Cammell. For some one of the ancient Kings of PERSIA that had escaped from the hands of his Enemies, flying upon a Dromedary, Cammell, lodged him in that place, and therefore appointed the revenues of certaine Villages to keepe the Cammell there. There fell out at that time an Eclipse of the Moone, in the Moneth called *Badromion* (now *August*) about the time that the Feasts of the Mysteries was celebrated at ATHENS. The eleventh night after that, both the Armies being in fight each of other, *Darius* kept his men in Battell-ray, and went himselfe by Torch-light viewing his Bands and Companies. *Alexander* on the other side whilst his MACEDONIAN Souldiers slept, was before his Tent with *Aristander* the Soothsayer, and made certaine secret Ceremonies and Sacrifices unto *Apollo*. The ancient Captaines of the MACEDONIANS, specially *Parmenio*, seeing all the Valley betwixt the River of *Niphates*, and the Mountaines of the GORDIANS, all on a bright light with the fires of the barbarous People, and hearing a dreadfull noise as of a confused multitude of People that filled their Campe with the sound thereof: they were amazed, and consulted, that in one day it was in manner impossible to fight a Battell with such an incredible multitude of People. Thereupon they went unto *Alexander* after he had ended his Ceremonies, and did counsell him to give Battell by night, because the darknesse thereof should helpe to keepe all feare from his men, which the sight of their Enemies would bring them into. But then he gave them this notable answer: I will not steale Victory, quoth he. This answer seemed very fond and arrogant to some, that he was so pleasant, being neare so great danger. Howbeit others thinke that it was a present noble courage, and a deepe consideration of him, to thinke what should happen: thereby to give *Darius* no manner of occasion (if he were overcome) to take heart againe, and to prove another Battell, accusing the darknesse of the night as cause of his Overthrow: as he had done at the first Conflict, imputing his overthrow to the Mountaines, the Straights, and the Sea. For, said he, *Darius* will never leave to make Warres with us for lacke of men, nor Munition, having so large a Realm as he hath, and such a world of People besides: but then he will no more hazard Battell, when his heart is done, and all hope taken from him, and that he seeth his Army at noon daies overthrowne by plaine Battell. After his Captaines were gone from him, he went into his Tent, and laied him down to sleepe, and slept all that night more soundly then he was wont to doe before: inasmuch as the Lords and Princes of his Campe coming to waite upon him at his uprising, marvelled when they found him so fast asleepe, and therefore of themselves they commanded the Souldiers to eate. Afterwards, perceiving that time came fast upon them, *Parmenio* went into *Alexander's* Chamber, and coming to his beds-side called him twice or thrice by Name, till at the last he awaked him, and asked him how it chanced that he slept so long, like one that had already overcome, and that did not thinke he should fight as great and dangerous a Battell as ever he did in his life. Why, said *Alexander*, laughing on him: dost thou not thinke we have already overcome, being troubled no more with running after *Darius* up and down a Countrey utterly destroyed, as we should otherwise have been compelled to have done, if he would not have come to Battell, and destroyed the Countrey before us? Now *Alexander* did not onely shew himselfe before the Battell, but even at the very instant of the Battell, a noble man of courage, and of great judgement. For *Parmenio* leading the left Wing of his Battell, the men of Armes of the BACTRIANS gave such a fierce onset upon the MACEDONIANS, that they made them give backe: and *Maceus* also, King *Darius* Lieutenant, sent certaine Troops of Horsemen out of their Battell, to give charge upon them that were left in the Camp to guard the Carriage. *Parmenio* being amazed with either

either of both attempts, sent immediately to advertise *Alexander*, that all their Campe and Carriage would be lost, if he did not send presently to aide the rereward. When these Newes came to *Alexander* from *Parmenio*, he had already given the Signall of Battell unto his men for to give Charge. Whereupon he answered the Messenger that brought him these Newes, that he should tell *Parmenio* he was a mad man and out of his wits, not remembering that if they wan the Battell, they should not onely save their owne Carriage, but also win the Carriage of their Enemies: and if it were their chance to lose it, then that they should not need to care for their Carriage, nor for their Slaves, but onely to thinke to die honourably, valiantly fighting for his life. Having sent this Message unto *Parmenio*, he put on his Helmet. The rest of his Armour for his Body, he had put it on before in his Tent, which was, a CIRCULIAN Cassocke, and upon that a Brigandine made of many folds of Canvas with Oylet-holes, which was gotten among the spoiles at the Battell of ISSUS. His Head-piece was as bright as Silver, made by *Theophilus* the Armourer: his Coller suite-like to the fame, all set full of precious-Stones, and he had a Sword by his side marvellous light, and of excellent temper, which the King of the CITTILIANS had given him, using commonly to fight with his Sword at any set Battell. His Coate-armour was marvellous rich, and of sumptuous workmanship far above all the rest he wore. It was of the workmanship of *Helicon*, the which the RHODIANS gave him for a Present, and this he commonly wore when he went to Battell. Now when he did set his men in Battell-ray, or made any Oration unto them, or did ride alongst the Bands to take view of them: he alwaies used to ride upon another Horse to spare *Pucephal*, because he was then somewhat old: notwithstanding, when he meant indeed to fight, then *Bucephal* was brought unto him, and as soone as he was gotten up on his back, the Trumpet sounded, and he gave Charge. Then after he had made long Exhortations to encourage the men of Armes of the THESSALIANS and the other GRECIANS also, and when they had all promised him they would stick to him like men, and prayed him to leade them, and gave charge upon the Enemies: he tooke his Launce in his left hand, and holding up his right hand unto Heaven, besought the gods (as *Calisthenes* writeth) that if it were true he was begotten of *Jupiter*, that it would please them that day to helpe him, and to encourage the GRECIANS. The Soothsayer *Aristander* was then on horse-back hard by *Alexander*, apparelled all in white, and a Crowne of Glod on his Head, who shewed *Alexander* when he made his prayre, an Eagle flying over his head, and pointing directly towards his Enemies. This marvellously encouraged all the Army that saw it, and with this joy, the men of Armes of *Alexander's* side, encouraging one another, did set spurres to their Horse to charge upon the Enemies. The Battell of the Footmen of the PERSIANS, began a little to give way, and before the foremost could fight with *Darius*, come to give them charge, the barbarous People turned their backes, and fled. The chase was great: *Alexander* driving them that fled upon the midst of their owne Battell, where *Darius* selfe was in person, he spied him a farr off over the foremost Ranks in the midst of his Battell, being a goodly tall Prince, standing in a Chariot of Warre, compassed in round with great Troops of Horsemen, all set in goodly ordinance to receive the Enemy. But when they saw *Alexander* at hand with so grimme a looke, chafing them that fled, through those that yet kept their Ranks: there fell such a feare among them, that the most part dispersed themselves. Notwithstanding, the best and most valiant men sought it out to the death before their King, and falling dead one upon another, they did lett them that the Enemies could not so well follow *Darius*. For they lying one by another on the ground, drawing on to the last gaspe, did yet take both men and Horses by the leggs to hinder them. *Darius* then seeing nothing but terrour and destruction before his eyes, and that the Bands which he had set before him for safeguard, came back upon him, so as he could not devise how to turne his Chariot forward nor bakeward, the Wheelles were so hindred and stayed with the heapes of dead Bodies, and that the Horse also being set upon and hid in manner in this Conflict, fell to leaping and plunging for feare, so that the Chariottiers could no longer guide nor drive them: he got up upon a Mare that lately had a Foale, and so saved himselfe flying upon her. And yet had he not thus escaped, had not *Parmenio* once againe sent unto *Alexander* to praye *Darius* to come and aide him: because there was yet a great Squadron whole together that made no countenance to flie. Somewhat there was in it, that they accused *Parmenio* that day to have dealt but slackly and cowardly, either because his age had taken his courage from him; or else for that he envied *Alexander's* greatnesse and prosperity, who against his will became over great, as *Calisthenes* said. In fine, *Alexander* was angry with the second Message, and yet told not his men truly the cause why, but faining that he would have them leave killing, and because alfo night came on: he caused the Trumpet sound retraite, and so went towards his Army, whom he thought to be in distresse. Notwithstanding, Newes came to him by the way, that in that place alfo, they had given the Enemies the Overthrow, and that they fled every way for life. The Battell having this successe, every man thought that the Kingdome of the PERSIANS was utterly overthrowne, and that *Alexander* likewise was become onely King of all ASIA: whereupon he made sumptuous Sacrifices unto the gods, and gave great riches, Houses, Lands, and Possessions unto his Friends and Familiars. Furthermore, to shew his liberality also unto the GRECIANS, he wrote unto them, that he would have all Tyrannies suppressed throughout all GRECE, and that all the GRECIANS should live at liberty under their own Lawes. Particularly alfo he wrote unto the PLATAIANS, that he would reedifie their City againe, because their men Predecessors in time past, had given their Countrey unto the GRECIANS, to fight against the barbarous People for the defence of the common Liberty of all GRECE. He sent also into FRATY

The Armour
of Alexander.

An Eagle flew
over Alexan-
der's head when
he went to
Battell.

The flying of
Darius.

Alexander's
third Victory.

liberty to all

unto the GROTONIANS, part of the spoile, to honour the memory of the valiantnesse, and good will of *Phaylus* their Citizen, who in the time of the Warres with the MEDERS (when all the GRECIANS that dwelt in ITALY had forsaken their naturall Countrey men of GREECE it self, because they thought they could not otherwise scape) went with a Ship of his unto SALAMINA, which he armed and set forth at his own charges, because he would be at the Battell, and partake also of the common danger with the GRECIANS: such honour did *Alexander* beare unto Prowesse, that he loved to reward and remember the worthy deeds of men. Then *Alexander* marching with his Army into the Countrey of BABYLON, they all yielded straight unto him. When he came into the Countrey of the ECRATANIANS, he marvelled when he saw an opening of the Earth, out of the which there came continuall sparkes of fire as out of a Well: and that hard by also the Earth spued out continually a kinde of * Maund or Chalkie Clay somewhat liquid, of such abundance, as it seemed like a Lake. This Maund or Chalke is like unto a kinde of Lime or Clay, but it is so easie to be set a fire, that not touching it with any flame, by the brightnesse onely of the light that cometh out of the fire, it is set a fire, and doth also set the Ayre a fire which is between both. The barbarous People of that Countrey, being desirous to shew *Alexander* the nature of that Naptha, scattered the Street that led to his lodging, with some of it. Then the day being shut in, they fired it at one of the ends, and the first drops taking fire, in the twinkling of an eye, all the rest from one end of the Street to the other was of a flame, and though it was darke and within night, lightned all the place thereabout. *Alexander* being in Bathe at that time, and waited upon by a Page called *Steven*: (a hard favoured Boy, but yet that had an excellent sweet Voice to Sing) one *Athenophanes* an ATHENIAN, that alwaies nointed and bathed the King, and much delighted him with his pleasant conceits, asked him if he would see the trial of this Naptha upon *Steven*: for if the fire took and went not out, then he would say it had a wonderfull force, and was unquenchable. The Page was contented to have it proved upon him. But so soon as they had laiid on him, and did but touch it onely, it took straight of such a flame, and so fired his body, that *Alexander* himselfe was in a marvellous perplexity withall. And sure had it not been by good hap, that there were many by, ready with Vessels full of Water to put into the Bath, it had been unpossible to have saved the Boy from being burnt to nothing: and yet so he scaped narrowly, and besides was sicke long after. Now some apply this Naptha unto the fable of *Medea*, saying, that therewith she rubbed the Crown and Lawne she gave unto the Daughter of *Creon* at her marriage, so much spoken of in the Tragedies. For neither the Crowne nor the Lawne could cast fire of themselves, neither did the fire light by chance. But by oyling them with this Naptha she wrought a certaine aptnesse to receive more forcibly the Operation of the fire, which was in place where the Bride sate. For the beames which the fire casteth out, have over some bodies no other force, but to heat and lighten them. But such as have an oily drie humour, and thereby a simpathy and proportionable conformity with the nature of the fire: it easly enflameth and setteth a fire, by the forcible impresson of his beames. Howbeit they make a great question of the cause of this naturall force of Naptha, * or whether this liquid substance and moist humour that taketh fire so easly, doth come of the Earth that is fatty and apt to conceive fire. For the Countrey about BABYLON is very hot, inso much as oftentimes Barley being put into the Ground, it bloweth it up again, as if the Earth by vehement inflammation had a strong blast to cast it out: and men in the extreamest heat of the Summer, do sleepe there, upon great Leather budgets filled full of fresh Water. *Harpalus*, whom *Alexander* left there his Lieutenant and Governour of that Countrey, desiring to set forth and beautifie the Gardens of the Kings Pallace and Walkes of the same, with all manner of Plants of GREECE: he brought all the rest to good passe, saving Ivie onely, which the earth could never abide, but it ever died, because the heat and temper of the Earth killed it, and the Ivy of it selfe liketh fresh ayre and a cold Ground. This digression is somewhat from the matter, but peradventure the Reader will not think it troublesome, how hard soever he finde it, so it be not over tedious. *Alexander* having won the City of SUSAN, he found within the Castle foure thousand Talents in ready coine, Gold and Silver, besides other infinite Treasure and inestimable, amongst the which (it is said) he found to the value of five thousand Talents of * Purple HARMIONA Silke, which they had safe locked up and kept the space of two hundred yeares fawten, and yet the colour kept as fresh as if it had been newly made. Some say that the cause why it was so well kept, came by meanes of the dying of it with Honey, in Silkes, which before had been died red, and with white Oyle in white Silkes. For, there are Silkes seen of that colour of as long a time, that keepe colour as well as the other. *Dion* writeth furthermore, that the Kings of PERSIA made water to be brought from the Rivers of *Nylus* and *Iffer* (otherwise called *Danubius*) which they did lock up with their other Treasure for a confirmation of the greatness of their Empire, and to shew that they were Lords of the World. The waies to enter into PERSIA being very hard of passage, and in manner unpassable, (both for the inesse of the waies, as also for the guard that kept them, which were the choicest men of PERSIA) *Darius* also being fled thither: there was one that spake the Greek and PERSIAN Tongue (whose father was born in the Countrey of EGYPT, and his Mother a PERSIAN) that guided *Alexander* into PERSIA, by some compassie set out about not very long, according to the Oracles answer of *Alexander* given by the mouth of the Nun *Pythia*, when he was a Child: that a LYCIAN should guide and lead him against the PERSIANS. There was then great slaughter made in PERSIA of the Prisoners, that were taken. For *Alexander* himselfe writeth, that he commanded the men should be put to the sword, thinking that the best way to serve his turne. It is said also, that there he found a marvellous Treasure of Gold and Silver in ready Money, as he had done before in the City of SUSAN, the

* The strength and power of Naptha, in the Countrey of Ecratania.

What Medea's enchantment was.

* In this place there lack certaine Lines in the Greek Original.

No Ivy in the Countrey of Babylon.

Treasure found by *Alexander* at the City of Susa. * It seemeth that he meaneth of Silke dyed in Purple, whereof the best that was in Europe was made in the City of Hermus, in Lacedaemon.

Alexander journey into Persia. *Alexander* found a marvellous Treasure in Persia.

which he carried away with all the rest of the Kings rich Ward-robe, and with it loaded ten thousand Moyles, and five thousand Camels. *Alexander* entering into the Castle of the chiefe City of PERSIA, saw by chance a great Image of *Xerxes* lie on the ground, the which unawares was throwne downe by the multitude of the Souldiers that came in thronging one upon another. Thereupon he stayed, and spake unto it as if it had been alive, saying: I cannot tell whether I should passe by thee, and let thee lie, for the Warre thou madest sometime against the GRECIANS: or whether I should lift thee up, respecting the noble minde and Vertues thou haddest. In the end, when he had stood mute a long time, considering of it, he went his way: and meaning to refresh his weary Army, because it was the winter quarter, he remained there foure Moneths together. The report goeth that the first time that *Alexander* late under the Cloath of State of King *Darius*, all of rich Gold: *Demaratus* CORINTHIAN (who first began to love him, even in his Father *Philips* time) burst out in teares for joy (good old man) saying, that the GRECIANS long time dead before, were deprived of this blessed hap, to see *Alexander* sit in King *Xerxes* princely Chair. After that, preparing againe to go against *Darius*, he would needs make merry one day, and refresh himself with some banquet. It chanced so, that he with his Companions was bidden to a private Feast privately, where was assembled some fine Curtizans of his Familiars, who with their Friends tarried at the Banquet. Amongst them was that famous *Thais*, borne in the Countrey of ATTICA, and then Concubine to *Ptolomy*, King of EGYPT after *Alexanders* death. She finely praised *Alexander*, and partly in sporting wise, began to utter matter in affection of her Countrey, but yet of greater importance then became her mouth: saying, that that day she found her selfe fully recompensed to her great good liking, for all the paines she had taken, travelling through all the Countries of ASIA, following of his Army, now that she had this favour and good hap to be merry and pleasant, in the proud and Stately Pallace of the great Kings of PERSIA. But yet it would do her more good for a recreation to burn *Xerxes* Houle with the fire of joy, who had burnt the City of ATHENS: and her selfe to give the fire to it, before so noble a Prince as *Alexander*. Because ever after it might be said, that the Woman following his Camp had taken more noble revenge of the PERSIANS, for the wrongs and injuries they had done unto GREECE: then all the Capitaines of GREECE that ever were had done, either by Land or Sea. When she had said, *Alexanders* familiars about him, clapped their hands and made great noise for joy, saying: that it were as good a deed as could be possible, and perfwaded *Alexander* unto it. *Alexander* yielding to their perswasions, rose up, and putting a Garland of Flowers upon his head, went foremost himselfe: and all his Familiars followed after him, crying and dancing all about the Castle. The other MACEDONIANS hearing of it also, came thither immediately with Torches light and great joy, hoping that this was a good signe that *Alexander* meant to returne againe into MACEDON, and not to dwell in the Countrey of the barbarous People, sith he did burne and destroy the Kings Castle. Thus, and in this sort it was thought to be burnt. Some Writers thinke otherwise: that it was not burnt with such sport, but by determination of the Councell. But howsoever it was, all they grant, that *Alexander* did presently repent him, and commanded the fire to be quenched straight. For his liberality, that good will and readinesse to give, increased with his Conquests: and when he did bestow Gifts of any, he would besides his Gift, ever give them good countenance, on whom he bestowed his grace and favour. And here I will recite a few examples thereof. *Aristo* being Colonell of the PÆONIANS, having slain one of his Enemies, he brought him his Head, and said: such a Present, O King, by us, is ever rewarded with a Cup of Gold. Yea, quoth *Alexander*, smiling upon him with an empty Cup. But I drinke to thee this Cup full of good Wine, and do give thee Cup and all. Another time, he met with a poor MACEDONIAN that led a Moyle laden with Gold of the Kings: and when the poor Moyle was so weary that she could no longer carry her burden, the Moylester put it upon his own back, and loaded himself withall carrying it so a good pritty way: howbeit in the end being over-loaden, was about to throw it down on the ground. *Alexander* perceiving it, asked him what burden he carried. When it was told him: well, quoth he to the Moylester, be not wearie yet but carry it into the Tent, for I give it thee. To be short, he was angrier with them that would take nothing of him, then he was with those that would aske him somewhat. He wrote also unto *Phocius*, that he would take him no more for his Friend, if he would refuse his Gifts. It seemed that he had given nothing unto a young Boy called *Serapion* (who ever did serve them the Ball that plaid at Tennis) because he asked him nothing. Wherefore the King playing on a time, this young Boy, threw the Ball to others that played with him, and not to himselfe. The King marvelling at it, at the length said unto: Why, my Boy, dost thou not give me the Ball? Because your Majesty doth not aske it me, quoth he. *Alexander* then understanding his meaning, laughed at the Boy, and did much for him afterwards. There was attending on him also one *Proteus*, a pleasant conceited man, and that could jest finely. It chanced upon some occasion that *Alexander* fell out with him: whereupon some of his friends were intercessors unto the King for him, and besought him to pardon him: and *Proteus* himselfe also being present, craved pardon with teares in his eyes. *Alexander* thereupon forgave him. Then presently replied *Proteus*, I desire it may please your Grace, that I may receive some Testimony to assure me I am in your favour. Thereupon the King straight commanded one to give him five Talents. The goods and riches he gave unto his Familiars and Guard about him, were very great, as it appeared plainly by a Letter which his Mother *Olympias* wrote unto him, to this effect: I know thou sparest not to give thy Friends large Gifts, and that thou makest much of them: but thereby thou makest them Kings fellowes, they get many Friends, and leave thee post alone without any. His Mother did many times write such like matters unto him

The insolent boldness of *Thais* the Harlot.

Persepolis set a fire by *Alexander*.

Alexanders
prodigality re-
proved by his
Mother Olym-
pias.

the which Alexander kept very secret, saving one day when he opened one of them, *Hephestion* being present drew near, and read the Letter with him, as he was wont to doe. Alexander did let him alone, but when he had read it, he plucked the Seale of Armes from his finger, wherewith he did use to Seale his Letters, and put it to *Hephestions* mouth. He gave also unto the Son of *Maxus* (that was the chiefeft man about *Darius*) a second Government, besides that which he had before, and greater then the first. This young Noble man refused it, saying: why, and it please your Grace, before there was but one *Darius*, but you now make many *Alexanders*. He gave unto *Parmenio* also, *Bagoas* Houfe, where (as it is reported) he found a thousand Talents worth of the spoiles and goods of the *Susians*. He wrote also unto *Antipater*, that he should keepe a Guard about his person, for he had many Enemies that lay in waite for him. He did send also many goodly Presents unto his Mother, but withall he wrote unto her, that she would meddle no more with his Matters or Gifts, taking upon her the Office of a Captain. She storming at it, he patiently did brooke her anger. *Antipater* another time, writing a long Letter unto him against his Mother *Olympias*: when he had read it over, *Loc*, said he, *Antipater* knoweth not, that one teare of the Mothers eye will wipe out ten thousand such Letters. Furthermore, *Alexander* perceiving on a time, that his friends became very diffolute and licentious in Diet and Life, and that *Agnon* *TEIAN* had his corked Shooes nailed with Silver Nails, that *Leomatus* also caused divers Camels to be laden amongst his carriage with Powder of *EGYPT* to put upon him when he wrestled or used any other exercise of body, and that also they carried after *Philotas*, Toiles for chase and hunting, of a hundred furlong long, and that there were also that used precious Perfumes and sweet Savors when they bathed themselves, more: then there were that rubbed themselves with plaine Oyle, and that they had fine Chamberlaines to rub them in the Bath, and to make their Beds soft and delicate: he wisely and courteously rebuked them and said: I marvel, said he, that you which have fought in so often and great Battels, do not remember that they which travell, do sleep more sweet and soundly, then they that take their ease and do nothing: and that you do not mark, that comparing your Life, with the manner of the Life of the *PERSIANS*, to live at pleasure is a vile thing and to travell is princely. And how I pray you, can a man take paines to dresse his own Horse, or to make cleane his Lance or Helmet, that for slothfull curiosities sake, disdaineth to rub his own Body with his fingers? Are you ignorant that the tipe of Honour in all our Victory consisteth, in scorning to do that which we see them do, whom we have vanquished and overcome? To bring them therefore by his example, to acquaint themselves with hardnesse: he tooke more paines in Warres and in hunting, and did hazard himselfe more dangerously, then ever he had done before. Whereupon an Ambassadour of *LACEDÆMON* being present to see him fight with a Lion, and to kill him, said unto him: truly your Grace hath fought well with this Lion, and tried which of you two should be King. *Craterus* after that, caused this hunting to be set up in the Temple of *Apollo* in *DELPHOS*: where are the Images of the Lion, of the dogges, and of the King fighting with the Lion, and of himselfe also that came to helpe him, all those Images being of Copper, some made by *Lysippus*, the rest by *Leochares*. Thus *Alexander* did put himselfe unto all jeopardies, as well to exercise his strength and courage, as also to allure his men to do the like. This notwithstanding his friends and familiars having Wealth at will, as men exceeding rich, they would needs live delicately and at ease, and would take no more paines, milking utterly to go up and down the Countries to make Warre here and there, and thereupon began a little to finde fault with *Alexander* and to speake evill of him. Which at the first *Alexander* tooke quietly, saying, that it was Honour for a King to suffer himselfe to be slandered and ill spoken of, for doing of good. And yet the least good turnes he did unto his friends, did shew his hearty love and honour he bare them, as shall appeare unto you by some examples that follow. *Pencestas* being bitten by a Beare, did let his friends understand by Letters, but he wrote nothing thereof unto *Alexander*. *Alexander* was offended therewith, and wrote unto him thus: Send me word at the least yet how thou doest, and whether any of thy fellowes did forsake thee at the hunting, to the end they may be punished. *Hephestion* being absent about certaine businesse he had, *Alexander* wrote unto him, that as they were hunting a Beast called *Ichnewmon*, *Craterus*, unfortunately crossing *Perdiccas* Dart, was stricken through both his thighs. *Pencestas* being cured of a great disease, *Alexander* wrote unto *Alexippus*, his Phisitian that had cured him, and gave him thanks. *Craterus* also being sicke, he dreamed of him one night, and therefore made certaine Sacrifices for the recovery of his health, and sent unto him, willing him to doe the like. And when the Phisitian *Panfanus* meant to give him a drinke of *Eleborus*, he wrote Letters unto him, telling him what danger he was in, and prayed him to be careful how he received that Medicine. He did also put *Ephialtes* and *Cissus* in prison, who brought him the first newes of *Harpalus* flying, because they did wrongfully accuse and slander him. When he had commanded there should be a Bill made of all the Old mens Names, and diseased persons that were in his Campe, to send them home againe into their Countrey: there was owne *Eurylochus* *EGEIAN*, that made his Name be billed amongst the sicke persons, and it was found afterwards that he was not sicke; and confessed that he did it onely to follow a young Woman called *Telephippa*, with home he was in love, who was returning home towards the Sea side. *Alexander* asked him, whether this Woman were free or bond: he answered him, that she was a Curtizan free borne. Then said *Alexander* unto *Eurylochus*, I would be glad to further thy love, yet I cannot force her to tarry: but seeke to winne her by Gifts and faire words to be contented to tarry, sithence she is a free Woman. It is a wonderfull thing to see what paines he would take, to write for his Friends, even in such trifles as he did. As when he wrote

Alexander re-
proveh the
incontinencie and
curiosity of his
Friends.

Alexander an
Enemy unto
incontinencie.

Alexanders care
of his Friends,
and wonderful
courtesie to-
wards them.

wrote into *CILICIA* for a Servant of *Seleucus* that was fled from his Master, sending straight Commandement, that they should carefully lay for him. And by another Letter he commendeth *Pencestas*, for that he had stayed and taken one *Nicon*, a Slave of *Craterus*. And by one other Letter also unto *Megabizus*, touching another bondman that had taken Sanctuary in a Temple, he commanded him also to seeke to entice him out of the Sanctuary to lay hold on him if he could, but otherwise not to meddle with him in any case. It is said also, that at the first when he used to sit in judgement to hear criminall Causes, whilst the accuser went on with his complaint and accusation, he alwaies used to lay his hand upon one of his eares, to keepe that cleane from the matter of accusation, thereby refering it to hear the Purgation and Justification of the Person condemned. But afterwards, the number of accusations that were brought before him, did so provoke and alter him, that he did beleve the false accusations, by the great number of the true that were brought in. But nothing put him more in rage, then when he understood they had spoken ill of him: and then he was so fierce, as no pardon would be granted, for that he loved his Honour more then his Kingdome or Life. Then at that time he went against *Darius*, thinking that he meant to fight againe: but understanding that *Bessus* had taken him, then he gave the *THESSALIANS* leave to depart home into their Countrey, and gave them two thousand Talents over and above their ordinary Pay. *Alexander* had then a marvellous long, hard, and painfull Journey in following of *Darius*: for in eleven daies, he rode three thousand and three hundred furlongs, inso much as the most part of his men were even weary, and done for lacke of Water. It chanced him one day to meet with certaine *MACEDONIANS* that carried (upon Moyles) Goats Skins full of Water, which they had fetched from a River. They seeing *Alexander* in manner dead for thirst, being about noon, ran quickly to him, and in a Head-piece brought him Water. *Alexander* asked them to whom they carried this Water. They answered him againe, that they carried it to their Children, but yet would have your Grace to live: for though we lose them, we may get more Children. When they had said so, *Alexander* tooke the Helmet with Water, and perceiving that the men of Armes that were about him, and had followed him, did thrust out their neckes to looke upon this Water, he gave the Water backe againe unto them that had given it him, and thanked them, but dranke none of it: for said he, if I drinke alone, all these men here will faint. Then they seeing the noble courage and courtesie of *Alexander*, cried out that he should lead them, and therewithall began to spurre their Horses, saying, that they were not weary nor athirst, nor did thinke themselves mortall, so long as they had such a King. Every man was alike willing to follow *Alexander*, yet had he but threecore onely that entred with him into the Enemies Campe. There, passing over much Gold and Silver, which was scattered abroad in the place, and going also by many Chariots full of Women and Children, which they found in the Fields, flying away at all adventure: they ranne upon the spurre untill they had overtaken the foremost that fled, thinking to have found *Darius* amongst them. But at the length with much ado, they found him layed along in a Coach, having many wounds upon his body, some of Darts and some of Spears. So he being almost at the last cast, called for some Drinke, and dranke cold Water, which *Polystratus* gave him. To whom when he had drunk, he said: this is my last mishap my Friend, that having received this pleasure, I cannot requite thee: howbeit *Alexander* will recompence thee, and the gods *Alexander*, for the liberality and courtesie which he hath shewed unto my Wife and Children, whom I pray thee embrace for my sake. At these last words, he tooke *Polystratus* by the hand, and so gave up the ghost. *Alexander* cam immediately after, and plainly shewed that he was sorry for his death and misfortune: and undoing his own Cloake, he cast it upon the Body of *Darius*. After that, having by good hap gotten *Bessus* into his hands, he tore him in pieces with two high straight Trees which he bowed downwards, and tied his legges to each of them: so that when the Trees were let goe, they gave a suddaine cruell jerke up, and carried either Tree a piece of his body with it. Then *Alexander* having given *Darius* Corpse princely buriall, and embled him, he sent it unto his Mother, and received his Brother *Exathres* for one of his Friends. From thence he went into the Countrey of *HYRCANIA* with all the flower of his Army, where he saw the gulf of the Sea *Caspium*, which he thought of no lesse greatnesse, then the Sea of *PONTUS*, howbeit calmer then the other Seas be. He could not then certainly finde out what it was, nor from whence it came: but of likelihood he thought it was some breaking out of the Lake or Marish of *Alestin*. Yet some ancient naturall Philosophers seemed to know truly what it was. For many years before *Alexanders* Voyage and Conquest, they wrote, that of the foure chiefeft gulfs of the Sea, which come from the Ocean, and do enter within maine Land, that which is more Northerly, is the Sea *Caspium*, which they call also *Hyrcanium*. As *Alexander* went through the Countrey, certaine barbarous People suddainly set upon them that led *Bucephalus* his Horse, and tooke him: but with that he was in such a rage, that he sent a Herald into their Countries to proclaime open Warres upon them, and that he would put Man, Woman, and Child to the Sword, if they brought him not his Horse againe. Whereupon, when his Horse was returned home, and that they yielded up their Cities and Forts into his hands, he did use them all very courteously, and moreover did give them Money for the ranfome of his Horse, which they restored. Departing thence, he entred into the Countrey of *PARTHIA*. There having leasure enough, he began to apparell himself after the fashion of the barbarous People, because he thought thereby the better to win the hearts of the Countrey men, framing himselfe unto their own fashions: or else to try the hearts of the *MACEDONIANS*, to see how they would like the manner of the *PERSIANS* (which he meant to bring them unto) in reverencing of him as they did their King, *Perfians*.

Alexander kept
one care for
the condemned
persons.
Alexander
would not par-
don ill words
spoken of him.

Alexanders
painfull Jour-
ney in follow-
ing of Darius.

The love of
Alexander to
his Souldiers,
and abstinence.
Alexander re-
garded not the
spoile of Gold
and Silver, in
respect of pur-
suing his flying
Enemy.

The death of
Darius.

The punish-
ment and exe-
cution of Bes-
sus.

The Sea Hy-
rcanium or Cas-
pium.

Alexander go-
eth after the
manner of the
Persians.
by

by little and little acquainting them to allow the alteration and change of his life. This notwithstanding, he would not at the first take up the Apparell of the Mædes, which was very strange, and altogether barbarous. For he went not without Breeches, nor did weare a long Gowne trailing on the Ground, nor a high copstant Hat, but tooke a meane Apparell, betwixt the Mædes and the PERSIANS, more modest then the one, and more costly then the other, and yet at the first he did not weare it, but when he would talke with the barbarous People, or else priuately amongst his Friends and Familiars. Afterwards notwithstanding, he shewed himselfe openly to the People in that Apparell, when he gave them Audience. This sight grieved the MACEDONIANS much: but they had his Vertues in such admiration, that they thought it meet in some things he should take his owne pleasure, fithence he had been often hurt in the Warres, and not long before had his legges broken with an Arrow; and another time, had such a blow with a stone full in his neck, that it made him purr-blind a great while after, and yet nevertheless he never elchewed any bodily danger: for he passed over the River of *Oreaxartes*, which he tooke to be *Tanaïs*, and having in Battell overthrowne the SCYTHIANS, he followed them in chase about an hundred Furlongs, notwithstanding that at that instant he had a loosnesse of body. Thither came unto him (as it is reported) the Queene of the AMAZONS, as many Writers do testifie among the which are these, *Clitarchus*, *Polycritus*, *Onciscritus*, *Antigeneis*, and *Hister*. But *Chares*, *Ptolomie*, *Arriellides* and *Philon* THEBAN, *Philip* the Historiographer, *Hecateus* ERETIAN, *Philip* CHALCIDIAN, and *Duris* SAMIAN, all these do write, that it was not true: and it seemeth also that *Alexander* selfe doth confirme it. For, writing all things particularly unto *Antipater* as they happened unto him, he wrote unto him that the King of SCYTHIA offered him his Daughter in marriage: but there he maketh no mention at all of any AMAZON. It is also said, that *Onciscritus* long time after that did read unto King *Lysimachus*, the fourth Booke of his History, where he did speake of the AMAZON. *Lysimachus* smiling, said unto him: Why, and where was I then? But for that matter, to credit it, or not to credit it, *Alexander's* estimation thereby is neither impaired nor advanced. Furthermore, *Alexander* fearing that the MACEDONIANS, being weary with this long Warre, would go no further, he left all the rest of his Army behind, and tooke onely twenty thousand Footmen, and three thousand Horsemen of the choicest men of his Army, and with them invaded the Countrey of HYRCANIA. There he made an Oration unto them, and told them, that the barbarous People of ASIA had but seen them as it were in a Dreame; and if they should now returne backe into MACEDON, having but onely stirred them, and not altogether subdued ASIA, the People offended with them, would set upon them as they went home: as if they were no better then Women. Nevertheless, he gave any man leave to returne that would, protesting therewith against them that would go, how they did forsake him, his friends, and those who had so good hearts towards him, as to follow him in so noble a Journey, to conquer the whole earth unto the MACEDONIANS. This selfe matter is reported thus in a Letter which *Alexander* wrote unto *Antipater*: and there he writeth furthermore, that having made this Oration unto them, they all cryed out, and bade him leade them into what part of the World he would. When they had granted their good wils, it was no hard matter afterwards, to winne the rest of the common fort, who followed the example of the chieft. Thereupon he did frame himselfe the more to live after the fashion of the Countrey there, and interchangeably also to bring the men of that Countrey unto the manner of the MACEDONIANS: being perswaded that by this mixture and entchange of manners one with another, he should by friendship more then force, make them agree lovingly together, when that he should be so farr from the Countrey of PERSIA. For this purpose therefore, he chose thirty thousand of their Children of that Countrey, and set them to learn the Greek Tongue, and to be brought up in the Discipline of Wars after the MACEDONIANS manner: and gave them Schoole-masters and Captaines to traine them in each faculty. And for the marrying of *Roxane*, he fancied her, seeing her at a Feast where he was: which fell out as well for his turne, as if he had with better advice and counsell loved her. For the barbarous People were very proud of this match, when as they saw him make alliance with them in this sort, inasmuch as they loved him better then they did before, because they saw in those things he was alwaies so chaste and continent, that notwithstanding he was marvellously in love with her, yet he would not dishonourably touch this young Lady, before he was married unto her. Furthermore, *Alexander* considering that of the two men which he loved best, *Hephestion* liked well of this match, and went appparelled as himselfe did, and that *Craterus* contrarily did still use the MACEDONIAN manner, he dealt in all Affaires with the barbarous People, by *Hephestion*; and with the GRECIANS and MACEDONIANS, by *Craterus*. To be short he loved the one, and honoured the other: saying that *Hephestion*, loved *Alexander*, and *Craterus* loved the King. Hereupon these two persons did beare one another grudge in their hearts, and oftentimes brake out in open quarrell: inasmuch as on a time being in INDIA, they drew their Swords, and fought together, and divers of their friends ran to take part with either side. Thither came *Alexander's* selfe also, who openly before them all, bitterly tooke up *Hephestion*, and called him foole and bedlam, saying, dost thou not know, that whosoever he be that should take *Alexander* from me, he should never live? Privately also, he sharply rebuked *Craterus*, and calling them both before him, he made them friends together, swearing by *Jupiter Hammon*, and by all the other gods, that he loved them two of all men living; nevertheless if ever he found that they fell out together againe, they should both die for it, or he at the least that first began to quarrell. So ever after that, they say, there was never foule word nor deed between them, not so much as in sport onely. There was also one

Philotas

Some faultare
o be borne
with, in a man
of great Ver-
tue.

Craxartes fl.

Alexander with
one word of
his mouth
brought the
Macedonians to
obedience.

Alexander mar-
ried *Roxane*
Persian.

Quarrell be-
twixt *Hephesti-
on* and *Crater-
us*.

Philotas, the Sonne of *Permenio*, a man of great Authority among the MACEDONIANS, who next unto *Alexander* was the most valiant man, the patientst to abide paine, the liberallist, and one that loved his men and friends better then any Noble-man in the Campe whatsoever. Of him it is reported, that a friend of his came to him on a time to borrow Money: and he commanded straight his Master, dost thou tell me so? Haft thou not Plate, and Apparell to sell or gage to helpe him to some? Howbeit otherwise, he had such pride and glory to shew his riches, to Apparell himselfe so sumptuously, and to be more fine and prinked then became a private man, that this made him to be hated: because he tooke upon him to be a great man, and to looke bigge on the matter, which became him so ill favouredly, and therefore every man through his own folly, fell in mistaking and lowly. This *Philotas* had long before been complained upon unto *Alexander* because that when the Carnage of King *Darius* Army (which was in the City of DAMAS) was taken after the Battell of CILICIA, among many Prisoners that were taken and brought unto *Alexander's* Campe, there was one *Antigona*, a passing faire young Curtizan, borne in the City of PIDNA. *Philotas* found meanes to get her, and like a young man that was in love with her, making merry with her at the Table, fondly let fall brave words and boasts of a Souldier, saying, that what notable things were done, they were done by himselfe and his Father: and called *Alexander* at every word, young man, and said, that by their meanes he held his Name and Kingdome. This Curtizan told one of her ly it doth) till at the length it came to *Craterus* ears. He tooke the Curtizan, and brought her unto *Alexander*, unto whom she told as much as she had said before. *Alexander* bad her still make much of *Philotas*, and to tell him every word what he said of him. *Philotas* knowing nothing that he was thus circumvented, did ever frequent her company, and would be bold commonly to speake many foolish and undiscreeit words against the King, sometime in anger, and sometime againe in a barvery. *Alexander* this notwithstanding, though he had manifest prooffe and cause to accuse *Philotas*, yet he diddembled it for that time, and would not be knowne of it: either for that he knew *Permenio* loved him, or else for that he was afraid of their great Power and Authority. About that time there was one *Limnus Chalefrian* a MACEDONIAN, that laid great and secret wait to kill *Alexander*: and being in love with a young man called *Nicomachus*, inticed him to helpe him to do this deed. The young man, wisely denied it, and told the same to his Brother called *Balinus*. He went unto *Philotas*, and prayed him to bring them both before *Alexander*, for they had a matter of great importance to impart unto him. *Philotas* would not let him speake with the King (but why no man could tell) telling them, that the King had greater matters in hand, and was not at leisure. Then they went unto another, and he brought them unto *Alexander*, unto whom they first opened the Treason of *Limnus* conspired against him: and by the way they told also, how they had been twice before with *Philotas*, who would not let them come in, nor speake with him: That angered *Alexander* greatly, and he was the more offended also when *Limnus* was slaine by him, whom he sent to apprehend him, resisting him for that he would not be taken: and thought that by his death, he had lost a great meanes to come to the light of this Treason and conspiracy. Then *Alexander* frowning upon *Philotas*, brought all his Enemies upon his back, that of long time had hated him. For they began to speake boldly, that it was time for the King to looke about him, for it was not to be supposed that this *Limnus Chalefrian* of himselfe durst have entred into that Treason, but rather that he was a Minister, and a chiefe Instrument, set on by a greater Personage then he: and therefore that it stood *Alexander* upon to examine them straightly which had cause to keepe this Treason secret. After a thousand Accusations against *Philotas*. Thereupon he was apprehended, and in the presence of divers Lords and Familiars of the King put to the torture. *Alexander's* selfe hanging behind, to heare what he would say. It is reported, that when he heard how faintly and pitifully he besought *Hephestion* to take pity upon him, he said unto himselfe: Alas, poore *Philotas*, thou that hadst so faint a heart, how durst thou take upon thee so great matters? In fine *Philotas* was put to death, and immediately after he was executed, *Alexander* sent also with speed unto the Realme of MEDIA to kill *Permenio*, who was his Lieutenant there, and one that had served King *Philip* his Father, in his greatest Affaires; and he onely of all other the old Servants of his Father had procured *Alexander* to take in hand the Conquest of ASIA: and who also of three Sons himselfe with the third. This cruelty of *Alexander* made his friends afraid of him, and specially *Antipater*: who secretly sent Ambassadors unto the ETOLIANS to make League with them, *Antipater* was because they themselves also were afraid of *Alexander*, for that they had put the *Oeniades* afraid of *Alexander* to death. *Alexander* hearing that said, that he himselfe, and not the Sonnes of the *Oeniades*, would be revenged on the ETOLIANS. Not long after that, followed the murder of *Clitus*, the which to heare it simply told, would seem much more cruell then the death of *Philotas*. But reporting the cause and the time together in which it chanced, it will be found that it was not of set purpose, but by chance and unfortunately, that *Alexander* being overcome with Wine, did unluckily wreake his anger upon *Clitus*. The manner of his misfortune was this: There came certaine men of the low Countries from the Sea side, that brought Apples of Why *Alexander* *Philotas* was suspected and envied of *Alexander*. *Limnus* traiterously seeketh to kill *Alexander*. *Philotas* and his Father *Permenio* put to death. *Antipater* was afraid of *Alexander*. *Why Alexander* *Philotas* shew

Why *Philotas*
was suspected
and envied of
Alexander.

Limnus traiter-
ously seeketh
to kill *Alexan-
der*.

Philotas and
his Father *Per-
menio* put to
death.

Alexanders
Dreame of
Clitus.

The malapert-
nesse of Clitus
against Alex-
ander.

shew him them, and to give him some of them. *Clitus* by chance did Sacrifice at that time unto the gods, and left his Sacrifice to go unto *Alexander*: howbeit, there were three Weathers that followed him, on whom the accustomed sprinklings had been done already to have sacrificed them. *Alexander* understanding that, told it to his Soothsayers, *Aristander*, and *Cleomantis* LACONIAN; both did answer him, that it was an ill signe. *Alexander* there upon gave order straight, that they should do Sacrifice for the health of *Clitus*, and specially for that three daies before he dreamed one night that he saw *Clitus* in a mourning Gown, sitting amongst the Sonnes of *Parmenio*, the which were all dead before. This notwithstanding, *Clitus* did not make an end of his Sacrifice, but came straight to Supper to the King, who had that day sacrificed unto *Cassor* and *Pollux*. At this Feast there was old drinking, and all the Supper time there were certaine Verses sung and made by a Poet, called *Pranichus* (or as others say, of one *Pierion*) against certaine Captaines of the MACEDONIANS, which had not long before been overcome by the barbarous People; and onely to shame them, and to make the company laugh. With these Verses, ancient men that were at this Feast, became much offended, and grew angry with the Poet that made them, and the Minstrell that sung them. *Alexander* on the other side, and his familiars, liked them very well and commanded the Minstrell to sing still. *Clitus* therewithall being overtaken with Wine, and besides of a churlish nature, proud and arrogant, fell into greater choler, and said: that it was neither well nor honestly done in that sort to speake ill of thole poor MACEDONIAN Captaines (and specially amongst the barbarous People their Enemies) which were far better men then they that laughed them to scorne, although their Fortune were worse then theirs. *Alexander* then replied, and said, that saying so, he pleaded for himselfe, calling cowardinesse, misfortune. Then *Clitus* standing up, said again: But yet this my cowardinesse saved thy life, that callest thy selfe the Sonne of the gods, when thou turnest thy backe from *Spithridates* Sword: and the blood which these poor MACEDONIANS did shed for thee, and they wounds which then received on their bodies fighting for thee, have made thee so great, that thou disdainest now to have King *Philip* for thy Father, and wilt needs make thy selfe the Sonne of *Jupiter Hammon*. *Alexander* being moved with these words, straight replied: O, Villain, thinkest thou to scape unpunished for these proud words of thine, which thou usest continually against me, making the MACEDONIANS to rebell against me? *Clitus* answered againe, Too much are we punished, *Alexander*, for our paines and service to receive such reward: nay, most happy thinke we them that long since are dead and gone, not now to see the MACEDONIANS scourged with Rods of the MEDES, and compelled to curry favour with the PERSIANS, to have access unto their King. Thus *Clitus* boldly speaking against *Alexander*, and *Alexander* again answering and reviling him, the gravest men sought to pacifie this stirr and tumult. *Alexander* then turning himselfe unto *Xenodochus* CARDIAN, and *Artemius* COLOPHONIAN: Do you not thinke (said he) that the GRECIANS are amongst the MACEDONIANS, as deny gods that walke among brute Beasts? *Clitus* for all this would not give over his impudency and malapertnesse, but cried out, and bad *Alexander* speake openly what he had to say, or else not to bid Free-men to come to sup with him that were wont to speake frankly: if not, to keep with the barbarous Slaves that honoured his PERSIAN Girdle, and long white Garment. Then could *Alexander* no longer hold his choler, but tooke an Apple that was upon his Table, and threw it at *Clitus*, and looked for his Sword, the which *Aristophanes*, one of his Guard that waited on him, had of purpose taken from him. And when every man came straight about him to stay him, and to pray him to be contented, he immediately rose from the Board, and called his Guard unto him in the MACEDONIAN Tongue (which was a signe of great trouble to follow after it) and commanded a Trumpeter to sound the Allarme. But he drawing backe, would not sound: wheresupon *Alexander* strake him with his fist. Notwithstanding, the Trumpeter was greatly commended afterwards, for that he onely kept the Campe that they rose not. All this could not quiet *Clitus*, wheresupon his friends with much ado thrust him out of the Hall: but he came in againe at another door, and arrogantly and unreverently rehearsed this Verse of the Poet *Euripides*, out of *Andromaches* Tragedy:

*Alas for sorrow evill waies
Are into Greece crept now adayes.*

Alexander slew
Clitus, and
grievously re-
pentted him.

Then *Alexander* taking a Partisan from one of his Guard, as *Clitus* was coming towards him, and had lift up the hanging before the door, he ranne him through the body, so that *Clitus* fell to the ground, and fetching one groane, died presently. *Alexanders* choler had left him straight, and he became marvellous sorrowfull: and when he saw his friends round about him say never a word, he plucked the Partisan out of his Pody, and would have thrust it into his own throate. Howbeit his Guard about him caught him by the hands, and carried him perforce into his Chamber: and there he did nothing all that night but weepe bitterly, and the next day following, untill such time as he was able to cry no more, but lying on the ground, onely lay sighing. His friends hearing his Voice no more, were afraid, and came into his Chamber by force to comfort him. But *Alexander* would hear none of them, saving *Aristander* the Soothsayer, who remembered him of his Dreame he had of *Clitus* before, which was a Prognostication of that which had happened: whereby it appeared that it was his destiny, before he was borne. This seemed to comfort *Alexander*: Afterwards they brought in *Callisthenes* the Philosopher, a Kinsman of *Aristotle*, and *Anaxarchus* borne in ABDERA. Of these two *Callisthenes* fought by gentle talke, not moving any matter offensive, to comfort *Alexanders* sorrow. But *Anaxarchus* that from the beginning had taken a way by himselfe in the study of Philosophy, being

Callisthenes
and Anaxar-
chus do com-
fort Alexander.

being accounted a brain-sicke man, and one that despised his Companions, he coming into *Alexanders* Chamber also with him, cried out at the door as he came in: See, yonder is *Alexander* the Great whom all the World looks upon, and is afraid of: see where he lies, weeping like a Slave on the ground, that is afraid of the Law, and of the reproach of men: as if he himselfe should not give them Law, and stablish the bounds of justice or injustice, sithence he hath overcome to be Lord and Master, and no to be subject and slave to a vaine opinion. Knowest thou not that the Poets say, that *Jupiter* hath Themis, to wit, right and justice placed on either hand of him? what signifieth that, but all that the Prince doth, is holy, right and just? These words of *Anaxarchus* did comfort the sorrowfull heart of King *Alexander* at that time, but therewithall, they made *Alexanders* manners afterwards more fierce and dissolute. For, as he thereby did marvellously grow in favour with the King, even so did he make the company of *Callisthenes* (who of his life was not very pleasant, because of his gravity and sowernesse) much more hatefull and disliked then before. It is written also that there was certain talke one night at King *Alexanders* Board touching the seasons of the year, and temperatnesse of the Ayr, and that *Callisthenes* was of their opinion which maintained, that the Countrey they were in at that time was much colder, and the Winter also sharper then in GREECE. *Anaxarchus* held the contrary opinion, and flisy maintained it, inso much as *Callisthenes* said unto him: And yet must thou grant, that it is colder here then there. For there all the Winter time thou couldest go with a single Cloake on thy backe onely, and here thou must have three or foure Garments upon thee when thou art at thy Board. This galled *Anaxarchus* to the quick, and made him more angry then before: and for the other Rhetoricians and Flatterers, they did also hate him, because they saw him followed of young men for his Eloquence, and beloved also of old men for his honest life, the which was very grave, modest, and contented with his own, desiring no mans else. Whereby men found, that the reason he alledged for following of *Alexander* in his Voyage, was true: for he said, that he came to be an humble suiter to the King to restore his banished Citizens into their Countrey againe, and to replenish their City with Inhabitants. Now, though his estimation made him chiefly to be envied, yet did he himselfe give his Enemies occasion to accuse him. For oftentimes being invited by the King to Supper, either he would not come, or if he came, he would be mute, and say nothing, shewing by his gravity and silence, that nothing pleased him that was either said or done. Whereupon *Alexander* selfe said on a time unto him:

*I cannot thinke that person wise,
That in his owne cause hath no eyes.*

It is reported of him also, that being at Supper on a time with the King, divers requesting him to make an Oration on the sudden in commendation of the MACEDONIANS, he made such an Eloquent Oration upon that matter, that all they that heard him, rose from the Board, and clapping their hands for joy, cast Nofegayes and Flowers upon him. But yet *Alexander* at that time said unto him that which the Poet *Euripides* said:

*It is no mastery to be Eloquent,
In handling of a plenteous argument.*

Nay, but utter then thy Eloquence in reproving of the MACEDONIANS, that hearing their faults, they may learne to amend. Then *Callisthenes* changing Copy, spake boldly many things against the MACEDONIANS, declaring, that the dissention amongst the GRECIANS did increase Kings *Philips* power, alledging these Verses

*Where discord reignes in Realme or Town,
Even wicked folke doe winne renowne.*

But by this occasion, he purchased himselfe great ill will of the MACEDONIANS: inso much, as *Alexander* selfe said at that time, that he had not so much shewed his Eloquence, as the malice he bare unto the MACEDONIANS. *Hermippus* the Historiographer writeth, that one *Strabus* a Clerk of *Callisthenes*, did afterwards tell it unto *Aristotle* in this sort: and that *Callisthenes* seeing King *Alexander* offended with him, did recite these Verses of *Homers* three or foure times as he went:

*Patroclus who farre passed thee,
Was laime, as thou art like to be.*

And therefore very wisely said *Aristotle*, that *Callisthenes* was Eloquent, but not wise. For like a Philosopher, he stoutly stood against kneeling to the King, and said that openly, which the Nobler and the ancientest men among the MACEDONIANS durst but whisper one in anothers eare, as Eloquent, though they did all utterly dislike it: whereby he did yet deliver GREECE from a great shame, and but not wise.

Alexander

The cause
why Callisthe-
nes was envied.

Alexander from a greater, bringing him from that manner of adoration of his person. This notwithstanding, he undid himself, because he would seeme rather by presumption to bring him to it, then by reason to perswade him. *Charles MITYLENIAN* hath written, that *Alexander* having drunke at a certaine Feast where he hapned to be, reaching his Cup unto one of his Friends, who after he had taken it of him, rose up first on his feet, and dranke also, turning him towards the gods; and first making solemne reverence, he went and kissed *Alexander*, and then fate him downe againe. All the rest that were at the Feast, did the like one after another, and *Callisthenes* also who tooke the Cup when it came to his turne (the King not looking on him, but talking with *Hephestion*) after he had drunke, came unto the King to kisse him, as others had done. Howbeit, one *Demetrius* called *Phidon*, said unto the King: kisse him not, I pray your Grace, for he of all men hath done you no reverence. *Alexander* turned his head aside, and would not kisse him. Then cried *Callisthenes* out aloud: Well, quoth he, then I will go my way, with lesse then others, by a kisse. And thus began *Alexanders* grudge first against *Callisthenes*, by meanes whereof *Hephestion* was credited the better, when he said that *Callisthenes* had promised him to reverence *Alexander*, although that he had broken promise. After him also *Lyfimachus*, *Agnon*, and divers others began to play their parts against him, saying, that this Sophister went bragging up and downe, as if he had destroyed a whole Tyranny; and that all the young men followed him to honour him, as if among so many thousand Souldiers, never a man of them had so noble a heart as he. And therefore, when the Treason of *Hermolaus* against *Alexanders* person was discovered, they found the accusation probable, the which some false detractors had informed against *Callisthenes*: who had answered *Hermolaus* that asked him, how he could come to be so famous above all men, thus: In killing the famousst person. And to animate him to go forward with this Treason, he had told him further, that he should not be afraid of a Golden Bed, but remember he had to doe with a man, which was sometimes sicke and hurt as other men were. This notwithstanding, there was never a one of *Hermolaus* Confederates, that would once name *Callisthenes*, what torments so ever they abide, to bewray who were their Companions. And *Alexander* selfe also writing of this Treason immediatly after, unto *Craterus*, *Artalus*, and *Alcetas*, said, that their Servants which had been racked and put to the torture, did constantly affirme, that they onely had conspired his death, and no man else was privy unto it. But afterwards, he sent another Letter unto *Antipater*, wherein he directly accused *Callisthenes*, and said, that his Servants had already been stoned to death by the *MACEDONIANS*: howbeit that he himselfe would afterwards also punish the Master, and those that had sent unto him; and that had received the murderers into their Cities, who came of purpose to kill him. And therein he plainly shewed the ill will he bare unto *Aristotle*, for that *Callisthenes* had been brought up with him, being his Kinsman, and the Sonne of *Hero*, *Aristotles* Neece. Some say that *Alexander* trusted *Callisthenes* up. Others againe report, that he died of sicknesse in prison. Nevertheless *Charles* writeth, that *Callisthenes* was kept Prisoner seven Moneths together, because he should have had his judgement in open Councell even in the presence of *Aristotle* himselfe: howbeit, being very fat, he was eaten in the end by Lice, and so died, about the time that *Alexander* was hurt, fighting against the *MAILLIANS OXYDRACIANS*, in the Conquest of *INDIA*; but these things chanced a good while after. *Demaratus* *CORINTHIAN* being very old, had a great desire to go see *Alexander*: and when he had seene him, he said, that the *GREECIANS* which were dead long before, were deprived of that blisse and happinesse, that they could not see *Alexander* sit in the Royall Seate of King *Darius*. Howbeit, he did not long enjoy the Kings good will unto him; for he died of a sicknesse soon after he came unto his Campe, and *Alexander* did honour his Funerals: for all the Army in their Armour did cast up a Mount of Earth fashioned like a Tombe, which was a great compasse about, and fourescore Cubits high. His ashes afterwards were brought with honourable convoy, unto the Sea side, in a Charriot with foure Horses richly set out. *Alexander* being ready to take his Journey to go conquer *INDIA*, perceiving that his Army was very heavy and unweildsome to remove, he first burnt his own Carriage and next his friends, and then commanded that they should also fet the Carriage of the *MACEDONIANS* on fire; which counsell seemed more dangerous to be resolved of, then the proof of the execution fell out difficult. For there were very few of them that were angry therewith, and the most part of them (as if they had been secretly moved by some god) with loud cries of joy, one of them gave unto another such necessary things as they had need of, and afterwards of themselves did burne and spoile all the rest. This made *Alexander* much more rigorous then he was before, who besides that he was already become cruell enough, and without mercy or pardon, did sharply punish every man that offended. For having commanded *Nandander* one of his friends, to keepe him a strong hold, he put him to death because he would not remaine there. Furthermore, he himselfe slew *Orsodares* (a Captaine of the barbarous People) with a Dart, for that he rebelled against him. About that time, there was an Ewe that had eaned a Lamb which had upon her head the forme and Purple colour of the Kings Hat, after the *PERSIAN* manner called *Tiara*, having two stones hanging on each side of it. *Alexander* abhorred this monstrous signe, inso much as he purged himselfe by certaine *BABYLONIAN* Priests, which he alwaies carried about with him for that purpose, and said unto his Friends: that this Monster did not so much move him for respect of himselfe, as it did for them, fearing that the gods after his death had pre-

Callisthenes suspected of treason against *Alexander*.

Alexander offended with *Aristotle*. The death of *Callisthenes* the *Rhetorician*.

The journey of *Demaratus* *Corinthian* unto *Alexander*, and his death.

Alexanders journey into *India*.

Alexander burne his Carriages.

The cruelty of *Alexander* towards his men. A monstrous Lamb appeared unto *Alexander*.

destined the force and power of his Kingdome to fall into the hands of some base cowardly person. This notwithstanding, another signe and token which chanced in the necke of that, did take away his feare and discouragement he had. For a *MACEDONIAN* called *Proxenus*, that had charge of the Kings carriage, as he digged in a certaine place by the River of *Oxus*, to set up the Kings Tent and his lodging, he found a certaine fat and oily veine, which after they had drawne out the first, there came out also another clearer, which differed nothing, neither, in smell, taste, nor favour from natural oile, havin the gloss and fatnesse so like, as there could be discerned no difference between them: the which was so much more to be wondered at, because that in all that Countrey there was no Olives. They say say also, That the water of the River self of *Oxus* is very soft, and maketh their skins fat, which wash or bath themselves therein. And yet it appeareth by that which *Alexander* self wrote unto *Antipater*, that he was very glad of it, putting that amongst the greatest signes which the gods had sent unto him. The Soothsayers did interpret this wonder, that it was a signe, that he should have a noble, but yet a painfull voyage: for the gods, said they, have given oile unto men to refresh their wearinesse. And truly so he did sustaine many dangers in those warres, and was oftentimes hurt in fight. But the greatest losse he had of his men, was for lacke of victuals, and by the infection of the aire. For he striving to overcome fortune by valiantnesse, and her force by vertue, thought nothing impossible for a valiant man, neither any thing able to withstand a noble heart. It is reported, that when he went to besiege a strong hold which *Sisymbres* kept, being thought unassailable, and that his souldiers were in despair of it, he asked one *Oxyathres*, what heart *Sisymbres* had. *Oxyathres* answered him, that he was the veriest coward in the world. O, that is well quoth *Alexander*: then it is to be won, if that be true thou sayest, since the Captaine of the peece is but a coward. So he tooke it on a sudden, by putting *Sisymbres* in a great fear. After that also he did besiege another peece of as great strength and difficulty to assault as the other. And making the young souldiers of the *MACEDONIANS* to go to the assault, he called one of them unto him, whose name also was *Alexander*, unto whom he said thus: *Alexander*, this day thou must fight like a man, and it be but for thy names sake. The young man did not forget his words, for he fought valiantly, that he was slain, for whom *Alexander* was very sorry. Another time when his men were afraid, and durst not come neare unto the City of *Nysa*: to assault it, because there ran a very deep River hard by the Walls, he came to the Rivers side, and said: O what a coward am I, that never learned to swim? and so prepared himself to swim over upon his shield. After he had caused them to retire from the assault, there came Ambassadors unto him, from the Cities besieged, to crave pardon of him. They wondered at him at the first, when they saw him armed without any Pompe or other Ceremony about him: but much more when a Chaire was brought him to sit downe on, that he commanded the oldest man amongst them called *Acuphis*, to take it to him, and sit downe. *Acuphis* marvelling at *Alexanders* great courtesie, asked him what they should do for him, thenceforth to be his good friends. I will, said *Alexander*, that they from whom thou comest as Ambassadors unto us, do make thee their King: and withall, that they do send me a hundred of their best men for Hostages. *Acuphis* smiling answered him againe: but I will rule thee better, O King, if I send you the worst and not the best. There was a King called *Taxiles* a very wise man, who had a great Country in *INDIA*, no lesse in bignesse and circuit, than all *EGYPT*, and as full of good pasture and fruits as any Country in the world could be: who came one time to salute *Alexander*, and said unto him: What should we need, *Alexander*, to fight, and make warres one with another, if thou comest not to take away our water, and our necessary commodities to live by: for which things, men of judgement must needs fight? As for our goods, if I be richer then thou, I am readier to give thee of mine: and if I have lesse, I will not thinke scorne to thanke thee, if thou wilt give me some of thine. *Alexander* being pleased to heare him speak thus wisely, imbraced him, and said unto him: Thinkest thou this meeting of ours can be without fight, for all these goodly faire words? No, no, thou hast won nothing by that: for I will fight and contend with thee in honesty and courtesie, because thou shalt not exceed me in bounty and liberality. So *Alexander* taking divers gifts of him, but giving more unto *Taxiles*, he dranke to him one night at supper, and said: I drinke to thee a thousand talents in gold. This gift misliked *Alexanders* friends: but in recompence thereof, he wanne the hearts of many of these barbarous Lords and Princes of that Countrey. There was a certaine number of souldiers of the *INDIANS*, the warlikest men of all that Countrey, who being mercenary souldiers, were ever entertained in service of the great free Cities, which they valiantly defended, and did great hurt unto *Alexander* in divers places. *Alexander* having made peace with them in a City where they were kept in, when they came abroad upon surety of this peace which they had made, he met with them as they went their way, and put them all to the sword. There was but this onely fault, to blemish the Honour of his Noble deeds in all his warres: for in all things else he shewed mercy and equity. Furthermore the grave Philosophers and wise men of *INDIA* did greatly trouble him also. For they reproved the Kings and Princes of the *INDIANS*, for that they yielded unto *Alexander*, and procured the free Cities to take Armes against him. But by their occasion, he tooke divers of their Cities. For King *Porus*, *Alexander* self writeth in his Epistles, all his Acts at large which he did against him. For he faith, that both their Campes lying on either side of the River *Hydaspes*, King *Porus* set his Elephants upon the banke of against King the River with their heades towards their enemies, to keepe him from passing over: and that he *Porus* himselfe did continually make a noise and tumult in his Campe to acquaint his men not to be afraid of the barbarous people. Furthermore, that in a darke night when there was no Moone light, he tooke part of his footemen, and the choice of this horsemen, and went farre from his enemies

A spring of oile found by the River of *Oxus*.

Oile refresheth wearinesse.

The City of *Nysa*.

Acuphis wise answer unto *Alexander*.

King *Taxiles* talk with *Alexander*.

Alexanders answer to *Taxiles*.

Alexander dishonourably brake the peace he had made.

Alexanders assault against King *Porus*.

to get over into a little Island. When he was come into the Island, there fell a wonderful shower of raine, great winds, lightnings and thunders upon his Campe, infomuch as he saw many of his men burnt by lightning in this little Island. This notwithstanding, he did not leave to get over to the other side of the River. The River being swollen with the great flood of raine that fell the night before, overflowing the banks, it did eate into the ground where the water ranne: so that Alexander when he had passed over the River, and was come to the other side, found himself in very ill case, for that he could hardly keep his feet, because the earth was very slippery under him, and the rage of the water, had eaten into it, and broke it down on every side. It is written of him, that then he said unto the ATHENIANS: O ATHENIANS, could you think that I could take such paines, and put my self into so many dangers, onely to be praised of you? Thus Onesicritus reporteth it. But Alexander selfe writeth, that they left their Rafteres or great peeces of timber pinned together, whereupon they had passed over the streame of the maine River: and that they waded through the other Arme or Gut of the water which had broken the earth, up to their breasts, with their harnesse on their backs. Furthermore, when he had passed over both waters, he rode with his horsemen twenty furlongs before the battell of his footmen, thinking that if his enemies came to give him charge with their men at Armes, that he was the stronger: and if they would also advance their footmen forward, that his footmen also should come time enough. One of the twaine fell out as he had guessed: for a thousand horsemen and threecore Charretts armed with his enemies, gave him charge before their great company; whom he overthrew, and tooke all their Charretts, and slew four hundred of the men at Armes in the field. King Porsus then knowing by those signes that Alexander was there in person, and had passed over the River, he marched towards him with all his Army in battle ray, saving a few which he left behind to resist the MACEDONIANS, if they should force to passe over the River. Alexander being afraid of the great multitude of his enemies, and of the terror of the Elephants, did not give charge upon the middest of the battell, but being himself in the left Wing, gave charge upon the corner of the enemies left Wing, and also commanding them that were in the right Wing to do the like. So both the ends of the enemies Army were broken and put to flight: and they that fled, ranne unto the Elephants, and gathered themselves together about them. Thus the battell being begun, the conflict continued long, infomuch as the enemies were scantily all overthrowne by three of the clocke in the afternoone. Most writers agree, that Porsus was four cubits and a shaft-length high, and that being upon an Elephants backe, he wanted nothing in height and bignesse to be proportionable for his mounture, albeit it were a very great Elephant; and besides, that the Elephant did shew great wit and care to save the King his master. For whilst he perceived his master was strong enough, he lustily repulld those which came to assaile him: but when he found that he began to faint, having many wounds upon his body, and Arrows sticking in it, then being afraid lest his master should fall downe from his backe, he softly fell on his knees, and gently taking his Darts and Arrows with his Trunk, which he had in his body, he pluckt them all from him one after another. Porsus being taken, Alexander asked him, how he should handle him. Princely, answered Porsus. Alexander asked him againe, if he would say any thing else. I comprehend all, said he, in this word Princely. Thereupon Alexander did not onely leave him his Provinces and Realmes, whereof before he was King, by the name of his Lieutenant, but gave him many other Countries also. When he had subdued all the free people, of the which there were fifteen severall Nations, five thousand of no small Cities, besides an infinite number of villages and thrice as many other Countries, he made Philip one of his friends, his Lieutenant of all those Countries. His horse Bucephalus died at this battell, not in the field but afterwards whilst he was in cure for the wounds he had on his body: but as Onesicritus saith he died even worn for very age. Alexander was as sorry for his death, as if he had lost any of his familiar friends: and for proof thereof, he built a great City in the place where his horse was buried, upon the River Hydaspes, the which he called after his name, BUCEPHALIA. It is reported also, that having lost a Dogge of his called Peritas, which he had brought up of a whelp, and loved very dearly, he built also a City, and called it after his name. Sotion writeth, that he heard it reported thus of Ptolemy the SYRIAN. This last battell against King Porsus, killed the MACEDONIANS hearts, and made them that they had no desire to go any further to conquer INDIA. For finding that they had such ado to overcome them, though they were but twenty thousand footmen, and two thousand horse, they spake ill of Alexander when he went about to compell them to passe over the River of Ganges, understanding by the Countreimen that it was two and thirty furlongs over, and a hundred fadome deepe: and how that the banke of the River was full of souldiers, horsemen and Elephants. For it was reported that the Kings of the GANGARIDES, and the PRASIANS were on the other side with fourscore thousand horsemen, two hundred thousand footmen, eight thousand Charretts or Carts of warre well armed, and six thousand Elephants of warre. This was no fable, nor frivolous tale: for a King called Androcottus (who reigned not long after) gave unto Seleucus, five hundred Elephants at one time, and conquered all INDIA with six hundred thousand fighting men. Alexander then offended with his mens refusal, kept close in his Tent for certain dayes, and lay upon the ground, saying, that he did not thanke them for all that they had done thitherto, unless they passe over the River of Ganges also; and that to returne backe againe, it was as much as to confesse, that he had been overcome. At the length, when he saw and considered that there was great reason in his friends perswasions which laboured to comfort him, and that his souldiers came to the doore of his Tent, crying and lamenting, humbly beseeching him to leade them backe againe; in the end he tooke pittie of them, and was contented to returne.

The stature of King Porsus. The quick wit and care of the Elephant to save the King his master.

Alexanders conquests in the Indies. The death of Bucephalus, Alexanders horse. Bucephalus a great City built by Alexander upon the River of Hydaspes and why so named. Peritas, Alexanders dogge. Ganges fl. Gangarides and Prasi people.

returne. This notwithstanding, before he departed from those parts, he put forth many vaine and false devices to make his name immortal among that people. He made Armourers of greater proportion than his owne, and mangers for horses, higher then the common sort: moreover, he made bits also farre heavier then the common sort, and made them to be throwne and scattered abroad in every place. He built great altars also in honour of the gods; the which the Kings of the PRASIANS have in great veneration at this day, and passing over the River, do make sacrifices there, after the manner of the GRECIANS. Androcottus at that time was a very young man, and saw that Alexander himself, and said afterwards, that Alexander had well-neare taken and won all the Countrey, the King which then reigned, was so hated of all his subjects for his wicked life, and base parentage he came of. Departing thence, he went to see the great sea Oceanum, and made diverse boates with Oares, in the which he easily went downe the Rivers at his pleasure. Howbeit, this his pleasure going by water, was not without warre: for he would land oftentimes, and did assaile Cities, and conquered all as he went. Yet in assailing the City of the MALLIANS (which they say are the warlikest men of all the INDIANS) he was almost slaine there. For having with Darts repulld the enemies from the wall, he himself was the first man that set foot on a ladder to get up, the which brake asleepe as ever he was gotten upon the Ramper. Then the barbarous people coming together against the wall, did throw at him from beneath, and many times lighted upon him. Alexander having few of his men about him, made no more ado, but leaped down from the Wall in the middest of his enemies, and by good happe lighted on his feet. His Harnesse making a great noise with the fall, the barbarous people were afraid, thinking they had seen some light or spirit go before them: so that at the first they all betooke them to their legges, and ranne scattering here and there. But after that, when they came again to themselves, and saw that he had but two Gentlemen only about him, they came and set upon him of all hands, and fought with him at the sword or push of the Pike, and so hurt him very sore through his Armour: but one amongst the rest, being somewhat farther off, gave him such a terrible blow with an Arrow, that he strake him through his Curaces, and shot him in at the side under his breast. The blow entred so into his body, that he fell downe on one of his knees. Whereupon, he that had stricken him with his Arrow, ranne suddainly to him with a Cimicer drawn in his hand: howbeit as Pancestus and Limnaeus stepped before him, and were both hurt, Limnaeus was slaine presently, and Pancestus fought it out, till at the length Alexander his self slew the barbarous man with his owne hand, after he had many grievous wounds upon his body. At the length he had a blow with a Dart on his necke, that so astonished him, that he leaned against the Wall looking upon his enemies. In the meane time the MACEDONIANS compassing him round about, tooke him, and carried him into his Tent halfe in a swoond, and was past knowledge: whereupon there ranne a rumour straight in the Campe, that Alexander was dead. They had much ado to cut the Arrow asunder that was of wood: so his Curaces being plucked off with great paine, yet were they to plucke the Arrow head out of his body, which stucke in one of his bones: the which (as it is reported) was four fingers long, and three fingers broad. So that when they plucked it out, he swooned so off, that he was almost dead. This notwithstanding, he overcame the danger, and escaped. Being very weake, he kept diet a long time to recover himselfe, and never came out of his Tent: untill he heard the MACEDONIANS cry, and make great noise about his Tent, desirous to see him. Then he put on a night-gowne, and came out amongst them all: and after he had done sacrifice unto the gods for recovery of his health, he went on his journey againe, and in the same did conquer many great Countries, and took divers goodly Cities. He did also take ten of the wise men of the Countrey, which men do all go naked, and therefore are called GYMNOPISTAE (to wit, Philosophers of INDIA) who had procured Sabbas to rebell against him, and had done great hurt unto the MACEDONIANS. And because they were taken to be the sharpest and readiest of answer, he did put them (as he thought) many hard questions, and told them he would put the first man to death, that answered worst, and so the rest in order: and made the eldest among them Judge of their answers. The question he asked the first man, was this:

1. Whether the dead or the living were the greater number? He answered, The living: for the dead said he, are no more men.
2. The second man he asked: Whether the earth or the sea brought forth most creatures? He answered, The earth. For the sea, said he, is but a part of the earth.
3. To the third man: Which of all beasts was the subtillest? That (said he) which man hitherto never knew.
4. To the fourth: why he did make Sabbas rebell? Because, said he, he should live honourably, or die vilely.
5. To the fifth, Which he thought was first, the day or the night? He answered, the day, by a day. The King finding his answer strange, added too this speech: Strange questions must needs have strange answers.
6. Coming to the sixth man, he asked him: How a man should come to be beloved? If he be a good man, said he, not terrible.
7. To the seventh, How a man should be a god? In doing a thing, said he, impossible for a man.
8. To the eighth: Which was the stronger, life, or death? Life, said he, that suffereth so many troubles.
9. And unto the ninth and last man: how long a man should live? Untill, said he, he think it better to die then to live.

Alexanders return out of India. Alexanders vaine devices to make himself immortal. King Androcottus.

Alexander in danger at the City of the Mallians.

The wise men of India.

Alexanders questions propounded to the ten Philosophers of India.

Alexander rewarded the ten wife men, and did let them go.

Onesicritus a Philosopher called Calanus, otherwise called Sphines.

Dandamis, Calanus, a wife man of India.

The similitude of a Kingdom shewed by a peece of leather

Phisulic an Island.

Alexanders navy in the sea Oceanum.

Alexanders Army going into India.

Sheep fed with fish.

The Country of Gedrosia.

The Country of Carmania.

The rout of Alexanders soldiers

The City of Babylon.

When Alexander had heard these answers, he turned unto the Judge, and bade him give his judgement upon them. The Judge said, they had all answered one worse then another. Then shalt thou die first, said Alexander, because thou hast given such sentence: Not so O King, quoth he, if thou wilt not be a lyer: because thou saidst, that thou wouldst kill him first, that had answered worst. In fine, Alexander did let them go with rewards. He sent Onesicritus also unto the other wife men of the INDIANS, which were of greatest fame among them, and that led a solitary and quiet life, to pray them to come unto him. This Onesicritus the Philosopher, was Diogenes the Cyniks scholar. It is reported, that Calanus one of these wife men, very sharply and proudly bade him put off his clothes to hear his words naked: or otherwise that he would not speak to him, though he came from Jupiter himself. Yet Dandamis answered him more gently. For he having learned what manner of men Socrates, Pythagoras, and Diogenes were, said: that they seemed to have been wife men, and well borne, notwithstanding that they had revered the law too much in their life time. Others write notwithstanding, that Dandamis said nothing, but asked why Alexander had taken so painful a journey in hand, as to come into INDIA. For Calanus (whose right name otherwise was Sphines) King Taxiles perswaded him to go unto Alexander: who because he saluted those he met in the INDIAN tongue, saying, *Cale*, as much as to say, as God save ye, the GRECIANS named him Calanus. It is reported, that this Calanus did shew Alexander a figure and similitude of his Kingdome, which was this. He threw down before him a dry seare peece of leather, and then put his foot upon one of the ends of it. The leather being troden down on that side, rose up in all parts else, and going up and down withall, still treading upon the sides of the leather, he made Alexander see, that the leather being troden down, on the one side did rise up of all sides else, untill such time as he put his foot in the midst of the leather, and then all the whole leather was plaine alike, his meaning thereby, was to let Alexander understand, that the most part of his time he should keep in the midst of his Country, and not to go faare from it. Alexander continued seven moneths travelling upon the Rivers, to go see the great sea Oceanum. Then he took ship and sailed into a little Island called SCYRUSTIS. howbeit others call it PSITULICIS. There he landed, made sacrifices unto the gods, and viewed the greatnesse and nature of the Oceanum, and all the situation of the coasts upon that sea, as far as he could go. Then he made his prayers unto the gods, that no conqueror living after him should go beyond the bounds of his journey and conquest, and so returned homeward. He commanded his ships should fetch a compass about, and leave INDIA on the right hand: and made Nearchus Admirall of all his Fleet, and Onesicritus chiefe Pilote. He himself in the mean time went by land through the Country of the ORITES, and there he found great scarcity of victuals, and lost many of his men: so that he carried not out of INDIA the fourth part of his men of war which he brought thither, which were in all fixe seore thousand footmen, and fifteen thousand horsemen. Some of them died of grievous diseases: others by ill diet: others by extreame heate and drought, and the most part of them by hunger, travelling through this barren Country, where the poor men lived hardly, and had onely a few sheep which they fed with sea fish, that made their flesh savour ill favourably. At the length, when in threescore dayes journey he had painfully travelled through his Country, he then entred into the Country called GEDROSIA, where he found great plenty of all kind of victuals, which the Governors, Kings and Princes, neighbors unto the same, did send unto him. After he that had refreshed his Army there a little, he went through the Country of CARMANIA, where he continued seven dayes together banquetting, going still through the Country. For night and day he was feasting continually with his friends upon a scaffold, longer then broad, rising up of height and drawn with eight goodly horses. After that scaffold followed divers other Charrers covered over with some goodly rich Arras, and purple silke; others with trim fresh boughs, which they renewed at every fields end: and in those were Alexanders other friends and Captaines with Garlands of flowers upon their heads, which dranke and made merry together. In all his Army, there was neither Helmet, Pike, Dart, nor Target seen: but gold and silver bowles, cups, and flagons in the souldiers hands, all the way as they went, drawing Wine out of great pipes and vessels, which they carried with them, one drinking to another, some marching in the fields going forward, and others also set at the table. About them were the minstrels playing and piping on their Flutes and Shalmes, and women singing and dancing, and fooling by the way as they went. In all this dissolute marching through the Country, and in the midst of their drunkenesse, they mingled with it sport, that every man did strive to counterfeite all the insolencies of Bacchus, as if god Bacchus himself had been there in person, and had led the mumery. When he came unto the Kings Cattle of GEDROSIA, he said there also certain dayes to refresh his Army with feasting and banquetting. It is said, that one day when he drank hard, he went to see the games for dancing, and amongst them, the games which a young man called Bagoas had set forth (with whom Alexander fell in liking) and bare the best. This Bagoas being in his dancing garments, came through the Theater, and face him down by Alexander. The MACEDONIANS were so glad of it, that they shouted and clapped their hands for joy, crying out aloud to kisse him: so that in fine he took him in his armes and kissed him before them all. Thither came Nearchus his Admirall unto him, who made report what he had seen and done in his navigation. Alexander was so glad of that, as he was desirous to saile by sea himself: and so entering into the Oceanum by the mouth of Euphrates, with a great Fleet of ships, to compass in all the coasts of ARABIA and AFRICKE, and thence into Mare Mediterraneum, by the straights of Hercules. To this intent he built a great number of ships in the City of TYRUS, and sent for Mariners, ship-masters and Pilots of all parts. But now the difficulty of the journey which he took upon him for the conquest

conquest of INDIA, the danger he was in when he fought with the MALLIANS and the number of his men which he lost besides, which was very great: all these things considered together making men believe that he should never returne with safety, they made all the people (which he had conquered) bold to rise against him, and gave his Governours and Lieutenants of Provinces occasion to commit great insolencies, robberies and exactions of people. To be short, it put all his Kingdome into broile and sedition. Infomuch as Olympias and Cleopatra rising against Antipater, they divided his Government between them: Olympias chusing for her the Kingdome of EPIRUS: and Cleopatra the Kingdome of MACEDON. Which when Alexander had heard, he said, his mother was the wisest for the Realme of MACEDON would never have suffered a woman to reign over them. Thereupon he sent Nearchus backe again to the sea, determining to fill all the sea coasts with war. As he travelled through the Countries far from the sea, he put his Captaines and Governours that had revolted against him: and of those he slew Oxiathres, one of Abulites sons, by his own hand running him through with a Pike. And when Abulites self also had brought Alexander three thousand talents only, without any other provision made for victuals for his Army, he made him put the money before his horse, which would not once touch it. Then said he unto him, I pray thee to what purpose serveth this provision? and therewithall immediately committed him to prison. As he came through the Country of PERSIA, he first renewed the old custome there, which was: that as oftentimes as the Kings did returne home from any far journey, they gave unto every woman a crown a peece. It is said therefore that for this cause, some of their natural Kings many times did not return again into their Country: and that Ochus amongst others did not so much as once returne backe againe, willingly banishing himself out of his Country, of niggardlinesse, because he would not be at this charge. After that Cyrus tombe (King of PERSIA) being found and broken up, he put him to death that did it, although he were a MACEDONIAN of the City of PELLA (and none of the meanest) called Polymachus. When he read the inscription written upon it in the PERSIAN tongue, he would needs have it written in the Greek tongue: and this it was: *O man what so thou art, and whence soever thou comest; for I know thou shalt come: I am Cyrus that conquered the Empire of Persia: I pray thee envie me not, for this little earth that covereth my body.* These words pierced Alexanders heart, when he considered the uncertainty of worldly things. There also Calanus the INDIAN Philosopher, having had a flux a little while, prayed that they would make him a sticke of wood, such as they use to burn dead bodies on, and then rode thither on horse-backe: and after he had made his prayer unto the gods, he cast those sprinklings upon him which were used to be sprinkled at the funerals of the dead: then cutting off a lock of his haire before he went upon the woodstake, he had all the MACEDONIANS that were there farewell, and shoke them by the hands, praying them that day to be merry, and drinke freely with the King, whom he would see shortly after in the City of BABYLON. When he had said these words, he laid him downe upon the woodstake, covered his face, nor never stirred hand nor foot, nor quitted when the fire took him, but did sacrifice himself in this sort, as the manner of his Country was, that the wife men should so sacrifice themselves. Another INDIAN also, who followed Julius Cesar, did the like many yeares after in the City of ATHENS: and there is his tombe yet to be seen, commonly called the INDIANS tombe. When Alexander came from seeing this sacrifice of Calanus, he did bid diverse of his friends and Captaines to supper to him, and there did bring forth a Crowne for a reward unto him that dranke best. He that dranke most of all other, was one Promachus, that dranke foure Gallons of Wine, and won the Crown worth a talent: but he lived not above three dayes after. And of other also that fell in sport to quaffing, who should drinke most, there died of them (as Chares writeth) one and forty persons, of an extreme cold that tooke them in their drunkenesse and Wine. When they were in the City of SUSA, he married certain of his friends, and himselfe also married Statira, one of King Darius Daughters, disposing also of the other PERSIAN Ladies (according to their estate and birth) unto his best friends. He made also a solemne feast of common marriages amongst the MACEDONIANS, of them that had been married before. At which feast it is written, that nine thousand persons sitting at the boards, he gave unto every one of them a cup of gold to offer Wine in honour of the gods. And there also amongst other wonderful gifts, he did pay all the debts the MACEDONIANS ought unto their creditours, the which amounted unto the summe of ten thousand talents, saving a hundred and thirty lesse. Whereupon Antigonus with one eye, fallily putting in his name amongst the number of the debtours, and bringing in one that said he had lent him money, Alexander caused him to be payed: but afterwards when it was proved to his face, that there was no such matter, Alexander then was so offended, that he banished him his Court, and deprived him of his Captaineship, notwithstanding that he had before shewed himselfe a valiant man in the warres. For when he was but a young man he was shot into the eye, before the City of PERINTE, which King Philip did besiege, and at that present time they would have plucked the Arrow out of his eye, but he never fainter for it, neither would suffer them to pull it out, before he had first driven his enemies within the walls of their City. He took this injury very inwardly and he was so fovy for it, that every man might see he was like to die for sorrow. Then Alexander, fearing he should die, did pardon him, and bade him besides keep the money which was given him. Now the thirty thousand young Boyes which Alexander had left to the government of Captaines, to traine and exercise them in the discipline of warre, they being grown strong men, and lusty youths, excellently well trained and ready in Armes, Alexander rejoyced when he saw them. This notwithstanding did much discourage the MACEDONIANS and made them greatly afraid because they thought that from thenceforth the King would make lesse account of them. For

The Provinces conquered by Alexander, rebelled against him.

The death of Polymachus Pellaian. Cyrus Epitaph over his tombe

Calanus the Indian did sacrifice himself alive.

Alexander made men drink to win a game and prize.

The Macedonians married unto the Persians. The wonderful gifts of Alexander.

Alexander paid the souldiers debts.

Antigonus with one eye, a valiant Captaine, banished the Court for making a lye.

Thirty thousand boyes of the Persians, taught the discipline of war by Alexanders commandment

when *Alexander* would have sent the sicke and impotent persons, which had bene maimed in the warres, into the low Country to the sea side, they answered him, that so doing he should do them great wrong, to send these poore men from him in that sort. (after they had done him all the service they could) home to their Country and friends, in worse case then he took them from thence. And therefore they said, if he would send away some, let him send them all away as men unserviceable, specially sithence he had now such goodly young dancers about him, with whom he might go conquer the world. *Alexander* was marvellously offended with their proud words, inso much that in his anger he reviled them all, put away his ordinary guard, and took other *PERSIANS* in their place, making some the guard about his own person; others, his Ushers, Heralds, and Ministers to execute his will and commandement. The poore *MACEDONIANS* seeing *Alexander* thus waited on, and themselves so shamefully rejected, they let fall their stoutnesse, and after they had communed of the matter together, they were ready to teare themselves for spite and malice. In fine, when they had laid their heads together, they consented to go unto his Tent, and without weapons, naked in their shirts, to yeeld themselves unto him weeping and howling, beseeching him to do with them what pleased him, and to use them like wretched unthankful creatures. But *Alexander*, though his anger was now somewhat pacified, did not receive them the first time, neither did they also go their wayes, but remained there two dayes and nights together in this grievous and pittifull state, before the doore of his Tent, lamenting unto him, and calling him their Sovereigne, and King; untill that he came himselfe out of his Tent the third day, and seeing the poore wretches in this pittifull state, he himselfe fell a weeping a long time. So, after he had a little rebuked them, he called them courteously, and gave the impotent and sicke persons leave to depart home, rewarding them very honourably. Furthermore he wrote unto *Antipater* his Lieutenant, that he should give them awayes the highest place in all common sports and assemblies, and that they should be crowned with Garlands of Flowers. Moreover, he commanded that the Orphans whose parents were slaine in the wars, should receive the pay of their fathers. After *Alexander* was come unto the City of *ECBATAN*, in the Kingdom of *MEDIA*, and that he had dispatched his weightiest causes, he gave himselfe again unto publicke sports, feasts and pastimes; for that there were newly come unto him out of *GREECE*, three thousand excellent masters and devisers of such sports. About that time it chanced, that *Hephestion* fell sicke of an Ague. But he being a young man of warre, did not regard his mouth as he should have done, but having spied opportunity that his Physician *Glaucus* was gone unto the Theater, to see the sports and pastimes, he went to dinner, and eat a roasted Capon whole, and dranke a great pot full of Wine, which he had caused to be set in water: whereupon his Feaver took him so sorely, that he lived not long after. *Alexander* unwisely tooke the chance of his death, and commanded all the haire of his Horse and Mules to be presently shorne, in token of mourning; and that all the battlements of the Wall of Cities also should be overthrown, and hung up poor *Glaucus* his Physician upon a crosse, and commanded that no minitrell should be heard play of any kind of instrument within his Campe: untill that there was brought him an Oracle from *Jupiter Hammon*, commanding that *Hephestion* should be worshipped and sacrificed unto, as a demy-god. In the end, to passe over this mourning and sorrow, he went unto the warres, as unto an hunting of men, and there subdued the people of the *COSSAIIANS*, whom he pluckt up by the rootes, and slew man, woman, and child. And this was called the sacrifice of *Hephestions* Funerals. *Alexander* furthermore being desirous to bestow tenne thousand talents cost upon his obsequies and Funerals, and also to exceede the charge by the rarenesse and excellency of workmanship, amongst all other excellent Worke-masters, he desired one *Stasicles*: for he had ever passing invention, and his worke was alwayes statly and sumptuous in any new thing he took in hand. For he talking one day with *Alexander*, told him, that of all mountaines he knew in the world, he thought there was none more excellent to resemble the Statue or Image of a man, then was mount *Atbo* in *THRACIA*: and that if it were his pleasure, he would make the noblest and most durable Image, that should be in the world, which in the left hand should hold a City to containe ten thousand persons, and out of the right hand, there should runne a great River into the Sea. Yet *Alexander* would not hearken to him, but then was talking with other Workemen of more strange inventions, and farre greater cost. Now as he was ready to take his journey to go unto *BABYLON*, *Nearchus* his Admirall came againe unto him from the great sea Oceanum, by the River of *Euphrates*: and told him, how certaine *CHALDEAN* Soothsayers came unto him, who did warne him that he should not go into *BABYLON*. Howbeit *Alexander* made no reckoning of it, but went on. But when he came hard to the Walls of *BABYLON*, he saw a great number of Crows fighting and killing one of another, and some of them fell down dead hard by him. Afterwards being told him that *Apollodorus* the Governor of the City of *BABYLON*, having sacrificed unto the gods, to know what should happen to him, he sent for the Soothsayer *Pythagoras*, to know of him if it were true. The Soothsayer denied it not. Then *Alexander* asked him, what signes he had in the Sacrifice. He answered that the liver of the beast had no head. O gods, said *Alexander* then, this is an ill signe: notwithstanding he did *Pythagoras* no hurt, but yet he repented him that he did not believe *Nearchus* words. For this respect therefore *Alexander* lay much abroad in the Country from *BABYLON*, and did take his pleasure rowing up and down the River of *Euphrates*. Yet had he many other ill signes and tokens one upon another, that made him afraid. For there was a tame Ass that killed one of the greatest and goodliest Lions in all *BABYLON*, with one of his feet. Another time when *Alexander* had put off his clothes, to be anointed to

The clemency and liberality of *Alexander* unto his Souliuers.

The death of *Hephestion*, *Alexander* sorrow for the death of *Hephestion*.

Stasicles an excellent Image-maker.

Divers signes before *Alexander* death.

to play at Tennis, when he should put on his Apparell againe, the young Gentlemen that played with him, found a man set in his Chaire of estate, having the Kings Diademe on his head; and his Gowne on his backe, and said never a word. Then they asked him what he was? It was long before he made them answer, but at the length coming to himselfe, he said, his name was *Dionysius*, borne in *MESSINA*: and being accused for certaine crimes committed, he was sent from the sea thither, where he had been a long time prisoner: and also that the god *Serapis* had appeared unto him, and undone his Irons, and that he commanded him to take the Kings Gowne, and his Diademe, and to sit him down in his Chaire of estate, and say never a word. When *Alexander* heard it, he put him to death according to the counsell of his Soothsayers: but then his mind was troubled, and feared that the gods had forsaken him, and also grew to suspect his friends. But first of all, *Alexander* feared *Antipater* and his sons above all other. For one of them called *Iolus*, was his first Cup-bearer: and his brother called *Cassander*, was newly come out of *GREECE* unto him. The first time that *Cassander* saw some of the barbarous people reverencing *Alexander*, he having been brought up with the liberty of *GREECE*, and had never seen the like before, fell into a loud laughing very irreverently. Therewith King *Alexander* was so offended, that he tooke him by the haire of his head with both his hands, and knocked his head and the wall together. Another time also when *Cassander* did answer some that accused his father *Antipater*, King *Alexander* tooke him up sharply, and said unto him: What sayest thou, said he? Doeest thou thinke that these men would have gone so long a journey as this, fallily to accuse thy father, if he had not done them wrong? *Cassander* againe replied unto *Alexander* and said, that that was a manifest proofe of their false accusation, for that they did now accuse him being so farre off, because they thought they could not suddainly be disproved. *Alexander* thereat felt a laughing a good, and said, lo, these are *Aristotles* quiddities to argue *pro & contra*: but this will not save you from punishment, if I finde that you have done these men wrong. In fine, they report that *Cassander* tooke such an inward feare and conceit upon it, that long time after when he was King of *MACEDON*, and had all *GREECE* at his commandement, going up and down in the City of *DELPHE*, and beholding the monuments and images that are there, he found one of *Alexander*; which put him into such a suddaine feare, that the haire of his head stood up right, and his body quaked in such sort, that it was a great time before he could come to himselfe againe. Now after that *Alexander* had left his trust and confidence in the gods, his mind was so troubled and afraid, that no strange thing happened unto him (how little soever it was) but he tooke it straight for a signe and prediction from the gods: so that his Tent was alwayes full of Priests, and Soothsayers, that did nothing but sacrifice and purific, and tend upon divinements. So horrible a thing is the mistrust and contempt of the gods, when it is begotten in the hearts of men; and superstition also so dreadful, that it filled the guilty consciences and fearefull hearts, like water distilling from above: as at that time it filled *Alexander* with all folly, after that feare had once possessed him. This notwithstanding, after he had received some answers touching *Hephestion* from the Oracle of *Jupiter Hammon*, he left his sorrow, and returned againe to his banquets and feastings. For he did sumptuously feast *Nearchus*, and one day when he came out of his Bath according to his manner, being ready to go to bed, *Medius* one of his Captaines besought him to come to a banquet to him to his lodging. *Alexander* went thither, and dranke there all that night and the next day, so that he got an Ague by it. But that came not (as some write) by drinking up *Hercules* cup all at a draught; neither for the suddaine paine he felt betweene his shoulders, as if he had beene thrust into the backe with a speare: for all these were thought to be written by some for lies and fables, because they would have made the end of this great Tragedy lamentable and pittifull. But *Aristobolus* writeth, that he had such an extreame Feaver and thirst withall, that he dranke Wine, and after that fell a raving; and at the length died the thirtieth day of the month of *June*. In his household booke of things passed daily, it is written, that his Feaver being upon him, he slept in his hot-house on the eighteenth day of *June*. The next morning after he was come out of his house, he went into his Chamber, and passed away all that with *Medius*, playing at Dice: and at night very late, after he had bathed himselfe and sacrificed unto the gods, he fell to meate, and had his Feaver that night. And the twentieth day also, bathing himselfe againe, and making his ordinary sacrifice to the gods, he did sit downe to eate within his stove, hearkening unto *Nearchus* that told him strange things he had sene in the great Sea Oceanum. The one and twentieth day also having done the like as before, he was much more inflamed then he had bene, and felt himselfe very ill all night, and the next day following in a great Feaver: and on that day he made his bed to be removed, and to be set up by the Fish-ponds, where he commanded his Captaines touching certaine roomes that were voide in his Army, and commanded them not to place any man that were not of good experience. The three and twentieth day having an extreame Feaver upon him, he was caried unto the sacrifices, and commanded that his chiefe Captaines onely should remaine in his lodging, and that the other meaner sort, as Centurions and Lieutenants of Bands, that they should watch and ward without. The foure and twentieth day, he was carried unto the other pallace of the Kings, which is on the other side of the Lake, where he slept a little, but the Feaver never left him, and when his Captaines and Noblemen came to do him humble reverence, and to see him, he lay speechlesse. So did he the five and twentieth day also: inso much as the *MACEDONIANS* thought he was dead. Then they came and knocked at the pallace gate, and cried out unto his friends and familiars,

Alexander feared *Antipater*.

Alexander fell sick of an Ague.

Aristobolus report of the sicknesse and death of *Alexander*.

The death of
Alexander the
Great.

Aristotle sus-
pected for the
death of Alex-
ander.

Statira slaine
by Roxane.

Aridam, Alex-
anders barbard
brother.

miliars, and threatned them, so that they were compelled to open them the gate. Thereupon the gates were opened, and they coming in their Gownes, went unto his bed-side to see him. That selfe day *Pytho* and *Seleucus* were appointed by the Kings friends to go to the Temple of the god *Serapis*, to know if they should bring King *Alexander* thither. The god answered them, that they should not remove him from thence. The eight and twentieth day at night *Alexander* died. Thus it is written word for word in manner, in the household booke of remembrance. At that present time, there was no suspicion that he was poisoned. Yet they say, that six years after, there appeared some prooffe that he was poisoned. Whereupon his mother *Olympias* put many men to death, and cast the ashes of *Iolas* into the wind, that was dead before, for it was said he gave him poison in his drinke. They thinke it was *Aristotle* that counfelled *Antipater* to do it, by whose meane the poison was brought, they say that *Agnothemis* reported it, having heard it of King *Antigonus* own mouth. The poison (as some say) was cold as ice, and falleth from a rocke in the territory of the City of *NO N A C R I S*, and it is gathered as they would gather a dew into the horne of the foot of an Asse, for there is no other kind of thing that will keep it, it is so extreame cold and piercing. Others maintaine, and say, that the report of his poisoning is untrue: and for prooffe thereof they alledge this reason, which is of no small importance, that is: That the chiefeft Captaines fell at great variance after his death, so that the corps of *Alexander* remained many dayes naked without buriall, in a hot dry Country, and yet there never appeared any signe or token upon his body, that he was poisoned, but was still a clean and fair corps as could be. *Alexander* left *Roxane* great with child, for the which the *MACEDONIANS* did her great honour, but she did malice *Statira* extreame, and did finely deceive her by a counterfeit letter she sent, as if it had come from *Alexander*, willing her to come unto him. But when she was come, *Roxane* killed her and her sister, and then threw their bodies into a well, and filled it up with earth, by *Perdiccas* help and consent. *Perdiccas* came to be King immediately after *Alexanders* death by meanes of *Aridam*, whom he kept above him for his guard and safety: This *Aridam*, being borne of a strumpet and common woman, called *Philinna*, was halfe lunaticke, not by nature nor by chance, but as it is reported, put out of his wits when he was a young rowardy boy, by drinckes which *Olympias* caused to be given him, and thereby continued franticke.

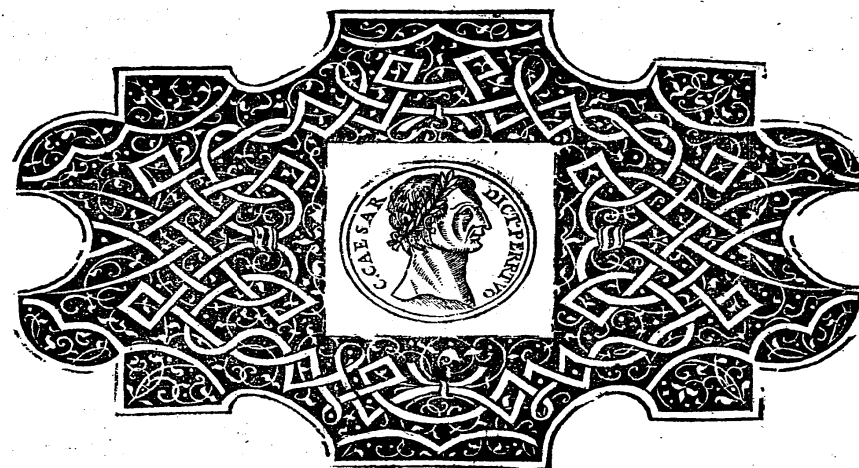
The end of Alexanders Life.



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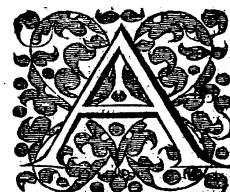
THE

THE LIFE OF JULIUS CÆSAR.



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At what time *Sylla* was made Lord of all, he would have had *Cæsar* put away his wife *Cornelia*, the daughter of *Cinna* Dictator: but when he saw he could neither with any promise nor threat bring him to it, he took her joynter away from him. The cause of *Cæsars* ill will unto *Sylla*, was by meanes of marriage: for *Marius* the elder, married his fathers owne sister, by whom he had *Marius* the younger, whereby *Cæsar* and he were Cousin germanes. *Sylla* being troubled in weighty matters putting to death so many of his enemies, when he came to be conqueror, he made no reckoning of *Cæsar*: and he was not contented to be hidden in safety, but came and made suit unto the people for the Priesthoodship that was voide, when he had scant any haire on his face. Howbeit he was repulsed by *Syllas* meanes, that secretly was against him. Who, when he was determined to have killed him, some of his friends told him, that it was to no purpose to put so young a boy as he to death. But *Sylla* told them again, that they did not consider that there were many *Marians* in that young boy. *Cæsar* understanding that, stole out of *ROME*, and hid himself a long time in the Country of the *SABINES*, wandring still from place to place. But one day being carried from house to house, he fell into the hands of *Syllas* souldiers, who searched all those places, and took them whom they found hidden. *Cæsar* bribed the Captain, whose name was *Cornelius*, with two talents which he gave him. After he had escaped them thus, he went unto the sea side, and took ship, and sailed into *BYTHYNIA* to go unto King *Nicomedes*. When he had been with him a while, he took sea again, and was taken by pyrates about the Isle of *PHARMACUSA*: for those pyrates kept all upon the sea coast, with a great Fleet of ships and boates. They asking him at the first twenty talents for his ransom, *Cæsar* laughed them to scorn, as though they knew not what a man they had taken, and of himself promised them fifty talents. Then he sent his men up and down to get him this money, so that he was left in a manner alone among these thieves of the *CILICIANS* (which are the cruellest butchers in the world) with one of his friends and two of his slaves onely: and yet he made so little reckoning of them, that when he was desirous to sleep, he sent unto them to command them to make no noise. Thus was he thirty eight dayes among them, not kept prisoner, but rather waited upon by them as a Prince. All this time he would boldly exercise himself in any sport or pastime they would go to. And otherwhile also he would write verses, and make orations, and call them together to say them before them: and if any of them seemed as though they had not understood him, or passed not for them, he called them block heads and brute beasts, and laughing, threatned them that he would hang them up. But they were as merry with

Cæsar joynd
with *Cinna* and
Marius.

Cæsar took sea
and went unto
Nicomedes,
King of *Bythi-
nia*,
Cæsar taken of
Pirates.

Junius Prætor
of Asia.

Cæsar's Elo-
quence.

Cæsar loved
hospitality.

Cæsar a follow-
er of the people

Cicero's judg-
ment of Cæsar.
The love of
the people in
Rome unto Cæ-
sar.

Cæsar chosen
tribune militi-
um.

Cæsar made the
Funeral Ora-
tion, at the
death of his
Aunt Julia.

Cæsar the first
that praised his
wife in Funer-
al Oration.
Cæsar made
Quæstor.
Pompeia, Cæsar's
third wife.

with the matter as could be, and took all in good part, thinking that this his bold speech came through the simplicity of his youth. So when his ransom was come from the City of MILETUM, they being paid their money, and he againe set at liberty; he then presently armed and manned certain Ships out of the Haven of MILETUM, to follow those theeves, whom he found yet riding at Anchor in the same Island. So he took the most of them, and had the spoile of their goods; but for their bodies, he brought them into the City of PERGAMUS and there committed them to prison, whilst he himselfe went to speak with Junius, who had the government of ASIA, as unto whom the execution of these Pirates did belong, for that he was Prætor of that Country. But this Prætor having a great fancy to be fingering of the money, because there was good store of it, answered that he would confider of these prisoners at better leisure. Cæsar leaving Junius there, returned again unto PERGAMUS, and there hung up all these theeves openly upon a crosse, as he had oftentimes promised them in the Isle he would do, when they thought he did but jest. Afterwards when Syllaes power began to decay, Cæsar's friends wrote unto him, to pray him to come home again. But he failed first unto RHODES, to study there a time under Apollonius the Son of Molon, whose Scholar also Cicero was, for he was a very honest man, and an excellent good Rhetorician. It is reported, that Cæsar had an excellent natural gift to speak well before the people, and besides that rare gift, he was excellently well studied, so that doubtlesse he was counted the second man for eloquence in his time, and gave place to the first, because he would be the first and chiefest man of war and authority, being not yet come to the degree of perfection to speak well, which his nature could have performed in him, because he was given rather to follow wars, and to manage great matters, which in the end brought him to be Lord of all ROME. And therefore in a book he wrote against that which Cicero made in the praise of Cato, he prayeth the Readers not to compare the stile of a Souldier, with the Eloquence of an excellent Orator, that had followed it the most part of his life. When he was returned againe unto ROME, he accused Dolabella for his ill behaviour in the Government of the Provinces, and he had divers Cities of GRECE that gave in evidence against him. Notwithstanding, Dolabella at the length was dismissed. Cæsar to requite the good will of the GRECIANS which they had shewed him in his accusation of Dolabella, took their cause in hand, when they did accuse Publius Antonius before Marcus Lucullus, Prætor of MACEDON: and followed it so hard against him in their behalfe, that Antonius was driven to appeal before the Tribunes at ROME, alleagding, to colour his appeale withall, that he could have no justice in GRECE against the GRECIANS. Now Cæsar immediately wanne many mens good wills at ROME, through his Eloquence, in pleading of their causes, and the people loved him marvellously also, because of the courteous manner he had to speak to every man, and to use them gently, being more ceremonious therein then was looked for in one of his years. Furthermore, he ever kept a good board, and fared well at his Table, and was very liberal besides: to the which indeed did advance him forward, and brought him in estimation with the people. His enemies judging, that this favour of the common people would soon quail, when he could no longer hold out that charge and expence, suffered him to run on, till by little and little he was grown to be of great strength and power. But in fine, when they had thus given him the bridle to grow to this greatnesse, and that they could not then pull him backe, though indeed in fight it would turn one day to the destruction of the whole state and Commonwealth of ROME: too late they found, that there is not so little a beginning of any thing, but continuance of time will soon make it strong, when through contempt there is no impediment to hinder the greatnesse. Thereupon Cicero like a wise Shipmaster that feareth the calmenesse of the Sea, was the first man that mistrusting his manner of dealing in the Commonwealth, found out his craft and malice, which he cunningly cloked under the habite of outward courtesie and familiarity. And yet, said he, when I consider how finely he comberth his faire bush of haire, and how smooth it lyeth, and that I see him scratch his head with one finger onely, my mind gives me then, that such a kind of man should not have so wicked a thought in his head, as to overthrow the state of the Commonwealth. But this was long time after that. The first shew and prooffe of the love and goodwill which the people did bare unto Cæsar, was when he sued to be Tribune of the souldiers (to wit, Colonell of a thousand footmen) standing against Caius Pompeilius, at that time he was preferred and chosen before him. But the second and more manifest proof then the first, was at the death of his Aunt Julia, the wife of Marius the elder. For being her Nephew, he made a solemne Oration in the Market-place in commendation of her, and at her burial did boldly venture to shew forth the images of Marius: the which was the first time that they were seen after Syllaes victory, because that Marius and all his confederates had been proclaimed Traitors and enemies to the Commonwealth. For when there were some that cryed out upon Cæsar for doing of it, the people on the other side kept stir, and rejoiced at it, clapping of their hands; and thanked him, for that he had brought as it were out of hell, the remembrance of Marius honor again into ROME, which had so long time been obscured and buried. And where it had been an ancient custome of long time, that the ROMANES used to make Funeral Orations in praise of old Ladies and Matrons when they died, but not of young women: Cæsar was the first that praised his own Wife with Funeral Oration when she was dead, the which also did encrease the peoples goodwills the more, seeing him of so kind and gentle nature. After the buriall of his Wife, he was made Treasur-er under Antistius Vetus Prætor, whom he honoured ever after: so that when himselfe came to be Prætor, he made his Son to be chosen Treasur-er. Afterwards, when he was come out of that Office, he married his third Wife Pompeia, having a daughter by his first Wife, Cornelia, which was married unto Pompey the Great. Now for that he was very liberall in expences, buying (as some thought)

thought) but a vaine and short glory of the favour of the people (where indeed he bought good cheape the greatest things that could be) some say, that before he bare any Office in the Commonwealth, he was grown in debt, to the summe of thirteen hundred talents. Furthermore, because he was made over-seer of the worke, for the high way called Appian way, he disbursed a great summe of his owne money towards the charges of the same. And on the other side, when he was made Edilis, for that he did shew the people the pastime of three hundred and twenty couple of sword players, and did besides exceed all other in sumptuousnesse in the sports and common feasts, which he made to delight them withall (and did as it were drowne all the stately shews of others in the like, that had gone before him) he so pleased the people, and wan their love therewith, that they devised daily to give him new Offices for to requite him. At that time there were two factions in ROME, to wit, the faction of Sylla, which was very strong and of great power; and the other of Marius, which then was under foote, and durst not shew it selfe. But Cæsar because he would renew it againe, even at that time when he being Edilis, all the feasts and common sports were in their greatest ruffe, he secretly caused images of Marius to be made, and of victories that carried triumphs; and those he set up one night within the Capitoll. The next morning when every man saw glittering of these golden images excellently well wrought, shewing by the inscriptions, that they were the victories which Marius had won upon the CIMBRES, every one marvelled much at the boldnesse of him that durst set them up there, knowing well enough who it was. Hereupon it ranne straight through all the City, and every man came thither to see them. Then some cried out upon Cæsar, and said, it was a tyranny which he meant to set up, by renewing of such honours as before had been troden under foot and forgotten, by common decree and open proclamation: and that it was no more but a bait to gage the peoples good wills, which he had set out in the stately shewes of his common playes, to see if he had brought them to his lure, that they would abide such parts to be played, and a new alteration of things to be made. They of Marius faction on the other side encouraging one another, shewed themselves straight a great number gathered together, and made the mount of the Capitoll ring again with their cries and Clapping of hands: inso much as the teares ran down many of their cheeks, for very joy, when they saw the images of Marius, and they extolled Cæsar to the skies, judging him the worthiest man of all the kindred of Marius. The Senate being assembled thereupon, Catulus Lucilius, one of the greatest authority at that time in ROME, rose, and vehemently inveighed against Cæsar, and spake that then which ever since hath been noted much: that Cæsar did not now covertly go to worke, but by plain force sought to alter the state of the Commonwealth. Nevertheless, Cæsar at that time answered him so, that the Senat was satisfied. Thereupon they that had him in estimation did grow in better hope then before, and perswaded him, that hardly he should give place to no man, and that through the goodwill of the people, he should be better then all they, and come to be the chiefest man of the City. At that time the chiefe Bishop Metellus died, and two of the notablest men of the City, and of the greatest authority (Isauricus and Catulus) contended for his roome: Cæsar notwithstanding their contention, would give neither of them both place, but presented himself to the people, and made suite for it as they did. The suite being equall betwixt either of them, Catulus, because he was a man of greater calling and dignity than the other, doubting the uncertainty of the election, sent unto Cæsar a good summe of money, to make him leave off his suite. But Cæsar sent him word againe, that he would lend a greater summe then that, to maintaine the suite against him. When the day of the election came, his mother bringing him to the doore of his house, Cæsar weeping, kissed her, and said: Mother, this day thou shalt see thy sonne chiefe Bishop of ROME, or banished from ROME. In fine, when the voices of the people were gathered together, and the strife well debated, Cæsar wanne the victory, and made the Senate and Noble men all afraid of him, for that they thought that thenceforth he would make the people do what he thought good. Then Catulus and Piso fell flatly out with Cicero, and condemned him for that he did not bewray Cæsar, when he knew that he was of conspiracy with Catiline, and had opportunity to have done it. For when Catiline was bent and determined, not onely to overthrow the state of the Commonwealth, but utterly to destroy the Empire of ROME, he escaped out of the hands of justice for lacke of sufficient prooffe, before his full treason and determination was knowne. Notwithstanding he left Lentulus and Cæbeus in the City, companions of his conspiracy: unto whom, whether Cæsar did give any secret helpe or comfort, it is not well known. Yet this is manifest; that when they were convinced in open Senate, Cicero being at that time Confull, asking every mans opinion in the Senate, what punishment they should have, and every one of them till it came to Cæsar, gave sentence they should die: Cæsar then rising up to speake, made an oration (permed and premeditated before) and said, that it was neither lawfull, nor yet their custome did beare it to put men of such Nobility to death (but in an extremity) without lawfull inditement: and condemnation. And therefore, that if they were put in prison in some City of ITALY, where Cicero thought best untill that Catiline were overthrowne, the Senate then might at their pleasure quickly take such order therein, as might appear best unto their wisdomes. This opinion was thought more gentle, and withall was uttered with such a passing good grace, and eloquence, that not onely they which were to speake after him did approve it: but such also as had spoken to the contrary before, revoked their opinion, and stucke to his, until it came to Cato and Catulus to speake. They both did sharply inveigh against him, but Cato chiefly: who in his oration made Cæsar suspected to be of the conspiracy, and stoutly spake against him, inso much that the offenders were put into the hands of the Officers to be put to death. Cæsar coming out of the Senate, a company of young men which guarded

Cæsar's prediga-
tion.

Cæsar accused
to make a re-
bellion in the
state.

The death of
Metellus chiefe
Bishop of Rome

Cæsar made
chief Bishop of
Rome.

Cæsar suspected
to be confeder-
ate with Catil-
ine in his con-
spiracy.

Cæsar went a-
bout to deliver
the conspira-
tors.

Cato's oration
against Cæsar.

Cicero

The love of P. Clodius unto Pompeia, Cæsar's wife.
The good goddess what she was, and her sacrifices.

Clodius taken in the sacrifices of the good goddess.
Clodius accused for prophaning the sacrifices of the good goddess.
Cæsar putteth away his wife Pompeia.

Cicero for the safety of his person, did set upon him with their swords drawne. But some say that Curio covered Cæsar with his Gowne, and tooke him out of their hands. And Cicero selfe, when the young men looked upon him, beckened with his head that they should not kill him, either fearing the fury of the people, or else that he thought it too shamefull and wicked a part. But if that were true, I marvell why Cicero did not put it into his booke he wrote of his Consulship. But certainly they blamed him afterwards, for that he tooke not the opportunity offered him against Cæsar, onely for overmuch feare of the people, that loved him very dearly. For shortly after, when Cæsar went into the Senate, to cleare himselfe of certaine presumptions and false accusations objected against him, and being bitterly taunted among them, the Senate keeping him longer, than they were wont: the people came about the Councill-house, and called out aloud for him, bidding them let him out. Cato then fearing the insurrection of the poore needy persons, which were they that put all their hope in Cæsar, and did also move the people to stirre, did perswade the Senate to make a franke distribution of Corne unto them, for a moneth. This distribution did put the Common-wealth to a new charge of five hundred and fifty Myriades. This counsell quenched a present great feare, and did in happy time scatter and disperse abroad the best part of Cæsar's force and power, at such time as he was made Prætor, and that for respect of his office he was most to be feared. Yet all the time he was officer, he never fought any alteration in the Common-wealth, but contrarily he himselfe had a great misfortune fell on his house, which was this. There was a young Noble man of the order of the PATRICIANS, called Publius Clodius, who lacked neither wealth, nor eloquence but otherwise as insolent and impudent a person, as any was else in ROME. He became in love with Pompeia Cæsar's wife, who misliked not withall: notwithstanding she was so straightly looked to, and Aurelia (Cæsar's mother) an honest Gentlewoman had such an eye of her, that these two lovers could not meete as they would, without great perill and difficulty. The ROMANES do use to honor a goddesse, which they call the good goddesse, as the GRECIANS have her whom they call Gynæcia, to wit, the goddesse of women. Her, the PHRYGIANS do claime to be peculiar unto them, saying: that she is King Midas mother. Howbeit the ROMANES hold opinion, that it is a Nymph of the Woodes married unto the god Fannus. The GRECIANS, they also, that she was one of the mothers of the god Bacchus, whom they dare not name. And for prooffe hereof, on her feast day, the women make certaine Tabernacles of vine twiggies, and leaves of vine branches; and also they make as the tale goeth, a holy Dragon for this goddesse, and do set it by her: besides, it is not lawfull for any man to be present at their sacrifices, no not within the house it selfe where they are made. Furthermore, they say, that the women in these sacrifices do many things among themselves, much like unto the Ceremonies of Orpheus. Now when the time of this feast came, the husband (whether he were Prætor or Consul) and all his men and the boyes in the house, do come out of it, and leave it wholly to his wife, to order the house at her pleasure, and there the sacrifices and ceremonies are done the most part of the night, and they do besides passe the night away in songs and musick. Pompeia Cæsar's wife, being that yeare to celebrate this feast, Clodius who had yet no haire on his face, and thereby thought he should not be bewrayed, disguised himselfe in a singing Wench's apparell, because his face was very like unto a young Wench. He finding the Gates open, being secretly brought in by her Chamber-maide that was made privy unto it, the left him, and ranne to Pompeia her mistress, to tell her that he was come. The Chamber-maide tarried long before she came againe, inasmuch as Clodius being weary waiting for her where she left him, he tooke his pleasure, and went from one place to another in the house, which had very large roomes in it, still shunning the light; and was by chance met withall by one of Aurelia's maides, who taking him for a woman, prayed her to play. Clodius refusing to play, the maide pulled him forward, and asked him what he was: Clodius then answered her, that he tarried for Abra one of Pompeia's women. So Aurelia maide knowing him by his voice, ranne straight where the lights and Ladies were, and cried out, that there was a man disguised in womans apparell. The women therewith were so amazed, that Aurelia caused them presently to leave off the Ceremonies of the Sacrifice, and to hide their secret things; and having seene the Gates fast locked, went immediately up and downe the house with Torch-light to seeke out this man: who at the last was found out in the Chamber of Pompeia's maide, with whom he hid himselfe. Thus Clodius being found out, and knowne of the women, they thrust him out of the doores by the shoulders. The same night the women told their husbands of this chance as soone as they came home. The next morning, there ranne a great rumour through the City, how Clodius had attempted a great villany, and that he deserved, not onely to be punished of them whom he had slandered, but also of the Common-wealth and the gods. There was one of the Tribunes of the people that did indite him, and accuse him of High Treason to the gods. Furthermore, there were also of the chieftest of the Nobility and Senate, that came to depose against him, and burthened him with many horrible and detestable facts, and specially with incest committed with his owne sister, which was married unto Lucullus. Notwithstanding the people stoutly defended Clodius against their accusations: and this did helpe him much against the Judges, which were amazed, and afraid to stirre the people. This notwithstanding, Cæsar presently put his wife away, and thereupon being brought by Clodius accuser to be a witness against him, he answered, he knew nothing of that they objected against Clodius. This answer being cleane contrary to their expectation that heard it, the accuser asked Cæsar, why then he had put away his wife: Because I will not, said he, that my wife be so much as suspected. And some say, that Cæsar spake truly as he thought. But others thinke, that he did it to please the common people, who were very desirous to save Clodius. So Clodius was discharged

discharged of this Accusation, because the most part of the Judges gave a confused Judgement, for the feare they stood in one way, of the danger of the common People, if they condemned him, and for the ill opinion on the other side of the Nobility, if they did quit him. The government of the Province of SPAIN being fallen unto Cæsar, for that he was Prætor, his Creditors came and cried out upon him, and were importunate of him to be payed. Cæsar being unable to satisfie them, was compelled to go unto Crassus, who was the richest man of all ROME, and that stood in neede of Cæsar's boldnesse and courage to withstand Pompey's greatnesse in the Common-wealth. Crassus became his surety unto his greediest Creditors for the summe of eight hundred and thirty Talents: whereupon they suffered Cæsar to depart to the government of his Province. In this Journey it is reported, that passing over the Mountaines of the Alpes, they came through a little poore Village that had not many Houfholds, and yet poore Cortages. There his friends that did accompany him, asked him merrily, if there were any contending for Offices in that Towne, and whether there were any strife there amongst the Noblemen for honour. Cæsar speaking in good earnest, answered: I cannot tell that, said he, but for my part I had rather be the chieftest man here, then the second person in ROME. Another time also when he was in SPAIN, reading the History of Alexander's acts, when he had read it, he was sorrowfull a good while after, and then burst out in weeping. His friends seeing that, marvelled what should be the cause of his sorrow. He answered them, Do you not thinke, said he, that I have good cause to be heavie, when King Alexander being no elder then my selfe is now, had in old time wonne so many Nations and Countreys: and that I hitherto have done nothing worthy of my selfe? Therefore when he was come into SPAIN, he was very carefull of his businesse, and had in few daies joyned ten new Ensignes more of Footmen, unto the other twenty which he had before. Then marching forward against the CALLESIANES and LUSITANIANES, he conquered all, and went as far as the great Sea Oceanum, subduing all the People which before knew not the ROMANES for their Lords. There he tooke order for pacifying of the Warre, and did as wisely take order for the establishing of peace. For he did reconcile the Cities together, and made them friends one with another, but specially he pacified all suites of Law, and strife betwixt the Debtors and Creditors, which grew by reason of usury. For he ordained that the Creditors should take yearly two parts of the Revenue of their Debtors, untill such time as they had payed themselves: and that the Debtors should have the third part themselves to live withall. He having wonne great estimation by this good order taken, returned from his Government very rich, and his Souldiers also full of rich Spoiles, who called him Imperator, to say, Sovereigne Captaine. Now the ROMANES having a custome, that such as demanded honour of Triumph, should remaine a while without the City, and that they on the other side which sued for the Consulship, should necessity be there in person: Cæsar coming unhappily at the very time when the Consuls were chosen, he sent to pray the Senate to do him that favour, that being absent he might by his friends sue for the Consulship. Cato at the first did vehemently inveigh against it, vouching an expresse Law to the contrary. But afterwards, perceiving that notwithstanding the reasons he alledged, many of the Senators (being wonne by Cæsar) favoured his request, yet he cunningly sought all he could to prevent them, prolonging time, in dilating his Oration untill night. Cæsar thereupon determined rather to give over the suite of his Triumph, and to make suite for the Consulship: and so came into the City, and had such a device with him, as went beyond them all, but Cato onely. His device was this: Pompey and Crassus, two of the greatest personages of the City of ROME being at jarre together, Cæsar made them friends, and by that means got unto himselfe the power of them both, for by colour of that gentle act and friendship of his, he subtilly (unawares to them all) did greatly alter and change the state of the Common-wealth. For it was not the private discord betwene Pompey and Cæsar, as many men thought, that caused the Civill-warre: but rather it was their agreement together, who joyned all their Powers first to overthrow the state of the Senate and Nobility, and afterwards they fell at jarre one with another. But Cato that then foresaw and prophesied many times what would follow, was taken but for a vaine man: but afterwards they found him a wiser man, then happy in his Counsell. Thus Cæsar being brought unto the Assembly of the election, in the middle of these two noble persons, whom he had before reconciled together, he was there chosen Consul with Calpurnius Bibulus, without gain-saying, or contradiction of any man. Now Consulship when he was entred into his Office, he began to put forth Lawes meeter for a seditious Tribune of the People, then for a Consul: because by them he preferred the division of Lands, and distributing of Corne to every Citizen gratis, to please them withall. But when the Noblemen of the Senate were against his device, he desiring no better occasion, began to cry out, and to protest, that by the over-bardnesse and austeritie of the Senate, they drave him against his will to leane unto the People: and thereupon having Crassus on the one side of him, and Pompey on the other, he asked them openly in the Assembly, if they did give their consent unto the Lawes which he had put forth. They both answered, they did. Then he prayed them to stand by him against those that threatened him with force of Sword to lett him. Crassus gave him his word, he would, Pompey also did the like, and added thereunto, that he would come with his Sword and Target both, against them that would withstand him with their Swords. These words offended much the Senate, being farre unmeetere for his gravity, and undecent for the Majesty and Honour he carried, and most of all uncomely for the presence of the Senate, whom he should have revered: and were speeches fitter for a rash light-headed youth, then for his Person. Howbeit the common People on the other side, they rejoiced: E c c

Clodius quit by the Judges, for prophaning the Sacrifices of the good goddess.
Cæsar Prætor of Spaine.
Crassus surety for Cæsar to his Creditors.
Cæsar's order betwixt the Creditor and the Debtor.
Cæsar's Souldiers called him Imperator.
Cæsar reconciled Pompey and Crassus together.
Cato's foresight and Prophecy.
Cæsar's first Consulship with Calpurnius Bibulus.
Cæsar's Lawes, Lex Agraria.

Caesar married his Daughter Julia unto Pompey.
Caesar married Calpurnia the Daughter of Piso.

Pompey by force of Armes authorized Caesar's Lawes.
Caesar sent Cato to prison.

Caesar by Clodius, drove Cicero out of Italy.

Caesar, a valiant Souldier, and a skillfull Capitaine.

Caesar's Conquests in Gaule

The love and respect of Caesar's Souldiers unto him.

The wonderfull valiancy of Acilius, Cassius Scæva, and others of Caesar's Souldiers.

Then Caesar because he would be more assured of Pompeys power and friendship, he gave him his Daughter Julia in Marriage, which was made sure before unto Servilius Cæpio, and promised him in exchange Pompeys Daughter, who was sure also unto Faustus the Sonne of Sylla. And shortly after also, Caesar selfe did marry Calpurnia, the Daughter of Piso, whom he caused to be made Consul, to succeed him the next yeare following. Cato then cried out with open mouth, and called the gods to witnesse, that it was a shamefull matter, and not to be suffered, that they should in that sort make havocke of the Empire of ROME, by such horrible bawdy matches, distributing among themselves through those wicked marriages, the Governments of the Provinces, and of great Armies. Calpurnius Bibulus, fellow-Consull with Caesar, perceiving that he did contend in vaine, making all the resistance he could to withstand this Law, and that oftentimes he was in danger to be slaine with Cato, in the Market-place and Assembly; he kept close in his House all the rest of his Consulship. When Pompey had married Julia, he filled all the Market-place with Souldiers, and by open force authorized the Lawes which Caesar made in the behalfe of the People. Furthermore, he procured that Caesar had GAULE on this side and beyond the Alpes, and all ILLYRIA, with foure Legions granted him for five yeares. Then Cato standing up to speake against it, Caesar bade his Officers lay hold on him, and carry him to prison, thinking he would have appealed unto the Tribunes. But Cato said never a word when he went his way. Caesar perceiving then, that not onely the Senators and Nobility were offended, but that the common People also for the reverence they bare unto Catos vertues, were ashamed, and went away with silence; he himselfe secretly did pray one of the Tribunes that he would take Cato from the Officers. But after he had played this part, there were few Senators that would be President of the Senate under him, but left the City, because they could not away with his doings. And of them, there was an old man called Cædicius, that on a time boldly told him, the rest durst not come to Councell, because they were afraid of his Souldiers. Caesar answered him againe; and why then doest not thou keepe thee at home, for the same feare? Cædicius replied, because my age taketh away feare from me: for having so short a time to live, I have no care to prolong it further. The shamefull part that Caesar played while he was Consul, seemeth to be this: when he chose P. Clodius Tribune of the People, that had offered his Wife such dishonour, and prophaned the holy ancient Mysteries of the Women, which were celebrated in his owne House. Clodius sued to be Tribune no to other end, but to destroy Cicero: and Caesar selfe also departed not from ROME to his Army before he had set them together by the eares, and driven Cicero out of ITALY. All these things they say he did, before the Warres with the GAULES. But the time of the great Armies and Conquests he made afterwards, and of the Warre in which he subdued all the GAULES (entring into another course of life far contrary unto the first) made him to be knowne for as valiant a Souldier, and as excellent a Capitaine to lead them, as those that afore him had beene counted the wisest and most valiant Generals that ever were, and that by their valiant deedes had achieved great honour. For whosoever would compare the House of the Fabians, of the Scipios, of the Metellians, yea those also of his owne time, or long before him, as Sylla, Marius, the two Lucullians, and Pompey selfe:

Whole fame ascendeth up unto the Heavens.

It will appeare that Caesars prowesse, and deedes of Armes, did excell them all together. The one, in the hard Countreys where he made Warres: another, in enlarging the Realmes and Countreys which he joyned unto the Empire of ROME: another, in the multitude and power of his Enemies whom he overcame: another in the rudenesse and austere nature of men with whom he had to do, whose manners afterwards he softned and made civill: another, in courtesie and clemency which he used unto them whom he had conquered: another, in great bounty and liberality bestowed unto them that served under him in those Warres: and in fine, he excelled them all in the number of Battels he had fought, and in the multitude of his Enemies he had slaine in Battell. For in lesse then tenne yeares Warre in GAULE, he tooke by force and assault above eight hundred Townes, he conquered three hundred severall Nations: and having before him in Battell thirty hundred thousand Souldiers, at sundry times, he slew tenne hundred thousand of them, and tooke as many more Prisoners. Furthermore, he was so entirely beloved of his Souldiers, that to doe him service (where otherwise they were no more then other men in any private quarrell) if Caesars honour were touched, they were invincible, and would so desperately venture themselves, and with such fury, that no man was able to abide them. And this appeareth plainly by the example of Acilius: who in a Battell by Sea before the City of MARSEILLES, boarding one of his Enemies Shippes, one cut off his right hand with a Sword; but yet he forooke not his Target which he had in his left hand, but thrust it in his Enemies faces, and made them flie, so that he wanne their Shippe from them. And Cassius Scæva also, in a Conflit before the City of DYRRACHIUM, having one of his eyes put out with an Arrow, his shoulder stricken through with a Dart, and his thigh with another, and having received thirty Arrows upon his Shield, he called to his Enemies, and made as though he would yeeld unto them. But when two of them came running to him, he that clave one of their shoulders from his body with his Sword, and hurt the other in the face: so that he made him turne his backe, and at the length saved himselfe, by meanes of his Companions that came to helpe him. And in BRITTAINE also, when the Captaines of the Bands were driven into a Marish or Bogge full of mire and dirt, and that the Enemies did fiercely assaile them there, Caesar then standing to view the Battell, he saw a private Souldier of his thrust in among the

the Captaines, and fought so valiantly in their defence, that at the length he drave the barbarous People to flie, and by his meanes saved the Captaines, which otherwise were in great danger to have beene cast away. Then this Souldier being the hindmost man of all the Captaines, marching with great paine through the mire and dirt, halfe swimming, and halfe on foote, in the end got to the other side, but left his Shield behinde him. Caesar wondering at his noble courage, ranne to him with joy to embrace him. But the poore Souldier hanging downe his head, the water standing in his eyes, fell downe at Caesars feete, and besought him to pardon him, for that he had left his Target behinde him. And in AFRICK also, Scipio having taken one of Caesars Shippes, and Granus Petronius aboard on her amongst other, not long before chosen Treasurer; he put all the rest to the Sword but him, and said he would give him his life. But Petronius answered him againe, that Caesars Souldiers did not use to have their lives given them, but to give others their lives: and with these words he drew his Sword, and thrust himselfe through. Now Caesar selfe did breede this noble courage and life in them. First, for that he gave them bountifullly, and did honour them also, shewing thereby, that he did not heape up Riches in the Warres, to maintaine his life afterwards in wantonnesse and pleasure, but that he did keepe it in store, honourably to reward their valiant service: and that by so much he thought himselfe rich, by how much he was liberall in rewarding of them that had deserved it. Furthermore, they did not wonder so much at his valiantnesse, in putting himselfe at every instant in such manifest danger, and in taking so extreame paines as he did, knowing that it was his greedy desire of honour that set him on fire, and pricked him forward to do it: but that he alwaies continued all labour and hardnesse, more then his body could beare, that filled them all with admiration. For, concerning the constitution of his body, he was leane, white, and soft skinned, and often subject to head-ach, and other-while to the falling-sicknesse (the which rooke him the first time, as it is reported, in CORDUBA, a City of SPAINES;) but yet therefore yeelded not to the discafe of his body, to make it a cloake to cherish him withall, but contrarily, toke the paines of Warre, as a Medicine to cure his sicke body, fighting alwaies with his discafe, travelling continually, living soberly, and commonly lying abroad in the Field. For the most nights he slept in his Coach or Litter, and thereby bestowed his rest, to make him alwaies able to do something: and in the day time, he would travell up and downe the Countrey to see Townes, Castles, and strong places. He had alwaies a Secretary with him in the Coach, who did still write as he went by the way, and a Souldier behinde him that carried his Sword. He made such speede the first time he came from ROME, when he had his Office, that in eight daies he came to the River of Rhone. He was so excellent a rider of Horfe from his youth, that holding his hands behinde him, he would gallop his Horfe upon the spur. In his Warres in GAULE, he did further exercise himselfe to indite Letters as he rode by the way; and did occupie two Secretaries at once with as much as they could write: and as Oppius writeth, more then two at a time. As it is reported, that Caesar was the first that devised friends might talke together by writing Cyphers in Letters, when he had no leisure to speake with them for his urgent businesse, and for the great distance besides from ROME. How little account Caesar made of his Diet, this example doth prove it. Caesar supping one night in MILLAINE with his friend Valerius Leo, there was served Sperage to his Boord, and oyle of Perfume put into it, in stead of Sallet-oyle. He simply ate it, and found no fault, blaming his friends that were offended: and told them, that it had beene enough for them to have abstained to eate of that they disliked, and not to shame their friend, and how that he lacked good manners that found fault with his friend. Another time as he travelled through the Countrey, he was driven by foule weather on the sudden to take a poore mans Cottage, that had but one little Cabin in it, and that was so narrow, that one man could but scarce lie in it. Then he said to his friends that were about him, Greatest roomes are meetest for greatest men, and the most necessary roomes for the sicke stiperons. And thersupon he caused Oppius that was sicke to lie there all night: and he himselfe, with the rest of his friends, lay without doores, under the eafing of the Houfe. The first Warre that Caesar made with the GAULES, was with the HELVETIANS and TIGURINIANS, who having set fire on all their good Cities, to the number of twelve, and foure hundred Villages besides, came to invade that part of GAULE which was subject to the ROMANES, as the CIMBRI and TEUTONS had done before, unto whom for valiantnesse they gave no place: and they were also a great number of them (for they were three hundred thousand soules in all) whereof there were an hundred fourescore and ten thousand fighting men. Of those, it was not Caesar himselfe that overcame the TIGURINIANS, but Labienus his Lieutenant, that overthrew them by the River of Arax. But the HELVETIANS themselves came suddenly with their Army to set upon him, as he was going towards a City of his Confederates. Caesar perceiving that, made haste to get him some place of strength, and there did set his men in Battell-ray. When one brought him his Horfe to get upon, which he used in Battell, he said unto them: When I have overcome mine Enemies, I will then get upon him to follow the chase, but now let us give them Charge. Therewith he marched forward on foote, and gave charge: and there fought it out a long time, before he could make them flie that were in Battell. But the greatest trouble he had, was to distresse their Campe, and to breake their strength which they had made with their Carts. For there, they that before had fled from the Battell, did not onely put themselves in force, and valiantly fought it out: but their Wives and Children also fighting for their lives to the death, were all slaine, and the Battell was scant ended at midnight. Now if the act of this Victory was famous, unto that

Granus Petronius.

Caesar had the falling-sicknesse.

The temperance of Caesar in his diet.

Caesar's civility not to blame his friend.

The Tigurinians slaine by Labienus, Arax R.

Caesar refused his Horfe when he fought a Battell.

The Helvetians slaine by Caesar.

Rhcyus fl.
Caesar made
Warre with
King Ariovis-
tus.

The wife wo-
men of Germa-
ny, how they
did foretell
things to come.

King Ariovis-
tus overthrow
by Caesar.

The Belgæ o-
vercome by
Caesar.

Nervii the
bottell War-
riors of all the
Belgæ.

The Nervii
slaine by Ca-
sar.

he also added another as notable, or exceeding it. For of all the barbarous People that had escaped from this Battell, he gathered together againe above an hundred thousand of them, and compelled them to returne home into their Countrey which they had forsaken, and unto their Townes and which they had burnt: because he feared the GERMANES would come over the River of Rheyne, and occupie that Countrey lying void. The second Warre he made, was in defence of the GAULES against the GERMANES: although before, he himselfe had caused Ariovistus their King, to be received for a Confederate of the ROMANES. Notwithstanding, they were growne very unquiet Neighbours, and it appeared plainly, that having any occasion offered them to enlarge their Territories, they would not content them with their owne, but meant to invade and possesse the rest of GAULE. Caesar perceiving that some of his Captaines trembled for feare, but specially the young Gentlemen of noble Houses of ROME, who thought to have gone to the Warres with him, as onely for their pleasure and gaine, he called them to Councell, and commanded them that were afraid, that they should depart home, and not put themselves in danger against their wills. But they had such womanish faint hearts, to shrink when he had neede of them. And for himselfe he said, he would set upon the barbarous People, though he had left him but the tenth Legion onely, saying that the Enemies were no valiantier then the CIMBRI had bene, nor that he was a Captaine inferior unto Marius. This Oration being made, the Souldiers of the tenth Legion sent their Lieutenants unto him, to thanke him for the good opinion he had of them: and the other Legions also fell off with their Captaines, and all of them together followed him many daies Journey with good will to serve him, untill they came within two hundred furlongs of the Campe of the Enemies. Ariovistus courage was well cooled, when he saw Caesar was come, and that the ROMANES came to seeke out the GERMANES; where they thought, and made account, that they should not have abidden them: and therefore nothing mistrusting it would have come so to passe, he wondered much at Caesar's courage, and the more when he saw his owne Army in a maze withall. But much more did their courage fall, by reason of the foolish Womens Prophecies they had amongst them, which did foretell things to come: who considering the waves and trouble of the Rivers, and the terrible noise they made running downe the streame, did fore-warnie them not to fight untill the new Moone. Caesar having intelligence thereof, and perceiving that the barbarous People thereupon stirred not, thought it best then to set upon them, being discouraged with the superstitious feare, rather then losing time, he should tarry their leisure. So he did skirmish with them even to their Forts, and little Hills where they lay, and by this meanes provoked them so, that with great fury they came downe to fight. There he overcame them in Battell, and followed them in chase, with great slaughter, three hundred furlongs, even unto the River of Rheyne: and he filled all the Fields thitherto with dead Bodies and Spoiles. Howbeit Ariovistus flying with speede, got over the River of Rheyne, and escaped with a few of his men. It is said that there were flaine fourescore thousand persons at this Battell. After this Exploit, Caesar left his Army amongst the SEQUANES to winter there: and he himselfe in the meane time, thinking of the affaires at ROME, went over the Mountaines into GAULE about the River of Po, being part of his Province which he had in charge. For there the River called Rubico, divideth the rest of ITALY from GAULE on this side of the Alpes. Caesar lying there, did practise to make friends in ROME, because many came thither to see him: unto whom he granted their suites they demanded, and sent them home also, partly with liberal rewards, and partly with large promises and hopes. Now during all this Conquest of the GAULES, Pompey did not consider how Caesar interchangeably did conquer the GAULES with the Weapons of the ROMANES, and wanne the ROMANES againe with the Money of the GAULES. Caesar being advertised that the BELGÆ (which were the warlikest men of all the GAULES, and that occupied the third part of GAULE) were all up in Armes, and had raised a great power of men together: he straight made towards them with all possible speede, and found them spoyling and over-running the Countrey of the GAULES, their Neighbours and Confederates of the ROMANES. So he gave them Battell, and they fighting cowardly, he overthrew the most part of them, which were in a troupe together, and slew such a number of them, that the ROMANES passed over deepe Rivers and Lakes on footes: upon their dead bodies, the Rivers were so full of them. After this overthrow, they that dwelt nearest unto the Sea side, and were next neighbours unto the Ocean, did yeeld themselves without any compulsion or fight: whereupon, he led his Army against the NERVIIANS, the stoutest Warriors of all the BELGÆ. They dwelling in the Wood-Countrey, had conveyed their Wives, Children, and Goods, into a marvellous great Forest, as farre from their Enemies as they could; and being about the number of sixe-score thousand fighting men and more, they came one day and set upon Caesar, when his Army was out of order, and fortifying of his Campe, little looking to have fought that day. At the first Charge, they brake the Horsemen of the ROMANES, and compassing in the twelfth and seventh Legion, they slew all the Centurions and Captaines of the Bands. And had not Caesar selfe taken his Shield on his arme, and flying amongst the barbarous People, made a lane through them that fought before him: and the tenth Legion also seeing him in danger, run unto him from the top of the Hill where they stood in Battell, and broken the Ranks of their Enemies, there had not a ROMANE escaped alive that day. But taking example of Caesar's valiantnesse, they fought desperately beyond their power, and yet could not make the NERVIIANS flie, but they fought it out to the death, till they were all in a manner flaine in the Field. It

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is written, that of three-score thousand fighting men, there escaped onely but five hundred: and of foure hundred Gentlemen and Councellors of the ROMANES, but three saved. The Senate understanding it at ROME, ordained that they should do Sacrifice unto the gods, and keepe Feasts and solemn Processions fiftene daies together without intermission, having never made the like Ordinance at ROME, for any Victory that ever was obtained. Because they saw the danger had bene marvellous great, so many Nations rising as they did in Armes together against him: and further, the love of the People unto him made his Victory much more famous. For when Caesar had set his affaires at a stay in GAULE, on the other side of the Alpes, he alwaies used to lie about the River of Po in the Winter time, to give direction for the establishing of things at ROME, at his pleasure. For, not onely they that made suite for Offices at ROME, were chosen Magistrates by means of Caesar's Money which he gave them, with the which, bribing the People, they bought their voyces, and when they were in Office, did all that they could to increase Caesar's power and greatnesse: but the greatest and chiefest men also of the Nobility, went into LUCA unto him. As Pompey, Crassus, Appius Drator of SARDINIA, and Nepos Proconsull in SPAIN. Inomuch as there were at one time, The great Lords of Rome, sixe-score Serjants carrying Rods and Axes before the Magistrates: and above two hundred Senators came to Luca to Caesar. Besides. There they fell in Consultation, and determined that Pompey and Crassus should againe be chosen Consuls the next yeare following. Furthermore, they did appoint, that Caesar should have Money againe delivered him to pay his Army; and besides, did prorogue the time of his Governement five yeares further. This was thought a very strange and an unreasonable matter unto wise men. For they themselves that had taken so much Money of Caesar, perswaded the Senate to let him have Money of the common Treasure, as though he had had none before: yea to speake more plainly, they compelled the Senate unto it, fighting and lamenting to see the Decrees they passed. Cato was not there then, for they had purposely sent him before unto CYPRUS. Howbeit Faunius that followed Cato's steps, when he saw that he could not prevaile, nor withstand them, he went out of the Senate in choler, and cried out amongst the People, that it was a horrible shame. But no man did hearken to him: some for the reverence they bare unto Pompey and Crassus; and others favouring Caesar's proceedings, did put all their hope and trust in him: and therefore did quiet themselves, and stirred not. Then Caesar returning into GAULE beyond the Alpes unto his Army, found there a great Warre in the Countrey. For two great Nations of GERMANIE had not long before passed over the River of Rheyne, to conquer new Lands: and the one of these People were called IPES, and the other TENTERIDES. Now touching the Battell which Caesar fought with them, he himselfe doth describe it in his Commentaries, in this sort. That the barbarous People having sent Ambassadors unto him, to require peace for a certaine time; they notwithstanding, against the Law of Armes, came and set upon him as he traveled by the way, inomuch as eight hundred of their men of Armes overthrew five thousand of his Horsemen, who nothing at all mistrusted their coming. Again, that they sent him other Ambassadors to mocke him once more: but that he kept them, and therewith caused his whole Army to march against them, thinking it a folly and madnesse, to keepe faith with such trayterous barbarous breakers of Leagues. Cannius writeth, that the Senate appointing againe to do new Sacrifices, Processions and Feasts, to give thanks to the gods for this Victory, Cato was of contrary opinion, that Caesar should be delivered into the hands of the barbarous People, for to purge their City and Common-weale of this breach of faith, and to turne the curse upon him that was the Authour of it. Of these barbarous People, which came over the Rheyne (being about the number of foure hundred thousand persons) they were all in manner flaine, saving a very few of them, that flying from the Battell got over the River of Rheyne againe, who were received by the SICAMBRIANS, another People of the GERMANES. Caesar taking this occasion against them, lacking no good will of himselfe besides, to have the honour to be counted the first ROMANE that ever passed over the River of Rheyne with an Army, he built a Bridge over it. This River is marvellous broad, and runneth with great fury; and in that place specially where he built his Bridge, for there it is of a great breadth from one side to the other: and it hath so strong, and swift a streame besides, that men casting downe great bodies of Trees into the River (which the streame bringeth downe with it) did with the great blows and force thereof marvellously shake the posts of the Bridge he had set up. But to prevent the blows of those Trees, and also to breake the fury of the streame, he made a pile of great Woode above the Bridge a good way, and did forcibly ramme them into the bottome of the River: so that in ten daies space he had set up and finisht his Bridge, of the goodliest Carpenters worke, and most excellent invention to see to, that could be possibly thought or devised. Then passing over his Army upon it, he found none that durst any more fight with him. For the SWABIANS, which were the warlikest People of all GERMANIE, had gotten themselves with their Goods into wonderfull great Valleys and Bogges, full of Woodes and Forests. Now when he had burnt all the Countrey of his Enemies, and confirmed a League with the Confederates of the ROMANES, he returned backe againe into GAULE after he had tarried eightene daies at the most in GERMANIE, on the other side of the Rheyne. The Journey he made also into ENGLAND was a noble Enterprize, and very commendable. For he was the first that sailed the West Ocean with an Army by Sea, and that passed through the Sea Atlanticum with his Army, to make Warre in that so great and famous Island (which many ancient Writers would not believe that it was so indeede, and did make them vary about it, saying it was but a fable and a lie) and was the first that enlarged the ROMANES Empire, beyond the Earth inhabitable.

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For twice he passed over the narrow Sea against the firme Land of GAULE, and fighting many Battels there, did hurt his Enemies more then enrich his owne men: because of men hardly brought up, and poore, there was nothing to be gotten. Whereupon the Warre had no such successe as he looked for, and therefore taking pledges onely of the King, and imposing a yearly Tribute upon him, to be payed unto the People of ROMA, he returned againe into GAULE. There he was no sooner landed, but he found Letters ready to be sent over the Sea unto him: in the which he was advertised from ROMA, of the death of his Daughter, that she was dead with child by Pompey. For the which Pompey, and Caesar both, were marvellous sorrowfull: and their friends mourned also, thinking that this alliance which maintained the Common-wealth (that otherwise was very tickle) in good peace and concord, was now severed, and broken asunder; and the rather likely, because the child lived not long after the Mother. So the common People at ROMA tooke the Corpses of Julia, in despite of the Tribunes, and buried it in the Field of Mars. Now Caesar being driven to divide his Army, (that was very great) in sundry Garrisons for the Winter time, and returning againe into ITALY, as he was wont, all GAULE rebelled againe, and had raised great Armies in every Quarter to set upon the ROMANES, and to assay if they could distresse their Forts where they lay in Garrison. The greatest number and most war-like men of these GAULES, that entred into action of rebellion, were led by one Ambiorix: and first did set upon the Garrisons of Cotta and Titurius, whom they slew, and all the Souldiers they had about them. Then they went with threescore thousand fighting men, to besiege the Garrison which Quintus Cicero had in his charge, and had almost taken them by force, because all the Souldiers were every man of them hurt: but they were so valiant and courageous, that they did more then men (as they say) in defending of themselves. These newes being come to Caesar, who was far from thence at that time, he returned with all possible speede, and leaving seven thousand Souldiers, made haste to helpe Cicero, that was in such distresse. The GAULES that did besiege Cicero, understanding of Caesar's coming, raised their Sieges incontinently, to go and meete him: making account that he was but a handful in their hands, they were so few. Caesar to deceive them, still drew backe, and made as though he fled from them, lodging in places meete for a Captaine that had but a few, to fight with a great number of his Enemies; and commanded his men in no wise to stirre out to skirmish with them, but compelled them to raise up the Rampiers of his Campe, and to fortifie the Gates, as men that were afraid, because the Enemies should the lesse esteeme of them: untill at length he tooke opportunity, by their disorderly coming to assaile the Trenches of his Campe, (they were growne to such a presumptuous boldnesse and bravery) and then falling out upon them, he put them all to flight, with slaughter of a great number of them. This did suppress all the rebellions of the GAULES in those parts, and furthermore he himselfe in person went in the middle of Winter thither, where he heard they did rebell: for that there was come a new supply out of ITALY of three whole Legions, in their roomes which he had lost: of the which, two of them Pompey lent him, and the other Legion he himselfe had leaved in GAULE about the River Po. During these stirs, brake forth the beginning of the greatest and most dangerous Warre that he had in all GAULE, the which had beene secretly practised of long time by the chieftest and most Warre-like People of that Countrey, who had leaved a wonderfull great Power. For every where they leaved multitudes of men, and great Riches besides, to fortifie their strong Holds. Furthermore, the Countrey where they rose, was very ill to come unto, and specially at that time, being Winter, when the Rivers were frozen, the Woodes and Forrests covered with Snow, the Meadows drowned with Floods, and the Fields so deepe of Snow, that no wayes were to be found, neither the Marshes nor Rivers to be discerned, all was so overflowne and drowned with water: all which troubles together were enough (as they thought) to keepe Caesar from setting upon the Rebels. Many Nations of the GAULES were of this Conspiracy, but two of the chieftest were the ARVERNIANES and CARNUTES: who had chosen Vercingetorix for their Lieutenant-Generall, whose Father the GAULES before had put to death, because they thought he aspired to make himselfe King. This Vercingetorix dividing his Army into divers parts, and appointing divers Captaines over them, had gotten to take his part, all the People and Countreys thereabouts, even as farre as they that dwell towards the Sea * Adriaticke, having further determined (understanding that ROMA did conspire against Caesar) to make all GAULE rise in Armes against him. So that if he had but tarried a little longer, untill Caesar had entred into his Civill Warres, he had put all ITALY in as great feare and danger, as it was when the CIMBRI did come and invade him. But Caesar, that was valiant in all assayes and dangers of Warre, and that was very skilfull to take time and opportunity, so soone as he understood the newes of this Rebellion, he departed with speede, and returned backe the selfesame way which he had gone, making the barbarous People know, that they should deale with an Army invincible, and which they could not possibly withstand, considering the great speede he had made with the same, in so sharpe and hard a Winter. For where they would not possibly have believed, that a Post or Carrier could have come in so short a time from the place where he was, unto them, they wondred when they saw him burning and destroying the Countrey, the Townes and strong Forts where he came with his Army, taking all to mercy that yielded unto him: untill such time as the HAUDI tooke Armes against him, who before were wont to be called the brethren of the ROMANES, and were greatly honoured of them. Wherefore Caesar's men, when they understood that they had joyned with the Rebels, they were marvellously sorry, and halfe discouraged thereupon,

The death of
Julius Caesar's
Daughter.

The rebellion
of the Gaules.

Cotta and Titu-
rius, with their
Army, slaine.

Caesar slew the
Gaules led by
Ambiorix.

The second re-
bellion of the
Gaules against
Caesar.

Vercingetorix
Captaine of
the Rebels a-
gainst Caesar.
Some say,
that in this
place is to be
read in the
Greece, πρὸς
τὴν Ἀσπίρ,
which is to
the River of
Soane.

The Heduire-
bell against the
Romans.

Thereupon, Caesar departing from those parts, went through the Countrey of the LINGONES, to enter the Countrey of the *BURGONIANES, who were Confederates of the ROMANES, and the nearest unto ITALY on that side, in respect of all the rest of GAULE. Thither the Enemies came to set upon him, and to environ him on all sides, with an infinite number of thousands of fighting men. Caesar on the other side tarried their coming, and fighting with them a long time, he made them so afraid of him, that at length he overcame the barbarous People. But at the first, it seemeth notwithstanding, that he had received some overthrow: for the ARVERNIANES shewed a sword hanging up in one of their Temples, which they said they had wonne from Caesar. Infomuch as Caesar's selfe, coming that way by occasion, saw it, and fell a laughing at it. But some of his friends going about to take it away, he would not suffer them, but bade them let it alone, and touch it not, for it was an holy thing. Notwithstanding, such as at the first had saved themselves by flying, the most part of them were gotten with their King into the City of ALEXIA, the which Caesar went and besieged, although it seemed inexpugnable, both for the height of the Walls, as also for the multitude of Souldiers they had to defend it. But now during this Siege, he fell into a marvellous great danger without, almost incredible. For an Army of three hundred thousand fighting men, of the best men that were among all the Nations of the GAULES, came against him being at the Siege of ALEXIA, besides them that were within the City, which amounted to the number of threescore and tenne thousand fighting men at the least: so that perceiving he was shut in betwixt two so great Armies, he was driven to fortifie himselfe with two Walls, the one against them of the City, and the other against them without. For if those two Armies had joyned together, Caesar had bene utterly undone. And therefore, this Siege of ALEXIA, and the Battell he wanne before it, did deservedly winne him more Honour and Fame then any other. For there, in that instant and extreme danger, he shewed more valiantnesse and wisdom then he did in any Battell he fought before. But what a wonderfull thing was this? that they of the City never heard any thing of them that came to aide them, untill Caesar had overthrowne them: and furthermore, that the ROMANES themselves which kept Watch upon the Wall that was built against the City, knew also no more of it then they, untill it was done, and that they heard the cries and lamentations of men and women in ALEXIA, when they perceived on the other side of the City, such a number of glittering Shields of Gold and Silver, such store of bloody Corslets and Armour, such a deale of Plate and Moveables, and such a number of Tents and Pavillions after the fashion of the GAULES, which the ROMANES had gotten of their Spoils in their Campe. Thus suddenly was this great Army vanished, as a Dreame or Vision: where the most part of them were slaine that day in Battell. Furthermore, after that they within the City of ALEXIA had done great hurt to Caesar and themselves also, in the end they all yielded themselves. And Vercingetorix (he that was their King and Captaine in all this Warre) went out of the Gates excellently well armed, and his Horse furnished with rich Caparison accordingly, and rode round about Caesar, who sat in his Chaire of State. Then lighting from his Horse, he took off his Caparison and Furniture, and unarmed himselfe, and laid all on the ground, and went and fate downe at Caesar's feete, and said never a word. So Caesar at length committed him as a Prisoner taken in the Warres, to lead him afterwards in the Triumph of ROMA. Now Caesar had of long time determined to destroy Pompey, and Pompey him also. For Crassus being killed amongst the PARTHIANS, who onely did see, that one of them two must needs fall, nothing kept Caesar from being the greatest person, but because he destroyed not Pompey, that was the greater: neither did any thing lett Pompey to withstand that it should not come to passe, but because he did not first overcome Caesar, whom onely he feared. For till then, Pompey had not long feared him, but awaited before set light by him, thinking it an easie matter for him to put him downe when he would; sith he had brought him to that greatnesse he was come unto. But Caesar contrarily, having had that drift in his head from the beginning, like a Wrestler that studieth for trickes to overthrow his Adversary, he went far from ROMA, to exercise himselfe in the Warres of GAULE; where he did traine his Army, and presently by his valiant deedes did increase his Fame and Honour, by these meanes became Caesar as famous as Pompey in his doings, and lacked no more to put his enterprise in execution, but some occasions of colour, which Pompey partly gave him, and partly also the time delivered him, but chiefly, the hard fortune and ill Government at that time of the Common-wealth at ROMA. For they that made suite for Honour and Offices, bought the voyces of the People with readie Money, which they gave out openly to usury, without shame or feare. Thereupon the common People that had sold their voyces for Money, came to the Market-place at the day of election, to fight for him that had hired them: not with their voyces, but with their Bowes, Slings and Swords. So that the Assembly seldom times brake up, but the Pulpit for Orations was defiled and sprinkled with the blood of them that were slaine in the Market-place, the City remaining all that time without Government of Magistrate, like a Shippe left without a Pilot. Infomuch as men of deepe judgement and discretion, seeing such fury and madnesse of the People, thought themselves happy if the Commonwealth were no worse troubled then with the absolute state of a Monarchy and Sovereigne Lord to governe them. Furthermore, there were many that were not afraid to speake it openly, that there was no other helpe to remedie the troubles of the Commonwealth, but by the Authority of one man onely, that should command them all: and that this Medicine must be ministred by the hands of him, that was the gentlest Physician, meaning covertly Pompey. Now Pompey used many fine speeches, making semblance as though he would none of it, and

Vercingetorix
overthrowne
by Caesar.

The Siege of
Alexia.

Caesar's danger,
and wife po-
licy.

Caesar's great
Victory at A-
lexia.

Alexia yielded
up to Caesar.

The discord
betwixt Caesar
and Pompey,
and the cause
of the Civill
Warres.
Caesar's craft-
nesse.

The People's
voyses bought
at Rome for
Money.

Pompey govern-
ed Spain and
Africa.
Caesar lieth the
second time to
be Consul, and
to have his
Government
prorogued.

Caesar bribeth
the Magistrates
at Rome.

Pompey abused
by flatterers.

Caesar request
unto the Se-
nate.

and yet cunningly under-hand did lay all the irons in the fire he could, to bring it to passe, that he might be chosen Dictator. *Caio* finding the marke he shot at, and fearing lest in the end the People should be compelled to make him Dictator, he perswaded the Senate rather to make him sole Consul, that contenting himselfe with that more just and lawfull Government, he should not cover the other unlawfull. The Senate following his counsell, did not only make him Consul, but further did prorogue his Government of the Provinces he had. For he had two Provinces, all SPAIN and AFRICA, the which he governed by his Lieutenants: and further, he received yearly of the common Treasure to pay his Souldiers, a thousand Talents. Hereupon *Caesar* tooke occasion also to send his mea to make suite in his name for the Consulship, and also to have the Government of his Provinces prorogued. *Pompey* at the first held his peace, but *Antullus* and *Leontulus* (that otherwise hated *Caesar*) withstood them; and to shame and dishonour him, had much needlesse speech in matters of weight. Furthermore, they tooke away the freedome from the Colonies which *Caesar* had lately brought unto the City of NOVUM CORNIVM in GAULE towards ITALY, where *Caesar* not long before had lodged them. And moreover, when *Marcellus* was Consul, he made one of the Senators in that City to be whipped with rods, who came to ROME about those matters: and said, he gave him those marks, that he should know he was no ROMAN Citizen, and bade him go his way, and tell *Caesar* of it. After *Marcellus* Consulship, *Caesar* setting open his Coffers of the Treasure he had gotten among the GAULES, did frankly give it out amongst the Magistrates at ROME, without restraint or spare. First, he let *Curio* the Tribune cleane out of debt, and gave also unto *Paul* the Consul a thousand five hundred Talents; with which Money he built that notable Palace by the Market-place, called *Pauls* Basilick, in the place of *Falvius* Basilick. Then *Pompey* being afraid of this practice, began openly to procure, both by himselfe and his friends, that they should send *Caesar* a Successor: and moreover, he sent unto *Caesar* for his two Legions of men of Warre which he had lent him, for the conquest of GAULE. *Caesar* sent him them againe, and gave every private Souldier two hundred and fifty silver Drachmas. Now, they that brought these two Legions backe from *Caesar*, gave out ill and seditious words against him among the People, and did also abuse *Pompey* with false perswasions and vaine hopes, informing him that he was marvelously desired and wished for in *Caesars* Campe: and though in ROME, for the malice and secret spite which the Governours there did beare him, he could hardly obtaine that he desired, yet in GAULE he might assure himselfe, that all the Army was at his commandement. They added further also, that if the Souldiers there did once returne over the Mountaines againe into ITALY, they would all straight come to him, they did loathe *Caesar*, because he wearied them with too much labour, and continuall fight: and withall, for that they suspected he aspired to be King. These words breeding security in *Pompey*, and a vaine conceit of himselfe, made him negligent in his doings, so that he made no preparation of Warre, as though he had no occasion to be afraid: but only studied to thwart *Caesar* in speech, and to crosse the suites he made. Howbeit *Caesar* passed not of all this. For the report went, that one of *Caesars* Captaines which was sent to ROME to prosecute his Suite, being at the Senate doore, and hearing that they denied to prorogue *Caesars* time of Government which he sued for, clapping his hand upon his Sword, he said: Sith he will not grant it him, this shall give it him. Notwithstanding, the requests that *Caesar* propounded, carried great semblance of reason with them. For he said, that he was contented to lay downe Armes, so that *Pompey* did the like: and that both of them as private persons should come and make suite of their Citizens to obtaine honourable recompence: declaring unto them, that taking Armes from him, and granting them unto *Pompey*, they did wrongfully accuse him in going about to make himselfe a Tyrant, and in the meane time to grant the other meanes to be a Tyrant. *Curio* making these offers and perswasions openly before the People, in the name of *Caesar*, he was heard with great rejoycing and clapping of hands, and there was some that cast Flowers and Nofegayes upon him when he went his way, as they commonly use to do unto any man, when he hath obtained victory, and wanne the Games. Then *Antonius* one of the Tribunes, brought a Letter sent from *Caesar*, and made it openly to be read in despite of the Consuls. But *Scipio* in the Senate, *Pompeys* Father-in-law, made this motion: that if *Caesar* did not dismis his Army by a certaine day appointed him, the ROMANES should proclaime him an enemy unto ROME. Then the Consuls openly asked in the presence of the Senators, if they thought it good that *Pompey* should dismis his Army: but few agreed to that demand. After that againe they asked, if they liked that *Caesar* should dismis his Army: thereto they all in manner answered yea, yea. But when *Antonius* requested againe that both of them should lay downe Armes, then they were all indifferently of his minde. Notwithstanding, because *Scipio* did insolently behave himselfe, and *Marcellus* also, who cried, that they must use force of Armes, and not mens opinion against a Thiefe, the Senate rose straight upon it, without further determination; and men changed Apparell through the City because of this dissention, as they use to do in a common calamity. After that, there came other Letters from *Caesar*, which seemed much more reasonable: in the which he requested that they would grant him GAULE, that lieth betwene the Mountaines of the Alpes and ITALY and ILLYRIA, with two Legions onely, and then that he would request nothing else; untill he made suite for the second Consulship. *Cicero* the Orator, that was newly come from the Government of CILICIA, travelled to reconcile them together, and pacified *Pompey* the best he could: who told him he would yeeld to any thing he would have him, so he did let him alone with his Army. So *Cicero* perswaded *Caesars* friends to be contented, to take those two Provinces, and

fixe

Antonius and
Curio Tribunes
of the People,
fle from Rome
to *Caesar*.

Caesars doubt-
full thoughts at
the River of
Rubicon.

The Greekes
use this phrase
of speech: *ast*
the Die.
Caesar tooke
the City of
Arminum.

Rome in uprore
with *Caesars*
comings.

fixe thousand men onely, that they might be friends and at peace together. *Pompey* very willingly yeelded unto it, and granted them. But *Lentulus* the Consul would not agree to it; but shamefully drave *Curio* and *Antonius* out of the Senate: whereby they themselves gave *Caesar* a happy occasion and colour as could be, stirring up his Souldiers the more against them, when he shewed them these two Noblemen and Tribunes of the People that were driven to flee, disguised like Slaves, in a Carriers Cart. For they were driven for feare to steale out of ROME, disguised in that manner. Now at that time, *Caesar* had not in all about him above five thousand Footmen, and three thousand Horse men: for the rest of his Army, he left on the other side of the Mountaines, to be brought after him by his Lieutenants. So considering that for the execution of his Enterprize, he should not neede so many men of Warre at the first, but rather suddenly stealing upon them, to make them afraid with valiantnesse, taking benefit of the opportunity of time; because he should more easilly make his Enemies afraid of him; nothing so suddenly when they looked not for him, then he should otherwise distresse them, assailing them with his whole Army, in giving them leisure to provide further for him: he commanded his Captaines and Lieutenants to go before, without any other Armour then their Swords, to take the City of ARMINUM (a great City of GAULE, being the first City men come to, when they come out of GAULE) with as little bloudshed and tumult, as they could possible. Then committing that Force and Army he had with him, unto *Hortensius* one of his friends, he remained a whole day together, openly in the sight of every man, to see the Sword-players handle their Weapons before him. At night he went into his Lodging, and bathing his body a little, came afterwards into the Hall amongst them, and made merry a while with them, whom he had bidden to Supper. Then when it was well forward night, and very darke, he rose from the Table, and prayed his company to be merry, and no man to stir, for he would straight come to them againe: howbeit he had secretly before commanded a few of his trustiest friends to follow him, not all together, but some one way, and some another way. He himselfe in the meane time tooke a Coach he had hired, and made as though he would have gone some other way at the first; but suddenly he turned backe againe towards the City of ARMINUM. When he was come unto the little River of Rubicon, which divided GAULE on this side the Alpes from ITALY, he stayed upon a sudden. For, the nearer he came to execute his purpose, the more remorse he had in his conscience, to thinke what an Enterprize he tooke in hand: and his thoughts also fell out more doubtfull, when he entred into consideration of the desperatenesse of his attempt. So he fell into many thoughts with himselfe, and spake never a word, waving sometime one way, sometime another way, and oftentimes changed his determination, contrary to himselfe. So did he talke much also with his friends he had with him, amongst whom was *Asinius Pollio*, telling him what mischiefs the beginning of this passage over that River would breede in the World, and how much their Posterity and they that lived after them, would speake of it in time to come, but at length, casting from him with a noble courage all those perillous thoughts to come, and speaking these words which valiant men commonly say, that attempt dangerous and desperate Enterprizes: *A man can be but once winder, come on*, he passed over the River; and when he was come over, he ranne with his Coach, and never stayed, so that before day-light he was within the City of ARMINUM, and tooke it. It is said, that the night before he passed over this River, he dreamed a damnable Dreame, that he carnally knew his Mother. The City of ARMINUM being taken, and the rumour thereof dispersed through all ITALY, even as if it had bene open Warre both by Sea and Land, and as if all the Lawes of ROME, together with the extreame Bounds and Confines of the same had bene broken up: a man would have said, that not onely the men and women for feare, as experience proved at other times, but whole Cities themselves leaving their Habitations, fled from one place to another through all ITALY. And ROME it selfe also was immediately filled with the flowing repaire of all the People their neighbours thereabouts, which came thither from all parts like droves of Cattel, that there was neither Officer nor Magistrate that could any more command them by Authority, neither by any perswasion of reason bridle such a confused and disorderly multitude: so that ROME had in manner destroyed it selfe for lacke of rule and order. For in all places, men were of contrary opinions, and there were dangerous stirs and tumults every where, because they that were glad of this trouble, could keepe in no certaine place, but running up and downe the City, when they met with others in divers places, that seemed either to be afraid or angry with this tumult (as otherwise it is impossible in so great a City) they flatly fell out with them, and boldly threatened them with that that was to come. *Pompey* himselfe, who at that time was not a little amazed, was yet much more troubled with the ill words some gave him on the one side, and some on the other. For some of them reproved him, and said, that he had done wisely, and had paid for his folly; because he had made *Caesar* to great and strong against him and the Common-wealth. And other againe did blame him, because he had refused the honest offers and reasonable conditions of peace, which *Caesar* had offered him, suffering *Lentulus* the Consul to abuse him too much. On the other side, *Phaonius* spake unto him, and bade him stampe on the ground with his foote: for *Pompey* being one day in a bravery in the Senate, said openly: Let no man take thought for preparation of Warre, for when he lifted with one stampe of his foote on the ground, he would fill all ITALY with Souldiers. This notwithstanding, *Pompey* at that time had a greater number of Souldiers then *Caesar*: but they would never let him follow his owne determination. For they brought him so many lies, and put so many examples of feare before him, as if *Caesar* had bene already

already

Pompey fled
from Rome.

Labienus for-
sooke Caesar,
and fled to
Pompey.

Domitius esca-
ped from Ce-
sar, and fled to
Pompey.

Pompey fled
into Epirus.

Silvius leges in-
ter arma.

Caesar taketh
Money out of
the Temple of
Saturne.

Caesars Journey
into Spaine, a-
gainst Pompeys
Lieutenants.
Caesar Dictator.

already at their heeles, and had wonne all: so that in the end he yielded unto them, and gave place to their fury and madnesse, determining (seeing all things in such tumult and garboile) that there was no way but to forsake the City, and thereupon commanded the Senate to follow him, and not a man to tarry there, unless he loved Tyranny more then his owne Liberty and the Common-weath. Thus the Consuls themselves, before they had done their common Sacrifices accustomed at their going out of the City, fled every man of them. So did likewise the most part of the Senators, taking their owne things in haste, such as came first to hand, as if by stealth they had taken them from another. And there were some of them also that alwaies loved Caesar, whose wits were then so troubled, and besides themselves with the feare they had conceived, that they also fled, and followed the streame of this tumult, without manifest cause or necessity. But above all things, it was a lamentable sight to see the City it selfe, that in this feare and trouble was left at all adventure, as a Ship tossed in storme of Sea, forsaken of her Pilots, and despairing of her safety. This their departure being thus miserable, yet men esteemed their banishment (for the love they bare unto Pompey) to be their naturall Country, and reckoned Rome no better then Caesars Campe. At that time also Labienus, who was one of Caesars greatest friends, and had bene alwaies used as his Lieutenant in the Wars of GAULES, and had valiantly fought in his cause, he likewise forsooke him then, and fled unto Pompey. But Caesar sent his Money and Carriage after him, and then went and encamped before the City of CORFINIUM, the which Domitius kept with thirty Cohorts or Ensignes. When Domitius saw he was besieged, he straight thought himselfe but undone; and despairing of his successe, he bade a Physician, a Slave of his, give him poyson. The Physician gave him a drinke which he dranke, thinking to have died. But shortly after, Domitius hearing them report what clemency and wonderfull courtesie Caesar used unto them he tooke, repented him then that he had drunke this drinke, and began to lament and bewaile his desperate resolution taken to die. The Physician did comfort him againe, and told him that he had taken a drinke, onely to make him sleepe, but not to destroy him. Then Domitius rejoiced, and went straight and yielded himselfe unto Caesar; who gave him his life, but he notwithstanding stole away immediately, and fled unto Pompey. When these newes were brought to Rome, they did marvellously joyce and comfort them that still remained there: and moreover there were of them that had forsaken Rome, which returned thither againe. In the meane time Caesar did put all Domitius men in pay, and he did the like through all the Cities, where he had taken any Captaines that leaved men for Pompey. Now Caesar having assembled a great and dreadfull Power together, went straight where he thought to finde Pompey himselfe. But Pompey tarried not his coming, but fled into the City of BRUNDISIUM, from whence he had sent the two Consuls before with that Army he had, unto DYRRACHIUM: and he himselfe also went thither afterwards, when he understood that Caesar was come, as you shall heare more amply hereafter in his Life. Caesar lacked no good will to follow him, but wanting Ships to take the Sea, he returned forthwith to Rome: so that in lesse then threecore daies he was Lord of all ITALY, without any bloudshed. Who when he was come to Rome, and found it much quieter then he looked for, and many Senators there also, he courteously intreated them, and prayed them to send unto Pompey, to pacifie all matters betweene them; upon reasonable Conditions. But no man did attempt it, either because they feared Pompey, for that they had forsaken him, or else for that they thought Caesar meant not as he spake, but that they were words of course, to colour his purpose withall. And when Metellus also, one of the Tribunes, would not suffer him to take any of the common Treasure out of the Temple of Saturne, but told him that it was against the Law; Tullius, said he, time of Warre and Law, are two things. If this that I do, quoth he, do offend thee, then get thee hence for this time: for Warre cannot abide this franke and bold speech. But when Warres are done, and that we are all quiet againe, then thou shalt speake in the Pulpit what thou wilt: and yet I do tell thee this of favour, impairing to much my right, for thou art mine, both thou, and all them that have risen against me, and whom I have in my hands. When he had spoken thus unto Metellus, he went to the Temple doore where the Treasure lay, and finding no keys there, he caused Smiths to be sent for, and made them breake open the lockes. Metellus thereupon began againe to withstand him, and certaine men that stood by, praised him in his doing: but Caesar at length speaking bigly to him, threatened him, he would kill him presently, if he troubled him any more: and told him furthermore, Young man, quoth he, thou knowest it is harder for me to tell it thee, then to do it. That word made Metellus quake for feare, that he got him away roundly; and ever after that, Caesar had all at his commandment for the Warres. From thence he went into SPAIN, to make Warre with Petreus and Varro, Pompeys Lieutenants: first to get their Armies and Provinces into his hands which they governed, that afterwards he might follow Pompey the better, leaving never an Enemy behinde him. In this Journey he was oftentimes himselfe in danger, through the Ambushes that were laid for him in divers strange sorts and places, and likely also to have lost all his Army for lacke of Victuals. All this notwithstanding, he never left following of Pompeys Lieutenants, provoking them to Battell, and intrenching them in, until he had gotten their Campe, and Armies into his hands, albeit that the Lieutenants themselves fled unto Pompey. When Caesar returned againe to Rome, Piso his Father-in-law gave him counsell to send Ambassadors unto Pompey, to treat for peace. But Isauricus, to flatter Caesar, was against it. Caesar being then created Dictator by the Senate, called home againe all the banished men, and restored their children to honour, whose fathers before had bene slaine in Sylla's time: and did somewhat cut off the usuries that did oppresse them; and besides, did make

make some such other Ordinances as those, but very few. For he was Dictator but eleven daies onely, and then did yield it up of himselfe, and made himselfe Consull with Servilius Isauricus, and after that determined to follow the Warres. All therest of his Army he left coming on the way, behinde him, and went himselfe before with sixe hundred Horse, and five Legions onely of Footmen, in the Winter-Quarter, about the Month of January, which after the ATHENIANS is called *Pachysion*. Then having past over the Sea Ionium, and landed his men, he wanne the Cities of ORTUM and APOLLONIA. Then he sent his Ships backe againe unto BRUNDISIUM to transport the rest of his Souldiers that could not come with that speede he did. They as they came by the way, (like men whose strength of body, and lusty youth was decayed) being wearied with so many sundry Battels as they had fought with their Enemies, complained of Caesar in this sort. To what end and purpose doth this man hale us after him, up and downe the World, using us like Slaves and Drudges? It is not our Armour, but our bodies that beare the blowes away: and what shall we never be without our Harneisse on our backs, and our Shields on our armes? Should not Caesar thinke, at the least when he seeth our blood and wounds, that we are all mortall men, and that we feele the misery and paines that other men do feele? and now even in the dead of Winter, he putteth us into the mercy of the Sea and tempest, yea which the gods themselves cannot withstand; as if he fled before his Enemies, and pursued them not. Thus spending time with this talke, the Souldiers still marching on, by small Journeys came at length unto the City of BRUNDISIUM. But when they were come, and found that Caesar had already passed over the Sea, then they straight changed their complaints and mindes. For they blamed themselves, and tooke on also with their Captaines, because they had not made them make more halte in marching: and sitting upon the Rocks and Cliffs of the Sea, they looked over the maine Sea, towards the Realme of EPIRUS, to see if they could discern the Ships returning backe, to transport them over. Caesar in the meane time being in the City of APOLLONIA, having but a small Army to fight with Pompey, it grieved him for that the rest of his Army was so long of coming, not knowing what way to take. In the end he followed a dangerous determination, to imbarque unknowne in a little Pinnace of twelve Oares onely, to passe over the Sea againe unto BRUNDISIUM, the which he could not do without great danger, considering that all the Sea was full of Pompeys Ships and Armies. So he tooke Ship in the night, appalled like a Slave, and went aboard upon this little Pinnace, and said never a word, as if he had bene some poore man of meane condition. The Pinnace lay in the mouth of the River of Anius, the which commonly was wont to be very calme and quiet, by reason of a little winde that came from the shore, which every morning drave backe the waves far into the maine Sea. But that night (by ill fortune) there came a great winde from the Sea, that overcame the Land-winde, inso much as the force and strength of the River fighting against the violence of the rage and waves of the Sea, the encounter was marvellous dangerous, the water of the River being driven backe, and rebounding upward, with great noise and danger in turning of the water. Thereupon the Master of the Pinnace seeing he could not possibly get out of the mouth of this River, bade the Mariners to cast about againe, and to returne against the streame. Caesar hearing that, straight discovered himselfe unto the Master of the Pinnace, who at the first was amazed when he saw him; but Caesar then taking him by the hand, said unto him, Good fellow, be of good cheare, and forwards heartily, feare not, for thou hast Caesar and his fortune with thee. Then the Mariners forgetting the danger of the storme they were in, laid on load with Oares, and laboured for life what they could against the winde, to get out of the mouth of this River. But at length, perceiving they laboured in vaine, and that the Pinnace tooke in abundance of water, and was ready to sinke, Caesar then to his great grieve was driven to returne backe againe: who when he was returned unto his Campe, his Souldiers came in great companies unto him, and were very sorry, that he mistrusted he was not able with them alone to overcome his Enemies, but would put his person in danger to go fetch them that were absent, putting no trust in them that were present. In the meane time Antonius arrived, and brought with him the rest of his Army from BRUNDISIUM. Then Caesar finding himselfe strong enough, went and offered Pompey Battell, who was passingly well lodged, for victualling of his Campe both by Sea and Land. Caesar on the other side, who had no great plenty of Victuals at the first, was in a very hard case: inso much as his men gathered rocces, and mingled them with milke, and ate them. Furthermore, they did make bread of it also, and sometime when they skirmished with the Enemies, and came along by them that watched and warded, they cast of their bread into their Trenches, and said: that as long as the Earth brought forth such fruits, they would never leave besieging of Pompey. But Pompey straightly commanded them, that they should neither carry those words nor bread into their Campe, fearing lest his mens hearts would faile them, and that they would be afraid when they should thinke of their Enemies hardnesse, with whom they had to fight, fith they were weary with no paines, no more then brute Beasts. Caesars men did daily skirmish hard to the Trenches of Pompeys Campe, Caesars Army in the which Caesar had ever the better, saving once onely, at which time his men fled with such feare, fled from Pompey that all his Campe that day was in great hazard to have bene cast away. For Pompey came on with his Battell upon them, and they were not able to abide it, but were fought with, and driven into their Campe, and their Trenches were filled with dead bodies, which were slaine within the very Gate and Bulwarkes of their Campe, they were so valiantly pursued. Caesar stood before them that fled, to make them to turne head againe, but he could not prevail. For when he would have taken the Ensignes to have stayed them, the Ensigne-bearers threw them downe on the ground: so that the Enemies tooke

Caesar and Isauricus Consuls.

Caesar goeth into the Kingdom of Epirus

Complaints of the old Souldiers against Caesar.

A great adventure of Caesar.

Anius fl.

Caesars dangers and troubles in the Realme of Epirus.

*Caesars words
of Pompeys Vi-
ctory.
Caesar troubled
in mind after
his losse.*

*Pompeys deter-
mination for
the Warre.*

*Pompey called
Agamemnon,
and King of
Kings.*

*The City of
Gomphes in
Thessaly.*

*Pompeys
Dreame in
Thessalia
The security of the Pom-
peians.*

ooke two and thirty of them, and *Caesars* selfe also escaped hardly with life. For striking a great big Souldier that fled by him, commanding him to stay, and turne his face to his Enemy: the Souldier being afraid, kist up his Sword to strike at *Caesar*. But one of *Caesars* Pages preventing him, gave him such a blow with his Sword, that he strake off his shoulder. *Caesar* that day was brought unto so great extremity, that (if *Pompey* had not either for feare, or spightfull fortune, left off to follow his Victory, and retired into his Campe, being contented to have driven his Enemies into their Campe) returning to his Campe with his friends, he said unto them: The Victory this day had bene our Enemies, if they had had a Capitaine that could have told how to have overcome. So when he was come to his Lodging, he went to bed, and that night troubled him more then any night that ever he had. For still his minde ranne with great sorrow of the foule fault he had committed, in leading of his Army, of selfe-will to remaine there so long by the Sea side, his Enemies being the stronger by Sea, considering that he had before him a goodly Countrey, rich and plentifull of all things, and goodly Cities of *MACEDON* and *THESSALY*: and had not the wit to bring the War from thence, but to lose his time in a place, where he was rather besieged of his Enemies, for lacke of Victuals, then that he did besiege them by force of Armes. Thus fretting and chafing to see himself so straightned with Victuals, and to thinke of his ill lucke, he raised his Campe, intending to goe set upon *Scipio*, making account, that either he should draw *Pompey* to Battell against his will, when he had not the Sea at his backe to furnish him with plenty of Victuals; or else that he should easily overcome *Scipio*, finding him alone, unless he were aided. This remove of *Caesars* Campe, did much encourage *Pompeys* Army, and his Captaines, who would needes in any case have followed after him, as though he had bene overcome, and had fled. But for *Pompey* himselfe, he would in no respect hazard Battell, which was a matter of so great importance. For finding himself so well provided of all things necessary to tarry time, he thought it better to draw this Warre out in length, by tract of time, the rather to consume this little strength that remained in *Caesars* Army: of the which, the best men were marvellous well trained, and good Souldiers, and for valiantnesse at one daies Battell, were incomparable. But on the other side againe, to remove here and there so oft, and to fortifie their Campe where they came, and to besiege any Wall, or to keepe watch all night in their Armour; the most part of them could not do it, by reason of their age, being then unable to away with their paines; so that the weaknesse of their bodies did also take away the life and courage of their hearts. Furthermore, there fell a pestilent disease among them, that came by ill meates hunger drave them to eate. Yet was not this the worst: for besides, he had no store of Money, neither could tell how to come by Victuals; so that it seemed in all likelihood, that in very short time he would come to nothing. For these respects, *Pompey* would in no case fight, and yet had he but *Cato* onely of his minde in that, who stucke in it the rather, because he would avoid shedding of his Countreymens blood. For when *Cato* had viewed the dead bodies slaine in the Campe of his Enemies, at the last Skirmish that was betwene them, the which were no lesse then a thousand persons, he covered his face, and went away weeping. All other but he, contrarily fell out with him, and blamed him, because he so long refrained from Battell: and some prickt him forward, and called him *Agamemnon*, and King of Kings, saying that he delayed this Warre in this sort, because he would not leave his Authority to command them all, and that he was glad alwaies to see many Captaines round about him, which came to his Lodging to honour him, and waite upon him. And *Faonius* also a hare-brained fellow, frankly counterfeiting the round and plaine speech of *Cato*, made as though he was marvellous angry, and said: Is it not great pity, that we shall not eate this yeare of *THUSCULUM* Figs, and all for *Pompeys* ambitious minde to reigne alone? and *Africanus*, who not long before was but lately come out of *SPAIN* (where because he had but ill successe, he was accused of Treason, that for Money he had sold his Army unto *Caesar*) he went busily asking, why they fought not with that Merchant, unto whom they said he had sold the Province of *SPAIN*? So that *Pompey* with these kinde of speeches, against his will, was driven to follow *Caesar* to fight with him. Then was *Caesar* at the first, marvellously perplexed and troubled by the way, because he found none that would give him any Victuals, being despised of every man, for the late losse and overthrow he had received. But after he had taken the City of *GOMPHES* in *THESSALY*, he did not onely meete with plenty of Victuals to relieve his Army with, but he strangely also did rid them of their Disease. For the Souldiers meeting with plenty of Wine, drinking hard, and making merrry, drave away the infection of the Pestilence. For they disposed themselves unto dancing, masking, and playing the *BACCHERIANS* by the way, insomuch that drinking drunke they overcame their disease, and made their bodies new againe. When they both came into the Countrey of *PHARSALIA*, and both Campes lay before each other, *Pompey* returned againe to his former determination, and the rather, because he had ill signes and tokens of misfortune in his sleepe. For he thought in his sleepe, that when he entered into the Theater, all the *ROMANES* received him with great clapping of hands. Whereupon they that were about him grew to such boldnesse and security, assuring themselves of Victory, that *Domitius*, *Spinther*, and *Scipio*, in a bravery contended betwene themselves for the chiefe Bishopricke which *Caesar* had. Furthermore, there were divers that sent unto *ROME* to hire the nearest Houses unto the Market-place, as being the fittest places for Prætors, and Consuls: making their account already, that those Offices could not scape them, incontinently after the Warres. But besides those, the young Gentlemen, and *ROMAN* Knights were marvellous desirous to fight, that were bravely mounted, and armed with glittering gilt Armours, their

*Pompeys Army
as great againe
as Caesars.*

*A wonder seen
in the Ele-
ment, before
the Battell in
Pharsalia.*

*Caesars Army
and his order
of Battell, in
the Fields of
Pharsalia.*

*Pompeys Army
and his order
of Battell.*

*An ill counsell
and foule fault
of Pompey.*

*The Battell in
the Fields of
Pharsalia.*

their Horses fat and very finely kept, and themselves goodly young men, to the number of seven thousand; where the Gentlemen of *Caesars* side were but one thousand onely. The number of his Footmen also were much after the same reckoning. For he had five and forty thousand against two and twenty thousand. Wherefore *Caesar* called his Souldiers together, and told them how *Cornificius* was at hand who brought two whole Legions, and that he had fifteen Ensignes led by *Calenus*, the which he made to stay about *MEGARA* and *ATHENS*. Then he asked them, if they would tarry for that aide or not, or whether they would rather themselves alone venture Battell. The Souldiers cried out to him, and prayed him not to deferre Battell, but rather to devise some fetch to make the Enemy fight as soon as he could. Then as he sacrificed unto the gods, for the purifying of his Army, the first Beast was no sooner sacrificed, but his Soothsayer assured him that he should fight within three daies. *Caesar* asked him againe, if he saw in the Sacrifices, any lucky signe or token of good lucke. The Soothsayer answered: For that, thou shalt answer thy selfe, better then I can do: for the gods do promise us a marvellous great change and alteration of things that are now, unto another cleane contrary. For if thou beeest well now, doest thou thinke to have worse fortune hereafter? and if thou beest, assure thy selfe thou shalt have better. The night before the Battell, as he went about midnight to visite the Watch, men saw a great Fire-brand in the Element, all of a light fire, that came over *Caesars* Campe, and fell down in *Pompeys*. In the morning also when they relieved the Watch, they heard a false Alarme in the Enemies Campe, without any apparent cause: which they commonly call a suddaine feare, that makes men besides themselves. This notwithstanding, *Caesar* thought not to fight that day, but was determined to have raised his Campe from thence, and to have gone towards the City of *SCOTUSA*: and his Tents in his Campe were already overthrowne when his Scouts came in with great speed, to bring him newes that his Enemies were preparing themselves to fight. Then was he very glad, and after he had made his prayers unto the gods to helpe him that day, he set his men in Battell-ray, and divided them into three Squadrons, giving the middle Battell unto *Domitius Calvinus*, and the left Wing unto *Antonius*, and placed himselfe in the right Wing, chusing his place to fight in the tenth Legion. But seeing that against that, his Enemies had set all their Horsemen, he was half afraid when he saw the great number of them, and so brave besides. Wherefore he closely made six Ensignes to come from the rereward of his Battell, whom he had laid as an ambush behind his right Wing, having first appointed his Souldiers what they should do, when the Horsemen of the Enemies came to give them charge. On the other side, *Pompey* placed himselfe in the right Wing of his Battell, gave the left Wing unto *Domitius*, and the middle Battell unto *Scipio* his Father-in-law. Now all the *ROMAN* Knights (as we have told you before) were placed in the left Wing of purpose to environ *Caesars* right Wing behinde, and to give their hottest Charge there, where the Generall of their Enemies was: making their account, that there was no Squadron of Footmen, how thicke soever they were, that could receive the charge of so great a Troope of Horsemen, and that at the first onset they should overthrow them all, and march upon their Bellies. When the Trumpets on either side did sound the Alarme to the Battell, *Pompey* commanded his Footmen that they should stand still without stirring, to receive the charge of their Enemies, untill they came to throwing of their Darts. Wherefore *Caesar* afterwards said, that *Pompey* had committed a foule fault, not to consider that the charge which is given running with fury, besides that it giveth the more strength also unto their blowes, doth set mens hearts also on fire: for the common hurling of all the Souldiers that runne together, is unto them as a box on the eare that sets men on fire. Then *Caesar* making his Battell march forward to give the onset, saw one of his Captaines (a valiant man, and very skilfull in Warre, in whom he had also great confidence) speaking to his Souldiers that he had under his charge encouraging them to fight like men that day. So he called him aloud by his Name, and said unto him: Well, *Caius Crassinius*, what hope shall we have to day? how are we determined, to fight it out manfully? Then *Crassinius* casting up his hand, answered him aloud: This day O *Caesar*, we shall have a Noble Victory, and I promise thee ere night thou shalt praise me alive or dead. When he had told him so, he was himselfe the foremost man that gave charge upon his Enemies, with his Band following of him, being about six-score men; and making a lane through the foremost Rankes, with great slaughter he entred farre into the Battell of his Enemies, untill that valiantly fighting in this sort, he was thrust in at length into the mouth with a Sword, that the point of it came out againe at his Necke. Now the Footmen of both Battells being come to the Sword, the Horsemen of the left Wing of *Pompey* did march as fiercely also, spreading out their Troops to compass in the right Wing of *Caesars* Battell. But before they began to give charge, the six Ensignes of Footmen, which *Caesar* had laid in ambush behinde him, they began to runne full upon them, not throwing away their Darts farre off, as they were wont to do, neither striking their Enemies on the thighs nor on the Legges, but to seeke to hit them full in the eyes, and to hurt them in the face, as *Caesar* had taught them. For he hoped that these lusty young *Caesars* Strag-
Gentlemen that had not been often in the Warres, nor were used to see themselves hurt, and the game, which, being in the prime of their youth and beauty, would be afraid of those hurts, as well for the feare of the present danger to be slaine, as also for that their faces should not for ever be deformed. As indeed it came to passe, for they could never abide that they should come so near their faces with the points of their Darts, but hung downe their heads for feare to be hit with them in their eyes, and turned their backs, covering their face, because they should not be hurt. Then, breaking of themselves, they began at length cowardly to flee, and were occasion also

Caesar over-
cometh Pom-
pey.

Pompeys flight.

Brutus that slew
Caesar taken
prisoner at the
Battell of Phar-
salia.
Signes and to-
kens of Caesar
Victory.
A strange tale
of Cornelia an
excellent Prog-
nosticator.

Caesars clemen-
cy in Victory.

The cause of
Caesars Warre
in Alexandria.

Pothinus the
Eunuch caused
Pompey to be
slaine.

of the losse of all the rest of Pompeys Army. For they that had broken them, ranne immediatly to set upon the Squadron of the Footmen behind, and slew them. Then Pompey seeing his Horsemen from the other Wing of his Battell, so scattered and dispersed, flying away, forgot that he was any more Pompey the Great, which he had been before, but was rather like a man whose wits the gods had taken from him, being afraid and amazed with the slaughter sent from above, and so retired into his Tent, speaking never a word, and fate there to see the end of this Battell; untill at the length all his Army being overthrowne and put to flight, the Enemies came, and got up upon the Rampiers and defence of his Campe, and fought hand to hand with them that stood to defend the same. Then as a man come to himselfe againe, he spake but this onely word: What, even in our Campe? So in hast, casting off his Coate Armour and Apparell of a Generall, he shifted him, and put on such as became his miserable Fortune, and so stole out of his Campe. Furthermore, what he did after this overthrow, and how he had put himselfe into the hands of the EGYPTIANS, by whom he was miserably slaine, we have set it forth at large in his Life. Then Caesar entring into Pompeys Campe, and seeing the bodies layed on the ground that were slaine, and others also that were a killing, said, fetching a great sigh: It was their own doing, and against my will. For Caius Caesar, after he had wonne so many famous Conquests, and overcome so many great Battels, had been utterly condemned notwithstanding, if he had departed from his Army. *Afinius Pollio* writeth, tha he spake these words then in Latin, which he afterwards wrote in Greek; and saith furthermore, that the most part of them which were put to the Sword in the Campe, were Slaves and Bondmen, and that there were not slaine in all this Battell above six thousand Souldiers. As for them that were taken Prisoners, Caesar did put many of them amongst his Legions, and did pardon also many men of estimation, among whom *Brutus* was one, that afterwards slew Caesar himselfe: and it is reported, that Caesar was very sorry for him, when he could not immediatly be found after the Battell, and that he rejoiced againe when he knew he was alive, and that he came to yeeld himselfe unto him. Caesar had many signes and tokens of Victory before this Battell, but the notablest of all other that happened to him, was in the City of TRALESE. For in the Temple of Victory, within the same City, there was an Image of Caesar, and the Earth all about it very hard of it selfe, and was paved besides with very hard Stone: and yet some say that there sprang up a Palme hard by the Bale of the same Image. In the City of PADVA, *Caius Cornelius* an excellent Soothsayer, (a Countreyman and Friend of *Titus Livius* the Historiographer) was by chance at that time set to behold the flying of Birds. He (as *Livie* reporteth) knew the very time when the Battell began, and told them that were present, Even now they give the onset on both sides, and both Armies do meet at this instant. Then sitting down againe to consider of the Birds, after he had bethought him of the Signes, he suddainly rose upon his feet, and cried out as a man possessed with some Spirit: O Caesar the Victory is thine. Every man wondering to see him, he tooke the Crowne he had on his head, and made an Oath that he would never put it on againe, till the event of his Prediction had proved his art true. *Livie* testifieth, that it came so to passe. Caesar afterwards giving freedome unto the THESSALIANS, in respect of the Victory which he wan in their Countrey, he followed after Pompey. When he came into ASIA, he gave freedome also unto the GUIDIANS for *Theopompas* sake, who had gathered the Fables together. He did release ASIA also, the third part of the Tribute which the Inhabitants paid unto the ROMANES. Then he came into ALEXANDRIA after Pompey was slaine: and detested *Theodotus* that presented him Pompeys head, and turned his head aside because he would not see it. Notwithstanding, he tooke his Seale and beholding it, wept. Furthermore, he courteously used all Pompeys friends and familiars, who wandring up and down the Countrey, were taken of the King of EGYPT, and wanne them as to be at his Commandement. Continuing these courtesies, he wrote unto his friends at ROME, that the greatest pleasure he tooke of his Victory, was, that he daily saved the lives of some of his Countrey men that bore armes against him. And for the Warre he made in ALEXANDRIA, some say, he needed not to have done it, but that he willingly did it for the love of *Cleopatra*: where in he wan little honour, and besides did put his person in great danger. Others do lay the fault upon the King of EGYPTs Ministers but specially on *Pothinus* the Eunuch, who bearing the greatest sway of all the Kings Servants, after he had caused Pompey to be slaine, and driven *Cleopatra* from the Court, secretly laid wait all the waies he could, how he might likewise kill Caesar. Wherefore Caesar hearing an inckling of it, began thenceforth to spend all the night long in feasting and banquetting, that his person might be in the better safety. But besides all this, *Pothinus* the Eunuch spake many things openly not to be borne, onely to shame Caesar, and to stir up the People to envie him. For he made his Souldiers have the worst and oldest Wheat that could be gotten: then if they did complaine of it, he told them they must be contented, seeing they eate at another mans cost. And he would serve them also at the Table in treene and Earthen dishes, saying that Caesar had alway all their Gold and Silver, for a debt that the Kings Father (that then reigned) did owe unto him: which was, a thousand seven hundred and fifty Myriades; whereof Caesar had before forgiven seven hundred and fifty thousand unto his Children. Howbeit then he asked a Million to pay his Souldiers withall. Thereto *Pothinus* answered him, that at that time he should do better to follow his other causes of greater importance, and afterwards that he should at more leisure recover his debt with the Kings good will and favour. Caesar replied unto him, and said, that he would not aske counsell of the EGYPTIANS for his Affaires, but would be paid: and thereupon secretly sent for *Cleopatra*, which was in the Countrey, to come unto him. She onely taking *Apollodorus* SYCILIAN of all her friends, tooke a

a little Boate, and went away with him in it in the night, and came and landed hard by the foot of the Cattle. Then having no other meane to come into the Court without being known, she laid her selfe down upon a Mattresse or Flock-bed, which *Apollodorus* her friend tied and bound up together like a bundle with a great Leather-chong, and so tooke her upon his backe and brought her thus hampered in this Fardle unto Caesar in at the Castle-gate. This was the first occasion (as it is reported) that made Caesar to love her: but afterwards, when he saw her sweet conversation and pleasant entertainment, he fell then in further liking with her, and did reconcile her againe unto her Brother the King, with condition, that they two joyntly should reigne together. Upon this new reconciliation, a great Feast being prepared, a Slave of Caesars that was his Barber, the fearfullest wretch that lived thus busily preying and listening abroad in every corner, benign mistrustfull by nature, found that *Pothinus* and *Acchilus* did lie in waite to kill his Master Caesar. This being proved unto Caesar, he did set such sure watch about the Hall, where the Feast was made, that in fine, he slew the Eunuch *Pothinus* himselfe. *Acchilus* on the other side, saved himselfe, and fled unto the Kings Campe, where he raised a marvellous dangerous and difficult Warre for Caesar: because he having then but a few men about him, was to fight against a great and strong City. The first danger he fell into, was the want of Water: for that his Enemies had stopped the mouth of the Pipes, the which conveyed the Water into the Castle. The second danger he had, was, that seeing his Enemies came to take his Ships from him, he was driven to repulse that danger with fire, the which burnt the Arsenall where the Ships lay, and that notable Library of ALEXANDRIA withall. The third danger was in the Battell by Sea, that was fought by the Tower of PHAR: where meaning to helpe his men that fought by Sea, he leapt from the Peere into a Boate. Then the EGYPTIANS made towards him with their Oares on every side: but he leaping into the Sea, with great hazard saved himselfe by swimming. It is said, that then holding divers Books in his hand, he did never let them go, but kept them alwaies upon his head above water, and swam with the other hand, notwithstanding that they shot marvellously at him, and was driven sometime to ducke into the water: howbeit the Boate was drowned presently. In fine, the King coming to his men that made Warre with Caesar, he went against him, and gave him Battell, and wanne it with great laughter, and effusion of blood. But for the King, no man could ever tell what became of him after. Thereupon Caesar made *Cleopatra* his Sister, Queen of EGYPT, who being great with Child by him, was shortly brought to bed of a Son, whom the ALEXANDRIANS named *Cesarion*. From thence he went into SYRIA, and so going into ASIA, there it was told him that *Domitius* was overthrowne in Battell, by *Pharnaces* the Son of King *Alabridates*, and was fled out of the Realme of PONT with a few men with him: and that this King *Pharnaces* greedily following his Victory, was not contented with the winning of BITHYNIA and CAPPADOCIA, but further would needs attempt to winne ARMENIA the lesse, procuring all those Kings, Princes, and Governours of the Provinces thereabouts to rebell against the ROMANES. Thereupon Caesar went thither straight with three Legions and fought a great Battell with King *Pharnaces* by the City of ZELA, where he slew his Army, and drave him out of all the Realme of PONT. And because he would advertise one of his friends of the suddaine of this Victory, he onely wrote three words unto *Anitius* at ROME: *Veni, Vidi, Vici*: to wit, I came, I saw, I overcame. These three words ending all with like sound and letter in the Latin, have a certain short grace more pleasant to the eare, then can be well exprest in any other Tongue. After this he returned againe into ITALY, and came to ROME, ending his yeare for the which he was made Dictator the second time, which Office before was never granted for one whole yeare, but unto him. Then was he chosen Confull for the yeare following. Afterwards he was very ill spoken of, for that his Souldiers in a mutiny having slaine two Prætors, *Cosconius* and *Galba*, he gave them no other punishment for it, but instead of calling them Souldiers, he named them Citizens, and gave unto every one of them a thousand Drachmaes a man, and great Possessions in ITALY. He was much misliked also for the desperate parts and madnesse of *Delabella*, for the covetousnesse of *Anitius*, for the drunkennesse of *Antonius* and *Cornificus*; which made Pompeys house be pulled down and builded up againe, as a thing not big enough for him, wherewith the ROMANES were marvellously offended. Caesar knew all this well enough, and would have been contented to have redressed them: but to bring his matter to passe, he pretended he was driven to serve his turne by such Instruments. After the Battell of PHARSALIA, *Cato* and *Scipio* being fled into AFRICKE, King *Juba* joyned with them, and leaved a great puissant Army. Wherefore Caesar determined to make Warre with them: and in the midst of Winter, he tooke his journey into SYCILE. There, because he would take all hope from his Captaines and Souldiers to make any long abode there, he went and lodged upon the very Sands by the Sea side, and with the next gale of wind that came, he tooke the Sea with three thousand Footmen, and a few Horsemen. Then having put them a land, unware to them he hoised saile againe to fetch the rest of his Army, being afraid lest they should meet with some danger in passing over, and meeting them mid-way, he brought them all into his Campe. Where, when it was told him, that his Enemies trusted in an Ancient Oracle, which said, that it was predestined unto the Family of *Scipio*s to be Conquerors in AFRICKE: either of purpose to mocke *Scipio* the Generall of his Enemies, or otherwise in good earnest to take the benefit of this Name (given by the Oracle) unto himselfe, in all the Skirmishes and Battels fought, he gave the charge of his Army unto a man of meane quality and account, called *Scipio Salustius*, who came of the Race of *Scipio* AFRICAN, and made him alwaies Generall when he fought. For he was eftsoones compelled to weary and harry his Enemies: for that neither his men in his Camp had Corne enough

Cleopatra came to Caesar.
Cleopatra trusted up in a Mattresse, and so brought to Caesar, upon *Apollodorus* backe.

The great Library of Alexandria burnt.

Caesars swimming with Books in his hand.

Caesar made *Cleopatra* Queen of Egypt.
Caesarion, Caesars Son, begotten of *Cleopatra*.

Caesars Victory of King *Pharnaces*.
Caesar writeth three words to certifye his Victory.

Caesars journey into Africke against *Cato* and *Scipio*.

make Warre with the PERSIANS. Then when he had overcome them, to passe through HYRCANIA (compassing in the Sea Caspium, and Mount Caucasus) in the Realme of PONTUS, and so to invade SCYTHIA: and overrunning all the Countries, and People adjoining unto high GERMANIE, and GERMANIE it self, at length to returne by GAULE into ITALY, and so to enlarge the ROMANE Empire round, that it might be every way compassed in with the great Sea Oceanum. But whilst he was preparing for this Voyage, he attempted to cut the barre of the straight of PELOPONNESUS, in the Market-place where the City of CORINTH standeth. Then he was minded to bring the Rivers of *Anienus* and *Tiber*, straight from ROME, unto the City of CIRCES with a deepe Channell and high Banks cast up on either side, and so to fall into the Sea at TERRACINA, for the better safety and commodity of the Merchants that came to ROME to traffike there. Furthermore, he determined to draine and seaw all the Water of the Marshes betwixt the Cities of NOMENTUM and SETIUM, to make firme land, for the benefit of many thousands of People: and on the Sea Coast next unto ROME, to cast great high Banks, and to cleanse all the Haven about OSTIA, of Rocks and Stones hidden under the Water, and to take away all other impediments that made the harbour dangerous for Ships, and to make new Havens and Arsenals meet to harbour such Ships as did continually trafficke thither. All these things were purposed to be done, but tooke no effect. But the ordinance of the Kalendar, and reformation of the yeare, to take away all confusion of time, being exactly calculated by the Mathematicians, and brought to perfection, was a great commodity unto all men. For the ROMANES using then the ancient computation of the yeare, had not onely such incertainty and alteration of the Moneth and times, that the Sacrifices and yearely Feasts came, by little and little, to seasons contrary for the purpose they were ordained: but also in the revolution of the Sunne (which is called *Annu Solaris*) no other Nation agreed with them in account: and of the ROMANES themselves, onely the Priests understood it. And therefore when they listed, they suddainly (no man being able to controll them) did thrust in a Moneth above their ordinary number, which they called in old time, *Mercedonius. Some say, that *Numa Pompilius* was the first that devised this way, to put a Moneth between: but it was a weake remedy, and did little helpe the correction of the errors that were made in the account of the yeare, to frame them to perfection. But *Caesar* committing this matter unto the Philosophers, and best expert Mathematicians at that time; did set forth an excellent and perfect Kalendar, more exactly calculated, then any other that was before: the which the ROMANES do use until this present day, and do nothing erre as others, in the difference of time. But his Enemies notwithstanding that envied his greatnesse, did not sticke to finde fault withall. As *Cicero* the Orator, when one said, to morrow the Starre Lyra will rise: Yea, said he, at the commandement of *Caesar*, as if men were compelled so to say and thinke, by *Caesars* Edict. But the chiefeft cause that made him mortally hated, was the covetous desire he had to be called King: which first gave the People just cause, and next his secret Enemies, honest colour to beare him ill will. This notwithstanding, they that procured him this Honour and Dignity, gave it out among the People, that it was written in the Sybilline Prophecies, how the ROMANES might overcome the PARTHIANS, if they made Warre with them, and were led by a King, but otherwise that they were unconquerable. And furthermore they were so bold besides, that *Caesar* returning to ROME from the City of ALBA, when they came to salute him, they called him King. But the People being offended, and *Caesar* also angry, he said, he was not called King, but *Caesar*. Then every man keeping silence, he went his way heavly and sorrowfull. When they had decreed divers honours for him in the Senate, the Consuls and Prætors accompanied with the whole Assembly of the Senate, went unto him in the Market-place, where he was set by the Pulpit for Orations, to tell him what honours they had decreed for him in his absence. But he sitting still in his Majesty, disdainful to rise up unto them when they came in, as if they had been private men, answered them: that his honours had more need to be cut off then enlarged: This did not onely offend the Senate, but the common People also, to see that he should so lightly esteeme of the Magistrates of the Commonwealth: inso much as every man that might lawfully go his way, departed thence very sorrowfully. Thereupon also *Caesar* rising, departed home to his house, and tearing open his Doublet Coller, making his necke bare, he cried out aloud to his friends, that his Throate was ready to offer to any man that would come and cut it. Notwithstandyng, it is reported, that afterwards to excuse his folly, he imputed it to his disease, saying, that their wits are not perfect which have this disease of the falling-Evill, when standing on their feet they speake to the common People, but are soone troubled with a trembling of their Body, and a suddaine dimnesse and giddinesse. But that was not true, for he would have risen up to the Senate, but *Cornelius Balbus* one of his friends (or rather a flatterer) would not let him, saying: what, do you not remember that you are *Caesar*, and will you not let them reverence you, and do their duties? Besides these occasions and offences, there followed also his shame and reproach, abusing the Tribunes of the People in this sort. At that time the Feast Lupercalia was celebrated, the which in old time, men say was the Feast of Shepherds or Heardsmen, and is much like unto the Feast of the LYCAIANS in ARCADIA. But howsoever it is, that day there are divers noble mens Sons, young men, (and some of them Magistrates themselves that govern them) which run naked through the City, striking in sport them they meet in their way, with Leather thongs, haire and all on, to make them give place. And many noble Women and Gentlewomen also, go of purpose to stand in their way, and do put forth their hands to be stricken, as Scholars hold them out to their Schoole-maister, to be stricken with the ferula: perswading themselves

Anienus, Tiber flu.
Caesar reformed the inequality of the yeare.

*Mercedonius mensis intercalaris.

Why *Caesar* was hated.

The Feast Lupercalia.

themselves that being with Child, they shall have good delivery; and so being barren, that it will make them to conceive with Child. *Caesar* fate to behold that sport upon the Pulpit for Orations, in a Chaîne of Gold, apparelled in triumphant manner. *Antonius* who was Consul at that time, was one of them that ranne this holy course. So when he came into the Market-place, the People made a lane for him to runne at liberty, and he came to *Caesar*, and presented him a Diademe wreathed about with Lawrell. Whereupon there rose a certaine cry of rejoycing, not very great, done onely by a few appointed for the purpose. But when *Caesar* refused the Diademe, then all the people together made an outcry of joy. Then *Antonius* offering it him againe, there was a second shout of joy, but yet of a few. But when *Caesar* refused it againe the second time, then all the whole People shouted, *Caesar* having made this prooffe, found that the People did not like of it, and thereupon rose out of his Chaire, and commanded the Crowne to be carried unto *Jupiter* in the Capitoll. After that, there was set up Images of *Caesar* in the City, with Diademes upon their headslike Kings. Those, the two Tribunes, *Flavius* and *Marullus*, went and pulled downe, and furthermore, meeting with them that first saluted *Caesar* as King, they committed them to Prison. The People followed them rejoycing at it, and called them *Brutes*, because of *Brutus*, who had in old time driven the Kings out of ROME, and that brought the Kingdome of one person, unto the Government of the Senate and People. *Caesar* was so offended withall, that he deprived *Marullus* and *Flavius* of their Tribuneships, and accusing them, he spake also against the People, and called them *Bruti* and *Cumani*, to wit, beasts and fooles. Hereupon the People went straight unto *Marcius Brutus*, who from his Father came of the first *Brutus*, and by his Mother of the house of the *Servilians* a noble house as any was in ROME, and was also Nephew and Sonne in Law of *Marcius Cato*. Notwithstanding, the great honours and favour *Caesar* shewed unto him, kept him backe that of himselfe alone he did not conspire nor consent to depose him of his Kingdome. For *Caesar* did also save many more of his friends besides: but furthermore, he put a marvellous confidence in him. For he had already preferred him to the Prætorship for that yeare, and furthermore was appointed to be Consul the fourth yeare after that, having through *Caesars* friendship obtained it before *Cassius*, who likewise made suite for the same: and *Caesar* also, as it is reported, said in his contention, indeed *Cassius* hath alleadged best reason, but yet shall he not be chosen before *Brutus*. Some one day accusing *Brutus* while he practised this conspiracy, *Caesar* would not hear of it, but clapping his hand on his body, told them, *Brutus* will looke for this skin: meaning thereby, that *Brutus* for his Vertue deserved to rule after him, but yet, that for ambitions sake, he would not shew himselfe unthankfull or dishonourable. Now they that desired change, and wished *Brutus* onely their Prince and Governour above all other, they durst not come to him themselves to tell him what they would have him to do, but in the night did cast sundry Papers into the Prætors seate, where he gave Audience, and the most of them to this effect: Thou sleepest *Brutus*, and art not *Brutus* indeed. *Cassius* finding *Brutus* ambition stirred up the more by these seditious Bills, did prick him forward, and edge him on the more, for a private quarrell he had conceived against *Caesar*: the circumstance whereof, we have set downe at large in *Brutus* life. *Caesar* also had *Cassius* in great jealousy, and suspected him much: whereupon he said on a time to his friends, what will *Cassius* do, thinke ye? I like not his pale lookes. Another time when *Caesars* friends complained unto him of *Antonius* and *Dolabella*, that they pretended some mischief towards him: he answered them again, As for those fat men and smooth combed heads, quoth he, I never reckon of them; but these pale visaged and carrion leane People, I feare them most, meaning *Brutus* and *Cassius*. Certainly, destiny may easie be foreseene then avoided, considering the strange and wonderfull Signes that were said to be seene before *Caesars* death. For, touching the Fires in the Element, and Spirits running up and downe in the night, and also the solitary Birds to be seene at noon daies sitting in the great Market-place, are not all these Signes perhaps worth the noting, in such a wonderfull chance as happened? But *Strabo* the Philosopher writeth, that divers men were seen going up and down in Fire: and furthermore, that there was a Slave of the Souldiers, that did cast a marvellous burning flame out of his hand, inso much as they that saw it, thought he had been burnt; when the Fire was out, it was found he had no hurt. *Caesar* selfe also doing Sacrifice unto the gods, found that one of the Beasts which was sacrificed had no Heart: and that was a strange thing in nature: how a Beast could live without a Heart. Furthermore there was a certaine Soothsayer, that had given *Caesar* warning long time afore, to take heed of the day of the Ides of *March*, (which is the fiftenth of the Moneth) for on that day he should be in great danger. That day being come, *Caesar* going unto the Senate-House, and speaking merrily unto the Soothsayer, told him the Ides of *March* be come. So they be, softly answered the Soothsayer, but yet are they not past. And the very day before, *Caesar* supping with *Marcus Lepidus*, sealed certaine Letters as he was wont to do at the Board: so talke falling out amongst them, reasoning what death was best, he preventing their opinions, cried out aloud, Death unlooked for. Then going to bed the same night, as his manner was, and lying with his Wife *Calpurnia*, all the Windows and Doors of his Chamber flying open, the noise awoke him, and made him afraid when he saw such light: but more, when he heard his Wife *Calpurnia*, being fast asleepe, weepe and sigh, and put forth many fumbling lamentable speeches: for she dreamed that *Caesar* was slaine, and that she had him in her Armes. Others also do deny that she had any such dreame, as amongst other, *Titus Livius* writeth, that it was in this sort: The Senate having set upon the top of *Caesars* House for an Ornament and setting forth of the same, a certaine Pinnacle,

Antonius being Consul, was one of the Lupercalians. *Antonius* presented the Diademe to *Caesar*.

Caesar saved *Marcius Brutus* life, after the Battell of *Pharsalia*.

Brutus conspired against *Caesar*.

Cassius stirred up *Brutus* against *Caesar*.

Predictions and forebodings of *Caesars* death.

Caesars day of his death Prognosticated by a Soothsayer.

The Dreame of *Calpurnia*, *Caesars* Wife.

Wond'rous scene
in the Element
after Cæsar's
death.
A great Comet.
Brutus Vision.
A Spirit ap-
peared unto
Brutus.

The second ap-
pearing of the
Spirit unto
Brutus.

ness of the Sunne was darkened, the which all that yeare through rose very pale, and shined not out, whereby it gave but small heate: therefore the Ay being very cloudy and darke, by the weaknesse of the heate that could not come forth, did cause the Earth to bring forth but raw and unripe Fruite, which rotted before it could ripe. But above all, the ghost that appeared unto Brutus, shewed plainly, that the gods were offended with the murder of Cæsar. The Vision was thus: Brutus being ready to passe over his Army from the City of ARYDOS to the other Coast lying directly against it, slept every night (as his manner was) in his Tent; and being yet awake, thinking of his Affaires, for by report he was as carefull a Captaine, and lived with as little sleepe as ever man did) he thought he heard a noise at his Tent door, and looking towards the light of the Lamp that waxed very dim, he saw a horrible Vision of a man, of a wonderfull greatnesse, and dreadfull looke, which at the first made him marvellously afraid. But when he saw that it did him no hurt, but stood by his bed-side, and said nothing; at length he asked him what he was. The Image answered him: I am thy ill Angell, Brutus, and thou shalt see me by the City of PHILIPPE. Then Brutus replied againe, and said, Well, I shall see thee then. Therewithall, the Spirit presently vanished from him. After that time, Brutus being in Battell neare unto the City of PHILIPPE, against Antonius and Octavius Cæsar, at the first Battell he wan the Victory, and overthrowing all them that withstood him, he drave them into young Cæsars Campe, which he tooke. The second Battell being at hand, this Spirit appeared againe unto him, but spake never a word. Thereupon Brutus knowing that he should die, did put himselfe to all hazard in Battell, but yet fighting could not be flaine. So seeing his men put to flight and overthrowne, he ranne unto a hile Rocke not farr off, and there setting his Swords point to his breast, fell upon it, and slew himselfe; but yet, as it is reported, with the helpe of his Friend that dispatched him.

The end of the Life of Julius Cæsar.

THE COMPARISON OF ALEXANDER the Great with JULIUS CÆSAR



ENTERING into consideration of Alexander and Cæsar, it is an easie matter to speake, and much easier to prove, that they are two of the bravest Chieftaines of Warre, that are to be noted in his Histories: that their Vertues out of Warre are excellent, and have great resemblance together: that both of them were Nobly borne, Learned, Eloquent, Liberrall, Moderate, very loving to their Friends and Servants, and wonderfull much made of, and obeyed of Captaines and Souldiers of their Armies, and mercifull even to their Enemies: that even from their youth they made good prooffe of the future greatnesse of their courages: that their Exploits are altogether admirable: that they be two Miracles for Military Dicipline, whether a man doth looke into the shortnesse of the time of their Warres, and the Countries which they have passed through, as it were with the turning of a hand: or that they behold the Enemies they have overcome, the Towns and Provinces they have conquered; their Wisdome, Valour, and Happinesse, having never received repulse, but alwaies carrying Victory in their hands, and making Valour their advantage with an assured good direction. Both of them were in marvellous danger of their Persons, the one in the City of the MALLIANS, the other in SPAIN, against the Sonne of Pompeius. Both of them were by Soothsayers expressly told of their death.

death, whom they loved and respected. Both of them in the meane space (as it were blind-fold) did throw themselves into danger, from the which men would have withdrawn them. But he that meerly considers the Life of either of them, shall finde himselfe in a Field, whereof the eye cannot see the end, nor the divers waies object unto it, but remaineth dazled, not knowing whether to point it, he seeth so many things at once before him. If he come to preferre the Life of the one before the other, he entrencheth into an Ocean of discourse, and cannot tell which of the two he should chuse, nor to what port to go to discharge himselfe of this man here, before the other there; yet to encourage some body to faile in this Sea, let us row to the Shoare: and (to speake plainly without figure) let us see wherein the one doth passe the other, to leave the Reader his free judgement of that we will say. At this present I will in few words shew what may be observed most memorable, in the Adolescence of the one and of the other, of their Exploits of Warre, of their Vices and Vertues, of their Death, and what followed after. I pleade first for Alexander, not mentioning his Race, his Beauty, nor the sweetnesse of his Body, which they speake of so much; all that being nothing worth in respect of Vertue: his continency unto Women, and for that he did moderately use the exercises of his Body, doth so much the more condemne Cæsars excesse and frailty of his youth, doing and suffering filthy things, not to be ripped up any further. The ambition of Alexander came of a noble minde, as witnesseth that he spake of the running at the Games Olympicall, his discourse with the Ambassadors of PERSIA, and the complaint he made to his Companions, that his Father would leave him nothing to conquer. Whereas Cæsar after he had remained sometime in NINETEEN and in GREECE, he cast himselfe into the armes of the common People at ROME, being bountifull, and making Orations to gaine their hearts, suing for petty Offices finely to attaine to the greater. To conclude, he tooke a quite contrary course unto Alexander, who traced the great Royall broad way to Vertue, to become one day the Honour of the World: and also to his Schoole-Master the learnedest man of all men, and shewed himselfe indeed a most worthy Disciple of Aristotle. But Cæsar pricked forward by his naturall wit, and tyrannicall manners of his time, was possessed (in an unlucky houre for him and his Country) with the intollerable Vice of self-will and ambition, which was cause of his death. The love that Alexander bore from his Infancy unto Learning and Learned-men, makes him farre excell other Princes. The Honour that he did unto Homer the Poet, returned againe to himselfe: how praise-worthy are his courtesies and liberality unto Diogenes, Xenocrates, and others? To the contrary, Cæsar never seemed to care for any man, but for himselfe; or if he have regarded some, or given Gold and Silver by handfuls, it was but to gaine men, and by degrees to serve his turne to raise him to that greatnesse he aimed at, rather then for any other consideration. Now as may be said of the one and the other, he was,

In Counsell wise: and valorous in Fight.

And to speake truly, it is their true and right Title of Honour, and the advantage they have of all those that have gone before them: let us see if we can a little in particular qualifie Alexander.

A sturdy Warriour, never fearing harmes,

And dreadfull to his Enemies in Arms:

As saith *Aeschilus*: for what was all his Warre in ASIA after the death of *Philippus*, but Tempests, extreme Heates, wonderfull deepe Rivers, marvellous high Mountaines, monstrous Beasts for greatnesse to behold, wild savage fashions of life, change and alteration of Governours upon every occasion, yea Treasons and Rebellsions of some? At the beginning of his Voyage, GREECE did yet lay their heads together, for remembrance of the Warres that *Philippus* made upon them, the Towns gathered together, MACEDONIA inclined to some change and alteration, divers People farr and near lay in waite to see what their neighbours would do, the Gold and Silver of PERSIA flowing in the Orators Purfes and Governours of the People in every Town did raise up *Peloponnes*: *Philippus* Treasure and Coffers were empty, and the debts were great. In despite of all these troubles, and in the midst of his poverty, a young man, but newly come to mans estate, durst in his minde thinke of the Conquest of ASIA, yea of the Empire of the whole World, with thirty thousand Footmen, and five thousand Horfe, or (as some other think) with five and forty thousand Footmen, and five thousand and five hundred Horfe; having to entertaine this Warre in ready Money but two and forty thousand Crowns, or (as *Darris* writeth) provision of Victuals and Money but for thirty daies: howbeit he was furnished with Magnanimity, with Temperance, with Wisdome and Valour; being more holpen in this Martiall Enterprife, with that he had learned of his Tutor *Aristotle*, then with that which his Father *Philippus* had left him: he was armed with a just quarrell against the PERSIANS, sworn Enemies unto GREECE, unto whom they had done infinite wrongs and injuries: his Magnanimity and Valiantnesse appeared in all Fights, were it in a pitched Field, or in Assaults taking of Townes; never sparing his person, having been grievously wounded in sundry Fights. What Valour shewed he in the City of the MALLIANS, he himselfe alone against so many barbarous People? With what constancy did he encourage his Surgeons to pluck out a Dart that stucke fast in his Breast? Let no man, saith he, be so faint-hearted nor cowardly; no, not if my life were in question, I could not thinke that a man would beleieve I feared death, if he had any feeling or feare in my behalfe. Now for a man in twelve yeares space and lesse, to have done these things, and to have travelled a Conquerour the most part of the World, is a commendation passing mens understanding. Cæsar on the contrary part, having made his preparations long before, happily found *Craspus* to pay his debts he ought, to the end to corrupt the City of ROME: and happily having

of those that loved good laws and the good of the state, the which he left turmoiled with civil wars; and which began to make some shew againe under his Nephew, whom the divine providence (baving regard to things much more excellent then either heaven or earth) had in his counsell determined to make him Monarch of the world. As to the contrary, *Alexander* was happily stayed in *BAByLON*, where he was told by the divines, the wicked spirit having (according to the knowledge it pleased the just Judge to give him) conjectured and foretold something of that which God had long time before revealed unto his by his faithfull Prophet. But yet after *Augustus*, the Empire of *ROME* fell againe into new misfortunes, and was never but unconstant from that time forward, till in the end it sunke under her owne weight. The like chanced to *Alexanders* successors, but not through his fault: and that makes the memory of him more famous. Thus have you all I can say of him. Let us speake something of *Julius Caesar* also, not that I pretend to attaine to that which may be said of him: for it would require a more sufficient man then my selfe to performe that. But to make some comparision with *Alexander*, whose deeds he chancing one day to read of in a booke, he fell a weeping, envying the brave exploits of the other. Let us therefore consider if he have done things that came neare, or did excell the other. First of all, unto all the noble Acts that may be written of *Alexander* in his youth, I do object the worthy Act of *Caesar* against the Pirates, which were more his prisoners then he theirs, unto whom he paid ransome in such sort, that he made them repent their folly that they ever meddled with him. So that upon land they found he was very round with them, as also their Judge at Sea, though he were but a young man in their hands. That is but an example of the rest of his life, who could abide no companion, and much lesse a master, as being borne to all great things, and delighting in nothing but to be excellent in all the rarest and highest things of the world: as his deeds did witness, after he came to beare office in the Common-wealth, even to the end of his dayes. Now albeit his eloquence is no small thing to be spoken of, which did him notable service in many troublesome encounters; though it was a wonder to see the excellency of his stile and grace, lively to expresse all things in so fine and goodly termes, that the smoothest Muses neither would, nor could speake more sweetly then he: yet since we had rather stand upon good deeds then faire words, let us passe over this matter, so much to support *Alexander*, and let us see whether it may be received for truth of all men of understanding: that *Caesar* is the most excellent Captaine that ever was in the world. Albeit that *Alexander* had but a small meane, yet he was Lord of a great Kingdom, he had men and credit. But *Caesar* without patrimony of much worth without money and with few men, performed the greatest things that may be thought of. *Alexander* had to do with women and children, if one compare the people he fought with, those whom *Caesar* overthrew: not in five or six battells, but in more then fifty, very well ordered, where he was ever the weaker in number of men, but the greater in valour: never vanquished, but ever victor: and was never hurt that I can tell of, though he would venture even to his last, and let his flesh go as freely as the meanest souldier of his Legions. And yet in the mean time they shall finde he was better stayed in his enterprises then *Alexander*, that like a swift running streame would run into any dangers, which indifferently joyneth with all that cometh against it. So he was in the heat of his age, and *Caesar* entred into doings being a man of ripe judgement, and well onwards in years. To say it is a great commendation for a Generall in the field, headlong to put himself into all dangers, making no difference betwixt himselfe and a common souldier, that is somewhat too forward: and therefore therein I find *Caesar* to be preferred before *Alexander*, onely for that he was not so forward without great necessity. So that his happinesse defended him in all parts, as also for that *Alexander* seemed to have sought to be beaten. Shall I tell you that *Caesar* killed a million of enemies, hath triumphed for a million of others and hath made an innumerable number to flee? That in lesse then ten years while the warre in *GAULE* endured, he wan eight hundred Townes, and subdued three hundred Nations? If I should mention the wars he made in fifteen yeares space, it would make a whole booke to speake onely but of the praises he deserved. The *SWITZERS*, *GERMANES*, *GAULES*, *ROMANES*, *EGYPTIANS*, *AFRICANS*, the *ASIANS*, and his five triumphs of so many enemies, so mighty, and in shew so invincible, do approve his valour and sufficiency in all the parts requisite in a Chieftaine of warre. His vertues and happinesse being his Tutors, he got about him a world of good wills of certaine valiant Captaines and souldiers together, whom he ordered so well, that he made them ready to performe what he commanded, and having such an unmatchable carriage towards them, he made them invincible with him: and in the midst of his continuall troubles, he did reade, meditate, speake, wrote, and left behinde him the goodliest booke that a Martiall man, and one that entertaineth the Muses, can devise to take in his hands. His Orations were a long time held in great reputation among the *ROMANES*. And for his respect unto men learned, valiant, and vertuous, *Caesar* had renounced himselfe, if he had shut his Gate against such men. The dangers *Alexander* passed through were great, but what were they in respect of *Caesar*'s dangers, environed with so brave enemies, and in so great a number, as were the *GAULES*, and *Pompeys* followers? What foule parts have been played him by some of his own people, and yet he weighed them not? But to the contrary, he suffered some of them to run what course they liked best: he sent the carriage and goods together: he alwayes respected and honoured his enemies, when they made no head against him. And by his friends he sent reasonable conditions unto *Pompey*, before he would fight with him. Furthermore, when he entred into wars, being greatly in debt, and raised up with hope, having the chieftest in *ROME* his adversaries, he took upon him to fight with all the enemies abroad, and to make his way in despite of the world, to the sovereignty of *ROME*, the

Wherein *Caesar* seemed to excell *Alexander*.

Caesar's youth.

Caesar's great skill in Armes.

which he saw had need of a good master, not of so many perry Lords. His wonderful foresight served him altogether in all occurrences, being never prevented in any thing he went about, but alwayes obtained more then he desired. His magnanimity weighed more then any other vertue they could note in him: which is as much as one would say, that *Caesar* out weighed all the other Captaines of the *GREEKS* and *ROMANES*. He was almost at all the battels: in the warres where he commanded, he was never beaten but in his Lieutenants. For the skirmish in the which *Pompey* on a time had the better, it is not worth the speaking of it; because he could not tell how to follow his victory. And it is a singular direction, favoured with a most rare happinesse, that amongst so many blows given, *Caesar* never had one given him. If he found favour of *Craesus* before he went to the warres, that cannot be imputed any blame to him; since he alwayes payed his friends well, and brought his enemies to reason, though they set against him. If justice accompanied the prowess of *Alexander*, if he have used moderation, gentleness, and humility in his victories, if he shewed himselfe wise and circumspect in his purposes: what shall be said of *Caesar* then? Whose gentleness is so much spoken of, that men judge that that was one of the occasions of his death. His pastimes were very serious: and after he began to deale in affaires, he never played but in good earnest, and yet would he never lose his times of recreation, and his pleasant talke and communication with his friends and familiars. But in the midst of his victories, how did he use his enemies, and those that set themselves against him? He was a lightening of warre, that did overthrow all that durst withstand him: and he never meddled with any that yielded without resistance. He was Faithfull, Wise, Valiant, and Courageous, and did not allow all kind of meanes to obtaine victory: although more then once he might have feeded (as they say) the case of the Foxe; with the skinne of the Lyon. But yet he followed in good time his predecessors, although he did finely assault the most part of his enemies, and destroyed the one by the other. *Caesar*'s ambition was very extreme, but he covered it in another manner of sort then *Alexander* did: who passing over a River, let fall certain words, plaine enough, that he sought the praise of the *ATHENIANS*. And the false inventions to make the glory of his name to continue for ever amongst the *INDIANS*, do not they discover a most grosse vanity, which did but labour after that which it could not attaine? But *Caesar* desired earnestly, and touched the end of his intentions. His prowess is wonderful gracious, and his gentleness grave and valiant: his liberality so great, that to thinke what he should give, was more then the gift it selfe, how great soever. Also he gathered no riches together in the warres, to live afterwards in delicioussesse at his pleasure: it was a reward of vertue that he locked up, to recompence men of valour, and to leave good souldiers a meane to live by honestly at home, when age and their wounds did constrain them to leave warres. He was never weary of any travell more then *Alexander*: and gave not himselfe to so much ease, though he was elder, slenderer, and thinner of body, and subject to the falling sicknesse: but he hardened himselfe against it by continuall exercise of his body, and minde, accompanied with an incredible quicknesse and diligence. He having left *FRANCE*, and running after *Pompeius* to *BRUNDISIUM*, he subdued all *ITALIE* in lesse then three weekes, returned againe from *BRUNDISIUM* to *ROME*; from whence he went to the heart of *SPAIN*, where he overcame extreme hardnesse in the warre against *Africanus* and *Petorius*, and at the long siege of *MARSEILLES*. From thence he returned into *MACEDONIA*, won the battell of *PHARSALIA*, and followed *Pompeius* into *EGYPT*, which he subdued also. After that he came into *SYRIA*, and into the Kingdom of *PONT*, where he fought with *Pharnaces*: and from thence into *AFRICK*, where he overcame *Scipio* and *Juba*. Afterwards he returned againe through *ITALIE* and *SPAIN*, and there overcame the sonne of *Pompeius*. Now weigh therewithall the travells, fights, conquests and expeditions of *Alexander*: then say plainly, what you thinke of it: *Caesar* carried it by much. The onely wars of the *GAULES* have been more sharpe and dangerous then all the conquests of *ASIA* and the *INDIANS*. For it is not in passing over mountains and Rivers ill guarded, that shews the deeds of men: it is to overcome a subtil and puissant enemy. But I pray you, these words of *Caesar* to the Masters of the Brigantine (who unlesse they had known him, would have passed him from *APOLLONIA* to *BRUNDISIUM*) were they not more swelling then the sea it self: courage my friend, said he, faile hardly: for thou carriest *Caesar* and his fortune. And that which he said passing over the River of *Rubicon*, to enter into *ITALIE*: *A man can be but once undone*: what a courage did he shew in that? Truly a mind, that from thence did behold death, and cared for no more, but for the execution of his counsels. If a man observe the directions of *Alexander* in his exploits, what is that in the respect of the wisdom of *Caesar*? being wont to say, he loved victory gotten by counsell more then by force. I know that *Alexander* was adorned with most excellent vertues, and hurt with very few knowne vices. For therein it seemeth he hath lattised up *Caesar*, and many others of the chieftest in the *GREEKE* and *ROMANE* History: although I cannot dissemble also, that he was led by flatterers and women too: witness that which he did at the instigation of *Lais* and of his minions. As also that his deeds were but wind: dangerous vices in all men, but especially in Princes: from which *Caesar* kept himself with better understanding. But if we bring in shew the good understanding, the spirit, the judgement, the conduct, the profound knowledge, the eloquence, the hardnesse, the greatnesse of courage, the more then humane boldnesse in the midst of the greatest dangers: the travells, the paines, the bounty, the gentleness, the courtesie, the liberality, and the good fortune of *Caesar*: we shall have enough to speake of. They object this against him, that among the Senators and others which tooke *Pompeius* part, he spared them that could not much hurt him: and others whom he thought he could not gaine, he overcame them in *AFRICK*.

The vertues and perfections of *Caesar* both in war and peace.

Cæsars vices.

But *Brutus*, *Cassius*, and his adherents shew, that *Cæsar* fought nothing else but to carry himselfe graciously, if his ill-willers would have let him alone. And sure it is very likely, that if they had borne with him but a while longer, matters had not gone on with such a violent course as they did after his death: but the estate of *ROME* had been governed with better Policy, and the ambition of this great person having attained his desire, had been satisfied, and would have fallen of himselfe. For whereas he did leane to the flatteries of *Balbus* and *Antonius*, to disdain the Senate, and to covet the marks and signes of Royall dignity, these were but the blasts of this wicked winde, which such the dangerous bellows entertained and kept in his heart. Now in this he cannot be excused. On the contrary side, they cannot too much condemne this passion of his, which sufficiently appeared in the first voyage he made into *SPAIN*: when passing by a pelting Village, he preferred the first place in that to the second in *ROME*. This passion increased in him ever after, so mightily overruling all the rest, and so absolutely possessing his minde, that it carried him whither it would, and made him that without respect of his Country or of himselfe he never left running, untill that his fierce horse cast him on the ground, and brake his necke. Yea, so many victories and triumphs drew him not for all that to seek rest: but (as *Alexander* sailed up and downe the Ocean, during his last sicknesse, and some hours before his death) he embraced greater wars and conquest then before. For that he did in reforming the Kalender, and the enterprize of so many buildings and works for the Commonwealth, sheweth, that that mind was a bow ever bent. For his voluptuousnesse, peradventure it will not become as to speak of it; and we were better with silence and shame lament mans imperfection, then in deservying of noble persons, content those that are never merry, but when one feedeth their malice. The ambition wherewith he was infinitely wounded, coming to fight with this wickednesse after women, made him quickly leave the haunt, utterly to subdue it afterwards: to the end that his pleasures should never make him steale a minute of an hour, nor to remove one foot from the occasions offered him to raise him to greatnesse. As for his death, it was violent indeed, but practised by the most part of them to whom he had given life, and who continued not long after him. It is true, his high carriage of himselfe was cause of his death: for nothing wanted to his happinesse, but to love his City, and to continue to be more carefull then he was to please the Senate and people, as he had begun after his five triumphs, pardoning all, raising one and other to Offices in the Commonwealth, and setting up againe the statues of *Pompey*. Now being fallen againe into this desperate desire to be yet greater, he made so many offended with him, that diverse put in execution, which one man alone could not easily have brought to passe. But yet he hath that more then *Alexander* that his death was revenged. To the contrary *Alexander's* mother, wives, and children made a poor end; his Army remained as a body without a head, and he had a good grace that compared it to *Cyclope Polypheme*, when *Ulysses* had put out his eye. His Captaines that succours devoured one another by long warres. As for *Cæsar*, he lived still in the person of his successours, who having overcome a world of hard adventures, established a Monarchy: the which in despite of a million of tempests, hath continued many hundreds of years. And specially the name of *Cæsar*, by excellent priviledge hath remained unto those that after him reigned in the Empire of *ROME*: and his valiantnesse was, and yet is to this day desired of all men, that by valourous exploits seeke to win to their name immortall praise and glory. You looke here, Reader, to see to which of the two I should give the precedency: but since the world hath been too little for the one and the other, I should go too farre if I plainly spake what I thought. Now that I have spoken for the other, I cease, and leave you to your judgement.

The judgement of precedency betwixt *Alexander* and *Cæsar* left to the Reader.



THE

THE LIFE OF PHOCION.



Ann. Mund.
362.

Ant. Christ.
326



THE Orator *Demades* on a time flourished in *ATHENS*, because in all his doings and sayings in the administration and governments of the Commonwealth, he alwayes favoured the *MACEDONIANS* and *Antipater*: in respect whereof he was estoones compelled, both in his counsell and lawes, to preferre many things to the dishonour of his City, saying, that they must pardon him, because he governed the shipwracks of his Country. This was an arrogant speech: but yet referring it to the government of *Phocion* *Demades* arrogantly saying. For indeed *Demades* selfe was the shipwracke of the Commonwealth, because he lived so insolently, and governed so lewdly. Infomuch as *Antipater* said of him, after he was very old: that there was nothing left of him, no more then of a beast sacrificed, but the tongue and belly. But the vertues of *Phocion* which had to fight against the cruel and bitter enemy of the time, were so obscured by the calamities of *GREECE*, that his fame was nothing so great as he deserved. For we must not credit *Sophocles* words, making vertue of it selfe but weake, in these verses:

*When stormes of sore adversities (O King) do men assaile,
It daunts their courage, cuts their combs, and makes their hearts to quail.*

But we must onely give place to fortune, who when the frowne upon any good and vertuous man, her force is so great, that where they deserve honour and favour, the violently heapeth false and malicious accusations against them, which maketh their vertue lame, and not of that credite which indeed it deserveth. And yet it seemeth to many, that free Cities are most cruel unto their good Citizens in time of prosperity: because they flow in wealth and live at ease, which maketh them of haughty minds. But it is cleane contrary. For adversity commonly maketh mens maners sower, cholericke, and very hasty: besides, slow to heare, churlish, and offended with every little sharpe word. For he that correcteth them that offend, seemeth to cast their adversity in their teeth: and he that telleth them plainly of their faults, seemeth also to despise them. For like as honey sweet by nature, applied unto wounds, doth bring both smart and paine: even so, sharpe words, though profitable, do bite the unfortunate man, if they be not tempered with discretion and courtesie. And therefore *Homer* the Poet calleth sweet and pleasant things *μαροονη*, as yeelding, and not striving with contrariety, against that part of the mind, whereby we be angry and froward. For even as fore eyes do like to look on blacke and dark colours, and cannot abide the bright and glaring: so in a City, where for want of foresight and government, things go not well, men be so divers and unwilling to hear of their owne faults and estate, that they had rather continue in their folly and danger, then by sharpnesse of words be rebuked and reformed. So that it being impossible to amend one fault with a greater, that Commonwealth

The power of vertue and fortune.

Adversity maketh men hasty

monwealth must be in great danger, that when it hath most need of helpe, is lothest to receive any: and he also hazardeth himselfe, that plainly telleth them their faults. Like as therefore the Mathematician faith, that the Sun doth not altogether follow the motion of the highest heaven: nor yet is moved directly contrary. but fetching a compasse a little overthwart, maketh an oblique circle, and by variety of approaching and departing preserveth all things, and keepeth the world in good temperature: even so, too severe government, contrariwise the peoples mindes in all things, is not good: as also it is marvellous dangerous not to correct offenders when they offend, for fear of the peoples displeasure. But the meane, sometime to yeeld unto the people to make them the more willing to obey, and to grant them things of pleasure, to demand of them againe things profitable, that is a good way to governe men the better by. For, by gentle meanes they are brought to do many profitable things, when they seek it not of them by rigor and authority. Indeed this meane is very hard to be observed, because authority is hardly tempered with lenity. But when they meet together, there is no harmony more musical, nor concordance more perfect then that: and therefore it is said that thereby God doth governe the world, working rather a voluntary then a forced obedience in men. But this fault of severenesse was in *Cato* the younger, for he could not fashion himself to the peoples manners, nor did they like his: neither did he win his estimation in the Common-wealth by flattering of them: and therefore *Cicero* said, that he was put by the Coufulship, for that he behaved himselfe as though he lived in the Common-wealth devised by *Plato*, and not amongst the disordered and corrupt posterity of *Romulus*. Me thinketh I can liken him properly unto timely fruit: the which though men do take pleasure to see and wonder at, yet they eat them not. Even so, the ancientest simplicity of *Catoes* manner (having so long a time been out of use, and coming then to shew it self in that corrupt time and ill manners of the City) was indeed much praise worthy: but yet not the convenientest, nor the fittest for him, because it answered nor respected not the use and manners of the time. For he found not his Country (as *Phocion* did) utterly destroyed, but tossed in a dangerous tempest: and being not of authority like the Pilot to take the sterne in hand, and governe the ship, he took himself to tricking the sailes, and preparing the tackle, so to assist men of greater power. And yet being in no greater place, he so thwarted fortune (which seemed to have sworn the overthrow of the state of *ROME*) that with much ado, with great difficulty, and a long time after, she executed her malice. And yet the Commonwealth had almost gotten the victory of her, by means of *Cato* and his vertue: whith whom I do compare the vertue of *Phocion*, who yet in my opinion were not in all things alike, neither in their honesty, nor policy of government. For there is difference betwixt manhood and manhood, as there was betwixt that of *Alcibiades* and that of *Epaminondus*: betwixt wisdom and wisdom, as betwixt that of *Aristides*, and that of *Themistocles*: and betwixt justice and justice, as betwixt that of *Numa*, and that of *Agessilaus*. But the vertues of these men (to him that shall superficially regard, and lightly consider them) seem all one in quality, in manner, and use, both alike in temperance of courtesie with severity; and manhood with wisdom: a valiant care for other, with presence of courage and security of mind for themselves, abhorring all filthinesse and corruption, and embracing constancy and love of justice: that for any man to discern the difference between them, it requireth an excellent good wit and judgement. Now touching *Cato*, every man knoweth that he was of a noble house, as we will shew you hereafter in his life: but for *Phocion*, I guesse he came of no base parentage. For if he had been the son of a Spoon-maker, as *Idomeneus* testifieth, *Glaukipus* the son of *Hyperides*, having in an invective he wrote against him, rehearsed all the mischiefs he could of him, he would not have forgotten to have upbraided him with his base parentage; neither himself also (if that had been true) had been so well brought up as he was. For when he was a young man, he was *Platoes* Schooler, and afterwards *Xenocrates* Schooler, in the Schoole of Academia: and so, even from his first beginning, he gave himself to follow them that were learned. For as *Duriv* writeth: never *ATHENIAN* saw him weep nor laugh, nor wash himselfe in any common bath, nor his hands out of his sleeves when he wore a long Gowne. For when he went to the warres, he would alwayes go on foot, and never wore Gowne, unless it were extreame cold: and then the fouldiers to mocke him withall, would say it was a signe of a sharpe Winter, when they saw *Phocion* in his Gowne. Now though indeed he was very courteous and gentle of nature, yet he had such a grimme looke withall, that no man had any desire to talke with him, but such as were of his familiar acquaintance. And therefore when *Chares* the Orator, one day mocking him for the bending of his browes, and that the *ATHENIANS* fell in a laughing withall: My Masters, quoth *Phocion*, the bending of my browes hath done you no hurt, but the foolery and laughing of these flatterers have made ye oftentimes weep. Furthermore, his manner of speech was very profitable, for the good sentences and counsels he uttered; but it was mixed with an imperious, austere, and bitter shortnesse. For as *Zeno* the Philosopher saith, that the wise man should temper his words with wit and reason, before he utter them: even so was *Phocions* speech, the which in few words comprehended much matter. And thereupon it seemeth that *Polyestus* *SPHETTIAN* said, that *Demosthenes* was an excellent Orator, but in speech *Phocion* was very witty. For like as coines of Gold or Silver, the lighter they weigh, the finer they be of goodnesse: even so the excellency of speech consisteth in signifying much by few words. And touching this matter, it is reported that Theater being full of people, *Phocion* walked all alone upon the Scaffold where the Players played, and was in a great muse with himselfe: whereupon, one of his friends seeing him so in his muses, said unto him. Surely *Phocion*, thy mind is occupied about somewhat. Indeed it is so, said he: for I am thinking with my selfe, if I could abridge any thing of that I have to say to the people. For *Demosthenes* selfe little esteeming all other Orators, when *Phocion* rose up to speake,

Ciceroes saying of *Cato*, and the Common-wealth of *Rome*. *Catoes* plaine manner became not the corrupt and subtile time.

The parentage of *Phocion*.

Phocion never wept nor laughed.

Phocions manner.

Wherein excellency of speech consisteth.

speake, he would round his friends in the eares, and told them: See, the cutter of my words riseth peradventure he meant it by his manners also. For when a good man speaketh, not a winke of the eye, or a nod of his head, doth countervale many artificiall words and speeches of Rhetoricians. Furthermore, when he was a young man, he went to the warres under Captaine *Chabrias*, and followed him: of whom he learned to be a perfect souldier, and in recompence thereof, he reformed many of his Captaines imperfections, and made him wiser than he was. For *Chabrias* otherwise being very dull and slothfull of himselfe, when he came to fight, he was so hot and couragious, that he would thrust himselfe into danger with the desperate persons: and therefore for his rashnesse it appressed to land in despite of his enemies. But *Phocion* being wise to looke to himselfe, and very quick to execute on the one side quickened *Chabrias* slownesse, and on the other side also, by wisdom cooled his heate and fury. *Chabrias* therefore, being a good man and courteous, loved *Phocion* very well, and did preferre him in matters of service, making him famous amongst the *GRECIANS*, and employed him in his hardest enterprises. For by his meanes he achieved great fame and honour in a battell by sea, which he wonne by the Isle of *Naxos*, giving him the left Wing of his Army, on which side the fight was sharpest of all the battell, and there he soonest put the enemies to flight. This battell being the first which the City of *ATHENS* wanne with their owne men onely, after it had been taken, gave the people cause to love *Chabrias*, and made them also make account of *Phocion* as of a noble Souldier, and worthy to have charge. This victory was gotten on the Feast day of the great mysteries, in memory whereof *Chabrias* did yearly in the sixteenth day of the moneth *Badromion* (now called *August*) make all the people of *ATHENS* drinke. After that time *Chabrias* sending *Phocion* to receive the tribute of the Islanders their confederates, and the Ships which they should lend him, he gave them twenty Gallies to bring him thither. But *Phocion* then (it is reported) said unto him: If he sent him to fight with his enemies, he had need to have more Ships: but if he sent him as an Ambassadour unto his friends, that one ship would serve his turne. So went with one Galley onely; and after he had spoken with the Cities, and courteously dealt with the Governors of every one of them, he returned backe, furnished of their confederates, with a great Fleete of Ships and money, to carry unto *ATHENS*. So *Phocion* did not onely reverence *Chabrias* while he lived, but after his death also he tooke great care of his friends and kinsmen, and sought to make his sonne *Ctesippus* an honest man, whom though he saw very wild and untoward, yet he never left to reforme him, and hide his fault. It is said also, that when this young man did trouble him much with vaine frivolous questions, serving then under him, he being Captaine, and taking upon him to give him counsell, to reprove him, and to teach him the duty of a Captaine, he could not but say: O *Chabrias*, *Chabrias*, now do I pay for the love thou diddest beare me when thou wert alive, in bearing with the folly of thy sonne. But when he saw that the heads of the City of *ATHENS* had (as it were) by lot divided amongst themselves the Offices of warre and peace; and that some of them, as *Eubulus*, *Aristophan*, *Demosthenes*, *Lycurgus* and *Hyperides* were common speakers and preferers of matters in Councils and Senate: and that others, as *Diophites*, *Menesthem*, *Leosthenes* and *Chares* became great men by the warres, and had charge of Armies; he determined rather to follow the manner of government of *Pericles*, *Aristides* and *Solon*, as being mingled of both. For either of them seemed (as the Poet *Archilocus* saith,)

To be both Champions stout, of Mars's warlike band,
And of the Muses eke, the Arts to understand.

He knew also that *Pallas* the goddesse and Protector of *ATHENS*, was called *Polemica*, and *Politica*, to wit, skilfull to rule both in warre and peace. So, having thus disposed of himselfe in Government, he alwayes perswaded peace and quietnesse, and yet was often chosen Captaine, and had charge of Armies, being the onely man that of all the Captaines afore him, and in his time, did never sue for charge, neither yet refused it at any time, when he was called to serve the Common-wealth. It is certain that he was chosen five and forty times Prator, and was alwayes absent at the Elections, but yet sent for. Whereupon all the wisemen wondered to see the manner of the people towards him, considering that *Phocion* had never done nor said any thing to flatter them withall, but commonly had been against their desires: and how they used other Governours notwithstanding, that there were more pleasant and delightfull in their Orations, like men to sport at: as it is said of Kings, who after they have washed their hands to go to their meate, do use to have jesters and flatterers to make them merry: but on the other side, when they had occasion of warres indeed, how then like wise men they would bebinke themselves, and chuse the wisest and stoutest man of the City, and that most would withstand their mindes and desires. For on a time an Oracle of *Apollo Delphicus*, being openly read before them, which said, that all the other *ATHENIANS* being agreed, yet there was one among them that was contrary to all the rest of the City: *Phocion* stepping forth before them all, bad them never seeke further for the man, for it was he that liked none of their doings. Another time he chanced to say his people before all the people, the which they all praised and approved: but when he saw they were so suddenly become of his minde, he turned backe to his friends, and asked them: alas, hath not some evil thing slipped my mouth unawares? Another time a generall collection being gathered of the people at *ATHENS*, towards the solemnizing of a sacrifice; other men of his state having payed their part, he was often called upon to pay his: but

Phocions fight
souldier, &c.

The victory of
Chabrias and
Phocion in the
Isle of *Naxos*.

Phocions notable sayings.

but he answered them againe, Aske them that be rich, for it were a shame for me to give you any thing; being yet in this mans debt, pointing to *Calicles* the usurer, who had lent him money. But when they left him not for all this, to cry out upon him for the contribution, he began to tell them this tale: That on a time there was a coward preparing to go to the warres, and as he was ready to depart, he heard the Ravens what a crying they made, and taking it for an ill signe, he put off his harnesse, and kept him at home. After that he put on his harnesse againe, and went on his way toward the Campe, the Ravens began againe to make a goodlier cry behind him: but thereupon he stayed straight, and at length said: Ye shall croake as loud as ye list, before ye feed on my carcase. Another time the *ATHENIANS* being in warre under his charge, would needs have him to leade them to give charge upon their enemies, but he would not. Thereupon they called him coward, and said, he durst not. Well said he againe, It is not you can make me valiant, no more then my self can make you cowards; and yet one of us know another. Another time in a marvellous dangerous time, the people handled him very churlishly, and would needs have him presently deliver account of his charge: but he answered them, O my friends, first save your selves. Furtherwore, the people being very lowly and humble, for farre, in time of warres; and presently in peace againe waxing brave in words against *Phocion*, charging him that he had taken the victory out of their hands, he only said thus to them: You are happy that have a Capitaine that knowes you, else you would sing a new song. Another time there was a quarrell betwixt the *BOEOTIANS* and them, about their bounds and Frontiers, the which they would not try by law, but by battell: But *Phocion* told them, they did they wist not what, and counsell'd them rather to fight it out in words, in which they were the stronger, and and not with weapons, where they were the weaker. Another time they so much disliked his opinion in the assembly, that they would not abide to hear him, nor suffer to him to speak. Well, my Masters, quoth he then, you may make me do that which is not to be done: but you shall never compell me against my mind, to say that which is not to be spoken. He would as gallantly also gird the Orators his adversaries, when they were busie with him. As on a time he answered *Demosthenes*, that said unto him: The people, *Phocion*, will kill thee one day, and if it take them in the heads: Yea thee, quoth he, if they be wise. Againe, when *Polyestus* *SPARTIAN*, in a hot day perswaded the people of *ATHENS* to make warre with King *Philip*, sweating, and with much ado fetching his breath, being a fat man, that he was driven oftentimes to drinke water, to end his Oration: Surely said *Phocion*, ye shall do marvellous wisely, to make warre at such a mans motion. Why, what thinke ye will he do, when he hath his Curaces and his Target upon him, and that the enemies be ready to fight: that now in making an Oration only before you, which he hath studied long before, is almost stifled? Another time also when *Lycurgus* in his Oration had openly reproved him for many things before the people, and among the rest, for that *Alexander* demanding ten Citizens of *ATHENS* to do with them what he thought good, that he had counsell'd them to deliver them: *Phocion* answered him, I have oftentimes counsell'd them for the best, but they would never follow my counsell. There was one *Archibiades* at that time in *ATHENS*, that counterfeited the *LACEDÆMONIAN*, with a marvellous long beard, a beggarly cloake, and a fowre looke. *Phocion* being cheekt one day before the people, appealed unto *Archibiades* for a witnesse, to confirme that he spake. But he rising up, counsell'd the people contrarily, to flatter them withall. *Phocion* perceiv'd, tooke him by the beard, and said unto him: Alas *Archibiades*, why diddest thou not then clip thy beard, seeing thou wouldst needs flatter? There was another great pleader, one *Aristogiton*, that in all the Assemblies of the City, did nothing but buzze warres continually in their ears. Afterwards when men were to be leaved and mustered, and their names entred that should go to the warres, *Aristogiton* came halting into the Market-place with a stasse in his hand, and both his legs bound up, to make the people believe that he was sicke and diseased. *Phocion* spying *Aristogiton* farre off, cried out to the Clarke that wrote the bills: Put in *Aristogiton*, lame, and impudent. So that oftentimes it makes me muse, how, or wherefore so sharpe and severe a man (as by these examples it appeareth he was) could come to the surname of good. Notwithstanding, in the end I finde it a hard thing, but not impossible, that a man should be like wine, both sweet and sharpe together: as there are others to the contrary, that at the first sight, seem very courteous and gentle of conversation, and upon better acquaintance, prove churlish and dogged. It is reported also, that *Hyperides* the Orator one day should say to the *ATHENIANS*: I pray you (my Lords) note me not for my sharpnesse, but consider if my sharpnesse be without profit. As who should say, men are not troublesome, but for covetousnesse only, and as if the people did not rather feare and hate them, that of insolency and malice, did abuse and contemne their authority. *Phocion* on the other side, never did Citizen hurt, for any private malice he bare him: but was ever sharpe and cruell to them which were against any matter he preferred for the benefit of the Commonwealt. For in all other things, he shewed himself marvellous lowly and courteous to every body, and would be familiar with his adversaries, and helpe them, if they wanted, or were otherwise in danger of displeasure with the state. Inasmuch as his friends therefore reproved him on a time, when he spake in the behalfe of a naughty man, an offender: O said he, honest men need no help. Another time, *Aristogiton* the Sycophant, being clapped up in prison, sent unto *Phocion* to pray him to come and speake with him, after he was condemned. *Phocion* went into the prison to him, and when his friends perswaded him to the contrary, he answered them: O let me alone, said he, for where could I see *Aristogiton* more gladly than in prison? Furthermore, when there went any Army to Sea out of *ATHENS*, if there were any other chosen General but *Phocion*, the Towns and Islands all alongst the Sea coast (which were friends and confederates of the *ATHENIANS*) fortified

Aristogiton, a
Sycophant, and
Coward.

Phocion called
by surname,
good.

walls, filled up their havens, and brought their wives, slaves, and cartell, and all their goods into their Townes and Cities, as if they had been enemies, and open war proclaimed. Contrarily also, if *Phocion* had been Capitaine and General, they would send out their Ships to the Sea to meete him afarre off, crowned with Garlands in token of common joy, and so would bring him to their Cities. King *Philip* secretly seeking to win the Ile of *EUBÆA*, sent an Army thither out of *MACEDON*, and enticed the Towns by Tyrants to rebell: whereupon *Plutarke* *ERETRIAN* prayed aide of the *ATHENIANS*, to take this Island from the *MACEDONIANS*, which they daily wonne more and more, if they came not presently to aide them. So *Phocion* was sent General thither, but with a few men onely, because they made account the men of that Country would straight joyne with him, for the good will they bare him. But when he came thither, he found the mall Traytors and Rebels, and bribed with King *Philips* money, which he lavished out amongst them: so that he was brought into great danger. Thereupon he retired to a little hill severd from the plaine of *TAMINES* with a great large valley, and there fortified himself with that little Army he had. Then he perswaded his Captaines not to care for all those rebels, prattlers, and cowards which fled out of their Tents, and forsooke their Ensignes and Captaines, but that they should let them go out of the Campe where they would. For, said he, such disobedient souldiers here will do us no service, and moreover will hinder them that have good will to serve well: and at home also, knowing themselves in fault, for that they forsooke the Campe with licence, they dare not complaine upon us. Afterwards when the enemies came to set upon him, he commanded his men to Arme, and put themselves in readinesse and not to stirre untill he had done sacrifice: but he stayed long before he came, either because he could have no lucky signes of the sacrifices, or else for that he would draw his enemies nearer. Thereupon *Plutarke* *ERETRIAN* supposing he deferred to march for fear, went himself first into the field, with certaine light horsemen he had in pay. Then the men of Armes seeing them give charge, could hold no longer, but followed him also, stragling out of the Campe one after another disorderly, and so did set upon their enemies. The first being overthrowne, all the other disperfed themselves, and *Plutarke* himselfe fled. Then certaine bands of the enemies thinking all had been theirs, followed them even into their Campe, and came to throw downe their Rampiers. In the mean time, *Phocion* having ended his sacrifice, the *ATHENIANS* came out of their Campe, and set upon them, and made part of them flee immediately, and part of them also they slew hard by the Trenches of their Campe. Then *Phocion* commanded that the battell should stand still, to receive their men that were scattered up and downe the fields: in the meane space he himself, with the choicest men of his Army, gave charge upon the enemies. The fight was cruell between them. For the *ATHENIANS* fought very valiantly, venturing their persons: but of them all, two young men fighting by their General (*Glancus* the sonne of *Polymedes*, and *Thallus* the sonne of *Cineus*) carried the praise away. And so did *Cleophanes* that day also shew himself very valiant. For he crying out still upon the horsemen that fled, and perswading them to come and help their General that was in danger, brought them backe againe, and thereby got the footmen the victory. After this battell, he drave *Plutarke* out of *ERETRIA*, and tooke the Castell of *ZARETRA*, standing in a very commodious place for this warre, where the Ile draweth to a straightnesse, environed on either side with the sea: and would not suffer his men to take any *GRECIANS* prisoners, fearing lest the Orators at *ATHENS* might move the people, suddenly in a rage, to put them to death. After all these things were done, *Phocion* returned backe to *ATHENS*. But that did the confederates of the *ATHENIANS* straight wist for his justice and courtesie: and the *ATHENIANS* themselves also knew his skillfulnesse and manhood. For his successor *Molossus*, that was General for the rest of the warre, dealt so undiscreeitly, that he himselfe was taken prisoner there: Then King *Philip* being put in marvellous great hope, went with all his Army into *HELLESPOINT*, perswading himselfe, that he should straight take all *CHERRONESUS*, the Cities of *PERINTH* and *BIZANTIUM*. The *ATHENIANS* thereupon determining to send aide, to prevent King *Philips* coming, the Orators made great suite, that *Chares* might be chosen Capitaine: but he being sent thither with a good number of ships, did no service worthy commendation: neither would the Cities receive his Navy into their havens: but being suspected of every man, and despised of his enemies, he was driven to faile up and downe, and to get money of the Allies. The people being incensed by the Orators, were marvellously offended, and repented themselves that they had sent aide unto the *BIZANTIANS*. Then *Phocion* rising up, spake unto the people, and told them, that it was no reason that mistrusting their confederates, they should be offended with them: but to be angry with their Captains that deserved to be mistrusted. For they, said he, do make your confederates afraid of you, who without you notwithstanding cannot have themselves. The people changing their mindes by his Oration, made *Phocion* againe their Capitaine, and sent him with an Army into *HELLESPOINT* to help their confederates there, which was of great importance to save the City of *BIZANTIUM*. Furthermore, *Phocions* fame was so great, that *Cleon*, the greatest man of vertue and authority in *BIZANTIUM*, having before been *Phocions* companion and familiar in the Academy, made suite for him unto the City. Then the *BIZANTIANS* would not suffer him (though he desired it) to Campe without the walls of their City, but opening their gates, received him in, and mingled the *ATHENIANS* amongst them. Who, perceiving how much the Citizens trusted them, did so honestly behave themselves in their conversation amongst them, that they gave them no manner of cause to complaine of them: and shewed themselves so valiant besides in all battells and conflicts, that *Philip* (which before was thought dreadful and invincible, every man being afraid to fight any battell with him) returned out of *HELLESPOINT* without any thing done,

Phocions journey
into *Eubæa*.

Phocion perswa-
deth his Cap-
taines, to suffer
the mutinous
souldiers and
cowards to de-
part the
Campe.

Phocions victo-
ry in *Eubæa*.

Phocion saved
the City of *By-
zantium*.

Phocion drave
Philip out of
Hellespont.

Phocion joynd
Megara unto
Athens.

done, and to his great discredit: where *Phocion* wanne some of his ships, and recovered againe the strong holds, in the which he had placed his Garrisons. Furthermore, making diversie invasions into his Countreys, he destroyed his borders: till that at length he was fore hurt there, and to driven to returne home againe, by means of a great Army that came against him to defend the Countrey. Shortly after, the *MEGARANS* secretly lent unto him, to deliver their City into his hands. *Phocion* fearing if the *BOEOTIANS* understood it, that they would prevent him, he called a common assembly early in the morning, and told the people what message the *MEGARANS* had sent unto him. The people upon this motion being determined to aide them, *Phocion* straight founding the Trumpet at the breaking up of the assembly, gave them no further leisure, but to take their weapons; and so led them instantly incontinently to *MEGARA*. The *MEGARANS* receiving him, *Phocion* shut up the haven of *NESEA*, and brought two long wals from the City unto it, and so joynd it unto the sea: whereby he stood not greatly in fear of his enemies by land; and for the sea, the *ATHENIANS* were Lords of it. Now when the *ATHENIANS* had proclaimed open warre against King *Philip*, and had chose other Captaines in his absence, and that he was returned from the Isles, above all things, he perswaded the people (King *Philip* requiring peace, and greatly fearing the danger) to accept the conditions of peace. Then one of these busie Orators that was still accusing one or other, said unto him: Why *Phocion*, how darest thou attempt to turne the *ATHENIANS* from warre, having now their swords in their hands? Yes truly, said *Phocion*: though in warre I know I shall command thee, and in peace thou wilt command me. But when the people would not hearken to him, and that *Demosthenes* carried them away with his perswasions, who counselled them to fight with King *Philip*, as farre from *ATTICA* as they could: I pray thee friend, quoth *Phocion* unto him, let us not dispute where we shall fight, but consider how we shall overcome; the which if we can so bring to passe, be sure we shall put the warre farre enough from us: for men that are overcome, be ever in fear and danger, wherefore they be. When the *ATHENIANS* had lost a battell against *Philip*, the seditious Orators, that hunted after innovation, preferred *Charidemus* to be chosen General of the *ATHENIANS*: whereupon the Magistrates and Senators being afraid, and taking with them all the Court and Senate of the *ARBOGITES*, they made such earnest sute to the people, with the teares in their eyes, that at last (but with much ado) they obtained, that the affaires of the City might be put into *Phocions* hands and government. He thought good to accept the Articles and gentle conditions of peace which *Philip* offered them. But after that the Orator *Demades* moved, that the City of *ATHENS* would enter into the common Treaty of peace, and common assembly of the state of *GREECE*, procured at Kings *Philip*'s request, *Phocion* would not agree to it, untill they might understand what demands *Philip* would make at the assembly of the *GRECIANS*. When his opinion through the perversnesse of time could not be liked of them, and that he saw the *ATHENIANS* soon after repented them that they did not follow his counsell, when they heard they should furnish King *Philip* with ships and horsemen: then he told them; the fear whereof ye now complaine, made me to withstand that, which now ye have consented unto. But sithence it is so that you have now past your consents, you must be contented, and not be discouraged at it: remembering that your Ancestors in times past have sometime commanded, and otherwhile obeyed others; and yet have so wisely and discretely governed themselves in both fortunes, that they have not onely saved their City, but all *GREECE* besides. When newes came of King *Philip*'s death, the people for joy would straight have made Bonfires and Sacrifices to the gods for the good newes: but *Phocion* would not suffer them, and said, that it was a token of a base mind, to rejoyce at any mans death; and besides that, the Army which overthrew you at *CHERONNEA*, hath not yett lost but one man. And when *Demosthenes* also would commonly speak ill of *Alexander*, and specially when he was near *THEBES* with his Army, *Phocion* rehearsed unto him these verses of

Homer:

How great a folly is it to stand
Against a cruell King,
Which being arm'd, and having sword in hand,
Seeks fame of every thing?

What, when there is such a great fire kindled, wilt thou cast the City into it? For my part therefore, though they were willing, yet will I not suffer them to cast themselves away: for to that end have I taken upon me this charge and government. And afterwards also, when *Alexander* had razed the City of *THEBES*, and had required the *ATHENIANS* to deliver him *Demosthenes*, *Lycurgus*, *Hyperides*, and *Charidemus*; and that the whole assembly and counsell not knowing what answer to make, did cast their eyes upon *Phocion*, and cried unto him to say his opinion he then rose up, and taking one of his friends unto him called *Nicoles*, whom he loved and trusted above all men else, he said thus openly unto them: These men whom *Alexander* requireth, have brought this City to this extremity, that if he required *Nicoles* here, I would give my consent to deliver him: for I would thinke my selfe happy to lose, for all your safety. Furthermore, though I am right heartily sorry (said he) for the poore afflicted *THEBANS*, that are come unto the City for succour: yet I assure you, it is better one City mourne, then two. And therefore I thinke it is best to intreat the conqueror for both, rather then to our certaine destruction to fight with him that is the stronger. It is said also that *Alexander* refused the first decree which the people offered him upon *Phocions* request, and sent away the Ambassadors, and would not speake with them. But the second which *Phocion* himself brought, he tooke, being told by his fathers old servants, that King *Philip* made accompt

To rejoyce at
any mans hurt
sheweth a base
minde, and vile
nature.

accompt of him: whereupon *Alexander* did not onely give him audience, and grant his request, but further followed his counsell. For *Phocion* perswaded him, if he loved quietnesse, to leave warre: if he desired fame, then that he should make warre with the barbarous people, but not with the *GRECIANS*. So *Phocion* feeding *Alexanders* humor with such talke and discourse as he thought would like him best, he so altered and softened *Alexanders* disposition, that when he went from him, he willed him that the *ATHENIANS* should looke to their affaires, for if he should die, he knew no people fitter to command then they. Furthermore, because he would be better acquainted with *Phocion*, and make him his friend, he made so much of him, that he more honoured him then all the rest of his friends. To this effect, *Duris* the Historiographer writeth, that when *Alexander* was growne very great, and had overcome King *Darius*, he left out of his letters this word *Cherein* (to wit, joy and health) which he used commonly in all the letters he wrote; and would no honour any other with that manner of salutation, but *Phocion* and *Antipater*. *Chares* also writeth the same. And they all do confesse, that *Alexander* sent *Phocion* a great gift out of *ASIA*, of a hundred silver talents. This money being brought to *ATHENS*, *Phocion* asked them that brought it, why *Alexander* gave him such a great reward above all the other Citizens of *ATHENS*. Because said they, he onely esteemed thee to be a good and honest man. *Phocion* replied againe, then let him give me leave to be that I seem, and am whilst I live. The messengers would not so leave him, but followed him home to his house, where they saw his great husbandry and chastitnesse. For they found his wife her self baking, and he himself drew water before them out of the well to wash his feet. But then they were more earnestly in hand with him then before, and prayed him to take the Kings present, and were offended with him, saying, it was a shame for *Alexanders* friend to live so miserably and beggarly as he did. Then *Phocion* seeing a poor old man go by, in a thread bare Gowne, asked them whether they thought him worse then he? No, God forbid, answered they againe. Then replied he againe, he lives with lesse then I do, and yet is contented, and hath enough. To be short, said he, if I should take this summe of money and occupy it not, it is as much as I had it not: on the other side, if I occupy it, I shall make all the City speake ill of the King and me both. So this great present was sent backe from *ATHENS*: whereby he shewed the *GRECIANS*, that he was richer than needed not such gold and silver, then he that gave it him. But when *Alexander* wrote againe to *Phocion*, that he did not reckon them for his friends, that he would take nothing of him, *Phocion* notwithstanding would not take the money, but onely requested him for his sake, that he would set these men at liberty which were kept prisoners in the City *SARDIS* for certaine accusations layed against them: *Echeeratides* the Rhetorician, *Athenodorus* borne in the City of *IMBROS*, and two *CORINTHIANS*, *Demaratus* and *Spartus*. *Alexander* presently set them at liberty, and sent *Criterus* into *MACEDON*, commanding him to give *Phocion* the choice of one of these foure Cities of *ASIA* which he liked best: *CIOIS*, *GARGITHA*, *MYLASSIS*, *ELEA*: sending him word, that he would be much more angry with him now, if he did refuse his offer, than he was at first. But *Phocion* would never accept one of them: and *Alexander* shortly after died. *Phocions* house is seen yet at this day in the Village of *MILITA*, set forth with plates of Copper, but otherwise very meane, and without curiosity. For the wives he married, there is no mention made of the first, saving that *Cephisodorus* the Image Graver was her brother. But for his second wife she was no lesse famous at *ATHENS*, for her honesty and good husbandry, then *Phocion* for his justice and equity. And for prooffe thereof, it is reported that the *ATHENIANS* being one day assembled in the Theater, to see new Tragedies played, one of the Players when he should have come upon the Scaffold to have played his part, asked the setter forth of the Playes the apparell of a Queene, and certaine Ladies to waite upon her, because he was to play the part of a Queene. The setter forth of the Playes denying him, the Player went away in a rage, and left the people staring one at another, and would not come out upon the Stage. But *Melanthinus* the setter forth of the Playes, compelling him, brought him by force on the Stage, and cried out unto him: Doe not thou see *Phocions* wife that goeth up and downe the City with one maide onely waiting upon her? and wilt thou play the foole and marre the modesty of the women of *ATHENS*? The people hearing his words, filled all the Theater with joy and clapping of hands. The same Lady, when a certaine Gentlewoman of *IONIA* came at *ATHENS* to see her, and shewed her all the rich Jewels and precious Stones he had, she answered her againe: All my riches and Jewels, is my husband *Phocion*, who these twenty yeeres together hath continually been chosen General for the *ATHENIANS*. *Phocions* sonne telling his father on a time, that he was desirous to contend with other young men for the victory, who should cunningly leap out, and get up againe into the Chariots or Coaches, running full course at the feasts *Panathenaea* at *ATHENS*: his father was contented he should; not that he was desirous his sonne should have the honour of the victory, but because by this honest exercise he should grow to better manners, for that he was a dissolute young man, and much given to Wine. Yet he wanne the victory at that time, and there were diverse of his fathers friends, that prayed him to do them that honour, that they might keep the feast of this victory in their houses. *Phocion* denied them all but one man, and him he suffered to shew his good will unto his house, and went thither himself to supper to him. Where amongst many fine and superfluous things prepared, he found passing Bathes of Wine and sweet smelling Spices to wash the feet of the bidden guests as they came to the feast. Whereupon he called his sonne to him, and asked him, how canst thou abide *Phocion*, that our friend should thus disgrace thy victory with excess? But because he would withdraw his sonne from that licentious life, he brought him to *SPARTA*, and placed him there among young boyes brought up after the *LACONIAN* discipline. The *ATHENIANS* were much offended at it, to see that *Phocion* did so much

Alexander pacified with the
Athenians, by
Phocions mean.

Phocions vermes
and integrity in
refusing of
Alexanders money

Phocions house
and wives.

Phocion *Phocions*
son what he
was.

much despise his owne Country manners and fashions. Also when Demades the Orator one day said unto Phocion: Why do we not perswade the ATHENIANS to live after the LACONIAN manner? As for me, said he, if thou wilt make one to set it forward, I am ready to be the first man to move the matter. Indeed quoth Phocion, thou art a meet man to perswade the ATHENIANS to live LACONIAN-like in common together at their meales, and to praise *Lycurgus* straight law, that art thy selfe commonly so presumed, and fine in thy apparel. Another time when *Alexander* wrote letters unto ATHENS to fend him some ships, and the Orators perswaded them not to grant him, the people called upon Phocion chiefly to say his opinion: then Phocion told them plainly, methinkes ye must either make your selves the strongest in wars, or being the weaker, procure to be friends unto the stronger. *Puthias* a new come Orator, being full of tongue, and impudent, would still make one to speake in every matter: wherefore Phocion said to him, Good gods! will this Novice never leave babling? And when *Harpalus* King *Alexanders* Lieutenant of the Province of BABYLON, fled out of ASIA, and came to ATTICA with a great summe of gold and silver, straight these men that sold their tongues to the people for money, flocked about him like a fliot of Swallows. And he stuck not to give every one of them a peece of money to baste them with: for it was a trifle to him, considering the great summes of money he brought. But to Phocion himselfe he sent seven hundred talents, and offered himselfe and all that he had into his hands of trust. But Phocion gave him a sharpe answer, and told him that he would make him repent if he corrupted the City of ATHENS in that manner. So *Harpalus* being amazed therewith, left him at that time, and went unto them that had taken money of him. But shortly after, when the ATHENIANS sate in councill about him, he perceived that those which had taken his money were shrunk from him, and that they did accuse him, where they should have excused him, to bleare world, that men should not suspect them they had been corrupted: and that Phocion on the other side which had refused his money, having respect to the Common-wealth, had also some regard to save his life: he once more attempted all the waies he could to winne him. Howbeit he found him so constant, that no money could carry the man. Then *Harpalus* falling in friendship with *Chariles* (Phocions sonne in Law) he made him to be ill spoken of, and greatly suspected, because men saw that he trusted him in all things, and employed him in all his affaires: as in committing to his trust the making of a sumptuous Tombe for *Pythonicé*, the famous Curtisan that was dead, whom he loved, and by whom he had a daughter: the taking upon him whereof was no lesse shame unto *Chariles*, then the finishing thereof was disgrace unto him. This Tombe is seen unto this day in a place called *Hermium*, in the high way from ATHENS to ELEUSINE: the workmanship thereof being nothing like neare the charge of thirty talents, which was reported to be given by *Harpalus* unto *Chariles*, for the finishing of the same. Furthermore, after *Harpalus* death, *Chariles* and Phocion tooke his daughter, and carefully brought her up. Afterwards also, *Chariles* being accused for the money he had taken of *Harpalus*, he besought his father in law Phocion, to helpe to ease him in his judgement. But Phocion flatly denied him, and said: *Chariles* I tooke thee for my sonne in law, in all honest and just causes onely. Furthermore, when *Aclepiades* the son of *Hipparchus*, brought the first news of the death of *Alexander*, Demades the Orator would not believe him: for said he, if it were true, all the earth would smell of the favor of his Corpse. Phocion then perceiving the people began to be high minded, and sought innovation, he went about to bridle and pacifie them. But when many of the Orators got up to the Pulpit for Orations, and cried out, that *Aclepiades* newes was true of *Alexanders* death: well then quoth Phocion, if it be true to day, it shall be true also to morrow, and the next day after. And therefore my masters, be not too hasty, but thinke of it at better leisure, and set your affaires at a sure stay. When *Leosthenes* also by his practise had brought the City of ATHENS into the warre called the GREEKES war, and in scorne asked Phocion that was offended at it, what good he had done unto the Common-wealth so many yeares together, as he had been General over the ATHENIANS: Phocion answered him, No small good said he, for all my Country men have been buried at home in their owne graves. Another time also, *Leosthenes* speaking proudly and insolently unto the people, Phocion one day had said unto him: Young man my friend, thy words are like unto the Cypress Tree, which is high and great, but beareth no fruit. Then *Hyperides* rising up, asked Phocion: When wilt thou then counsell the ATHENIANS to make warre? When I shall see young men, said he, not to forsake their ranks. rich men liberal, and Orators leave to rob the Common-wealth. When the ATHENIANS wondered to see such a goodly great Army as *Leosthenes* had leaved, and that they asked Phocion how he liked it: It is a goodly Army, quoth he for a furlong, but I fear their returne, and the continuance of this warre: for I do not see the City able to make any more money, nor more ships, neither yet any more souldiers than these. The which proved true as it fell out afterwards: for at the first, *Leosthenes* did many notable exploits. He overcame the BOEOTIANS in battell, and drave *Antipater* into the City of LAMIA: the which did put the ATHENIANS in such a hope and jollity, that they made continuall feasts and sacrifices through the City, to thanke the gods for these good newes. And there were some among them, that to take Phocion in a trippie, asked him if he did not wish that he had done all those things? Yes indeede, answered he, I would I had done them, but yet I would not have given the counsell to have done them. Another time also when letters came daily, one after another, bringing good newes, Good gods, said he, when shall we leave off to overcome? But when *Leosthenes* was dead in this voyage, they that feared Phocion should be appointed Captaine, in his place, and that he would pacifie the warre, did thrust in a man of mean behaviour,

Phocion despiseth *Harpalus* money.

Phocion refused to defend his son in law in an ill cause.

and unknowne, that said in full Assembly of Councill, that he was Phocions friend, and Schoole-fellow, and therefore besought the People that they would spare Phocion, because they had not such another man as he, and that they would make *Antiphalus* General of the Army. The People were well contented withall. But then Phocion stood up, and said, that this man was never Scholar with him, neither did he ever know him before that time: but now, said he, from henceforth I will take thee for my friend, for thou hast given the People the best counsell for me. The People notwithstanding determining to make Warre with the BOEOTIANS, Phocion spake against it all he could. Thereupon his friends bidding him beware of such speeches, how he did offend the People, lest they killed him, he answered them: They shall wrongfully put me to death, quoth he, speaking for the benefit of my Country, but otherwise they shall have reason for to do it, if I speake to the contrary. But when he saw nothing would pacifie them, and that they went on still with their intent, then he commanded the Herald to proclaime by sound of Trumpet, that all Citizens from fourteen yeares unto threescore, able to carry Weapon, should presently upon the breaking up of the Assembly, arme themselves, and follow him with five daies Provision for Victuals; then was there great stirre amongst them in the City, and the old men came and complained unto him, for his over-straight commandement. He told them againe, I do you no wrong: for I am fourescore my selfe, and yet will go with you. By this meanes he pacified them at that time, and quenched their fond desire of Warre. But when all the Sea-coast was full of Souldiers, both of the MACEDONIANS, and other strangers which were led by *Micion* their Captaine, that landed in the Territory of the Village RHAMNUS, and spoiled the Country thereabouts, then Phocion led the ATHENIANS thither. But when he was there, divers taking upon them the Office of a Lieutenant, and going about to counsell him, some to lodge his Campe upon such a Hill, and others to fend his Horsemen to such a place, and others to campe here: O *Hercules*, quoth he, how many Capitaines do I see, and how few Souldiers! Afterwards when he had set his Footmen in Battell ray, there was one among them that left his ranke, and stepped out before them all. Thereupon one of his Enemies also made towards him to fight with him: but the ATHENIANS heart failed, and he went backe againe to his place. Then said Phocion unto him: Art thou not ashamed, young lout, to have forsaken thy ranke twice? the one, where thy Captaine had placed thee; and the other, in the which thou haddest placed thy selfe? So Phocion giving Charge upon the Enemies, he overthrew them, and slew *Micion* their Captaine, and divers others. Furthermore, the Army of the GRECIANS being at that time in THESSALY, wanne the Battell of *Antipater*, and *Leonatus* that joyned with him, with the MACEDONIANS which he had brought out of ASIA: where *Leonatus* was slaine in the Field, *Antiphalus* being General of the Footmen, and *Menon* the THESSALIAN Colonel of the Horsemen. Shortly after *Craterus* coming out of ASIA into EUROPE with a great Army, they fought a Battell by the City of CRANON, where the GRECIANS were overthrowne: yet was not the overthrow nor slaughter great, although it came through the disobedience of the Souldiers to their Capitaines, which were but young men, and used them over-gently. Moreover, when *Antipater* practised to make the Cities revolt, they betrayed them, and shamefully forsooke to defend their common liberty: whereupon *Antipater* marched forthwith with his Army to the City of ATHENS. *Demosthenes* and *Hyperides* understanding that, forsooke the City. Then Demades, that was in disgrace and defamed for lacke of payment of such fines as were set upon his head (being seven severall times condemned, because he had so many times moved matters contrary to the Law) and could not therefore be suffered any more to speake in the Assembly, was then dispensed withall, and licensed to speake: whereupon he moved the People to send Ambassadors unto *Antipater*, with full Commission and Authority to treat with him of Peace. The People fearing to put to any mans trust this absolute Authority to treat of Peace, they called for Phocion, saying, that he onely was to be trusted with the Ambassade. Then Phocion answered them: If you had believed my former counsels I alwaies gave you, such weighty matters should not now have troubled you at all. So the Decree being confirmed by the People, Phocion was sent Ambassador unto *Antipater*, that lay at the Castle of Cadmea, being ready at that time to invade the Countrey of ATTICA. Phocion first requested him, that before he removed from thence, he would make Peace with the ATHENIANS. *Craterus* presently answered him: Phocion thy request is unreasonable, that lying here we should eate out our friends, and destroy their Country, when we may live of our Enemies, and enrich our selves with their spoile. But *Antipater* taking *Craterus* by the hand, told him: we must needs do Phocion this pleasure. And for the rest, touching the Capitulations of Peace, he willed that the ATHENIANS should send them a blanke, and refer the Conditions of Peace to them: like as himselfe being besieged in the City LAMIA, had referred all Capitulations and Articles of Peace, unto the discretion of *Leosthenes* their General. So when Phocion was come backe to ATHENS, the ATHENIANS seeing there was no remedy, were compelled to be contented with such offer of Peace, as the Enemy made them. Then Phocion was sent backe againe to *Antipater* at THEBES, with other Ambassadors joyned in Commission with him: amongst whom also was that famous Philosopher, *Xenocrates*. The estimation of his vertue was so great with all men, that it was thought there was no living man so proud, cruell, disdainfull, nor hasty of nature, but that the onely looke of *Xenocrates* would soften and qualifie him, and make him to reverence him: but yet with *Antipater* it fell out contrary, by his perverse nature, which hated all vertue: for he embraced all the rest, and would not once salute *Xenocrates*. Whereupon some say, that

Phocions Victory of the Macedonians. The Grecians overcome by *Antipater*.

Phocion Ambassador unto *Antipater*.

Xenocrates authority.

Xenocrates despised of *Antipater*.

H h h

Xenocrates

Xenocrates said then, *Antipater* doth well to be ashamed, to see me a witness of the discourtesie and evil he meaneth unto the *ATHENIANS*. So when *Xenocrates* began to speake, *Antipater* would not abide to hear him, but interrupted him, and checked him, and in the end commanded him to hold his peace. When *Phocion* had spoken, *Antipater* answered them, that he would make peace with the *ATHENIANS*, so they delivered him *Demosthenes* and *Hyperides*: that they should keepe their ancient Lawes and Government; that they should receive a Garrison into the Haven of *Munychia*; that they should defray the charges of this Warre, and also pay a ranfome besides. All the other Ambassadors but *Xenocrates*, willingly accepted these Conditions of Peace, as very reasonable and favourable: but he said, that for Slaves *Antipater* did handle them favourably, but for Free-men, he dealt too hardly with them. Then *Phocion* besought him that he would yet release them of their Garrison. But *Antipater* (as it is said) answered him: *Phocion*, we would gladly grant thee any thing, saving that which would undo thee, and us both. Some other write notwithstanding, that *Antipater* said not so, but asked him if he would become surety for the *ATHENIANS*, that they should attempt no alteration, but faithfully keepe the Articles and Conditions of this Peace, if he did release them of this Garrison. *Phocion* then holding his peace, and delaying answer, there was one *Callimedes* surnamed *Carobus* (a bold man, and hated the liberty of the People) that brake forth in these words: If *Phocion* were so fond to give his word for the *ATHENIANS*, wouldst thou *Antipater* believe him therefore, and leave to do that thou hast determined: Thus were the *ATHENIANS* driven to receive the Garrison of the *MACEDONIANS*, of the which *Menyllus* was Captaine, an honest man, and *Phocion*'s friend. This commandement to receive the Garrison within the Haven of *Munychia*, was found very stately, and done by *Antipater* rather of a vaine glory to boast of his Power, then for any profit could otherwise come of it. For not long after, on that day when he tooke possession of the Castle, he further increased their griefe: because the Garrison entred the twentieth day of Boedromion (to wit, the Moneth of August) on the which the Feast day of their Mysteries was celebrated, at what time they make their Procession called *Iacchus*, from the City of *ATHENS*, unto *ELEUSIN*. Therefore the solemnity of this holy Feast being thus confused, many began to confider, that in old time when their Realme did flourish, there were heard and seene Voices and Images of the gods on that day, which made the Enemies both afraid and amazed: and now in contrary manner in the very self-same solemnity of the gods, they saw the greatest calamity that could have happened unto *GREECE*. And the holiest Feast which was kept all the yeare through before, became then to be profaned with the Title of the greatest misfortune and event that ever happened unto the *GREGIANS*, which was, the losse of their liberty. For not many yeares before, there was brought an Oracle from *DODONE* unto *ATHENS*: that they should looke well to the Rocks of *Diana*, that strangers should not possesse them. And about that time also, the Coverings with the which they do adorne the holy Beds of the Mysteries, being wet with water, became from a purple colour which they had before, to looke yellow and pale, as if it had bene the covering of a dead body. Yea, and that which was most to be wondered at of all other, was this: vering of other Coverings which were not holy, and putting them in the same water, they did that taking other Coverings which they had before. When one of the Ministers of the Temple also did wash a white Pigge in the Sea, in a cleare place by the Wharfe, there suddenly came a great Fish that bit at it, and carried the hinder parts of the Pigge cleane away with it. Whereby men conjectured that the gods did signifie unto them, that they should lose the lowest part of their City, nearest unto the Sea, and should keepe the highest parts thereof. This notwithstanding, the Garrison did not offend nor trouble the *ATHENIANS*, because of the honesty of their Captaine *Menyllus*. Now there were above twelve thousand Citizens, that for their poverty lost the benefit of their Freedome, of the which, part of them remained at *ATHENS*, unto whom it seemed that they offered great wrong and injury: and part of them also went into *THRACIA*, where *Antipater* assigned them Townes and Lands to inhabit. They seemed to be men like unto them, that had bene taken by assault, or by siege within a City, which had bene compelled to forsake their Country. Furthermore, the shamefull death of *Demosthenes* in the Isle of *CALAURIA*, and of *Hyperides* by the City of *CLEONES*, (whereof we have written heretofore) were almost occasion given them to lament the times of the reigne of King *Philip* and *Alexander*. As it is reported, that when *Antigonus* was slaine, they that had overcome him, were so cruell unto their Subjects, that a labourer in the Country of *PHRYGIA* digging the Earth, being asked what he sought for, answered sighing: I seeke for *Antigonus*. Then many men began to say as much, when they remembered the noble mindes of those two Princes, how mercifull they were to pardon in their anger, forgetting their displeasure: not like unto *Antipater*, who craftily cloaked his tyrannicall Power, which he usurped, by being familiar, going simply apparelled, and faring meanly, and yet shewed himselfe notwithstanding a more cruell Lord and Tyrant unto them whom he had overcome. Nevertheless, *Phocion* obtained of him the restoring againe of divers men, whom he had banished: and those whom he could not get to be restored, yet he procured that they should not be banished into so farre Countreys, as others which had bene sent beyond the Mountaines *Acroceraunians*, and the head of *Tanarus* out of *GREECE*, but that they had liberty to remaine within the Country of *PELOPONNESUS*: among the which was one *Agonides* a Sycophant, and false accuser. Furthermore, he governed them that remained in *ATHENS*, with

Prefages of the
miseries of the
Athenians.

with great justice and lenity, and such as he knew to be good men and quiet, them he alwaies preferred to some Office: but such as he saw were fantastical People, and desirous of change, he kept them from Office, and tooke all occasion from them, so that they vanished away of themselves, and learned in time to love the Countrey, and to follow Tillage. When he saw *Xenocrates* also pay a certaine Pension or Tribute to the Common-wealth, which all strangers dwelling in *ATHENS* did use yearly to pay, he would have made him a Free-man, and offered to put his name amongst the number of the free Citizens. But *Xenocrates* refused it, saying, he would have no part of that freedome, for the hinderance whereof he had bene sent Ambassadour. And when *Menyllus* had sent *Phocion* Money, he made him answer, that *Menyllus* was no greater Lord then *Alexander* had bene, neither had he at that time any greater occasion to receive his Present, then when he had refused King *Alexanders* Gift. *Menyllus* replying againe, said, that if he had no neede of it for himselfe, yet he might let his Sonne *Phocus* have it. But *Phocion* answered: If my Sonne *Phocus* will leave his naughty life, and become an honest man, that which I will leave him, shall serve his turne very well; but if it be so, that he will still hold on the course he hath taken, there is no Riches then that can suffice him. Another time also he answered *Antipater* more roundly, when he would have had him done an unhonest thing: *Antipater* (said he) cannot have me to be his friend, and flatterer both. *Antipater*'s selfe was wont to say, that he had two friends at *ATHENS*, *Phocion* and *Demades*: of the which he could never make the one to take any thing of him; and the other, he could never satisfie. And truly *Phocion*'s Poverty was a great glory unto his Vertue, sithence he was growne old, continuing in the same, after he had bene so many times Generall of the *ATHENIANS*, and had received such friendship and courtesie of so many Kings and Princes. Where *Demades* to the contrary delighted to shew his Riches, in things that were contrary to the Lawes of the City. For a Decree being made at *ATHENS*, commanding that no stranger, upon forfeiture of a thousand Drachmas to be payed to the defrayer of the Dances of the City, should be any of the Dancers that danced at any common Playes or Sports: *Demades* one day making certaine Games and Sports at his owne charges, brought a hundred Dancers of strangers at one time, and withall brought also a hundred thousand Drachmas to pay the forfeiture thereof. Another time when he married his Sonne *Demas*, he said unto him: Sonne, when I married thy Mother, there was so small rolt, that my next Neighbour knew not of it; where now at thy Marriage, Kings and Princes are at the charge of the Feast. Furthermore, when the *ATHENIANS* were importunate with *Phocion* to go unto *Antipater*, to intreate him to take his Garrison out of their City, he still refused the Ambassade, either because he had no hope to obtaine it, or for that he saw the People more obedient unto reason, for feare of the Garrison. Howbeit he obtained of *Antipater*, that he should not be too hattie in the demanding of his Money, but should deferre it untill a further time. So the *ATHENIANS* perceiving they could do no good with *Phocion*, they intreated *Demades*, who willingly tooke the matter upon him, and went with his Sonne into *MACEDON*; whither doublelesse his destiny carried him to his utter destruction, even at that very time when *Antipater* was fallen sicke of a disease whereof he died: whereby the Affaires of the Realme went through the hands of *Cassander* his Sonne, who had intercepted a Letter of this *Demades*, which he had sent unto *Antigonus* in *ASIA*, willing him to come in all possible speede to winne *GREECE* and *MACEDON*, which hung but of an old rotten thread, mocking *Antipater* in this manner. Wherefore *Cassander* being advertised of his arrivall, he made him presently to be apprehended; and setting his Sonne hard by him, slew him before his Father, so neare him, that the bloud of his Sonne sprang upon him, so that the Father was all bloudied with the murder of his Sonne. Then *Cassander* casting in *Demades* teeth his ingratitude, and treacherous Treason against his Father, giving him all the reproachfull words he could devise, at the length he slew him with his owne hands. Now *Antipater* before his death had established *Polyperchon* Generall of the Army of the *MACEDONIANS*, and *Cassander* his Sonne onely Colonell of a thousand Footmen. He notwithstanding, after his Father's decease, taking upon him the government of the Realme, sent *Nicanor* with speede to succed *Menyllus* in the Captainship of the Garrison of *ATHENS*, before his death should be revealed, commanding him first in any case to take the Castle of *MUNYCHIA*, which he did. Shortly after the *ATHENIANS* understanding of the death of *Antipater*, they accused *Phocion*, for that he had knowne of his death long before, and yet kept it secret to please *Nicanor*. But *Phocion* regarded not his accusation, but fell in acquaintance notwithstanding with *Nicanor*; whom he handled to wisely, that he made him not onely friendly unto the *ATHENIANS*, but furthermore perswaded him to be at some charge to give the People the pastime of common Playes, which he made to be done at his cost. In the meane time, *Polyperchon*, who had the government of the Kings person, meaning to give *Cassander* a slapant and blurt, he sent Letters Patents unto the People at *ATHENS*, declaring how the young King did restore unto them their popular state againe, and commanded that all the *ATHENIANS* should use their former ancient Lawes of their City. This was a wise and crafty fetch against *Phocion*: For *Polyperchon* devising this practise to get the City of *ATHENS* into his hands (as it fell out afterwards by proofe) had no hope to obtaine his purpose, unlesse he found meanes first to banish *Phocion*; and thought that he should easily bring that to passe, when such as had before bene put off their freedome by his meanes, should come againe to have voices in the Assembly. and that the seditious Orators and Accusers might be turned at liberty againe, to say what they would. The *ATHENIANS* having heard

Phocion refused
King *Menyllus*
gifts.

Phocion loved
poverty.

The insolency
of *Demades*
the Oratour.

Cassander,
King *Antipater*'s
Sonne.

The unfortunate
end of
Demades.

Polyperchon,
Generall of
the Army of
the *MACEDONIANS*.

Polyperchon's
conspiracy against
Phocion.

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the

Better to receive then to offer an injury.

Alexander the Sonne of Polyperchon, pretended Treason against the Athenians.

Phocion accused of Treason.

Polyperchon did put Dinarchus to death.

Phocion sent Prisoner to Athens to be condemned.

the Contents of these Letters Patents, began to be somewhat quickened and moved withall: whereupon *Nicanor* desiring to speake with the *ATHENIANS* in their Senate, which was assembled in the Haven of *PIREÆA*, he went and hazarded his person amongst them, upon *Phocion's* faith and word. *Dercyllus* Captaine for the King, being secretly advertised thereof, and in the Field, not farre from the City, did what he could to take *Nicanor*: but *Nicanor* having warning of it in time, saved himselfe. Then it appeared that *Nicanor* would presently be revenged of the City, and they accused *Phocion* because he kept him not, but did let him go. Whereunto he answered, That he truitied *Nicanor's* word, and that he did not thinke he would offer the City any hurt; but if it should fall out otherwise, he had rather the World should know, that he had no wrong offered him, then that he should offer any. This truly appeared to be nobly spoken; in respect of himselfe: but considering that he being then Generall, did thereby hazard the safety of his Countrey, I cannot tell whether he did not breake a greater faith which he ought to have had to the safety of his Countrey. Neither could he also alleadge for his excuse, that he did not lay hands on *Nicanor*, for feare to bring the City into manifest Warre: but that for a colour he did prefer the faith which he had sworne and promised unto him, and the justice that he would observe in his behalfe, that for his sake, *Nicanor* should afterwards keepe himselfe in peace, and do no hurt to the *ATHENIANS*. Howbeit in truth it seemed, that nothing deceived *Phocion*, but the over-trust he had in this *Nicanor*. The which seemeth to be so, because when divers came to him to complaine of *Nicanor*, that he fought all the secret meanes he could to surprize the Haven of *PIREÆA*, and that he daily passed over Souldiers in the Isle of *SALAMINA*, and practised to bribe certaine of the Inhabitants within the precincts of the Haven, he would never heare of it, and much lesse believe it. Furthermore, when *Philomedes* LAMERIAN made a motion, that the *ATHENIANS* should prepare to be in readinesse to waite upon their Captaine *Phocion*, to do as he commanded them; he made no account of it, untill he saw *Nicanor* come out with his Souldiers from the Fort of *MUNYCHIA*, and that he began to cast Trenches to compass in the Haven of *PIREÆA*. But then, when *Phocion* thought to leade out the People to prevent him, he found they mutined against him, and no man would obey his commandement. In the meane time *Alexander* the Sonne of *Polyperchon* came with an Army, pretending to aide them of the City against *Nicanor*, where indeed he meant (if he could) to get the rest of the City into his hands, then especially, when they were in greatest broile one against another; and the rather, because the banished men entred hand over head with him, and divers strangers also, and other defamed men: so that there was a confused Councill and Assembly of *Omnigatherum* kept within the City, without any order; in the which *Phocion* was deprived of his Office of Generall, and others were also chosen Captaines in his place. And had they not seene this *Alexander* talking alone with *Nicanor*, and returning many times hard to the Walls of the City, which made the *ATHENIANS* afraid and mistrustfull, they had never saved it from taking. At that time *Phocion* was presently accused of Treason by the Oratour *Agnonides*: the which *Callimedes* and *Pericles* fearing, got them out of the City betimes. And *Phocion* also with his friends that were not fled, went unto *Polyperchon*: with whom also *Solon* PLATEIAN and *Dinarchus* CORINTHIAN went for company, who thought to have found friendship and familiarity with *Polyperchon*. Howbeit *Dinarchus* falling sicke by the way in the City of *ELATIA*, they stayed there many daies, hoping of his recovery. But in the meane time, the People at the perswasion of the Oratour *Agnonides*, and at the request of *Archestratus*, stablished a Decree, to send Ambassadors unto *Polyperchon*, to accuse *Phocion*: inso much as both parties met at one selfe-time, and found him in the Field with the King about a Village of the Countrey of *PHOCIDE*, called *PHARYGES*, standing at the foote of the Mountaine *Acrorion*, which they surname also *Galaten*. There *Polyperchon* commanded a Cloth of Gold to be set up, and caused the King to be set under the same, and all his chiefest friends about him. But to begin withall, he made *Dinarchus* to be taken, and commanded them to put him to death, after they had racked him: then he willed the *ATHENIANS* to tell what they had to say. Then they began to quarrell, and to be loud one with another, accusing one another in the presence of the King and his Councill, untill *Agnonides* at length stepped forth, and said: My Lords of *MACEDON*, put us all in Prison, and then send us bound hands and feete to *ATHENS*, to give account of our doings. The King laughed to heare him say so. But the Noblemen of *MACEDON* that were present then, and divers strangers besides to heare their complaints, made signe to the Ambassadors to utter their accusations before the King, rather then to refer them to the hearing of the People at *ATHENS*. Howbeit both parties had not a like indifferent hearing: for *Polyperchon* checked up *Phocion* oftentimes, and did still cut off his tale as he thought to purge himselfe; inso much as in anger he beate his staffe he had in his hand against the ground, and commanded him at length to hold his peace, and to get him thence. And when *Hegemon* also told *Polyperchon*, that he himselfe could best witnesse, how *Phocion* had alwaies faithfully served and loved the People, he angrily answered him: Come not hither to lie falsely upon me in the presence of the King. Therewith the King rose out of his seate, and tooke a Speare in his hand, thinking to have killed *Hegemon*, had not *Polyperchon* suddenly embraced him behinde, and staid him: So the Councill rose, and brake up, but presently *Phocion* was apprehended, and they that stood by him. Certaine of his friends seeing that, which stood farther off, musted their faces, and straight conveyed themselves away. The rest were sent Prisoners to *ATHENS* by *Clitus*, not so much to have their causes heard there, as to have them executed for condemned men. Furthermore, the manner of the carrying of them

them to *ATHENS* was shamefull. For they were carried upon Carts through the great streete *Ceramicum* unto the Theater, where *Clitus* kept them untill the Senate had assembled the People, excepting no Bondman, no stranger, nor defamed person out of this Assembly, but left the Theater wide open to all comers in, whatsoever they were, and the Pulpit for Orations free for every man that would speake against him. So first of all, the Kings Letters were read openly, by the which he did advertise the People, that he had found these offenders convicted of Treason: notwithstanding, that he referred the sentence of their condemnation unto them, for that they were Free-men. Then *Clitus* brought his Prisoners before the People, where the Noblemen when they saw *Phocion*, were ashamed, and hiding their faces, wept to see him. Howbeit, there was one that rose up, and said: My Lords, sith the King referreth the judgement of so great persons unto the People, it were great reason all the Bond-men and strangers which are no free Citizens of *ATHENS*, should be taken out of this Assembly. The People would not agree to it, but cried out, that such Traitors should be stoned to death, that favour the Authority of a few, and are enemies of the People: whereupon silence was made, and no man durst speake any more for *Phocion*. Nevertheless when *Phocion* with much ado had obtained audience, he asked them: My Lords, will ye justly or wrongfully put us to death? Some answered him, justly. How then can you do it, quoth he, that will not heare our justification? Yet could they not be heard for all this. Then *Phocion* coming nearer, said unto them: For my selfe, my Lords, I confesse I have done you wrong, and have in Government committed faults deserving death; but for these Prisoners with me, what have they done why you should put them to death? The common People answered him, Because they are thy friends. With this answer *Phocion* departed, and spake never a word more. Then the Oratour *Agnonides* holding a Decree in his hand ready written, read it openly to the People, declaring how they should be judged by voices, whether the offenders had deserved death or not: and if it were found they had, then that they should all be put to death. And there were, that when this Decree was read, cried out, that they should adde further unto the Decree, that before *Phocion* should be put to death, they should first torment him: and therewithall commandement was given, that the Wheele should be set up to breake his joints upon it, and also that the Hangman should be sent for. But then *Agnonides* perceiving that *Clitus* was offended with it, and thinking besides it were too beastly and barbarous a part to use him in that sort, he said openly: My Lords, when you shall have such a Varlet in your hands as *Callimedes*, then you may cast him on the Wheele; but against *Phocion*, I would not wish such cruelty. Then rose up a Nobleman among them, and added to his words: Thou hast reason to say so, *Agnonides*, for if *Phocion* should be laid on the Wheele, what should we then do with thee? The Decree being confirmed according to the Contents thereof, judgement was given by voices of the People, no man sitting, but all standing up, and most of them with Garlands on their heads, for the joy they had to condemne these Prisoners to death. With *Phocion* there were condemned *Nicoles*, *Thudippus*, *Hegemon*, and *Pischoles*: but *Demetrius* PHALERIAN, *Callimedes* and *Charicles*, were also in their absence condemned to die. Now when the Assembly was broken up, and that the persons condemned were carried backe to Prison, from thence to be conveyed to execution: others embracing their friends, and taking their last leave of them as they went, wept, and lamented their curld fortune. But *Phocion* looking as cheerfully of it as he was wont to do being Generall, when they honourably waited on him to his Houle from the Assembly, he made many of them pity him in their hearts, to consider his constancy and noble courage. On the other side also, there were many of his Enemies that came as neare unto him as they could, to revile him, amongst whom there was one that stepped before him, and did spit in his face. Then *Phocion* turning him unto the Magistrates, said: Will ye not cause this impudent fellow to leave his railing? When they were in Prison, *Thudippus* seeing the Hemlocke which they brayed in a Mortar to give them drinke, he began desperately to curse and ban, saying, that they wrongfully put him to death with *Phocion*. Why, said *Phocion* againe, and doest thou not rather rejoyce to diewith me? When one that stood by, asked *Phocion* if he would any thing to his Sonne *Phocus*: Yes, quoth he, that I will: bid him never revenge the wrong the *ATHENIANS* doe me. Then *Nicoles*, one of *Phocion's* dearest friends, prayed him to let him drinke the poyson before him. *Phocion* answered him, Thy request is grievous to me, *Nicoles*: but because I never denied thee anything in my life, I will also grant thee this at my death. When all the rest had drunke, there was no more poyson left, and the Hangman said he would make no more, unless they gave him twelve Drachmas, for so much the pound did cost him: *Phocion* perceiving then that the Hangman delayed time, he called one of his friends unto him, and prayed him to give the Hangman that little Money he demanded, sith a man cannot die at *ATHENS* for nothing, without cost. It was the nineteenth day of the Moneth of *Munichion*, (so wit, March) on which day the Knights were wont to make a solemne Procession in the honour of *Jupiter*: howbeit some of them left off the Garlands of Flowers which they should have worne on their heads, and others also looking towards the Prison doore as they went by, burst out a weeping. For they whose hearts were not altogether hardened with cruelty, and whose judgements were not wholly suppressed with envie, thought it a grievous Sacriledge against the gods, that they did not let that day passe, but that they did defile so solemne a Feast with the violent death of a man. His Enemies notwithstanding, continuing still their anger against him, made the People passe a Decree, that his body should be banished, and carried out of the bounds of the Countrey of *ATTICA*, forbidding

The fury of the Athenians against Phocion.

The cruelty of the Athenians unto Phocion.

Phocion condemned to death.

The constancy and courage of Phocion, being condemned to die.

Phocion gave Money to be put to death.

Phocion's Funerals.

forbidding the *ATHENIANS* that no fire should be made for the solemnizing of his Funerals. For this respect no friend of his did once touch his body. Howbeit a poore man called *Conopion*, that was wont to get his living that way, being hired for Money to burne mens bodies, he tooke his Corte, and carried it beyond the City of *ELEUSIN*, and getting fire out of a Womans Houfe of *MEGARA*, he solemnized his Funerals. Furthermore, there was a Gentlewoman of *MEGARA*, who coming by chance that way, with her Gentlewoman, where his body was but newly burnt, she caused the Earth to be cast up a little where the body was burnt, and made it like to a hollow Tombe; whereupon she did use such sprinklings and effusions, as are commonly done at the Funerals of the dead: and then taking up his bones in her lappe in the night, she brought them home, and buried them in her hearth, saying: O deare hearth, to thee I bequeath the Reliques of this noble and good man, and pray thee to keepe them faithfully, to bring him one day to the Grave of his Ancestors, when the *ATHENIANS* shall come to confesse the fault and wrong they have done unto him. And truly it was not long after, that the *ATHENIANS* found by the untowardnesse of their Affaires, that they had put him to death, who onely maintained Justice and Honesty at *ATHENS*. Whereupon they made his Image to be set up in Brasse, and gave honourable buriall to his Bones, at the charges of the City. And for his Accusers, they condemned *Agnonides* of Treason, and put him to death themselves. The other two, *Epicurus* and *Demophilus* being fled out of the City, were afterwards met with by his Sonne *Phocion*, who was revenged of them. This *Phocion*, as men report, was otherwise no great good man, who fancying a young Maide, which a Bawd kept, coming by chance one day into the Schoole of *Lycæum*, he heard *Theodorus* the Atheist (to wit, that believed nor there were any gods) make this Argument: If it be no shame, said he, to deliver a mans friend from bondage, no more shame is it to redeeme his Lemman which he loveth: even so it is all one to redeeme a mans Lemman, as his friend. This young man taking this Argument to serve his turne, believing that he might lawfully do it, got the young Maide he loved from the Bawd. Furthermore, this death of *Phocion* did also revive the lamentable death of *Socrates* unto the *GRECIANS*: for men thought that was a like hainous offence, and calamity unto the City of *ATHENS*.

The end of the Life of Phocion.



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THE LIFE OF CATO UTICAN.



Ann. Mund.
3891.

Ant. Christ.
57.



His Family and House of *Cato* tooke his first Glory and Name of his great The Parent-Grandfather *Cato* the Censor: who for his vertue (as we have declared in the life of *Cato*, his Life) was one of the famousst and worthiest men of *ROME* in his time. This *Cato* whom we now write of, was left an Orphan by his Father and Mother, with his Brother *Cepio*, and *Porcia* his Sister. *Servilia* was also *Cato's* halfe Sister by his Mothers side. All these were brought up with their Uncle *Livius Drusus*, at that time the greatest man of the City: for he was passing eloquent, and very honest, and of as great a courage besides, as any other *ROMANE*. Men report, that *Cato* from his childhood shewed himselfe both in word and countenance, and also in all his Pastimes and Recreations, very constant and stable. For he would go through with that he tooke upon him to do, and would force himselfe above his strength: and as he could not away with flatterers, so was he rough with them that went about to threaten him. He would hardly laugh; and yet had ever a pleasant countenance. He was not cholericke, nor easie to be angered; but when the bloud was up, he was hardly pacified. When he was first put to Schoole, he was very dull of understanding, and slow to learne: but when he had once learned it, he would never forget it, as all men else commonly do. For such as are quick of concept, have commonly the worst memories: and contrarily, they that are hard to learne, do keepe that better which they have learned. For every kinde of learning is a motion and quickening of the minde. He seemed besides not to be light of credit, and that may be some cause of his slownesse in concept. For truly he suffereth somewhat that learneth, and therefore of it cometh, that they that have least reason to resist, are those which do give lightest credit. For young men are easilier perswaded then old men, and the sicke then the whole. And where a man hath least reason for his doubts, there he is soonest brought to believe any thing. This notwithstanding, it is reported, that *Cato* was obedient unto his Schoole-master, and would do what he commanded him: howbeit he would aske him still the cause and reason of every thing. Indeed his Schoole-master was very gentle, and readier to teach him, then to strike him with his fist. His name was *Sarpedo*. Furthermore, when *Cato* was but a young boy, the People of *ITALY* which were Confederates of the *ROMANES*, sued to be made free Citizens of *ROME*. At that time it chanced one *Pompedius Silo*, a valiant Souldier, and of great estimation among the Confederates of the *ROMANES*, and a great friend besides of *Drusus*, to be lodged many daies at his House. He in this time falling acquainted with these young Boyes, said one day unto them: Good Boyes, intreate your Uncle to speake for us, that we may be made free Citizens of *ROME*. *Cepio* smiling, nodded with his head, that he would. But *Cato* making no answer, looked very wisely upon the strangers that lay in the House. Then *Pompedius* taking him aside, asked him: And thou, my pretty Boy, what sayest thou to it? Wilt thou not pray thine Uncle, as well as thy Brother, to be good to his Guests?

Cato.

Cato's austere-ty.

The marvellous constancy of Cato when he was a child.

Syllas love unto Cato being but a boy.

Cato's hate being a boy, against a Tyrant.

Cato's love to his Brother.

Antipater the Stoicke, & Cato's Schoolmaster.

Cato's act for Basilica Porcia.

Cato still held his peace and answered nothing, but shewed by his silence and looke, that he would not heare their request. Then Pompeius taking him up in his armes, did put him out of the window, as if he would have let him have gone, and speaking more sharply to him then he did before, he cast him many times out of his armes without the window, and said, Promise us then, or else I will let thee fall. But Cato abid it a long time, and never quinned for it, nor shewed countenance of feare. Thereupon Pompeius setting him downe againe, told his friends that stood by him: O what good hap doth this Childe promise one day unto ITALY, if he live? Sure if he were a man, I believe we should not have one voice of all the People on our side. Another time there were some of Cato's neare Kinsmen, that keeping the Feast day of his birth, had many young Boyes to supper, and amongst others this Cato. The Boyes to occupie themselves till Supper was ready, gathered themselves together great and small, into some private place of the Houfe. Their play was, counterfeiting pleadings before the Judges, accusing one another, and carrying them that were condemned to Prison. Amongst them a goodly young Boy was carried by a bigger Boy into a little Chamber, bound and a condemned person. The Boy perceiving he was locked up, cried out unto Cato: who mistrusting what it was, went straight to the Chamber doore, and putting them by force that withstood him to come unto it, he tooke out the young Boy, and carried him very angrily with him to his owne Houfe, and all the other young Boyes followed him also. So Cato had such name among the young Boyes, that when Sylla made the Game of young Boyes running on Horse-backe, which the ROMANES call Troia; to appoint them before that they might be ready at the day of the Show, he having gotten all the young Boyes of Noble-houses together, appointed them two Captaines. Of them, the Boyes tooke the one, because of his Mother Metella, which was the Wife of Sylla: but they would none of the other called Sextus, who was Nephew to Pompey the Great, neither would they be exercised under him, nor follow him. Wherefore Sylla asked them, which of them they would have: they all cried then, Cato, and Sextus himselfe did willingly give him the honour, as the worthier of both. Sylla was their Fathers friend, and therefore did fend for them many times to come unto him, and he would talke with them: the which kindnesse he shewed to few men, for the Majesty and great Authority he had. Sarpedo also (Cato's Schoolmaster) thinking it a great preferment and fatery for his Scholars, did commonly bring Cato unto Sylla's Houfe, to waite upon him: the which was rather like unto a Goale or Prison, for the great number of Prisoners which were daily brought thither, and put to death. Cato being then but fourteene yeares of age, and perceiving that there were many heads brought which were laid to be of great men, and that every body sighed and mourned to see them, he asked his Schoolmaster, how it was possible the Tyrant scaped, that some one or other killed him not? Because, quoth Sarpedo, that all men feare him more then they hate him. Why then, replied Cato againe, didst thou not give me a Sword, that I might kill him, to deliver my Countrey of this slavish bondage? Sarpedo hearing the Boy say so, and seeing his countenance and eyes on fire with choler, he marvelled much at it, and afterwards had a very good eye unto him, lest rashly he should attempt something against Sylla. When he was but a little Boy, some asked him whom he loved best? My Brother, said he. Then the other continuing still to aske him, and who next? he answered likewise his Brother. Then the third time againe, likewise his Brother. Till at length he that asked him, was weary with asking him so oft. Yea and when he was come of age also, he then confirmed the love he bare to his Brother in his deedes. For twenty yeares together he never supped without his Brother Cato, neither went he ever out of his Houfe into the Market-place, nor into the Fields without him: but when his Brother did anoint himselfe with sweete oyles of perfume, he would none of that, and in all things else, he led a straight and hard life. So that his Brother Cato being commended of every man for his temperance, honesty, and sober life, he granted indeed, that in respect of others, he led a sober and temperate life: but when I do (said he) compare my life with my Brother Cato's, methinks then there is no difference betwixt me and Scippius. This Scippius was at that time noted and pointed at, for his fine and curious effeminate life. After that Cato was once chosen Apollos Priest, he went from his Brother, and tooke his portion of the Goods of his Father, which amounted to the summe of an hundred and twenty Talents. Then he lived more hardly then he did before. For he fell in acquaintance with Antipater TYRIAN, a Stoicke Philosopher, and gave himselfe chiefly unto the study of Morall and Civill Philosophy, imbracing all exercise of vertue with such an earnest desire, that it seemed he was plucked forward by some god: but above all other vertues, he loved the severity of justice, which he would not wrest for any gift nor favour. He studied also to be eloquent, that he might speake openly before the People, because he would there should be certaine warlike Forces entertained in civill Philosophy, as also in a great City. Notwithstanding, he would not exercise it before any body, neither would he ever have any man to heare him speake when he did learne to speake. For when one of his friends told him one day, that men did mislike he spake so little in company: It skilleth no matter, quoth he, so they cannot reprove my life, for I will begin to speake, when I can say something worthily to be spoken. Hard by the Market-place there was the common Palace or Towne-house of the City, called Basilica Porcia, the which place Cato the elder had built, in the time of his Censorship. There the Tribunes were wont to keepe their audience, and because there was a Pillar that troubled their seates, they would either have taken it away, or else have set it in some other place. That was the first cause that made Cato against his will to go into the Market-place, and to get up into the Pulpit for Orations, to speake against them, where having given this first prooffe of his eloquence and noble minde, he was marvelously esteemed of. For his Oration was not like a young man, counterfeiting finenesse of speech and

and affectation, but stout, and full of wit and vehemency: and yet in his shortnesse of his sentences, he had such an excellent grace withall, that he marvellously delighted the hearers: and furthermore, shewing in nature a certaine gravity besides, it did so please them, that he made them laugh. He had a very full and audible voice, that might be heard of a marvellous number of People, and such a strong nature besides, that he never fainted, nor brake his speech: for many times he would speake a whole day together, and was never weary. So when he had obtained his Cause against the Tribunes, he returned againe to keepe his former great silence, and to harden his body with painfull Exercises, as to abide heate, frost and snow bare-headed, and alwaies to go on foote in the Field, where his friends that did accompany him rode on horsebacke; and sometime he would come and talke with one, sometime with another, as he went on toote by them. He had a wonderful patience also in his sicknesse: for when he had anyague, he would be alone all day long, and suffer no man to come to see him, untill he perceived his fit was off him, and that he found he was better. When he supped with his friends and familiars, they drew lots who should choose their parts. If he chanced not to choose, his friends notwithstanding gave him the preferment to choose: but he refused it, saying, it was no reason, fith the goddesse Venus was against him. At the first he did not use to sit long at the Table: but after he had drunke one draught onely, he would straight rise. But when he came to be elder, he fate long at the Table: so that oftentimes he would sit it out all night with his friends, till the next morning. But they seeking to excuse it, said, that his great businesse and affaires in the Common-wealth was the cause of it: for following that all the day long, having no leisure nor time to study, when night came he delighted to talke with learned men, and Philosophers at the Boord. Wherefore when Memmius on a time being in company, said, that Cato did nothing but drinke all night; Cicero taking his tale out of his mouth, answered him: Thou dost not adde this unto it, that all the day he doth nothing but play at dice. To be short, Cato thinking that the manners and fashions of mens lives in his time were so corrupt, and required such great change and alteration, that to go uprightly, he was to take a contrary course in all things: therefore when he saw the purple, red, and the lightest colours were best esteemed of, he in contrary manner desired to weare blacke. And many times also after dinner, he would go abroad bare-footed without shooes, and without any gowne: not because he would be wondered at for any such strangenesse, but to acquaint himselfe to be ashamed onely of shamelesse and dishonest things; and to despise those which were not reprov'd, but by mens opinions. Furthermore, Land being left him to the value of an hundred Talents by the death of a Cousin of his that likewise was called Cato, he put it into ready Money, to lend to his friends that lacked; and without usury. And there were some of his friends also that would mortgage his Land, or his Slaves, to the Chamber of the City, for their owne private businesse: the which he himselfe would either give them to mortgage, or else afterwards confirme the Mortgage of them. Furthermore, when he was come of age to marry, having never knowne Woman before, he was made fure to Lepida. This Lepida had beene pre-contracted unto Metellus Scipio: but afterwards the pre-contract being broken, he forsooke her, so that she was free when Cato was contracted to her. Notwithstanding, before Cato married her, Scipio repenting him that he had refused her, made all the meanes he could to have her againe: and so he had. Cato tooke it so grievously, that he thought to go to Law for her, but his friends dissuaded him from it. Then seeing no other remedy, to satisfie his angry minde, he wrote Verses against Scipio, in the which he reviled him all he could: using the bitter taunts of Archilocus Verses, but not such impudent, lewd, and childish reproaches as be there. After that he married Atilia, Soranus Daughter, being the first Woman he ever knew: yet not the onely Woman whom he did know, as is reported of Lalius, Scipios friend, who therein was counted the happier, because all that long time wherein he lived, he never knew other Woman but his first Wife. Furthermore, in the Warre of the Bond-men (otherwise called Spartacus Warre) one Gellius was chosen Prator of the Army, under whom Cato served of his owne good will, for the love he bare unto his Brother Cato, who in that Army had charge of a thousand Footmen. Now Cato could not as he wished, shew his valiantnesse and good service, because of the insufficiency of the Prator, that gave ill direction. This notwithstanding, in the midst of all the riot and insolvency of them in the Campe, he shewing himselfe a playd man in all his doings, valiant where neede was, and very wise also, all men esteemed him to be nothing inferiour unto Cato the elder. Whereupon Gellius the Prator gave him many honours in token of his valiantnesse, which are given in reward of mens good service: howbeit Cato refused them, and said, that he was nothing worthy of those honours. These things made him to be thought a marvellous strange man. Furthermore, when there was a Law made, forbidding all men that sued for any Office in the Common-wealth, that they should have no prompters in any of the Assemblies. to blow into their eares the names of private Citizens: he alone making suite to be Colonell of a thousand Footmen, was obedient to the Law, and committed all the private Citizens names to memory, to speake unto every one of them, and to call them by their names: so that he was envied even of them that did commend him. For, by how much they knew his deedes praise-worthy, by so much more were they grieved, for that they could not follow them. So Cato being chosen Colonell of a thousand Footmen, he was sent unto MACEDON, unto Rubrius, Prator there. Some say, that at his departure from thence, his Wife lamenting and weeping to see him go, one Munatius a friend of his said unto her: take no thought Atilia, and leave weeping, for I promise thee I will keepe thy Husband for thee. It is well said, answered Cato. Then when they were a daies Journey from ROME, Cato after Supper said unto this Munatius: Thou must looke well to thy promise thou had made Atilia; that thou wouldst keepe me for her, and

Cato's exercise.

Cato's drinking.

Cicero's saying of Cato.

Cato's Marriage.

Atilia, Cato's Wife. Lalius Marcius.

Cato's first Souldierfare in the Warre of the Bond-men.

Cato chosen Tribune militum.

and therefore forsake me not night nor day. Thereupon he commanded his men that from thenceforth they should prepare two beds in his Chamber, that *Munatius* also might lie there: who was rather pleasantly himselfe looked unto by *Cato*, then *Cato* by him. He had fiftene Slaves with him, two Freeman, and foure of his friends which rode, and he himselfe went on foote sometime talking with one, otherwhile with another as he went. When he came to the Campe, where there were many Legions of the *ROMANS*, the *Prætor* immediately gave him charge of one of them: who thinking it small honour to him for himselfe onely to be valiant, sith he was but one man, he practised to make all his Souldiers under him, like unto himselfe. The which he did not by feare and terror, but by lenity and gentle persuasions, training and instructing them in every point what they should do: adding to his gentle instruction and persuasions, reward to those that did well, and punishment to them that offended. Whereby it was hard to judge, whether he had made them more quiet then warlike, more valiant, then just. So dreadfull they shewed themselves to their Enemies, and courteous to their friends: fearfull to do evill, and ready to winne honour. Whereof followed that which *Cato* least accounted of, that is, he wan fame and good will: for his Souldiers did greatly honour and love him, because he himselfe would ever first set his hand to any thing he commanded them; and because also both in his diet, in his apparell, and in any journey or paines, he was rather like unto the meanest Souldier, then any of the other Captaines. In contrary manner also, in good nature, noble courage, and eloquence, he far exceeded all the other Colonels and Captaines, for the true love of vertue (to wit, the desire to follow it) taketh no roote in mens mindes, unlesse they have a singular love and reverence unto the person, whom they desire to follow. When *Cato* understood that *Athenodorus*, surnamed *Cordylion*, a Stoicke Philosopher, excellently well learned, dwelt at that time in the City of *Pergamus*, being a very old man, and one that stiffly refused the friendship of Kings, Princes, and Noblemen, desirous to have him about them: to write to him, he thought it was lost labour. Wherefore having two moneths liberty by the Lawes of the *ROMANS*, to follow his owne affaires, he tooke Sea, and went into *Asia* to him, hoping he should not lose his Journey, for the great vertues he knew in him. So when he had spoken with him, and talked of divers matters together, at length he brought him from his first determination, and carried him to the Campe with him; esteeming this Victory more then all the Conquests of *Lucullus* or *Pompey*, who had conquered the most part of all the Provinces and Realmes of the East parts of the World. In the meane time, whilst he lay at his charge in the Campe, being Colonell of a thousand Footmen, his Brother preparing to go into *Asia*, fell sicke in the City of *Ænus*, in the Countrey of *Thracia*. *Cato* having speedy intelligence thereof, tooke Sea presently, when it was marvellous rough and boisterous, and imbarqued in a little Crayer of a Merchants of *Thessaly*, with two of his friends, and three Bondmen onely, and did escape drowning very narrowly: and yet by good fortune arrived safely, a little after his Brother *Cepioes* death. He tooke his death more sorrowfully then became a Philosopher, not onely mourning and lamenting for him, imbracing the dead Corpses of his Brother: but also for the exceeding charge and sumptuous Funerals which he bestowed upon him, in perfumes, sweete favours, and sumptuous filkes that were burnt with his body: and furthermore, in the stately Tombe of *Thracian* Marble which he made for him, and set up in the Market-place of the *Ælians*, that cost eight Talents. Some did mislike this vaine charge that *Cato* bestowed, considering the modesty and temperance he used in all things else, not regarding with judgement his tender love and affection towards his Kinsmen, which was mingled in him with his severity, and hardnesse, against all voluptuousnesse, feare, and shamelesse requests. Divers Cities, Princes and Noblemen, sent him many sundry Presents, to honour the Funerals of his Brother *Cepio*: howbeit he tooke no Money of all them, saving onely spices, and sweete favours, and such other ornaments as honoured the obsequies of the dead, and yet payed for them, unto those that brought them, as much as they were worth. Furthermore, in the Land that fell unto him, and a little Daughter of his, by the death of his Brother, notwithstanding the charge he had bene at in his Funerals, he did not reckon it in the partition of the Land betwixt him and his Brother *Cepioes* Daughter. All the which things when they were solemnized, some * write notwithstanding, that he did cleanse the embers where his Brothers body had been burnt, through a sieve or riddle, where-through they cleanse Corpes, and all to get out the Gold and Silver that was molten there: but such thinke that their Writings should be as far from controllment as their doings. So when *Catoes* time of his charge was expired, they did accompany him at his departure, not onely with ordinary praises, vovues, and prayers to the gods for his health: but with imbracings, reares, and marvellous lamentations of the Souldiers, which spread their garments on the ground as he went, and kissing of his hands, which honour the *ROMANS* did but to very few of their Generals. Furthermore, *Cato* being determined before he returned to *Rome* to deale in the affaires there, to go and see *Asia*, partly to be an eye witness of the manners, customes, and power of every Province as he went: and partly also to satisfie King *Deiotarus* request, who having bene his Fathers friend, had earnestly intreated him to come and see him, he went the journey, and used it in this sort. First, by peep of day, he sent his Baker and Cooke before, where he meant to lie that night. They coming soberly into the City or Village, inquired if there were none of *Catoes* friends and acquaintance there: and if they found none, then they prepared his supper in an Inne, and troubled no man: but if there were no Inne, then they went to the Governours of the Towne, and prayed them to helpe them to lodging, and did content themselves with the first that was offered them. Oftentimes the Townsmen did not believe they were *Catoes* men, and made no account of them, because they tooke all things so quietly, and made no ado with the Officers. Inasmuch as *Cato* sometime came himselfe, and found nothing

How *Cato* trained his men, and made them valiant.

The love of vertue, from whence it proceeded. *Athenodorus* the Stoicke, *Catoes* friend.

The death of *Cepio*, *Catoes* Brother. *Catoes* mourning for his Brother *Cepioes* death.

* It seemeth to be meant of *Cæsar*, which wrote the Booke called *Abdicatō*.

Catoes Journey into *Asia*.

Catoes modesty.

nothing ready for him; and when he was come, they made as small account of him, seeing him set upon his Carriages, and speake never a word: for they tooke him for some meane man, and a timorous person. Notwithstanding, sometime he called them unto him, and told them: O poore men, learne to be more courteous to receive travelling *ROMANS* that passe by you, and looke not alwayes to have *Catoes* to come unto you: and therefore see that you use them with such courtesie and entertainment, that they may bridle the authority they have over you: for you shall finde many that will desire no better colour nor occasion by force to take from you that they would have: because you unwillingly aldo do grant them the things they would, and need. There is a report of a pretty jest hapned him in *Syracusa*. When he came to *Antioch*, he found a great number of People divided on either side of the street, standing a row one by another very decently, the young men by themselves in faire cloakes, boyes by themselves in seemly array, and Priests and other Officers of the City also, all in white garments, crowned with garlands. *Cato* thought straight they had made this solemne Procession to honour him, and fell out with his men he had sent before, because they did suffer them to make such preparation for his coming. So he made his friends light from their Horses, and go on foote to accompany him. But when they came neare to the Gate of the City, the Master of these Ceremonies that had assembled all that company (an old man, having a rod in his hand, and a Crowne on his head) came to *Cato* without saluting of him, and asked him onely, where they had left *Demetrius*, and when he would come. This *Demetrius* had bene one of *Pompeys* Slaves, and because *Pompeys* fame was great with all men, his servant *Demetrius* also was much honoured and made of above his desert, for that he was in great credit with *Pompey*. *Catoes* friends hearing what question the old man asked him, burst out a laughing as they went through this Procession. *Cato* being ashamed of it, said no more then, but: O unfortunate City! Afterwards notwithstanding, when he told it to any body, he would laugh at it himselfe. But *Pompey* rebuked them that through ignorance had failed to honour *Cato*. When *Cato* came to the City of *Ephesus*, and was coming towards *Pompey* to salute him, being the elder man, and of greater dignity and estimation then he, who at that time also was Generall of a great and puissant Army. *Pompey* seeing him coming towards him afar off, would not tarry till he came to him, sitting in his Chaire of estate, but rising up went to meete him, as one of the greatest and noblest persons of *Rome*; and taking him by the hand, after he had imbraced and welcomed him, he presently fell in praise of his vertue before his face, and afterwards also commended him in his absence, when he was gone from him. Whereupon, every man after that had him in great veneration for those things which before they despised him in, when they considered better of his noble and courteous minde. For men that saw *Pompeys* entertainment towards him, knew well enough that *Cato* was a man which he rather revered, and for a kinde of duty observed, more then for any love he bare him: and they noted further, that he honoured him greatly while he was with him, but yet that he was glad when *Cato* went from him. For he sought to keepe backe all the young Gentlemen of *Rome* that went to see him, and desired them to remaine with him: But for *Cato*, he was nothing desirous of his company, for that in his presence he thought he could not command as he would, and therefore was willing to let him go, recommending his Wife and his Children to him, the which he never did before unto any other *ROMANE* that returned to *Rome*: howbeit indeed *Cato* was partly allied unto him. After that time, all the Cities whereby he passed, devised (in emulation one of the other) which of them should honour him most; and made him great Feasts and Banquets: in the which he prayed his friends to have an eye to him; lest unawares he should prove *Curios* words true. For *Curio* sometime being his friend, and a familiar of his, misliking notwithstanding his severity, asked *Cato* if he would go see *Asia*, when his charge were expired. *Cato* answered againe, that it was his full determination. O well said, quoth *Curio*, I hope then thou wilt returne more pleasant and civill. And these were *Curios* words. Furthermore, *Deiotarus* King of *Galatia*, being a very old man, sent for *Cato* to come into his Countrey, to recommend his Sonnes and House unto him: who when he arrived there, had great rich Presents of all sorts offered him by the King, intreating him all he could to take them. This so much misliked and angered *Cato*, that he coming thither in the evening, (after he had tarried there one whole day onely) the next morning he went his way from thence at the third houre. Howbeit he had not gone one daies journey, but he found greater gifts that tarried him, with *Deiotarus* Letters, at the City of *Pessinunta*: in the which he instantly requested him to take them, or at the least if he would refuse them himselfe, that then he would let them be divided amongst his friends, sith every way they did deserve it, but specially for his sake, for that his goods also were not so great, as could content all his friends: But *Cato* would not suffer them to take any jot of it more then before, although he saw well enough, that there were some of them so tender-hearted, that they complained of him, for that he would not suffer them to take any of it. For he told them, that otherwise corruption and bribery could lack no honest colour to take: and for his friends, they should alwayes have part with him of that which was his owne justly. So he returned King *Deiotarus* Presents back againe. Now when he was ready to imbarque, to passe over the Sea againe unto *Brundisium*, some of his friends perswaded him, that it was better to put the ashes of his Brother *Cepioes* bones into another Ship. But he answered them, that he would rather lose his owne life, then to leave his Brothers reliques. Thereupon he presently hoisted saile, and it is reported that he passed over in great danger, where other Ships arrived very safely. When he was returned unto *Rome*, he was alwayes either talking Philosophy with *Athenodorus* the Philosopher, or else in the Market-place, to pleasure his friends. When his turne came that he was to make suite to be *Quæstor*, he would never sue for it, before he had first diligently perused all the Ordinaunces touching the Office

A laughing matter hapned unto *Cato*.

Demetrius a Slave, great with *Pompey*.

Cato honoured of *Pompey* in *Asia*.

Pompey rather suspected *Cato*, then loved him.

Catoes Journey unto King *Deiotarus*, and his abstinence from gifts.

Cato made
Quæstor.

of Quæstor, and that he had particularly made enquiry of men of greatest experience, to know what the Authority of the Office was. So he no sooner came to his Office, but he presently made great alteration amongst the Clearkes and Officers of the Treasury: who having the Lawes and Records in their hands, and exercising the Office commonly under young men which were chosen Treasurers (who for their ignorance and lacke of experience, stood rather in neede of Masters to teach them, then that they were able to correct others) they themselves were the Officers and controlled them. But Cato not contenting himselfe with the name and honour of the thing, did thoroughly understand what the Clearkes and Registers should be, and therefore would have them to be as they ought to be, Ministers under the Quæstors onely; telling them of their bribery and corruption which they committed, and reformed them also that faulted through ignorance. And when he saw some insolent and impudent persons, that curried favour with other Treasurers to be against him, he caused the chiefest of them to be condemned for falsehood, in making division betwixt two co-heires: and consequently turned him cleare out of his Office, for ever doing any thing there any more. He accused another also for forging of a Will, whom *Catulus Lutatius* defending, being then Censor, and a man of great honour for the dignity of his Office, but chiefly for his vertue, being counted the justest man one of them in his time at Rome, and of those also that highly commended Cato, was conversant with him for his honest life: when he perceived that he could not defend his man by no reason, he prayed them at his request that they would pardon him. But Cato would in no wise grant it. But *Catulus* earnestly intreating still for him, then Cato plainly said unto him: It is shame for thee (*Catulus*) thou that art Censor, and shouldest reforme all our lives, thus to forget the duty of thine Office, to please our Ministers. *Catulus* looking at Cato when he had spoken, as though he would answer him: whether it were for shame or anger, he went his way, and said never a word more. Yet was not the party condemned, though there was one voice more that did condemn then cleare him, because of the absence of one of the Judges. For *Marcus Lollius*, one of Cato's Colleagues in the Quæstorship, being sicke at that time, and absent, *Catulus* sent unto him, to pray him to come and helpe the poore man. Thereupon *Lollius* being brought thither in a Litter, after judgement given, gave his last voice: which absolutely cleared him. Cato, this notwithstanding, would never use him as a Clarke, nor pay him his Wages, nor would count of *Lollius* voice among others. Thus having pulled downe the pride and stomacke of the Clearkes, and brought them unto reason, in short time he had all the Tables and Records at his commandement, and made the Treasure-Chamber as honourable as the Senate it selfe: so that every man thought, and said, that Cato had added unto the Quæstorship the dignity of the Consulship. For finding divers men indebted before unto the Common-wealth, and the Common-wealth also unto divers men, he set downe such an order, that neither the Common-wealth should be deceived by any man, nor that any man also should have wrong of it. For being rough with them that were indebted to the Chamber, he compelled them to pay their debt, and willingly and quickly also paid them to whom the Chamber ought any thing: so that the People were ashamed to see some pay which never thought to have paid any thing, and on the contrary side also others paid, which never looked to have had any part of their debts paid them. Furthermore, divers men did before make false Bills of their debts, and brought them so to be put into the Coffer of the Quæstors: and many times also his Predecessors were wont of favour and friendship to receive false Messages. But whilst he was Quæstor, he never did passe any matter so lightly. For one day, he being doubtful of a Message that was sent unto him, to know whether it was true or no: albeit divers men did witnesse it was true, yet would he not believe it, untill such time as the Consuls themselves came in their owne persons to justifie it was true, and to sweare, that it was so ordained. Now there were many unto whom *Lucius Sylla* (being Dictator) had appointed in his second Proscription twelve thousand silver Drachmas for every Citizen and Out-law which they had slaine with their owne hands. These men, though every man did hate them, and knew them to be wicked People and cruell murderers, yet no man durst offer to be revenged of them. Cato called these men in suite, as those that did wrongfully detaine the Money of the common Treasure, and compelled them to repay it backe againe: sharply reproving (and justly) the wicked devilish fact they had committed. So when they had repayed the Money, they were straight accused by others for murder: and as if they had beene wrongfully condemned by one judgement, they were brought unto another, to the great joy of all the ROMANS, who then thought they saw all the Tyranny of that time rooted out, and *Sylla* himselfe punished. Besides all this, Cato's continuall paines and care of the Treasure, was so well thought of and liked of the People as could be. For he was alwaies the first that came to the Coffer of the Treasurers, and also the last that went from thence, and was never weary of any paines. Furthermore, he never missed to be at any Assembly of the People, or Senate, fearing and being alwaies careful, lest lightly by favour, any Money due to the Common-wealth should be forgiven, or else that they should abate the Rent of the Farmers, or that they should give no Money but to them that had justly deserved it. Thus having rid all Accusers, and also filled the Coffers with Treasure, he made men see that the Common-wealth might be rich without oppressing of any man. Indeed at his first coming into the Office, his Colleagues and Companions found him marvellous troublesome and tedious, for that they thought him too rough and severe: howbeit they all loved him in the end; because he onely withstood the complaints and cries of all men against them (which complained that they would not for any mans respect or favour let go the Money of the common Treasure) and was contented his Companions should excuse themselves unto their friends that were importunate, and lay the

Catulus Lutatius, what he was,

Cato made the
Quæstorship
of great dig-
nity.

Cato was re-
venged of *Syl-
la's* bloody
murder.

the fault upon him, saying, that it was impossible for them to bring Cato unto it. The last day that he went out of his Office, being very honourably brought home to his house by the People, it was told him that *Marcellus* being in the Treasure-chamber, was attempted and environed with many of his friends, and men of great authority, that were earnestly in hand with him to record a certaine summe of Money, as a thing that had been due by the Common-wealth. This *Marcellus* had been Cato's friend even from their Child-hood, and whilst Cato was in Office, he did orderly execute his Office with him: but when he was left alone, he was of so gentle a nature, that he would easily be entreated, and was as much ashamed to deny any man, as he was also over-ready to grant every man that he required. Cato straight returned backe upon it, and finding that *Marcellus* had yielded unto their importunity, and recorded the Gift, he caused the Bookes to be brought unto him, and did raze it out before his face, *Marcellus* speaking never a word to the contrary. After that, *Marcellus* brought Cato home, and never once repined against that he had done; neither then, nor at any time after, but continued still in friendship with him, as he had done before. But now though Cato was out of his Office of Quæstor, he was not without Spials of his men in the Treasure-chamber, who marked alwaies, and wrote what was done and passed in the Treasury. And Cato himselfe, having bought the Bookes of account for the summe of five Talents, containing the revenue of the whole State of the Common-wealth, from *Sylla's* time untill the very year of his Quæstorship: he ever had them about him, and was the first man that came to the Senate, and the last that went out of it. There many times the Senators tarrying long before they came, he went and sat down in a corner by himself, and read closely the Booke he had under his Gown, clapping his Gown before it, and would never be out of the City on that day when he knew the Senate should assemble. After that, *Pompey* and his Consorts perceiving that it was impossible to compell Cato, and much lesse to win or corrupt him, to favour their unjust doings, they sought what means they could to keepe him from coming to the Senate, and defending certaine of his friends Causes, and to occupie him some other waies about matters of Arbitrement. But Cato finding their wils and craft, to encounter them, he told his friends once for all, whom he would pleasure, that when the Senate did sit, no mans Cause could make him be absent from thence. For he came not to serve the Common-wealth to enrich himselfe as many did, neither for any glory or reputation, nor yet at all adventure; but that he had advicedly chosen to serve the Common-wealth, like a just and honest man, and therefore thought himselfe bound to be as careful of his duty, as the Bee working her Wax in the Honey-combe. For this respect therefore, to performe his duty the better, by the means of his friends which he had in every province belonging to the Empire of Rome, he got into into his hands the Copies of all the chiefest Acts, Edicts, Decrees, Sentences, and the notablest Judgements of the Governours that remained in record. Once Cato perceiving that *Publius Clodius* a seditious Orator amongst the People, did make great stirr, and accused divers unto the Assembly, as the Priests and Vestall Nunnes, among the which *Fabia Terentia*, *Cicero's* Wives Sister was accused; he taking their Cause in hand, did so disgrace *Clodius* their Accuser, that he was driven to flee the City. *Cicero* therefore giving Cato thanks, Cato told him, that he must thanke the Common-wealth, not him, for whose sake onely he both said and did that he had done. Hereby Cato wanne him great fame. For when a certaine Orator or Common-Counsellour preferred one Witnesse unto the Judges, the Counsellour on the other side told them, that one Witnesse was not to be credited, though it were Cato himself. Infomuch as the People tooke it up for a Proverb among them, that when any man spake any strange and unlikely matter, they would say: Nay, though Cato himselfe said it, yet were it not to be beleevied. When on a time a certaine Prodigall man had made a long Oration in the Senate, in praise and commendation of sobriety, temperance, and thriftinesse, one *Annius* a Senatour rising up, said unto him: Alas friend, what thinkest thou? who can abide to hear thee any longer with patience, that fastest at thy Table like *Craesus*, buidest like *Lucullus*, and speakest to us like Cato? So men commonly (in sport) called them Cato's, which were grave and severe in their words, and dissolute in their deeds. When divers of his friends were in hand with him to sue to be Tribune of the People, he told them he thought it not meet at that time: for such an Office (quoth he) of so great authority as that, is not to be employed, but like a strong Medicine in time of need. So, the Terme and matters of Law ceasing for that time, Cato went into the Countrey of LUCANIA to take his pleasure there, where he had pleasant Houses, and tooke with him both his Books and Philosophers to keepe him company. But meeting as he went, with divers Sumpters and great Carriage, and a great traine of men besides, he asked them whose Carriage it was: they told him, it was *Metellus Nepos* that returned to Rome, to make suite to be Tribune. Thereupon Cato stayed suddenly, and bethinking himselfe, commanded his men to returne backe again. His friends marvelling at it, he answered them, Do not you know that *Metellus* is to be feared of himself, for his rashnesse and folly? and now that he cometh instructed by *Pompey*, like a lightning he would set all the Common-wealth on fire? for this cause therefore we must not now go take our pleasure in the Countrey, but overcome his folly, or otherwise die honourably in defence of our Liberty. Yet at his Friends perswasions he went first into his House in the Countrey, and tarried not long there, but returned straight againe to Rome. When he came thither over night, the next morning betimes he went into the Market-place, and sued to be Tribune of the People; purposely to crosse *Metellus* Enterprize, because the power and authority of the Tribune consisteth more in hindring then doing any thing: for if all men else were agreed of a matter, and that he onely were against it, the Tribune would carry from them all. Cato at the first had not many of his friends about him, but whent

Cato's care and
integrity to
the Common-
wealth.

Cato's minde
and determina-
tion to take
charge in the
Common-
wealth.

Cato drave *Clodius*
out of
Rome.

The Authority
and credit of
Cato.

Cato took Phi-
losophers with
him when he
went into the
Countrey.

The Office
and authority
of the Tri-
bune, what it

Cato's Tri-
bunship.

they heard of his intent, why he made suite for the Tribuneship, all his friends and Noble-men straight tooke part with him, confirmed his determination, and encouraged him to go on withall, for that he did it rather to serve the Common-wealth then his owne turne; considering that where many times before he might (without resistance or deniall) have obtained the same, the State being toward no trouble, he then would never sue for it, but now that he saw it in danger, where he was to fight for the Common-wealth, and the Protection of her Liberty. It is reported that there were such a number of People about him to favour his suite, that he was like to have been stifled among them, and thought he should never have come to the Market-place, for the presse of People that swarmed about him. Thus when he was chosen Tribune with *Metellus* and others, he perceived how they bought and sold the voices of the People when the Consuls were chosen: whereupon he made an Oration, and sharply took them up for this detestable Merchandize; and after his Oration ended, solemnly protested by Oath, that he would accuse him, and bewray his Name which had given Money to be chosen Consull. Howbeit he spake nothing of *Syllanus*, whose Sister *Servilia* he had married: but he flatly accused *Lucius Murena*, that had obtained to be Consull with *Syllanus*, by means of his Money. Now a Law being provided, that the party accused might have a Keeper or Spiall to follow the Accuser, to see what he would accuse the party with; that he might the better be able to defend himselfe, knowing what should be objected against him: *Murena* having one for him to waite upon *Cato*, to consider thoroughly what course he tooke, when he saw that he went not maliciously to work, but tooke a plaine common way of a just Accuser, he had so great confidence in *Cato's* upright minde and integrity, that not regarding the narrow sifting of him otherwise, he did one day aske him himselfe in the Market-place (or at home in his own house) if that day he were determined to prosecute any matter against him touching his Accusation. If *Cato* answered that he did not, then he went his way, and simply beleaved him. When the day came indeed that his cause was to be heard and pleaded unto, *Cicero* being Consull that yeare, defending *Murena*, played so pleasantly with the Stoicke Philosophers, and their strange Opinions, that he made all the Judges laugh: insomuch as *Cato* himselfe smiling at him, told them that were by him: See, we have a pleasant Consull that makes men laugh thus. So *Murena* being discharged by this judgement, did never after malice *Cato* for that, but so long as he remained Consull, he was alwaies ruled by his counsell in all his Affaires, and continued ever to honour him, following his Counsell in all things touching his Office. Hereof *Cato* himselfe was cause, who was never rough nor terrible, but in matters of Counsell, and in his Orations before the People, for the maintenance onley of equity and justice: for otherwise he was very civill and courteous to all men. But before he entred into his Tribuneship, *Cicero* being yet Consull, he did help him in many things touching his Office, but specially in bringing *Catiline's* conspiracy to good end which was a noble Act done of him. For *Catiline* did practise a generall commotion and stir in the Common-wealth, to overthrow the whole State of Rome, by civill discord within Rome, and open Warres abroad: who being discovered and overcome by *Cicero*, he was driven in the end to flee Rome. But *Lentulus*, *Cethegus*, and many other of the accomplices of this conspiracy, blamed *Catiline* for his faint and cowardly proceeding in it. For their parts, they had determined to burne the whole City of Rome, and to put all the Empire thereof in uproare, by strang Warres, and rebellious forreine Nations and Provinces. Howbeit this Treason being discovered, as appeareth more largely in the life of *Cicero*, the matter was referred unto the judgement of the Senate, to determine what was to be done therein. *Syllanus* being the first who was asked his Opinion therein said, that he thought it good they should suffer cruell paines: and after him also, all the rest said the like untill it came to *Cesar*. *Cesar* being an excellent spoken man, and that rather desired to nourish then to quench any such stirres or seditions in the Common-wealth, being fit for his purpose long determined of, made an Oration full of sweet pleasant words declaring unto them, that to put such men as they to death without lawfull condemnation, he thought it altogether unreasonable, and rather that they should do better to keep them in Prison. This Oration of *Cesar* so altered all the rest of the Senators minds, for that they were afraid of the People, that *Syllanus* selfe mended his Opinion againe, and said, that he meant not they should put them to death, but keep them fast in Prison; because that to be a prisoner, was the greatest paine a ROMANE Citizen could abide. Thus the Senators minds being so suddenly changed, and bent to a more favourable sentence, *Cato* rising up to say his Opinion, began very angrily with marvellous Eloquence, grievously to reprove *Syllanus* for changing his minde, and sharply to take up *Cesar*, that under a popular semblance, and maske of sweet sugred words, he sought under-hand to destroy the Common-wealth, and also to terrifie and make the Senate afraid: where he himselfe should have been afraid, and think himselfe happy, if he could scape from being suspected, giving such apparent cause of suspicion as he did, going about so openly to take the Enemies and Traitors of the Common-wealth out of the hands of justice, seeming to have no pity nor compassion of his naturall City, of such Nobility and Fame, being even brought in manner to utter destruction; but rather to lament the fortune of these wicked men, that it was pity they were ever borne, and whose death preserved Rome from a thousand Murthers, and Mischiefs. Of all the Orations that ever *Cato* made, that onely was kept: for *Cicero* the Consull, that day had dispersed divers Pen-men in sundry places of the Senate-house, which had marvellous swift hands, and had further taught them how to make brieve Notes and abridgements, which in few Lines shewed many words. For untill that time, Writers were not known that could by Figures and Ciphers expresse a whole sentence and word, as afterwards they could, being then the first time that ever they were found out. So *Cato* at that time prevailed against *Cesar*, and made them all change their

Cicero defend-
ed *Murena* a-
gainst his Ac-
cuser *Cato*.

The conspira-
cy of *Catiline*
against Rome.

Cato's Oration
against *Cesar*,
touching *Cati-
line's* conspira-
cy.

Cicero taught
them how to
write briefly,
by Notes and
Figures.

minde againe, that these men were put to death. But that we may not leave out a jot of his man-
ners, as the very paterne and impression of his minde: it is reported, that when *Cato* that day was
so hot and vehement against *Cesar*, that all the Senate could but looke at them, to heare them
both, a Letter was delivered *Cesar*, sent him into the House. *Cato* began presently to suspect it,
and so earnestly misliked of it, that many of the Senators being offended, commanded his Letter
should be seene and read openly. *Cesar* thereupon reached his Letter unto *Cato*, that late not
farre from him. When *Cato* had read it, and found that it was a Love-letter, which his Sister *Servilia*,
had written unto *Cesar*, whom she loved, and had knowa, he callt it againe to *Cesar*, and said,
There drunkard. After that he went on againe with his matter, which he had begun before. In
fine, it seemeth that *Cato* was very unfortunate in his Wives: for this *Servilia*, as we have said;
had an ill Name by *Cesar*. And the other *Servilia* also, which was his Sister, was worie detamed:
for she being married unto *Lucullus*, one of the greatest men of Rome, by whom she had a Sonne,
was in the end put away from him, for her naughty life. But worst of all, his own Wife *Attilia* also
was not altogether cleare without suspition: for though he had two Sons by her, yet he was driven
to be divorced from her, she was so naught and common. After that, he married *Martia*, the
Daughter of *Philip*, which by report seemed to be a very honest Gentlewoman. It is she that is fo
famous among the ROMANES. For in the life of *Cato*, this place (as a Fable or Comedy) is dis-
putable, and hard to be judged. For thus it was, as *Thraseus* writeth, who referreth all to the report
and credit of one *Munatius*, *Cato's* very familiar friend. Among many that loved *Cato's* Vertues
and had them in admiration, some of them did shew more what he was, then other some did: amongst
the which was *Q. Hortensius* a man of great honesty and authority. He desiring not onely to be
Cato's friend and familiar, but also to joyne with him in alliance, and by affinity to make both their
Houses one, was not abashed to move him to let him have his Daughter *Porcia* in marriage (which
was *Bibulus* Wife, and had brought him two Children) that he might also cast abroad the Seed of
goodly Children, in that pleasant fertile ground. And though to men this might seeme a strange
minde and desire, yet that in respect of nature, it was both honest and profitable to the Common-
wealth, not to suffer a young Woman in the prime of her youth to lose the fruit of her Wombe,
being apt to beare Children: nor also that he should impoverish his Soone-in-law with more Child-
ren then one house needed. And further, that communicating Women in this sort from one to a-
nother, specially being bestowed upon worthy and vertuous men, that Vertue thereby should be in-
creased the more, being so dispersed in divers Families; and the City likewise should be the stronger,
by making alliances in this sort together. And if it be so, quoth he, that *Bibulus* do love his Wife
so dearly, that he will not depart from her altogether, then that he would restore her to him againe
when he had a Child by her, that thereby he might be the more bound in friendship to him, by
means of this communication of Children with *Bibulus* selfe, and with him. *Cato* answered him;
that he loved *Hortensius* well, and liked of his alliance, howbeit that he marvelled he would speake
to him to let him have his Daughter to get Children of, sith he knew that she was married to another.
Then *Hortensius* altering his tale, stuck not to tell him his minde plainly, and to desire his Wife of
him, the which was yet a young Woman, and *Cato* had Children enough. But a man cannot tell
whether *Hortensius* made this suite, because he saw *Cato* made no reckoning of *Martia*, for that she
was then with Child by him. In fine, *Cato* seeing the earnest desire of *Hortensius*, he did not de-
ny him her, but told him, that he must also get *Philip's* good will, the Father of *Martia*. He knowing
that *Cato* had granted his good will, would not therefore let him have his Daughter before that
Cato himselfe by his presence did confirme the contract and marriage with him. Though these things
were done long after, yet having occasion to talke of *Cato's* Wives. I thought it not amisse to an-
ticipate the time. Now *Lentulus* and his Consorts of *Catiline's* conspiracy being put to death; *Cesar*
to cloake the Accusations wherewith *Cato* charged him in open Senate; did put himselfe into the Peo-
ples hands; and gathering the rake-hels and seditious persons together, which sought to set all at six
and seven, he did further encourage them in their mischievous intent and practises. Whereupon;
Cato fearing lest such a rabble of People should put all the Common-wealth in uproare and danger,
he perswaded the Senate to winne the poore needy People that had nothing, by distributing Corne
amongst them, the which was done: and the charge thereof amounted yearly unto twelve hun-
dred and fifty Talents. This liberality did manifestly drink up and quench all those troubles which
they stood in feare of. But on the other side, *Metellus* entring into his Tribuneship, made cer-
taine seditious Orations and Assemblies, and preferred a Law to the People, that *Pompey* the Great
should presently be called into ITALY with his Army, that he should keepe the City by his coming
from the present danger of *Catiline's* conspiracy. These were but words spoken for fashions sake,
but indeed the Law had a secret meaning, to put the whole Common-wealth and Empire of Rome
into *Pompey's* hands. Hereupon the Senate assembled, wherein *Cato* at his first coming spake some-
what gently, and not too vehemently against *Metellus*, as his manner was to be sharpe unto them
that were against him: but modestly perswaded him, and fell to intreate him in the end, and highly
to extoll his house, for that they had alwaies taken part with the Senate and Nobility. But *Me-
tellus* therewith tooke such pride and conceit of himselfe, that he began to despise *Cato*, thinking
he had used that mildnesse, as though he had been afraid of him: insomuch as he gave out
proud speeches against him, and cruell threats, that in despite of the Senate he would do that *Metellus* Tri-
bunship he had undertaken. Then *Cato* changing his countenance, his voice and speech, after he bene of the
had spoken very sharply against him, in the end he roughly protested, that while he lived, he
would

Cato unfortu-
nate in his
Wives.

Martia, *Cato's*
Wife.

Places follow-
ship and com-
munity of Wo-
men.

Cato perswaded
Corne to be
distributed un-
to the People.

Cato resisteth
that *Metellus* Tri-
bunship

the People besides, that were none of the Senate, and tooke his part: marvelling much, and also being offended with *Cæsar*'s great unreasonablenesse and importunity, who by the Authority of his Consulship did preferre such things, as the most seditious Tribunes of the People were wont commonly to do, to curry favour with the People, and by such vile meanes sought to make them at his commandement. Wherefore, *Cæsar* and his friends fearing so great Enemies, fell to open force. For to begin withall, as the Consul *Bibulus* was going to the Market-place, there was a basket of Dung poured upon his head: and furthermore, the Officers Rods were broken in their hands, which they carried before him. In fine, Darts were thrown at them out of every corner, and many of them being hurt, they all at length were driven to flie, and leave the Market-place. But *Cato* he came last of all, keeping his wonted place, and often cast backe his head, and cursed such Citizens. So, they did not onely passe this Law Agraria by voyces of the People, but furthermore they added to it: that the Senate should be sworn to establish that Law, and be bound to defend the same (if any attempted the alteration thereof) upon great Penalties and Fines to be set on his head, that should refuse the Oath. All the other Senators Swore against their wils, remembering the example of the mischiefe that chanced unto the old *Metellus*, who was banished out of ITALIE, because he would not sweare to such a like Law. Whereupon, the Women that were in *Cato*'s house, besought him with the teares in their eyes, that he would yeeld and take the Oath: and so did also divers of his friends besides. Howbeit, he that most enforced and brought *Cato* to sweare, was *Cicero* the Orator: who perswaded him, that peradventure he would be thought unreasonable, that being but one man, he should seem to milke that, which all other had thought meet and reasonable: and that it were a fond part of him wilfully to put himselfe in so great a danger, thinking to hinder a matter already past remedy. But yet that besides all this, a great inconvenience would happen, if he forsooke his Countrey (for whose sake he did all these things) and left it a prey unto them, which sought the utter subversion of the same, as if he were glad to be rid from the trouble of defending the Common-wealth. For (said he) though *Cato* have no need of ROME, yet ROME hath need of *Cato*, and so have all his friends: of the which, *Cicero* said he was the chiefe, and was most maliced of *Publius Clodius* the Tribune, who sought to drive him out of the Countrey. It is said that *Cato* being won by these like words and perswasions at home, and openly in the Market-place, they so softened him, that he came to take his Oath last of all men, but one *Phaonius*, a very friend of his. *Cæsar*'s heart being then lift up, for that he had brought his purpose to passe: he began now to preferre another Law, to divide all CAMPANIA, and the Countrey called TERRA DI LAVORO (the Land of labour) unto the poor needy People of ROME, and no man stood against him but *Cato*. Whereupon *Cæsar* made his Officers to take him from the Pulpit for Orations, to carry him to Prison. All this made not *Cato* stoop, nor leave his francke speech, but as he went he still spake against this Edict, and perswaded the People to beware of them that preferred such Lawes. All the Senate, and the best sort of Citizens followed *Cato* with heavy hearts, shewing by their silence that they were offended and angry for the injury they did unto him, being so worthy a man. Inomuch as *Cæsar*'s selfe perceived that the People were offended with it, and yet of ambition and stomacke, he looked alwaies when *Cato* would have appealed unto the People. So when he saw that *Cato* meant no such matter, at length overcome with shame and dishonour, he himselfe procured one of the Tribunes to take *Cato* from the Sergeants. In fine, all *Cæsar*'s practise tended to this end, that when he had wonne the Peoples favour by such Lawes: they should then grant him the Government of all the GAULES (as well on this side, as beyond the Mountaines) and all ILLYRIA, with an Army of foure Legions, for the space of five yeares, notwithstanding that *Cato* told the People before, that they themselves with their own voyces did set up a Tyrant, that one day would cut their throates. They did also chuse *Publius Clodius* Tribune of the People, which was of a noble house: a thing directly contrary to the Law. But this *Clodius* had promised them, so that they would helpe him to banish *Cicero* out of ROME, to do all that he could for them. Furthermore, they made *Calpurnius Piso* (*Cæsar*'s Wives Father) and *Galbinus Paulus* (a man wholly at *Pompey*'s commandement, as they write which knew his life and manners) Consuls the next year following. Now, notwithstanding they had the rule of the Common-wealth in their own hands, and that they had won part of the City with bribes, and the other part also with fear: yet they were both afraid of *Cato*, when they considered what trouble they had to overcome him, which they did very hardly notwithstanding, and to their great shame, being driven to use force, and yet thought they should never have done it. Furthermore, *Clodius* utterly despaired that he could possibly banish *Cicero*, so long as *Cato* was there. So devising waies how to do it, when he had taken possession of his Office, he sent for *Cato*, and began to tell him, that he thought him the honestest and justest man of ROME, and that he was ready to performe it to him by deed. For, where many made suite unto him to be sent into CYPRUS, to make War with King *Ptolemy*: he thought none so worthy as himselfe, and therefore for the good will he bore him, he was very willing to offer him that pleasure. *Cato* straight cried out with open mouth, that this was a device to intrap him, not to pleasure him. Then *Clodius* proudly and fiercely answered him, Well, seeing thou wilt not go with good will, thou shalt go then against thy will: and so he did. For at the first assembly of the City, he caused the People to grant his Commission for his journey thither: but he neither appointed him Ships, nor Souldiers, nor Ministers to go with him, saving two Secretaries onely, of the which, the one of them was a very Villaine and an arrant Theefe, and the other one of *Clodius* followers. Besides all this, as if they had appointed him but little to do in CYPRUS against *Ptolemy*, he made them command him after that, to go and restore the Outlawes and banished men of the City of BYZANTIUM, unto their Countrey and Goods againe, of purpose onely to keepe

Cicero by his
Oration brake
Cato's silence.

Cato committed
to prison by
Cæsar.

P. Clodius Tri-
bune of the
People.
The crafty
juggling be-
twixt *clodius*
and
Pompey with
P. Clodius.

Cato sent Am-
bassadors into
Cyprus.

keepe *Cato* farr enough from ROME, whilst he continued Tribune. *Cato* being driven by necessity to obey, he counselled *Cicero* (whom *Clodius* pursued) to beware that he made no stirr against him, for fear of bringing ROME into civil War and Murther for his sake: but rather to abient himselfe, that he might another time preserve his Countrey. After that, he sent his Friend *Canidius* before into CYPRUS, unto *Ptolemy*, to perswade him to be quiet without Warre: declaring unto him, that he should neither lack Honour nor Riches, for the ROMANES would grant him the Priesthood of VENUS in the City of PAPHOS. *Cato* in the meane time remained in the Ile of RHODES, preparing himselfe there, and abiding his answer. In the time of these stirres, *Ptolemy* King of EGYPT, for a certaine offence and discord with his Subjects, departing out of ALEXANDRIA, sailed towards ROME hoping that *Cæsar* and *Pompey* with a great Army would restore him to his Crown and Kingdom againe. He being desirous to see *Cato*, sent unto him, supposing he would come at his sending for. *Cato* by chance was occupied at that time about some businesse, and bad the Messenger will *Ptolemy* to come to him, if he would see him. So when *Ptolemy* came, he neither went to meet him, nor rose up unto him, but onely welcomed him, and bad him sit down. It amazed the King at the first, to see under so simple and meane a traine, such a statelynesse and majesty in *Cato*'s behaviour. But he heard him boldly talke with him of his Affaires, and such grave talke come from him, reproving his folly he had committed, to forsake such Princely Pleasure and Wealth, to go and subject himselfe unto such dishonour, such extreme paines, and such passing great Gifts and Presents, as he should throw away, to satisfie the covetousnesse of the Rulers at ROME, the which was so unsatiable, that if all the Realme of EGYPT were converted into Silver to give among them, it would scarce suffice them: in respect whereof, he counselled him to returne backe with his Navy, and to reconcile himselfe againe with his Subjects, offering himselfe also to go with him, to helpe to make this Peace. Then *Ptolemy* coming to himselfe, and repenting him of his folly, knowing that *Cato* told him truly, and wisely, he determined to follow his counsell, had not his friends turned his minde to the contrary. So when *Ptolemy* came to ROME, and was driven to waite at the Gates of the Magistrates that were in Authority, he sighed then, and repented his folly, for that he had not onely despised the counsell of a wise man, but rather the Oracle of a god. Furthermore, the other *Ptolemy* that was in CYPRUS (a happy turne for *Cato*) poisoned himselfe. *Cato* being also informed that he left a wonderful summe of Money behinde him, he determined to go himselfe unto BYZANTIUM, and sent his Nephew *Brutus* into CYPRUS, because he durst not trust *Canidius* so farre. Then having restored the banished men unto the Peoples favour againe, setting agreement betwixt them, he returned into CYPRUS. There he found a marvellous great Treasure, and Plate both of Gold and Silver, Tables, precious-Stones, Hangings, and Purple Silkes, all the which he was to make ready Money of. There he tooke great care and paines to raise all things to the utmost and dearest prices that could be, and he himselfe was present at all, to keepe the reckoning of the last Penny. Wherefore, to bring this to passe, he would not stand to the common use of the sale of the Crier, but suspected them all, both Criers, Praisers, and his own Friends, and therefore talked himselfe with the Praisers, and made them set high Prises upon every thing that was to be sold. And thus were the most part of their Goods sold and carried away, at the dearest Prises. This did marvellously offend the most part of his Friends, when they saw that he did mistrust them: but *Munatius* specially, his dearest Friend, tooke it so inwardly, that he thought never to be friends with him againe. Inomuch as in the Booke *Cæsar* wrote against *Cato*, in this place he forceth most the accusation against him. *Munatius* notwithstanding writeth, that he was not angry so much with *Cato* for that he mistrusted him, but for a certaine disdain he had himselfe of *Cato*, and for the emulation betwixt him, and *Canidius*. For *Munatius* wrote a Booke of *Cato*'s deeds and sayings, whom *Thrafeas* in his History chiefly followed. In this Booke he sheweth that he came late into CYPRUS, and was very ill lodged. And furthermore also, that when he would have come into *Cato*'s house, they kept him out of the Gates, for that *Cato* was busie, doing something with *Canidius*. He modestly complaining of it unto *Cato*, it with thee, who over-loving me, doest thinke that I esteeme thee not as thou deservest, and therefore art angry with me. And for *Canidius*, I must tell thee truly, I do rather employ him for his skill and faithfulness in things, then any man else: for that he hath been with me from the beginning, and as farre as I learne, was never bribed, but cleane handed still. These words *Cato* told *Munatius* secretly between them two, but afterwards he knew that he had also reported them unto *Canidius*. When he saw that, he would no more go and sup with *Cato* as he was wont; and when he was also called to Counsell, he would not come there neither. Whereupon *Cato* threatened him, that he would seize upon all his Goods and Carriage, as they use to handle them that are disobedient unto justice. This notwithstanding, *Munatius* cared not for it, but tooke Sea, and returned againe to ROME, bearing *Cato* grudge a long time. Then *Martia*, being at that time *Cato*'s Wife, spake with him, and were both bidden to supper together unto a friend of theirs called *Barca*. Thereupon *Cato* also arrived, and came thither when they were all set at Supper, and asked where he should sit: *Barca* told him againe where it pleased him. Then casting his eyes about, he said, he would sit by *Munatius*: and so fetching a compass about the the Board, he went and sat by him but offered him no friendship and familiarity all Supper-time. Afterwards notwithstanding, at the request of *Martia*, that was earnestly in hand with *Cato* for him, he wrote unto him, and willed him to come and speak with him. *Munatius* went to *Cato*'s house in the morning, where *Martia* stayed him, and kept him company, untill all the rest that came to salute *Cato* were departed. Then *Cato* coming to him, embraced

Ptolemy King
of Egypt: so
eth unto *Cato*.

Cato's diligence
about Money
in Cyprus.

The envie be-
twixt *Cato* and
Munatius.

Too much love
offentimes
causeth hate.

Money gotten
together by
Cato in Cyprus.

Cato received
into Rome with
great honour of
the People.

embraced him in his Armes, and made very much of him. We have the willinglier dilated this matter at length, because mens natures and manners might be discerned even in these small matters of friendship privately, as otherwise in the greatest publique Causes. Now touching *Cato's* Commission, he got together little lesse then seven thousand Silver Talents. Furthermore, fearing the farnesse of the journey he had to go by Sea, he made divers little Coffers, and put into every one of them two Talents, and five hundred Drachmes, and tied unto each of them a long Rope, and a great piece of Corke; because that if the Shippes should fortune to miscarry, those Corkes might shew where the Chefts with Money lay in the bottome of the Sea. Thus was all the Money saved, saving a little, and brought safely to Rome. *Cato* having made two Bookes, wherein he had noted all things done in his journey, he could neither save the one nor the other of them. For one of his Bond-men made free, called *Philaretyrus*, took the one way; who taking Ship at the Haven of *Cenchreae*, was himselfe drowned, and the Booke he had also, lost with him. The other Booke which he himselfe had kept untill he came to *Corinthe*, he lying in the Market-place of the City in his Tents which he caused to be set up; the Marriners being very cold in the night, made so great a Fire, that it burnt the Tents, Stuffe, Booke and all. Notwithstanding, he brought certaine of the late King *Ptolemies* Slaves with him, who while he lived, had the charge and custody of all his Treasure and Riches, the which he brought as Witnesse to stop the mouthes of his malicious Enemies, that would have accused him in any thing. But yet the losse of them did grieve him, not so much for the great care and paines he had taken in setting down the account of his charge, for the justification and proof of his fidelity and good service; but also for that they might have served for a good Memoriall and example unto all others, to have been alike carefull in their charge, as himself. But the gods denied him this good hap. Newes being brought that he was come to Rome by Water; when they understood he was at hand, by and by all the Magistrates, the Priests, the Senate, and the most part of the People also went out to meet him by the Rivers side: so that both sides of the River of *Tyber* were full of People, and the receiving of him in, seemed not inferiour to the entry of a Triumph. Notwithstanding, some thought him very presumptuous, that the Consuls and Prators coming out to meet him, he did not stay his Galley, but rowed still up the Streame (being in a Kings Galley of six Oares to every Bank) and never stayed, untill all his Fleet arrived in the Haven. This notwithstanding, when the Coffers with Money were carried through the Market-place into the Treasure-chamber, the People wondered to see so great a quantity of it. And thereupon the Senate being assembled, with great and honorable words they gave *Cato* an extraordinary Pratorship, and Priviledge also, at any common Sports to wear a Purple Gown. *Cato* refused all these honours, and onely befought the Senate to make *Nicias* a Freeman, Steward of the late deceased King *Ptolemy*, being a Witnesse of his faith and great paines he had taken in this service. *Philip* the Father of *Martia*, was that year Consul, so that after a fort, the Authority of the Consull was in *Cato*: because *Lentulus*, Colleague and fellow Consull with *Philip*, did no lesse reverence *Cato* for his Vertues, then *Philip* did for his alliance with him. Furthermore, when *Cicero* was restored againe from his banishment, the which *Publius Clodius* (being then Tribune of the People) had put upon him, and being againe grown to great credite, he went one day into the Capitoll, in the absence of *Clodius*, by force to take away the Tables which *Clodius* had consecrated there, in the which were comprised all his doings during the time he was Tribune. Thereupon the Senate being assembled, *Clodius* did accuse *Cicero* of this violent fact. *Cicero* answered him againe, that because *Clodius* was chosen Tribune, directly against the Law, therefore all his doings were void, and of no validity. Then stood up *Cato*, and said, he knew that all that which *Clodius* did when he was Tribune, was scanty good and allowable; but yet if generally any man should undoe all that he had passed by that Authority, then all that he himselfe had done likewise in *Cyprus*, must of necessity be revoked. For the Commission that was granted unto him (by Vertue whereof he had done many things) should be unlawfull: because the Tribune also that did grant it him, was not lawfully chosen. And therefore, that *Publius Clodius* was not made Tribune against the Law, who by consent of the Law was taken out from a Noble House, and made a Popular Person: howbeit, if he had behaved himselfe undutifully in his Office, as other men happily had offended, then he was to be accused to make him mend his fault, and not to destroy the Authority of the Officer, which in it selfe was lawfull. After that, there fell milking betwixt *Cicero* and *Cato*, for this counterbuss he had given him: and *Cicero* continued a long time after, before he did shew him any countenance of friendship as he had at other times done. But afterwards they were reconciled together againe, by this occasion. *Pompey* and *Crassus* having been with *Cesar* to talke with him (who for that purpose came out of *Gauls* beyond the *Alpes*) made an agreement there betwixt them, to demand the second Consulship together, and when they had it, then to prorogue *Casars* Government for five years more, and also they would have the best Provinces and greatest for themselves, with great Armies, and Money enough to pay them with. This was indeed a plaine conspiracy to divide the Empire of Rome between them, and utterly to overthrow the State of the Common-wealth. At that time there were many Noble men, which came to make suite for the Consulship. But when they saw *Pompey* and *Crassus* offer to make suite for it, all the rest gave over, but *Lucius Domitius* that had married *Porcia*, *Cato's* Sister: through whose perswasion he would not relinquish his suite, considering that it was not the Office onely of the Consulship that was the chiefest matter of importance, but the liberty of the Senate and People. Straight there ran a rumour through the most part of the People, that they were not to suffer *Pompeys* power to be joynd with *Crassus*, by meanes of this Office: for then his Authority would be too great and strong, and therefore, that of necessity one of these two were to be denied. For

For this cause therefore; the good men tooke *Domitius* part, and did encourage him to go on with his suit, assuring him of aide under-hand of divers, which durst not be seen openly for fear of those two great men, who at the day of the Election would procure him voyces in his favour. *Pompey* and *Crassus* mistrusting this, made *Domitius* be set upon, going with Torch-light before day into the Field of *Mars*, where the Election was alwaies made: and first striking the Torch-bearer that went before him, they hurt him so fore, that he fell down dead at his feet. Then they laid at the rest in like case, who finding themselves cruelly hurt, ran away every man of them, and left *Domitius* and *Cato* poit alone. But *Cato*, notwithstanding he was hurt in one of his Armes, still held *Domitius* fast, and prayed him to tarry, and not to leave to defend the liberty of their Countrey, against Tyrants, which plainly shewed after what manner they would governe, sith by such wicked meanes they aspired to tyrannicall Government. All this notwithstanding, *Domitius* would tarry no longer, but betook him to his legges, and ran home. This were *Crassus* and *Pompey* without deniaff proclaimed Consuls. *Cato* never yeilded therefore, but came and sued to be Prator, because that thereby he might yet make it some strength and countenance to him against their Consulship, that being no private person, he should have some better Authority to resist them that were the chiefest persons. But they fearing, that the Pratorship by the elimation of *Cato*, would come to equall their Authority of the Consulship: first assembled the Senate (the most part of the Senators not hearing of it) and in that assembly caused the Senate to decree: that all such as were chosen Prators, should presently go to their charge, not attending the time and liberty appointed by the Law, during which time men might accuse those which had bought the voyces of the People with Money. Then having by this colour and Decree set ill-doers at liberty, without fear of punishment, they pretending to use corruption, did preferre some of their own Ministers to make suite for the Pratorship, themselves giving Money to corrupt the People, and being present at the Election. But notwithstanding all these practises, the Vertue and reputation of *Cato* overcame them. For the People had him in so great reverence, that they thought it too shamefull a part to sell *Cato* by voyces, who deserved rather to be hired to take the Pratorship upon him. Then the first Tribe being called to give their voyces, declared him Prator. *Pompey* seeing that, straight brake off the assembly, making a shamefull lye, telling that he heard it thunder: the which the Romans do marvellously detest, and will conclude nothing when it thundreth. Howbeit afterwards they gave more Money then they had done before, and thereby drave away the chiefest men out of the Field of *Mars*, and by practise obtained, that *Varinius* was chosen Prator for *Cato*. And the report went, that they that had so wickedly given their voyces, feeling themselves pricked in conscience, fled immediately out of the Field: and the honest men that remained, were both very sorry and angry, for the injury they had offered *Cato*. At that time one of the Tribunes keeping an assembly of the City, *Cato* stood up, and told (as if he had prophesied) before them all, what would happen to the Common-wealth by these practises, and stirred up the People against *Pompey* and *Cesar*, saying: that they were guilty of those things; and therefore protured them to be done, because they were afraid that if *Cato* had been Prator, he would too narrowly have sifted out their devices. In fine, *Cato* going home to his house, had more company to waite upon him alone, then all the other Prators that had been chosen. When *Caius Trebonius*, Tribune of the People, had preferred a Law for the dividing of the Provinces into the new Consuls, *Spain* and *Africa* unto the one, and *Aegypt* and *Syria* unto the other, with full power to make Warre as they thought good both by Sea and Land: all other men having no hope to keep it back, did let it alone, and spak nothing to contrary it. Then *Cato* getting up into the Pulpit for Orations, before the People began to give their voyces, could hardly have two houres space to speak: but at length, they perceiving that he delayed time by foretelling things to come, would suffer him to speak no longer, but sent a Sergeant to him, and plucked him by force out of the Pulpit. But when he was beneath, and cried out notwithstanding, and divers gave good eare unto him: the Sergeant went to him again, and took him, and carried him out of the Market place. Howbeit the Officer had no sooner left him, but he went straight towards the Pulpit for Orations, and there cried out more vehemently then before, and willed the People to have an eye to aid the liberty of their Common-wealth, which went to ruine. When he oftentimes together did this, *Trebonius* the Tribune being mad withall, commanded his Sergeant to carry him to Prison. The People followed him hard notwithstanding, to hear what he said unto them. Whereupon *Trebonius* fearing stirre, was forced to command his Sergeant to let *Cato* go. So *Cato* drave off all that day without any matter concluded: The next morning notwithstanding, the contrary Faction having partly put the Romans in fear, and won the other part also by faire words and Money, and by force of Armes, likewise kept *Aquilinus*, one of the Tribunes, from coming out of the Senate, and after they had also violently driven *Cato* out of the Market-place, for saying that it thundred, and having hurt many men, and also slain some out of hand in the Market-place: in the end they forcibly passed the Decree by voyces of the People. Many being offended therewith, went a company of them together to pluck down *Pompeys* Images: but *Cato* would not suffer them. And afterwards also, when they preferred another Law for the prorogation of the Provinces and Armies which *Cesar* demanded, *Cato* would speake no more to the People to hinder it, but protested unto *Pompey* himself, that he saw not how he plucked *Cesar* upon him, and that he should feel the weight of his force before he looked for it: and then, when he could neither suffer nor remedy it, he would even cast his burthen and himself upon the Common-wealth, and too late would remember *Cato's* warnings, which were privately as profitable for *Pompey*; as openly just and reasonable for the Common-wealth. *Cato* used many of these perswasions sundry times unto him, but *Pompey* never made account of them: for he would not be perswaded

Why *Cato* sued
to be Prator.

Cato put from
the Pratorship
by *Pompey*.

Cato was against
the Law for
the Provinces
of *Pompey* and
Crassus.

Cato forethrew
ed *Pompey* the
things which
happened unto
him by *Cesar*.

Cato chosen
Prætor.

Cato preferred
a Law for un-
lawfull brib-
ing.

The power of
Justice.

Marcus Faunius
Cato's friend.

swaded that *Cæsar* would ever change in that sort, and besides he trusted too much to his own power and prosperity. Furthermore, *Cato* was chosen Prætor for the next year following, in the which it appeared (though he ministered justice uprightly) that he rather de faced and impaired the majesty and dignity of his Office, then that he gave it grace and countenance by his doings: for he would oftentimes go a foot bare-legged, and without any Coate, unto his Prætors Chaire, and there give sentence of life and death, otherwiles of men of great account. And some report, that he would give Audience when he had dined, and drunk Wine: but that is untrue. Now *Cato* perceiving that the Citizens of Rome were marred by bribes and gifts of those which aspired unto Offices, and that the People made it an Art and faculty to gaine by: to root this Vice altogether out of the Common-wealth, he perswaded the Senate to make a Law, that such as hereafter should be chosen Consuls or Prætors, should (if there were no man to accuse them) come and offer themselves before the Judges, and taking their Oath, should truly declare what meanes they had used to attain to their Office. This offended the Suiters for the Offices, but much more the mercenary multitude. Whereupon, a great number of them went in a morning together where he kept his Audience, and all cried out upon him, reviled him and threw Stones at him: inasmuch as they that were there, were forced to flie thence, and himself also was driven out of the place by the preece of the People, and had much adoe to get to the Pulpit for Orations, where standing on his feet, he presently pacified the tumult of the People, by the boldnesse and constancy of his countenance only. Then when all was pacified by the present perswasions he used, aptly spoken to purpose for the instant, they giving attentive eare, without stirr or uproare. The Senate giving him great commendation therefore he told them roundly and plainly: but I have no cause to praise you, to leave a Prætor in such danger of his life, offering no aid to helpe him. But the Suiters for the Offices, they were in a marvellous case: for one way, they were afraid to give Money to buy the Peoples voices; and on the other side, they were afraid also if any other did it, that they should go without their suite. So they were all agreed together, every man to put down twelve Myriades and a half a piece, and then they should make their suite justly and uprightly: and whosoever were taken faulty, and that had otherwise made his way by corruption, that he should loofe the Money he had laid down. This agreement being concluded between them, they chose *Cato* (as it is reported) for their Arbitrator, and Keeper of all the same Money. This match was made in *Cato's* house, where they all did put in caution or sureties to answer the Money: the which he took, but would not meddle with the Money. The day being come, *Cato* assisting the Tribune that governed the Election, and carefully marking how they did give their voices: he spied one of the Suiters for the Office break the Accord agreed upon, and condemned him to pay the forfeiture unto the rest. But they greatly commending his justice and integrity, forgave the forfeiture, thinking it punishment enough unto him that had forfeited, to be condemned by *Cato*. But thereby *Cato* procured himself the displeasure of the other Senators, for that he seemed therein to take upon him the power and authority over the whole Court and Election. For there is no Vertue, whereof the honour and credit doth procure more envie, then justice doth: because the People do commonly respect and reverence that more then any other. For they do not honour them as they do valiant men, nor have them in admiration, as they do wise men: but they love and trust them better. As for the two first, the one they are afraid of, and the other they distrust: beside, they suppose that valiancy and wisdom cometh rather by the benefit of nature, then of our intent and choice, esteeming wisdom as a readinesse of conceit; and fortitude, a preece and courage of the minde. For every man may be just that will, and therefore injustice is of all other Vices most shamefull: for it is a willfull and malicious default, and therefore cannot be excused. Lo, this was the cause why all the Noble men in manner were against *Cato*, as though he onely had overcome them. *Pompey*, he thought that the estimation of *Cato* was altogether the discountenance of his power and greatness, and therefore did daily raise up many Railers against him. Of them *Publius Clodius* that seditious Tribune, who was again fallen in friendship with *Pompey*, he accused *Cato* and cried out upon him, how he had robbed the Common-wealth of a wonderful Treasure, by his Commission in *CYPRUS*: and that he was Enemy unto *Pompey*, because he did refuse to marry his Daughter. *Cato* thereto made answer, that he had brought more Gold and Silver out of *CYPRUS*, into the Treasure of *ROME*, without the allowance of either Horse or Souldier, then *Pompey* had done with all his Triumphs and Wars, with the which he had troubled all the world. And moreover, that he did never seeke alliance with *Pompey*, nor that he thought him unworthy of it, but because he saw he dealt not as uprightly in the Common-wealth as he himself did. I, said he, have refused a Province offered me when I came out of my Prætorship: but *Pompey* hath taken some by force, and given away unto others. And to conclude, he lent *Cæsar* not long since, an Army of six thousand men to serve him in the Wars in *GAULE*: the which he never required of us, nor *Pompey* granted them him by our consent. But we see, that so many Armies, Armour and Weapons, so many men and horses by common pleasures of our private Citizens, given and lent at our charge: and *Pompey* himself reserving onely the Name of Emperour, and Lieutenant-Generall, assigneth over his Armies and Provinces to the government of others, whilst he himself besiegeth here the Wallies of the City, with seditious and tumultuous Election of Officers, craftily undermining thereby the Statute of the Common-wealth, to bring all to confusion, that he himself might be absolute Prince, and rule alone. Thus was he revenged of *Pompey*. Among *Cato's* friends, he had own called *Marcus Faunius*, such a one as *Apollodorus* PHALERIAN was said to be in old time, unto *Socrates*, who did counterfeit to be another himself, in doing all things as he did. This man man would be farr out of reason, and passionate in his walke, storming like a drunkard. He one year made suite to be *Ædilis*, but he was rejected. Howbeit *Cato* furthered his suite, marked, that the Tables wherein the voyces were written, were all one hand.

Cato doth set
forth the Praice
for *Faunius*
Ædilis.

Cato's wife
counsels for
Praice.

Pompey created
Sole-Consull,
by *Cato's* sen-
tence.

hand. So he finding out the falshood, appealed thereupon unto the Tribunes, and made the Election voide for that time. After that *Faunius* was created *Ædilis*, *Cato* did helpe him forth in all the other charges of his Office, and specially in setting forth playes in the Theater, which are customably done at the coming in of every such new Officer, to give the People pastime: and gave unto the common Playes and Dancers in those Playes, no golden Crowns, as other *Ædilis* did, but Crowns of Wild-Olive Twiggs, as they commonly use in *GREECE* at the Olympian Games. And where others gave unto the poor rich Gifts, he gave the *GREGIANS* Leeks, Lettices, Redishes, and Peares: and unto the *ROMANS*, they had Earthen Pots full of Wine, Porke, Figges, Cucumbers, and Fagots of Wood of small value. Inasmuch as some thought scorn of them they were so meane, others were very glad of them, seeing that *Cato* which was severe and heard of nature, had a doing in them, and by little and little they turned this austericy of his into pleasure. In fine, *Faunius* himself sitting down amongst the People, which looked upon the Players, clapped his hands for joy at *Cato*: and cried out to him, that he should give them good rewards that played well, alluring them also about to do the like, and told them that he had made *Cato* the whole Ruler of those Sports. At the self-same time, *Curio*, *Faunius* Colleague and Companion in the Office of *Ædilis*, had likewise goodly Playes in another Theater: but all the People forsooke his, and went to see *Faunius* Playes, who late among them like a private man, and *Cato* as the Master of the Playes. *Cato* did this in scorn and mockery of vaine charge and Expences, which men are wont to bestow in such trifles, shewing thereby, that whosoever will make any Playes, he should make the charge but a sport also, furnishing it onely with a convenient grate, but with no vaine expence or charge about such a trifle. Shortly after, when *Scipio*, *Hypseus*, and *Milo*, sued all three together to be Consuls, not onely by bribery of Money (a common fault then in suing for any of the Offices in the Common-wealth) but by plaine force of Armes, slaying and killing as in a civil War, they were so desperat and insolent: some preferred a Law, that they should make *Pompey* Præfident in these Elections, because men should move their suit after a lawfull sort. But *Cato* straight was against it, saying, that the Law could have no safety by *Pompey*, but *Pompey* might have safety by the Law. Notwithstanding, when he saw this trouble continue of a long time, without any Consuls in *ROME*, and that daily there were three Campes in the Market-place, that it was almost impossible to prevent the mischief at hand, and to stay that it should go no farther: then he thought it better, that the Senate of their own good wils, rather then by compulsion, should put the Government of the State into *Pompey's* hands alone, chusing the lesser evil, to withstand the greater, and so to yeeld to the absolute Government without constraint, which the sedition would bring it unto. Therefore *Bibulus*, *Cato's* friend and kinsman, made a motion to the Senate, that they would chuse *Pompey* Sole-Consull. For, said he, either the Common-wealth shall be well governed by him, or else *ROME* shall serve an ill Lord. *Cato* then rising up, beyond all mens expectation confirmed *Bibulus* opinion, and said: that the City were better to have one Sovereigne Magistrate then none, and that he hoped *Pompey* could give present order for the pacifying of this confusion, and that he would be careful to preserve the City, when he saw that they trusted him with the Government thereof. Thus was *Pompey* by *Cato's* meanes chosen Sole-Consull. Then he sent for *Cato* to come to his Gardens to him, which were in the Suburbs of the City. *Cato* went thither, and was received with as great honour and courtesie of *Pompey* as could be devised: and in the end, after he had given him great thanks for the honours he had done him, he prayed him to afford him his advice and counsell in his Government. *Cato* answered him thus, That he had not spoken any thing before that time in respect of any ill will he bare him, neither that he delivered this last opinion of his in respect of his friendship, but wholly for the Common-wealths sake: howbeit otherwise, that for his own private Affaires, if he thought good to use his advice, whensoever it pleased to aske his opinion, he would tell him the best he could. But for common Causes, that he would alwaies tell what he thought, though he never asked him: and in fine, he performed all he said. For, first of all, when *Pompey* did set grievous Penalties and new fines upon their heads, which had bought the Peoples voyces for Money: *Cato* counseled him to provide for things to come, and to let that alone which was already past. For, said he, it is a hard thing to determine any certaine time, in the which a man should seeke to reforme the faults that are past: and furthermore, if the punishments appointed were newer then the offences committed, then they should do wrong unto them that were already accused, to punish them by a new Law which they had not offended. Afterwards also, certaine men of good calling (*Pompey's* friends) being accused, *Cato* perceiving that *Pompey* grew remisse, and yeelded in many things, he sharply reproved and reformed him. Furthermore, where *Pompey* had by Law taken away the praises which were wont to be spoken of the offenders that were accused, he himself notwithstanding having written an Oration in the praise of *Munatius Plancus*, sent it unto the Judges, whilst his Cause was a hearing. *Cato* being one of the Judges at that time, stopped his eares with both his hands, and would not have it read. Wherefore *Plancus* refused him for one of his Judges, after his Cause was pleaded unto: howbeit he was condemned notwithstanding. To conclude, *Cato* was such a grieve and trouble unto them that were accused, that they could not tell well how to deal with him. For, once they durst not let him be any of their Judges, neither could they well also refuse him. For there were many that were condemned, which refusing *Cato*, seemed unto others that they were guilty: and many also were shamefully reproved, because they would not accept *Cato* for their Judge, when he was offered them. Things proceeding in this sort at *ROME*, *Cæsar* remained in *GAULE* with his Army, where he made Wars: nevertheless he wan him friends still in *ROME*, by Gifts and Money, and made himselfe very strong. Now appeared *Cato's* Predictions and Forewarnings true unto *Pompey*, and began to quicken his Spirits which had slept so long, and made him then to consider of the danger, the which

Cato sued to be
Consull to re-
sist Caesar.

which before he could not be perswaded to beleve. But perceiving his slacknesse and fear withall, doubting how to proceed : to prevent *Caesars* practises, *Cato* determined to sue to be Consull, with intent either to make him leave his Army, or else to finde out the practise he intended. *Cato's* Competitors, they were both of them very honest men also, of the which *Sulpicius* had received great honour and preferment by *Cato's* credit and authority : in respect whereof many thought that it was scant honestly done of *Sulpicius*, to shew himself so unthankfull, as to stand against *Cato* in this suite. Howbeit, *Cato* never complained of the matter, but said, that it was no marvell he would give place to no man in that, sith it was the greatest good hap that ever came unto him. This notwithstanding he perswaded the Senate to make a Law, that from thenceforth, such as sued for any Office, they should themselves be Suiters to the People, and not preferre their suite by others. This caused the People to be more offended with him then before, because thereby he did not onely take away their fingering of Money, which they got by their voices in Elections : but tooke from them the meanes they had also to pleasure many, bringing them now into poverty and contempt. He therefore having no face to flatter the People and to curry favour with them, but rather sticking to his grave manner and modest life, then to seeke the dignity of a Consull by such meanes, made suite himselfe in person, and would not suffer his friends to take the ordinary course which might win the Peoples hearts, whereupon he was put by his Consullship. This deniall was wont not onely to have made the parties refused, very sorrowfull, but their friends and kinsmen also greatly affamed a long time after. Howbeit *Cato* made no reckoning of that, but went the next morning, and played at Tennis with his friends in the Field of *Mars* and after he had dined, walked againe in the Market-place, as his manner was, without Shooes on his feet, and Coat. *Cicero* blamed him much for that, because the Common-wealth requiring then such a Consull as he, he had not carefully endeavoured himselfe by courtesie and gentle meanes to win the favour of the People, neither would ever after make suite for it, although at another time he sued to be Praetor. Thereunto *Cato* answered, that for the Praetorship he was not denied it by the good-will of the People, but rather for that they were bribed with Money. And for the Election of the Consuls, where there was no deceit used, he knew plainly he went without it, for his manners which the People misliked : the which he thought were no wise mans part to change for any mans pleasure, nor yet by making the like suite again to hazard the refusal. Furthermore, *Caesar* making Warre with very stout Nations, and having with no small danger and travell subdued them : and having also set upon the *GERMANS* with whom the *ROMANS* were at peace, and also slaine three hundred thousand Persons: his friends made suite that the People should do solemne Sacrifice to give thanks unto the gods. But *Cato* in open Senate was of opinion, that they should deliver *Caesar* into their hands whom he had injured, to receive such punishment as they thought good: to the end the whole offence, for the breach of peace, might be cast upon him, that the City might be no partaker of it, sith they could not do withall. Nevertheless, said he, we are to do Sacrifices unto the gods, to give them thanks, for that they turned not the revenge of the fury and rashnesse of the Captaine, upon our poor Souldiers which were in no fault, but have pardoned the Common-wealth. *Caesar* being advertised thereof, wrote a Letter unto the Senate, containing many Accusations against *Cato*. The Letter being read, *Cato* rose, not as a man put in a chafe with choler, nor pricked with envie, but coldly and quietly (as if he had long before premeditated what he would say) declared that the Accusations which *Caesar* heaped against him in his Letters, were but pretty mockes and sleights which he had gathered together, to make the People merry withall. But on the other side, when he began to unrip his whole intents and practises from the beginning, not as if he had been his Enemy, but rather a Confederate with him in his conspiracy, declaring that they were not the *GERMANS*, nor the *GAULES*, which they were to be afraid of, but of himselfe, if they were wise : he thereupon so offended the Senate, and made such stirr among them, that *Caesars* friends repented them they had caused his Letters to be read in the Senate, giving *Cato* thereby occasion justly to complaine of *Caesar*, and to alleadge much good matter against him. At that time therefore there was nothing decreed in the Senate against *Caesar*, but this was said onely, that it was good reason to let him have a Successour. Then *Caesars* friends made suite that *Pompey* should put away his Army, and resigne up the Provinces he kept, or else that they should compell *Caesar* no more then him to do it. Then *Cato* opened his mouth, and said, the thing was now come to passe, which he had ever told them of, and that *Caesar* came to oppresse the Common-wealth, openly turning the Army against it, which deceitfully he had obtained the same. All this prevailed not, neither could he thereby win any thing of the Senate, because the People favoured *Caesar*, and would alwaies have him great; for the Senate did beleve all that he said, but for all that they feared the People. When news was brought that *Caesar* had won the City of *ARMINUM*, and was coming on with his Army towards *ROME*, then every man looked upon *Cato*, and the People and *Pompey* confessed, that he onely from the beginning had found out the marke *Caesar* shot at, and had hit the white of his slie device. Then said *Cato* unto them, If you would have beleevd me, my Lords, and followed my counsell, you should not now have been afraid of one man alone, neither should you also have put your onely hope in one man. *Pompey* answered thereunto, that *Cato* indeed had guessed more truly, howbeit that he also had dealt more friendly. Thereupon *Cato* gave counsell that the Senate should referre all unto *Pompeys* order : for, said he, they that can do great mischief, know also how to helpe it. *Pompey* perceiving that he had no Army convenient about him to tarry *Caesars* coming, and that the men also which he had, were but faint-hearted, he forsooke the City. *Cato* being determined to go with him, sent his younger Sonne before unto *Antinium*, which lay in the country of the *BRUTIANS*, and tooke his Eldest Soone with him. Now because he was to provide a stay

Cato was denied
the Consull-
ship.

Cicero blamech
Cato.

Cato's opinion
against Caesar.

Cato inveigh-
eth against
Caesar.

Cato Prog-
noscicated Ca-
sars tyranny.

Cato followeth
Pompey.

stay and governor of his house and daughters, he took *Martia* againe, which was left a widdow and very rich, for that *Hortensius* dying made her his heir of all that he had. Thence *Caesar* upbraided *Cato* much, reproving his covetousnesse to marry for goods. For said he, if he had need of a wife, why then did he before grant her to another? If he had no need of a woman, why then did he take her afterwards againe? Unless she were before a bait unto *Hortensius*, to keep her whilest she was young, that he might have her again when she was rich. But against that methinks it is sufficient to recite these verses of *Enrypides* :

Unlikelyhoods first I disprove. For why? what man can say.
That ever feare made Hercules to turne his face away?

For I take it to be all one, to reprove *Hercules* cowardlinesse and *Catoes* covetousnesse. But if his marriage be to be reprov'd, peradventure it is in another sort. For so soon as he had married *Martia* againe, he left his house and his daughters to her government, and followed *Pompey*. But after that time, men report that he never polled his head, clipped his beard, nor ware any Garland, but to his dying day, lamented and bewailed in his heart, the misery and clamity of his Country, whether they had victory, or were overcome. So having the Province of *SICILE* allotted to him, he went into *SYRACUSA*. There understanding that *Asinius Pollio* was arrived at *MESSINA*, with men of war from his enemies, *Cato* sent unto him, to know wherefore he came thither, *Pollio* againe asked of him, who was the causer of all this war? Againe, when *Cato* advertised that *Pompey* had forsaken *ITALIE*, and that he lay in Campe beyond the sea by the City of *DYRRACHUM*, then he said, he saw a marvellous great change and uncertainty in the providence of the gods: that when *Pompey* did all things beyond reason, and out of course, he was invincible, and now that he sought to preserve his Country, he saw he lacked his former good hap. Now he knew he was strong enough at that time to drive *Asinius Pollio* out of *SICILE* if he would but because there came a grater aide unto him, he would not plague that Island, with the misery of warre. Then after he had advised the *SYRACUSANS* to take the stronger part, and to looke to their safety : he tooke the sea and went towards *Pompey*. When he was come unto him, he did alwayes counsell him to prolong the warre, hoping still of some Treaty of Peace : and would in no case they should come to fight any battell, where the weaker part should of necessity be put to the sword by the stronger. Therefore he perswaded *Pompey* and the counsellors about him, to establish certaine lawes to this effect. That they should sacke no City in this warre, the which belonged unto the Empire of *ROME* : and also, that that they should kill no Citizen of *ROME*, but in fury of battell, when their swords were in their hands. Thereby he wanne himselfe great honour, and brought many men to take *Pompeys* part, by the lenity and clemency he used unto them that were taken. Thereupon, *Cato* being sent into *ASIA*, to aide them that had commission to presse Ships and men of warre, he tooke his siter *Servilia* with him, and the boy which *Lucullus* had by her : for all the time of her widow-hood, she had followed *Cato*, and thereby had worne out her ill name she had before, sith they saw she had so willingly given her self to follow him in his flying, and contented her selfe with his straight manner of life. This notwithstanding, *Caesar* did not let to shame her to *Cato*. *Pompeys* Capaines had no need of *Cato* any where but at *RHODES*. For he wanne the people there with his courteous usage and perswasion, leaving with them *Servilia* and her little sonne, and went from thence to *Pompeys* Campe, who had leaved a great Army both by sea and land. There did *Pompey* most of all discover his mind and intent. For first he meant to have given *Cato* the charge of the Army by sea, which were above five hundred ships of warre, besides an infinite number of Foits and Pinnaces, and such small bottomes uncovered : but suddenly considering better of it (or possibly being informed by some of his friends, that all *Catoes* regard and counsel in matters of government was, to deliver *ROME* from Tyranny, and that if he had so great a charge under him, *Caesar* being once overcome, he would also force *Pompey* to leave his Army, and so make him subject to the law) he changed his mind, notwithstanding he had already moved it to *Cato*, and leaving him, gave *Bibulus* the charge of all his Army by sea. But *Cato* therefore shewed no lesse good will unto *Pompey*, then before. For it is reported, that in a certain skirmish and conflict before the City of *DYRRACHUM*, *Pompey* encouraging his souldiers, and commanding every Captaine also to do the like in his quarter : the souldiers gave but faint ear unto them, and made no manner of shew of men whose hearts had been any while the more encouraged thereby. But when *Cato* after them all came and told them (as the time served) the reason of Philosophy, touching liberty, manhood, death, and honour, and that with a vehement affection : and last of all, ending his Oration, with calling upon the gods, turning his speech unto them, as if they had been present to have seen how valiantly the souldiers fought for the liberty of their Country : they gave such a lusty cry, and had such a brave conceit and vehement desire to fight like men, that all the Captaines were filled with good hope, and so led them to battell, where they gave such a cruel charge and firce onset upon their enemies, that they overthrew them, and put them that day to flight. Howbeit *Caesars* good fortune tooke the finall end of this victory from *Pompey*, by his over great feare and mistrust : who could not tell how to take the benefit of his victory, as we have written more amply in his life. But when all the rest joyced that they had done so noble an exploit, and made their vaunts of the great advantage they had of their enemies : *Cato* to the contrary bewailed the calamity of his Country, and lamented that cursed ambition which caused so many good and valiant Citizens of one self City, to kill and murder one another. After this overthrow, *Caesar* taking his way into *THESSALIE*, *Pompey* raised his Campe to follow him, and leaving a great power at *DYRRACHUM*, of men, armour, munition, and friends : he gave *Cato* the charge of them all, and

Caesar reproveh
Catoes covet-
ousnesse.

Cato is sent in-
to Sicile.

Cato leaveth
Sicile.

Catoes lawes in
Pompeys Army.

Why Pompey
changed his
mind for the
government of
the Army by
sea.

Why Pompey left Cato at Dyrrachium.

Cato saved Cicero's life, from Pompey's son.

Cato went into Africke.

Psilles, be men which beat the flinging of serpent.

* Men in old time bathed and washed themselves, and then laid them down in their bed to suppe. The modesty and noble mind of Cato.

Cato joyneeth with Scipio in Africke.

Cato was made governor of the City of Utica.

fifteen Ensignes of footemen besides. The which he did for the fear and mistrust he had of him, being assured, that if by ill fortune he should lose the battel, he knew well enough that he could not commit them to a trustier man then he: but on the other side if he wan the victory, he doubted sore that he could not command as he would, where Cato was. There were also many other Noblemen, as a man would say, cast away, and left at DYRRACHIUM with Cato. In fine, the overthrow of the battel at PHARSALIA being blown abroad, Cato resolved with himself if Pompey were dead, that he would passe over all his men into ITALY, and then like a banished man would himself alone wander as far as he could from the tyranny: and contrarily, if he were alive, that then he would keep his Army together for him, as long as he could. With this determination, he passed over the Sea into the Isle of CORFU, where Pompey's Army by sea lay. There Cato finding Cicero, he would have surrendered up his charge unto him, as to a man of a greater dignity, for that he had been Consul, and Cato only but Prætor. Howbeit Cicero would in no wise receive it, but returned immediately into ITALIE. Cato then perceiving that Pompey the younger (son unto Pompey the Great) of a rash and haughty mind, would have punished all them that went into ITALY, and left the Army by sea, and that specially he was bent first of all to begin with Cicero: Cato reproved him privately for it, so that he certainly saved Cicero's life, and many other moe besides. Now Cato supposing that Pompey the Great had saved himself in AFRICK, he determined to take the seas, to meet him with all his men: but before he took ship, he gave all men leave to depart that were not willing to follow him. Cato being arrived in AFRICK, sailing up and down the coast there, he met with SEPTIMIUS, the youngest son of Pompey, who first told him, that his father was slain in AFRICK: when the souldiers heard it, they took it very heavily, and not one of them after the death of Pompey the Great, would serve under any other Capitaine then Cato. He thereupon being ashamed, and thinking it pity also to leave so many noble and good men that had served so faithfully under him, without a Captain, not knowing what way to take, nor whither to go: at their request he was contented to take charge of them, and went first unto the City of CYRENE, where not many dayes before, the Citizens had shut the Gates against Labienus. Being there, it was told him that Scipio, Pompey's father in law, was gotten unto King Juba, who had received him, and that Atilius Varius, unto whom Pompey had given the charge of the Province of AFRICK, was in their company with an Army, and determined to go joyn with them. So he went by land in the Winter time, and had gotten a marvellous number of Asses together, to carry water and victuals, which followed him with a great number of Carts besides, and of those men, which the AFRICANS call PSILLES, to wit, they that do heal the stinging of serpents, and do sucke out the poison with their mouthes, and do furthermore charme and enchaunt the Snakes, that they have no power to do any hurt. He was seven dayes together marching continually, and went a foot as a guide unto his men, without helpe of horse or beast. From that day forth, on the which he understood of the battel lost at PHARSALIA, he never supped, but sitting, * and added that unto the rest of his sorrow, that he never laid him down, but when he went to bed for all night. Cato having passed the Winter in LYBIA, he brought his souldiers into the field, which were about ten thousand persons. The affairs on their side had but hard successe, for the contention and variance betwixt Scipio and Varius, for the which, they both flattered King Juba to win his favour: being a marvellous proud man, for his greatnesse and riches: as he shewed the first time he spake with Cato. For when Cato came, he caused his own Chaire to be set betwixt Scipio and Cato, to have the honour to be in the midst. But Cato perceiving it, tooke up his own Chaire, and set it on the other side by Scipio to put him in the midst, notwithstanding that he was his enemy, and had written a shameful booke against him. Many make no account of this fact of Cato, but reprove him, because that walking one day with Philostratus in SICILE, he gave him the upper hand, honouring him for his Philosophy. Thus Cato did pull down the pride of the King at that time, who before had used Scipio and Varius as his noblemen and subjects: howbeit Cato did reconcile them together againe. Furthermore, when all the company prayed him to take charge of the whole Army and that Scipio himself and Varius both, did first give him place, and willingly resigned unto him the honour to command the whole Campe: he answered them, he would not offend the law, sith he made warre onely to preserve the authority and priviledge thereof, neither would take upon him to command all, himself being but Vice-prætor, where there was a Vice-consul present. For Scipio was created Proconsul, and furthermore, the people had a certaine confidence that their affairs would prosper the better if they had but the name of a Scipio to lead them in AFRICK. Now when Scipio was General over them, he would straight, for Juba's sake, have put all the inhabitants of the City of UTICA (without respect of age) unto the sword, and have razed the houses to the ground, as those that had taken Cæsar's part. Howbeit Cato would not suffer him, but protesting unto them that were present, and calling the gods to witnesse in open counsell, with great difficulty he saved the poor people of UTICA from that cruel Tragedy and slaughter. Afterwards, partly at the request of the people, and partly also at Scipio's instance, Cato took upon him to keep the City, fearing lest by treason, or against their wills it should come into Cæsar's hands: because it was a strong place of situation, and well replenished with all things necessary for him that should keep it. Cato did both furnish it, and also fortifie it. For he brought in great store of Corne, he repaired the rampiers of the walls, made great high Towers, and cast deep trenches round about the City, passing them in: and betwixt the Trenches and the Town, he lodged all the young men of UTICA, and compelled them to deliver up their armour and weapons, and kept all the rest within the City it self, carefully providing that never a man of them should be hurt by the ROMANS; and besides, did also send corne, armour, munition and money unto the Campe: so that the City of UTICA

was

was the staple and store-house of the wars. Moreover, as he had before counselled Pompey not to come to battel, the like counsel he now gave also unto Scipio, not to hazard battel against a man of great skill and experience in wars, but to take time, whereby, by little and little, he should consume the power and strength of Cæsar's tyranny. But Scipio was so stout, that he regarded not Cato's counsel, but wrote other while unto him, twitting him with his cowardlinesse in this manner: That it was enough for him to be safe in a good City, compassed about with walls, though otherwise he fought not to hinder men to be valiant, to execute any enterprize, as occasion was offered. Cato wrote again unto him, that he was ready to go into ITALY with his footmen and horsemen which he had brought into AFRICK, to draw Cæsar from them, and to turn him against him. Scipio made but a sport at it. Then Cato shewed plainly, that he repent him that he had given him the preferment to be General of the Army, because he saw he would but fondly prosecute this war; and also, that if he chanced to overcome, he could not moderately use the victory against his Countermen. Then he began to mistrust the good successe of this war (and so he told his friends) for the Generals hastinesse and unskilfulnesse: and yet if beyond expectation it fell out well, and that Cæsar were overthrown, he would never dwell at ROMA any more, but would flee the cruelty and bitterness of Scipio, who even at that present time did proudly threaten many. But in the end, that fell out sooner then looked for. For a post came to him late that night, who but three dayes before departed from the Campe, and brought news that all was lost, in a great battel, by the City of THAPSUS, which Cæsar had won: that he had taken both Campes; that Scipio and King Juba were fled with a few men, and that all the rest of their Army was slaine. These news did put the Citizens in such a fear and maze (and specially being in the war, and in the night-time): that for very fear they could scant keep themselves within the walls of their City. But Cato meeting with them, stayed them that ran up and down crying in the streets, and did comfort them the best he could. Yet he took not all their fear from them, though he brought them again unto themselves from the extasie they were in, declaring unto them that the losse was nothing so great as it was made; and that it was a common matter to enlarge such news with words enough. By these persuasions, he somewhat pacified the tumult and uprore, and the next morning by break of day he made a proclamation, that the three hundred men which he had chosen for his counsellors, should come and assemble in the Temple of Jupiter, they all being Citizens of ROMA, which for trafficke of Marchandise lay in AFRICK, and all the ROMAN Senators and their children also. Now whilst they gathered themselves together, Cato himself went very gravely with a set modest countenance, as if no such matter had happened, having a little book in his hand, which he read as he went. This book contained the store and preparation of Munition he had made for this war, as Corne, Armour, Weapons, Bowes, Slings, and Footmen. When they were all assembled, he began greatly to commend the good love and faithfulness of these three hundred ROMANS, which had profitably served their Country with their persons, money, and counsell; and did counsel them not to depart one from another, as men having no hope, or otherwise seeking to save themselves scatteringly. "For remaining together, as Cæsar would lesse despise them, if they would make war against him: and would also sooner pardon them if they craved mercy of him. Therefore he counselled them to determine what they would do, and, for his owne part, he said he would not mislike whatsoever they determined of: for if their minds followed their fortune, he would thinke this change to proceed of the necessity of time; but if they were resolved to withstand their misfortune, and to hazard themselves to defend their liberty, he then would not onely commend them, but having their noble courage in admiration, would himself be their Chieftain and companion, even to prove the fortune of their Country to the uttermost. The which was not UTICA nor ADRUMETUM, but the City selfe of ROMA: the which oftentimes through her greatnesse had raised her self from greater dangers and calamities. Furthermore, that they had many wayes to save themselves, and the greatest mean of all was this, that they should make war with a man, who by reason of his warres was compelled to be in many places. For SPAINES of one side was up against him, and took part with the younger Pompey: and the City of ROMA also not being used to be bridled with the snaffle of such insolency, could not abide it, but would rather rise with any other change. Furthermore, that they were not to refuse any danger, but to take example of their enemy: who to work his mischievous intent, spareth not his person in any danger. And contrarily also, that unto them the uncertainty of the war, if victory followed, would make them happy; as also in being overthrown, their death would turn to immortal glory. Notwithstanding, they were to think of the matter among themselves, and to make their prayers to the gods, that in recompence of their vertue and good service which they had shewed thereunto, they would grant them grace to determine for the best. After Cato had ended his Oration, there were divers of them that were stirred up by his lively persawfions, but the most part of them were encouraged by his constancy and noble mind, and also by his kindness: so that they presently forgot the danger they were in, and praying him to command their persons, goods, and weapons, as he thought good, taking him for their only invincible Captain, of whom fortune had no power, thinking it better to die obeying his counsell, then to save themselves, forsaking so valiant and worthy a man. Then, when one of the assembly made a motion that they should make their bondmen free, and that divers also did confirme it, Cato said, he would by no means suffer it, because it was neither meet nor lawful: howbeit if their masters would manumisse them, that he was contented to receive them for souldiers that could wear any weapon. Divers promised him to do it: and Cato commanded their names should be enrolled that would, and so went his way. Immediately after, letters were brought him from King Juba and Scipio: of the which, King Juba was hidden in a mountaine with

Scipio despiseth Cato's counsel.

Cato's constancy in extremity

Cato's Oration to the Romans at Utica.

K k 2

few

The equity of
Cato
Cato forsaken
of three hun-
dred Romans
Merchants at
Utica.

Catoes pity and
regard unto the
Senators.

Cato an earnest
suitor for the
Senators.

few men with him, who sent unto him to know what he would determine to do. For if he meant to forsake UTICA, he would carry him there: and if otherwise he determined to keep UTICA, then that he would come and help him with an Army. *Scipio* on the other side riding at Anchor, at a point of the land not far from UTICA, said for the like answer. Then *Cato* thought it best to stay the messengers which had brought him their letters, till he saw what was the determination of the three hundred. For all they that were Senators of ROMANS, were very glad men, and did presently make their bondmen free, and gave them weapons. But the other three hundred which were Merchant venturers, and that lived by usury and exchange, who had the most part of their goods in slaves and bondmen, did not long follow *Catoes* counsel, but like men, whose bodies soon receive heat, and are soon cold again when they are once gone from the fire: even so those Merchants, while *Cato* was present among them, had some good pretty will and desire, but when by themselves they had cast their account, the fear they had of *Cesar* made them forget the reverence they bare unto *Cato*, and unto their duty. For, said they, what are we, and what is he whom we disdain to obey? Is it not *Cesar* himself, who at this day is Lord and Emperor of ROMANS? Never a one of us is *Scipio*, *Pompey*, or *Cato*; and yet now, when all men for fear (and in manner compelled) do yeeld and submit themselves, we will needs take upon us with in the walls of UTICA to fight for the liberty of ROMANS against him, for whom *Cato* flying with *Pompey* forsooke ITALY: and we now make our bondmen free to fight with *Cesar*, having no better liberty our selves then it pleaseth him to give us. Let us therefore now know our selves whilst we have time, and crave mercy at his hands that is the strongest, and send unto him to pray him to pardon us. The greatest and wisest men of those three hundred Merchants had this speech. But the most part of them sought means how to intrap the Senators, hoping the better of mercy at *Cesar*'s hand, if they did deliver them unto him. *Cato* did look for this change in them, but yet uttered not that he thought, and returned the messengers backe again unto King *Juba* and *Scipio*, and wrote unto them, that they should beware they came not near UTICA, because he did mistrust these three hundred Merchants. Now there were a great number of horsemen which had escaped from the battell, who coming towards UTICA, sent three of their company unto *Cato*, the which brought him not one self determination from all the company: For some of them meant to go unto King *Juba*, others also to joyne with *Cato*, and part of them were afraid to come into UTICA. These things being thus reported unto *Cato*, he commanded *Marcius Rubrius* to take care of these three hundred men, and to receive the names of the bondmen which they willingly manumitted, without compelling of any man. In the mean time *Cato* with all the Senators went out of UTICA to meet with these horsemen, and there he spake to the Captaines, and prayed them that they would not forsake so many Noblemen and Senators of ROMANS as were there: and that they would not have King *Juba* for their Captain before *Cato*, but to come in to UTICA, where they might save themselves the City was of such strength, and besides, so well armed and victualled for many years. The like request did the Senators also make unto them, with the teares running down their cheeks. Thereupon the Captains went and spake with their souldiers. *Cato* in the mean time set him down on a little hill, with the Senators, tarrying for answer. But then on the suddaine came *Rubrius* unto him in great haile, complaining of the tumult of these three hundred Merchants, which went about to make the City to rebell: whereupon the rest (their hearts failing them) fell to bewaile their miserable fortune. But *Cato* sought to comfort them, and then sent unto the three hundred Merchants, to pray them to have a little patience. So the Captains returned again with unreasonable demands of the horsemen. For they said that they cared not for Kings *Jubaes* pay, neither were they afraid of *Cesar*'s malice, so that they had *Cato* for their General: yet to be pend up within the wals of a City with AFRICANS, that were PHOENICIANS, and a traitorous Nation as could be, that grieved them most of all. For, said they, though now they stir not, and be quiet, yet when *Cesar* comes, they will be the first that will betray us, and cut our throats. And therefore, if *Cato* would have them to joyn with him in this war, that he should either kill or drive away all the UTICANS out of the City, and then that they would come in to it, when it was clear of all those barbarous people their enemies. *Cato* thought this a cruel and barbarous condition, nevertheless he told them that he would talke with the three hundred: and so returning again into UTICA, he spake unto them. But they then not regarding the reverence unto *Cato*, dissembling no longer, said openly, that they would not like of him whatsoever he were, that should compel them to make war with *Cesar*, both because they would not, nor could not do it. Further, there were some of them that mumbled to themselves, that the Senators, should be kept there till *Cesar* came. *Cato* over-heard them, for indeed his hearing was not very quicke. At that very instant one came to him, and told him, that the horsemen were going their way. *Cato* therefore fearing lest these three hundred Merchants would lay hands upon the Senators, he went unto them himselfe with his friends, and perceiving they were gone a great way off, he took his horse and rode after them. They rejoicing to see him come, received him among them, and prayed him to save himselfe with them. But *Cato* prayed them againe to save the Senators, and that with such affection, as it forced teares in him: besides, he held up his hands unto them, took their horses by the bridles, and themselves by their weapons, that at the length he obtained of them, that they would remaine there one day at the least to help the Senators to save themselves. So *Cato* returning with them into the City, he appointed some of them to ward at the Gates, and put others also in Garrison into the Castell: so that the three hundred Merchants quaked for fear, lest he would have been revenged of them, because of their return with him. Thereupon they sent unto *Cato*, humbly to pray him to come unto them in any case. But the Senators flocking about him, would not suffer him to go, and said, that they would

would not cast away their favior and protector, to put him into traitors hands. Then doubtlesse, all that were within UTICA plainly saw the vertue and simplicity of *Cato*, and found that there was no fraud nor deceit in him: who having long time resolved to kill himself, he onely took that extreame paines and care for others, that their lives being saved, he might then rid himself of his own. For men might easily see, though he dissembled it, that he was resolved to die. Whereupon, having comforted the Senators, he yeelded unto the requests of the three hundred Merchants, and went himself alone unto them. Then they thanked him much for his coming, and prayed him to command them, and boldly to trust them: so that he would pardon them if they could not be all *Catoes*, and would take pitie of their faint hearts, though they were not so constant and noble minded as he. For they were determined to send unto *Cesar*, specially to intreat him for him: and if that they could not obtaine pardon for him, then they were assured they could have none for themselves, and therefore would fight for the safety of him, while they had any breath in their bodies. *Cato* thanking them for their good wils, answered, that they should send quickly to crave pardon for themselves, but to aske none for him. For (said he) men that be overcome, & have offended, it standeth them upon to make humble suite, and to crave pardon: but for himselfe, he was never overcome in his life, and yet had overcome as much as he desired; and had alwayes been better then *Cesar* in justice, who onely (not himselfe) was now taken and overcome: the thing being apparently proved in fight against him which he had alwayes denied to have practised against his Country. When he had made this answer unto the three hundred Merchants, he departed from them. News being brought that *Cesar* was in his way with all his Army, coming towards UTICA: O gods, said he, then he commeth against us as against men. Then turning unto the Senators, he gave them counsel quickly to save themselves, whilst the horsemen were yet in the City. So shutting all the Gates of the City, saving that towards the haven, he appointed ships for them all, and set every thing at a stay, without tumult or disorder, no man having injury offered him, and gave every one money to make way for their safety. When *Marcius Othavius* (who came with two Legions, and Camped hard by UTICA) sent unto *Cato*, to determine which of them two should be General, he made no answer, but turning to his friends, said: How can we wonder any more, that all goeth to wrack with us, sith there is such ambition amongst us for the government, even now, when we are at the last call? In the mean time word was brought him, how the horsemen going their way were spoiling of the Citizens goods, as a lawful prey in warre. He straight ran thither himself, and the first he met withall, he took from them that they had gotten: the rest, before he came unto them, threw downe that they were carrying away, and hanging down their heads for shame, they went their way, said nothing. Then *Cato* calling all the Citizens of UTICA together, prayed them not to incense nor move *Cesar* against the three hundred, but rather to crave of him pardon for them all. Then he went againe to the peers, and there embracing his friends, and taking his leave of them all, he brought them to their ships. Now for his son, he did not counsel him to go, neither did he thinke it meet to urge him to forsake his father. Furthermore, there was one *Statilius* a young man in his company, of a noble courage, that was determined to follow the invincible constancy of *Cato*: who counselled him to take the sea, and to sail away with the rest; because he knew he was *Cesar*'s mortall enemy. *Statilius* said, he would not go. Then *Cato* turning him unto *Apollonides* a Stoick Philosopher, and unto *Demetrius* a Peripatetick Philosopher, said: You must take this stout young man, to perswade him to obey unto necessity. *Cato* himselfe in the mean time sent away the rest, and did minister justice unto them that required it, spending all that night and the next day about those matters. Then *Lucius Cesar*, the kinsman of *Julius Cesar*, the conqueror, being chosen by the three hundred, to go and make suite unto him for them all, came and prayed *Cato* to help him to make his Oration, which he should say unto *Cesar* for them all: and as for thee *Cato*, said he, I will kisse his hands, and fall down on my knees before him to intreat him for thee. Nay, said *Cato*, thou shalt not do so. For if I would save my life by *Cesar*'s grace, I could do it, if I would but go unto him: howbeit I will not be bound to a tyrant for injustice. For it is an injustice in him, to take upon him as a Lord and soveraigne to save a mans life, when himselfe hath no authority to command. But yet let us consider if thou wilt, what thou shalt say, to crave pardon for the three hundred. So they were a while together considering the matter: and in fine, *Lucius Cesar* being ready to depart, *Cato* recommended his son and friends unto him, and embracing him, tooke his leave of him. Then he returned unto his lodging, and calling his sonne and friends before him, and talking of many matters, among others he charged his sonne in no case to meddle in the affaires of the Common-wealth. For, said he, to deale uprightly like *Catoes* son, the corruption of the time and state will not abide it: and contrarily, observing the time, thou canst not do like an honest man. Towards evening he went into his Bath to wash himself, and as he was bathing, thinking upon *Statilius*, he cried out aloud: Well *Apollonides*, thou hast at length yet perswaded *Statilius* to go his way, and pulled down his stout courage he had: and is he gone without bidding us farewell? How, gone, said *Apollonides*? Nay, his heart is now more stout and courageous then ever it was, notwithstanding all the perswasions we could use unto him: for he is determined to tarry, and to take such part as thou doest. After he had bathed himself, he went to supper, and sate at his meat, as he had alwayes used after the battell of PHARSALIA, and never lay, but when he went to bed: and he had all his friends and the chief Magistrates of UTICA to supper with him. After supper they fell into grave talke, and matters of Philosophy, till at length they came unto the strange opinion of the Stoicke Philosophers, which was this, that only the good man is free, and all the evil be slaves. The Peripatetick Philosopher that was present there, was straight against it.

K k k 3

The Paradoxes
of the Stoicks.

The sincerity
of *ato*.

Catoes mind
unconquerable

Cato reproveth
the ambition of
man.

Statilius, a fol-
lower of *Cato*.

Cato would not
have pardon
begged of *Cesar*
for him.

Cato forbid his
son to meddle
with matters
of state in a
corrupt time.

Plato's Dialogue of the soul.

Cato's last words unto the Philosophers his friends.

Cato considered his sword wherewith he killed himself.

The death of Cato.

But *Cato* was very earnest against the Peripatetick and argued the matter a long time, with a vehement speech and contention: insomuch as they that heard him, found then that he was determined to end his life, and to rid himselfe out of all those troubles. But then when he had ended his argument, and saw that every man held their peace, and looked sadly on it: to comfort them againe; and to put the suspicion of his death out of their heads, he began againe to fall in talke of their affaires, and seemed to be carefull of them, as though he had been affraid lest some misfortune were come unto them upon the sea, or unto them that were gone by land, because they passed through deserts, where there was no water to be had: Now when supper was done, and the strangers gone, he walked as his manner was with his friends, and having taken order with the Captaines of the watch for matters of service, as the time required, going into his Chamber he embraced his sonne and his friends more lovingly then he was wont to do, whereby he made them againe suspect the execution of his determination. When he was come into his Chamber and laid in his bed, he took *Plato's Dialogue* in hand, treating of the soule, and read the most part of it. Then looking by his beds side, and missing his sword (which his son had taken from him when he was at supper) he called one of the Groomes of his Chamber to him, and asked him who had taken his sword away. His man made him no answer, and he fell againe to read his Book. Then a pretty while after, not seeming to be importunate, or over hasty of the matter, but as though he would onely know what became of it, he willed them to bring him his sword againe. They tarried long, and he had read over all the booke, but yet his sword was not brought him againe. Whereupon he called for all his men, one after another, and very angrily asked them his sword, and gave one of them such a blow on his face, that his nose fell a bleeding, and his hand was all bloody withall; and cried out, that his sonne and his servants would deliver him naked into the hands of his enemies, untill his son and his friends at length ran unto him, and falling down on their knees, lamented, and besought him to be contented. *Cato* then rising out of his bed, looked grimly upon them, and said unto them: O gods, who ever saw me in this taking? why doth no man by reason perswade me, if they see me out of the way, and not to keep me from my determination by plucking my weapons from me? why doest not thou (my son) bind thy fathers hands behind him, that when *Cesar* cometh, he may finde me in case not to defend my self? I do not desire my sword to hurt my self, for if I had any such mind, I need but hold my breath a little, or give but a knocke of my head against the wall onely, and dispatch my selfe quickly. When he had said thus, his sonne went out of his Chamber weeping, and all his friends also, no man remaining with *Cato*, but *Demetrius* and *Apollonides*, unto whom he spake more gently, and reasoned in this sort: What do you thinke to keepe an old man as I am alive by force? and have you tarried behind but to sit staring upon me, and say nothing unto me? if otherwise else, by reason you come to perswade me, that it shall be no shame for *Cato* (despairing of the safety of his life) to seek it by the grace and mercy of his enemy, why then do you not now tell me your reasons to perswade me; that forsaking all other fancies and determinations which hitherto we have holden for good, being on a sudden become wiser by *Cesar's* means, we should be bound the more therefore to give him thanks; I do not tell you this, that I have determined any thing of my life, but that it is in my power (if I list) to put the thing in execution I have determined: but yet I will consult with you, when I am so determined, to hear the reasons and opinions of your bookes, which your selves do use in discourse and argument together. Go your way therefore hardly unto my son, and tell him that he must not thinke to compell his father unto that which he cannot prove good unto him by reason. After this talke, *Demetrius* and *Apollonides* being nothing comforted, weeping, departed out of his Chamber. Then his sword was brought him by a little boy. When he had it, he drew it out, and looked whether the point and edge of his sword was sharpe and would cut: when he saw it was well: O, said he, now am I where I would be, and so laying down the sword naked by him, he tooke his book againe in his hand, and read it over (as they say) twice together. Then he slept so soundly after it, that his men which were without his Chamber heard him snore againe. About midnight he called for two of his freemen, *Cleantes* his Phisitian, and *Brutus*, whom he chiefly employed in his weighty affaires of the Commonwealth. So he sent him unto the haven, to see if all his men that were imbarcked were under saile, and gave his hand to the Phisitian to be bound up, because it was swollen with the blow he gave one of his slaves when he hit him on the face. All his servants were glad to hear of that, hoping then that he desired to live. Soone after came *Brutus* backe againe from the haven, and brought him word that all were gone but *Crassus*, who stayed about some businesse he had, and yet that he was going to take ship: howbeit that the sea was very rough, and wind exceeding great, *Cato* hearing this, sighed, being forry for them that were upon the sea: and sent *Brutus* backe againe to the haven, to see if any man came backe for any matter they had to say unto him. The little birds began to chirpe, and *Cato* fell againe in a little slumber. But thereupon *Brutus* returned, and brought him word that all was quiet in the haven, and there was no stirre. Then *Cato* bade him go his way, and shut too the doore after him, and layed him downe in his bed, as though he had meant to have slept out all the rest of the night. *Brutus* backe was no sooner turned, but *Cato* taking his naked sword in his hand, thrust it into his breast: howbeit the swelling of his hand made the blow so weake, that it killed him not presently, but drawing on to his latter end, he fell down upon his bed, and made such a noise with his fall (overthrowing a little table of Geometrie hard by his bed) that his servants hearing the noise, gave a great shriek for fear. Thereupon his son and his friends ran into the Chamber, and found him all of a goare blood, and the most part of his bowels coming out of his body, himself being yet alive and seeing them. They were all stricken with such sorrow to behold it, that at

at the first they were so amazed, as they could not tell what to say to it. His Phisitian coming to he went about to put in his bowels againe which were not perished, and to sow up his wound. But *Cato* coming to himselfe, thrust back the Phisitian, and tore his bowels with his own hands, and made his wound very great, and immediately gave up the Ghost. Whereupon the three hundred ROMANS (in lesse time then a man would have thought *Cato's* own household servants could have knowne of his death) were at his doors, and immediately after all the people of UTICA also came thither, and with one voice called *Cato* their benefactor and saviour, and said, he onely was a freeman, and had an invincible mind: and this was done, when they heard say, that *Cesar* was not farre from UTICA. Furthermore, neither fear of the present danger, nor the desire to flatter the conqueror, neither any private quarrell amongst themselves, could keep them from honoring *Cato's* Funerals. For sumptuously setting out his body, and honorably accompanying his Funerals as might be, they buried him by the sea side, where at this present time is to be seen his image, holding a sword in his hand. After that, they made their best way to save themselves and their City. Now *Cato* being advertised by them that came unto him, how *Cato* stirred not from UTICA, nor fled not, but sent all others away, saving himself and his son, and a few of his friends that remained there, being afraid of nothing, he could not devise what he meant by it. Therefore esteeming *Cato* much, he made hast with all the speed he could with his Army to come thither. But when he understood that *Cato* had slain himself, writers do report he said thus: O *Cato*, I envy thy death, sith thou hast envied mine honour to save thy life. For indeed, had *Cato* been contented *Cesar* should have saved his life, he had not so much impaired his own honour, as he had augmented *Cesar's* glory. And yet what *Cesar* would have done, men make it doubtful, saving that they conjecture well of *Cesar's* clemency. *Cato* died when he was but eight and forty yeares old. For his son, *Cesar* never did him hurt: howbeit it is reported of him that he was very idely given, and lascivious besides. For when he lay in CAPPADOCIA, in a Noblemans house of the Kings blood, called *Maphradates*, who had a faire woman to his wife, he tarried longer there then he might well with honesty; whereupon he fell to be a laughing stocke to the people, and in mockery they said: *Cato* will go to morrow, a thirty dayes hence. And further that *Maphradates* and *Porcius* are two good friends, but they have but one mind: and the reason was, because *Maphradates's* wife was called *Psyche*, which in the Greek signifieth, mind: and *Cato* is a noble fellow, and hath a Princely mind: howbeit his famous death did stop this infamous speech. For he valiantly fighting against *Augustus* ann *Antonius* at the battell of PHILIPPES, for the liberty of his Country, their Army being overthrown and fled, he would neither flie nor hide himselfe, but running in amongst his enemies, he made them know what he was by encouraging those of his side, which yet did defend themselves, tell he was slain in the field, to the great admiration of his valiantnesse. Furthermore, *Porcia* the daughter of *Cato*, gave no place unto her father, neither for chastity, nor greatnesse of mind. For the being married unto *Brutus*, who slew *Cesar*, was of the conspiracy, and slew her self as courageously as became the vertue and nobility of her blood from whence she came, as we have more amply declared in the life of *Brutus*. *Statilius* also, who had said, he would runne *Cato's* fortune (as we have told you before) was kept from killing of himselfe by the Philosophers, *Demetrius* and *Apollonides*. But after that time having shewed himself very faithful and serviceable unto *Brutus* in all his affaires, he was slain in the field also at the battell of PHILIPPES.

The end of *Cato's* Life.



THE

AGIS and CLEOMENES.



Ann. Mund.
337.
518

Ant. Christ.
3611
3430

The fable of
Ixion against
ambitious per-
sons.



Ruely the Fable of *Ixion* was not ill devised against ambitious persons, who imbracing a cloud for the goddess *Juno*, begot (as it is said) the *CENTAUR*. For even so ambitious men, imbracing glory for the true image of virtue, do never any act that is good nor perfect: but being carried away with diverse fancies, and following others humors with desire to please the people, they may as the herdmen in the Tragedy of *Sophocles* (speaking of their cattell) say:

*We waite upon their beasts, though we their masters be,
And wheresoever they become, there also follow we*

Such indeed are they compared to, that governe Common-weales after peoples lust and fancy: who doubtlesse are as their servants obedient at call, because they onely may enjoy the glorious title and name of an officer. For like as in a ship the Mariners that stand in the Prow, do better see before them then Pilots that steere the Helme in the Poop, and yet looke alwayes backe unto them to see what they command: even so, they that governe in the Common-wealth for honors sake, are no better then honorable slaves of the people, having no more but the bare name of a Governor. But indeed, the perfect good and honest man should never covet outward glory, but as a mean to bring him to noble attempts, whereby he might procure the better credit of his doings. And for a young man that coveteth honour by virtue, give him leave a little to glory in his well doings: for as *Theophrastus* saith, virtue buddeth and flourisheth in youth, and taketh fast roote by praises given, as wit and courage groweth in them. But overmuch praise is dangerous in every person, but chiefly in ambitious Governors. For if they be men of great power, it makes them commit many desperate parts: for they will not allow that honour proceeds of virtue, but that honour is vertue it selfe. But indeed they should say as *Phocion* said unto *Antipater*, that requested an unlawful matter of him: Thou canst not, said he, have *Phocion* a friend and a flatterer both. This, or the very like, may be said unto the people: you cannot have one, both a master and a servant, that can command and obey together. Or else the mischief spoken of in the tale of the Dragon must needs happen, which was; The taile on a time fell out with the head, and complained, saying, it would another while go before, and would not alwayes come behind. The head granted the taile, which fell out very ill for it, not knowing how to guide the head; and besides that, the head thereby was tormented every way, being compelled against nature to follow that part and member, which could neither hear nor see how to guide it. The like matter have we seen happen unto many, which in the administration of the Common-wealth, did seek to please the humors of the multitude. For when they have once put their heads under their girdles to please the common people, which without cause and reason do soon rebell, they can by no possible meanes afterwards bridle their fury and insolency. Now the reason that made us enter into discourse against the ambition and vaine glory amongst the people, was the consideration I had of their great power, remembering the misfortunes of *Tiberius* and *Caius Gracchus*: both of the which coming of a noble house, and having been marvellous well brought up, and managing also the affairs of the Common-wealth with a good desire, were notwithstanding in the end cast away: not so much through covetousnesse of glory, as for fear of dishonour, which came also of no base mind. For they having received great pleasures and friendship of the people, were ashamed to be indebted to them, and therefore earnestly fought to exceed the people in goodwill, by new decrees and devices,

Theophrastus of
the praise of
virtue.
Immoderate
praise very dan-
gerous.

Phocion say-
ing.

The fable of
the Dragons
head and taile.

Plutarch excu-
seth the *Gracchi*

AGIS and CLEOMENES.

devices, which they preferred for common benefit: and the people also for their parts contended to honor them the more, by how much they strived to shew themselves thankful. So with like strife on either side, they to gratifie the common people, and the people to honour them, were so unwares entangled with publicke causes, that they could no more follow the common Proverbe, which saith:

*Although our deeds dissent from equity,
Yet can we not desist with honesty.*

This thou shalt easily find by the declaration of the History. With these we do compare two other popular men, both Kings of *LACEDÆMON*, *Agis* and *Cleomenes*. For they as the *Gracchi*, seeking to increase the power of the common people, and to restore the just and honest government againe of the Commonwealt of *LACEDÆMON*, which of long time had been out of use, did in like manner purchase the hate of the Nobility, which were loth to lose any part of their wonted covetousnesse. Indeed these two *LACONIAN*s were no brethren borne, but yet did both follow one self course and Forme of Government, which had beginning in this sort. After that covetousnesse of Gold and Silver crept againe into the City of *SPARTA*, and with riches, covetousnesse also and misery, and by use voluptuousnesse and licentious life: *SPARTA* then was void of all honour and goodnesse, and was long time drowned in shame and dishonor, until King *Agis* and *Leonidas* came to reigne there. *Agis* was of the house of the *Eurytionides*, the sonne of *Endamedas*, the sixth of lineall descent after *Agesilam* who had been the great Prince of all *GREECE* in his time. This *Agesilam* had a son slaine in *ITALY* by the *MESSAPHIAN*s, called *Archidamus* before the City of *MANTONUM*. *Archidamus* had issue two sons, *Agis* and *Endamidas* that was King, who succeeded his brother *Agis*, whom *Antipater* slew before the City of *MEGALIPOLIS*, and left no children behind him. *Endamidas* begat *Archidamus*, which *Archidamus* begat another *Endamidas*: which *Endamidas* also begat *Agis*, whose life we now write of. *Leonidas* also, the sonne of *Cleonymus*, was of the other family of the *Agiaides*, the eight of succession after *Pausanias*, who slew *Mardonius*, the Kings Lieutenant Generall of *PERSIA*, in a battell fought before the City of *PLATEES*. This *Pausanias* had a son called *Plistonax*, and *Plistonax* also another, called *Pausanias*: who flying from *SPARTA* unto the City of *THEBA*, his eldest son *Agesipolis* was made King in his fathers roome, who dying without issue, his younger brother *Cleombrotus* succeeded him in the Kindome. *Cleombrotus* had two sons, *Agesipolis* and *Cleomenes*: of the which, *Agesipolis* reigned not long King, and died without issue. Then *Cleomenes* his brother, who was King after him, had two sons, *Acrotatus* the elder, that died in his fathers life time: and *Cleonymus* the younger which survived him, and was not King, but one *Arenus* his Nephew, the son of *Acrotatus*. This *Arenus* died before the City of *CORINTH*, who having another *Acrotatus* to his son, he succeeded him in the Kindome. He also died at a battell before the City of *MEGALIPOLIS*, and was there slaine by the Tyrant *Aristodemus*, leaving his wife great with child. She being brought to bed after his death of a sonne, whom *Leonidas* the son of *Cleonymus* taught and brought up, the child dying very young, the crowne by his death was cast upon *Leonidas* himselfe. Howbeit his manners and conditions never liked the people. For though all men generally were corrupted through the Common-wealth, and clean out of order, yet *Leonidas* of all other exceeded, deforming most the ancient *LACONIAN* life: because he had been long time brought up in Princes houses, and followed also *Selencus* Court, from whence he had brought all the pride and pompe of those Courts into *GREECE*, where Law and Reason ruleth. *Agis* on the contrary part did not onely farre excell *Leonidas*, in honour and magnanimity of mind: but all other almost also which had reigned in *SPARTA* from the time of *Agesilam* the great. So that when *Agis* was not yet twenty years old, and being daintily brought up with the finenesse of two women, his mother *Agistrata*, and *Archidamia* his Grandmother, which had more Gold and Silver then all the *LACEDÆMONIAN*s else, he began to spurne against these womanish delights and pleasures, in making himselfe fair to be the better liked, and to be fine and trim in his apparell; and to cast upon him a plaine Spanish Cape, taking pleasure in the Diet, Bathes, and manner of the ancient *LACONIAN* life: and openly boasted besides, that he would not desire to be King, but onely for the hope he had to restore the ancient *LACONIAN* life by his authority. Then began state of the *LACEDÆMON* first to be corrupted, and to leave her ancient discipline, when the *LACEDÆMONIAN*s having subdued the Empire of the *ATHENIAN*s, stored themselves and Country both with plenty of Gold and Silver. But yet reserving still the lands left unto them by succession from their fathers, according unto *Lycurgus* first ordinance and institution, for division of lands amongst them: which ordinance, and equality being inviolably kept amongst them, did yet preserve the Common-wealth from defamations of divers other notorious crimes, untill the time of the authority of *Epidamius*, one of the *Ephores*, a seditious man, and of proud conditions: who bitterly falling out with his own son, preferred a law, that every man might lawfully give his lands and goods whilest he lived, or after his death by testament, unto any man whom he liked or thought well of. Thus this man made a law to satisfie his anger, and others also did confirme it for covetousnesse sake, and so overthrew a noble ordinance. For the rich men then began to buy lands of numbers, and so transferred it from the right and lawful heirs: whereby a few men in short time being made very rich, immediately after there fell out great poverty in the City of *SPARTA*, which made all honest sciences to cease, and brought in thereupon unlawful occupations, who envied them that were wealthy. Therefore, there remained not above seven hundred natural Citizens of *SPARTA* in all, and of them, not above an hundred that had lands and inheritance: for all the rest were poor people in the City, and were of no countenance nor calling, and besides that, went unwillingly to the

The lineage of
Agis.

The lineage of
Leonidas.

Aristodemus,
tyrant of *Mega-*
lipolis.

Leonidas
brought super-
stition and ex-
cess into *Sparta*.
The continen-
cy of *Agis*.

The beginning
of the *Lacedæ-*
monians fall,
from their an-
cient discipline.
Lycurgus Rhe-
tors, for parti-
tion of lands
broken by *Epi-*
damus law.
Epidamius law
for demise of
lands by will.

Agis goeth about to reduce the Common-wealth to her ancient estate.

the warres against their enemies, looking every day for stirre and change in the City. Agis therefore thinking it a notable good act (as indeed it was) to replenish the City of SPARTA againe, and to bring in the old equality, he moved the matter unto the Citizens. He found the youth (against all hope) to give ear unto him, and very well given unto vertue, easily changing their garments and life, to recover their liberty againe. But the oldest men, which were now even rotten with covetousnesse and corruption, they were afraid to returne againe to the straight ordinances of *Lycurgus*, as a slave and runagate from his master, that trembleth when he is brought backe againe unto him. Therefore they reproved Agis, when he did lament before them their present miserable estate, and with also for the former ancient honour and true dignity of SPARTA. Howbeit *Lysander* the sonne of *Lybius*, and *Mandroclidas* the son of *Euphanes*, and *Agefilaw* also, greatly commended his noble desire, and perswaded him to go forward withall. This *Lysander* was of great authority and estimation amongst them in the City, *Mandroclidas* was also very wise, and careful about any matter of counsell, and with his wisdom and policy, very valiant: *Agefilaw* in like manner, the Kings Uncle, and an eloquent man, was very effeminate and covetous, and yet prick forward to give his furtherance to this attempt as it appeared, by his sonne *Hippomedon*, who was a noble good soldier, and could do very much, by means of the love and good-will the young men did bear him. But indeed, the secret cause that brought *Agefilaw* to consent unto this practise, was the greatnesse of his debt which he ought, of the which he hoped to be discharged by changing of the state and Common-wealth. Now when Agis had wonne him, he fought by his means to draw his mother also unto the matter, which was *Agefilaw* sister. She could do very much by the number of her friends, followers, and debtors in the City, by whose means she ruled the most part of the affaires of the City after her own pleasure. But the young man *Hippomedon* making her privy unto it, at the first he was amazed withall, and bade him hold his peace if he were wife, and not to meddle in matters impossible and unprofitable. But when *Agefilaw* had told her what a notable act it would be, and how easily it might be brought to passe, with marvellous great profit: and that King Agis began also to intreat her with great intreaty, and that she should willingly depart with her goods to win her son honour and glory: who though he could not in money and riches come to be like unto other Kings (because the slaves and factors onely of the Kings *Selencus*, and *Ptolomy*, had more money then all the Kings of SPARTA had together that ever reigned) yet if in temperance, thriftinesse, and noble mind (exceeding all their vanities) he could come to restore the LACEDÆMONIANS againe unto equality, that then indeed he should be counted a Noble King. These women stirred up with ambition by those persuasions of the young man, seeing him so nobly bent, as if by the gods their minds had secretly been inflamed with the love of vertue, did presently alter their mindes in such sort, that they themselves did prick forward Agis, and sent for their friends to pray and intreat them to favour his enterprise: and furthermore they brought on other women also, knowing that the LACEDÆMONIANS did ever heare and believe their wives, suffering them to understand more of the affaires of the State then they themselves did of their private estate at home. Herein is to be considered, that the most part of the riches of LACEDÆMON was in the hands of the women, and therefore they were against it, not onely because thereby they were cut off from their finenesse and excesse, in the which being ignorant of the true good indeed, they put all their felicity: but also because they saw their honour and authority which they had by their riches, clean troden under foote. Therefore coming to *Leonidas*, they did perswad him to reprove Agis, because he was an elder man then he, and to lett that this enterprise went not forward. *Leonidas* did what he could in favour of the rich, but fearing the common people, who desired nothing but alteration, he durst not openly speak against him, but secretly he did the best he could to hinder Agis practise; talking with the Magistrates of the City, and accusing Agis unto them, he told them how he did offer the rich mens goods unto the poor, the division of their lands, and the abolishing of all debts, for reward to put the tyranny into his hands, and that thereby he got a strong guard unto himself, but not many Citizens unto SPARTA. This notwithstanding, King Agis having procured *Lysander* to be chosen one of the Ephores, he presently preferred his law unto the counsell. The Articles whereof were these: That such as were in debt, should be cleared of all their debts, and that the lands also should be divided into equal parts: so that from the valley of *Pallena* unto mount *Taugerum*, and unto the Cities of *MALEA* and *SELASIA*, there should be four thousand five hundred parts; and without those bonds, there should be in all the rest, fifteen thousand parts, the which should be distributed unto their neighbours meet to carry weapon: and the rest unto the naturall SPARTANS. The number of them should be replenished with their neighbours and strangers in like manner, which should be very well brought up, and be able men besides to serve the Common-wealth: all the which afterwards should be divided into fifteen companies, of the which, some should receive two hundred, and others four hundred men, and should live according to the old ancient institution observed by their Ancestors. This law being preferred unto the Senate, the Senators grew to diverse opinions vpon it. Whereupon *Lysander* assembled the great counsell of all the people, and there spake unto them himself, and *Mandroclidas*, and *Agefilaw* also, praying them not to suffer the honour of SPARTA to be troden under foot, for the vanity of a few: but that they would remember the ancient Oracles of the gods, warning them to beware of a varice, as of the plague and destruction of the Common-wealth: and of the late Oracle also brought unto them, from the Temple of *Pasiphae*. The Temple and Oracle of *Pasiphae* was famous at the City of *THALAMES*: and some say, that *Phasiphae* was one of the daughters of *Atlas*, which was gotten with childe by *Jupiter*, and was delivered of a son called *Hammon*. Other thinke

How loving the Lacedæmonians were unto their wives.

Agis law Pasiphae the daughter of Atlas.

thinke that it was *Cassandra*, one of *Priamus* daughters that died there, which was firnamed *Pasiphae*, because she gave all the answers and Oracles of things to come. But *Phylarchus* writeth that *Daphné* the daughter of *Amicyla*, flying from *Apollo* that would have ravished her, was turned into a Lawrel Tree, and honoured by *Apollo* with the gift of prophecy. So, they said that this Oracle of the god commanded them, that the SPARTANS should againe returne unto their former ancient equality, stablished first by *Lycurgus* law. When every man else had spoken, King Agis rising up, briefly speaking unto the people, said: that he would bestow great contributions for the reformation of this Common-wealth, which he was desirous to restore again. For first of all, he would make common all his arable and pasture he had, and besides that he would adde too six hundred talents in ready money, and so much should his mother, grandmother, kinsmen, and friends, all the which were the richest and wealthiest in SPARTA. When the people heard what he said, they marvelled much at the noble mind of this young King and were very glad of it, saying: that for three hundred years space together, the City of SPARTA had not so worthy a King as he. But *Leonidas* contrarily assaied with all the power he could to resist him, thinking with himself that if King Agis purpose took place, he should also be compelled to do as he did, and yet he should have no thanks, but King Agis: because that all the SPARTANS indifferently should be compelled to make their goods common, but the honour should be his onely that first began it. So he asked Agis, whether he thought *Lycurgus* had been a good and just man, or not? Agis answered that he had been. Then replied *Leonidas*, Did you ever see that he had taken away and abolished any debts, or had received strangers into the number of the Citizens of SPARTA? Who contrarily though this Common wealth imperfect, if all strangers were not banished the City. Agis againe answered him: that he marvelled not that *Leonidas* being brought up in a strange Countrey, and also married there in a Noblemans house, he should be ignorant of *Lycurgus* Laws, who banishing gold and silver out of his City, did therewithal exile debt and lending. And for strangers he hated them that would not conforme themselves unto the manners and fashions of life which he instituted, and those they were which he banished: not for any ill will he bare unto their persons, but because he feared their manners of life, lest that mingling them with the Citizens, they should make them run after vanity and covetousnesse to be rich. For otherwise, *Terpander*, *Thales*, and *Pherecydes*, which were all strangers, were marvellously revered and honoured in SPARTA in old time, because they did sing in their writings, the selfe same things which *Lycurgus* had established in his lawes. And thou thy selfe also dost commend *Euprepes*, being one of the Ephores, because he did cut with a Hatchet the two strings which *Phrynis* the Musician added unto the Citherne, more then the seven common strings, and those also which did the like unto *Timotheus*: and yet thou reprovest me, because I go about to root out all excesse and pride out of SPARTA, as though those men did not farre off prevent that these superfluous strings of the Musicke, delighting the Citizens minds too much with their songs, should not cause them fall unto such trade and manner of life, as should make the City at discord with itself. After this contention the common people did sticke unto King Agis, and the rich men followed *Leonidas*: praying and perswading him not to forsake them: and further, they did so intreat the Senators, in whom consisteth the chief authority, to determine and digest all matters before they be propounded unto the people, that they overthrow the law, by the onely voice of one man more. Wherefore *Lysander* who was yet in office, attempted to accuse *Leonidas* by an ancient law, forbidding that none of the race of *Heracles* should marry with any strange woman, nor beget children of her: and said further, that no man upon death should dwell any where, but in SPARTA. When he had instructed others to object these things against *Leonidas*, he with others of his colleagues observed a signe in the Element, the Ceremony whereof was in this sort: Every ninth year, the Ephori choosing a bright night without Moon-light, did sit down in some open place, and beheld the Starres in the Element, to see if they saw any Starre shoot from one place to another: if they did, then they accused their Kings, that they had offended the gods, and did deprive them of their Kingdom, untill some Oracle came from *DELPHES* or *OLYMPUS*, to restore them again. *Lysander* then declaring that he had seen a Star stein the Element, did therefore accuse King *Leonidas*, and brought forth witnesses against him, how he had married a woman of *ASIA*, the which one of King *Selencus* Lieutenants had given him in marriage, and that he had two children by her; and afterwards being forsaken of his wife that refused him, he returned again into his Country against his will, and had so possessed the Kingdom for lacke of a lawful heir. So following his accusation in this manner against him, he allured *Cleombrotus* his son in law, being also of the Kings blood, to make title to the Crowne. *Leonidas* being afraid of the successe hereof, tooke sanctuary in the Temple of *Juno*, firnamed *Chalcecos*, and his daughter with him, who forsooke her husband *Cleombrotus*. *Leonidas* then being cited to appear in person, and making default they deposed him, and made *Cleombrotus* King. In the mean time *Lysander* office expired, and the new Ephori which succeeded him, did deliver *Leonidas* againe, and accused *Lysander* and *Mandroclidas*, because against the Law they had abolished all debts, and had againe made new division of lands. When they saw they were openly accused, they incensed both the Kings, that joyning together, they should make the Ephores ordinances of no effect, declaring that their authority was onely erected for the discord of the two Kings, because they should give their voices unto that King that had the best judgement and reason, when the other would willfully withstand both right and reason: and therefore they two agreeing together, might lawfully do what they would, without controulement of any person: and that to resist the Kings, was a breaking of the Law, sith that by right the Ephori had no other priviledge and authority, but to be Judges and

Agis maketh his goods common.

Leonidas resisteth King Agis.

King Leonidas accused by Lysander.

Leonidas deprived of his Kingdom.

Arbi-

Legions fled
unto TEGEA.

King Agis de-
ceived by Age-
filaus.

New laws sta-
lified by the
Lacedæmonians.

Aratus General
of the Achæans.
King Agis
journey to
Achaia.

King Agis gave
place unto A-
ratus.

King Leonidas
returneth to
exile into Spar-
ta.

arbitrarours between them, when there was any cause of Jarre or controversie. Both the Kings being carried away by this persuasion, went into the Market-place accompanied with their friends, plucked the Ephores from their seats and put others in their roomes, of the which Agefilaus was one. Furthermore they armed a great number of young men, and opening the prisons, did set the prisoners at liberty: the which made their adversaries afraid of them, doubting some great murder would have followed upon it, howbeit no man had any hurt. For Agefilaus being bent to kill Leonidas, who fled to the City of TEGEA, and having also layed men in waite for him by the way, King Agis hearing of it, sent thither other friends of his in whom he put great confidence, and they did accompany Leonidas, and brought him safely unto the City of TEGEA. Thus their purpose taking effect, and no man contrariying them, one man onely Agefilaus overthrew all, and dashed a noble LACEDÆMONIAN law by a shamefull vice, which was covetousnesse. For he being a great landed man, and having the best lands of any man in the Country, and owing a great summe of money besides, would neither pay his debts, nor let go his land. Wherefore he perswaded King Agis, that if he went about to establish both together, he should raise a great uproare in the City, and withall, if he did first win them that were landed men, preferring at the beginning the cutting off of debts onely, then that they would easily and willingly also accept the law of partition of lands. Lysander was also of this opinion: whereby King Agis and he both were deceived by Agefilaus subtilty. So they commanded all the creditors to bring their bonds, obligations, and bills of debt (which the LACEDÆMONIANS do call Claria) into the Market-place, and there jaying them on a heape together they did set fire on them. When the Usurers and Creditors saw their Writings obligatory on a fire, they departed thence with heavy hearts: but Agefilaus mocking them said, he never saw a brighter fire in his life. The people then requiring that the lands also should be presently divided, and the Kings likewise commanding it, Agefilaus still interposing some cause of let, delayed time, untill opportunity served, that King Agis should go to the warres: for that the ACHÆIANS their confederates had prayed aide of LACEDÆMON, being bound thereunto by the league confirmed betweene them, because they looked daily that the ÆTOLIANS coming through the Country of MEGARA, would invade PELOPONNESUS. Aratus General of the ACHÆIANS had leaved a great Army to withstand their invasion, and had also written unto the Ephores, that they should fend them aide. Whereupon they presently sent King Agis, perceiving also the readinesse and good will of the souldiers which were appointed to go with him: for the most part of them were young men and needy, who seeing themselves discharged of the fear of their debts, and hoping also at their returne, that the lands likewise should be divided among them, they went with glad hearts, and were obedient to King Agis. So that the Cities where they passed through, wondred how they came through PELOPONNESUS, from the one side to the other, very quietly, without noise or offence to any man. Likewise many GRECIANS calling to minde the ancient times, told one another, that it was a noble gift then to see the Army of LACEDÆMON when they were led by Agefilaus, Lysander, and Leonidas, famous Captaines: sith now they saw so great obedience unto Agis by his souldiers, who was in manner the youngest man of all his Campe: who also glorying to be content with little to away with paines, and not to be more costly apparelled, and armed then any private souldier he had, he wanne himselfe thereby a marvellous love of the people. Howbeit the rich men liked not this charge, and were afraid lest Agis should give other people example to rise also, and to do the like with theirs, as he had done. Agis meeting with Aratus by the City of CORINTH, even as he was consulting whether he should fight with his enemy, or not, shewed himselfe in his counsell then, no rash, but a resolute and valiant man. For he told him, that for his opinion he thought it better to fight, and not to suffer the warre to come any further, leaving the entry into PELOPONNESUS free to their enemy: nevertheless, that he would do what Aratus thought good, because he was the elder, and General also of the ACHÆIANS, whom he came not to command, but to aide them. But Baton SINOPIAN writeth that King Agis would not fight, though Aratus was willing: howbeit he hath not read that which Aratus had written for his excuse and justification, alledging there that the farmers and husbandmen having brought all the Corne into their Barnes, he thought it better to suffer the enemies to come farther into their Country, rather then to hazard battel, to the losse of the whole Country of PELOPONNESUS; and that therefore he licenced all the confederates to depart, and brake up his Army. So King Agis returned home againe, greatly honoured of them that served with him in his journey, finding the City of SPARTA then in great broile and trouble: For Agefilaus at that time being one of the Ephores, finding himselfe ridde of the fear which before kept him under, cared not what injury or mischief he did unto any Citizen, so he might get money. For amongst other things, that very yeare he made them pay beyond all reason the Tallages and Taxes due unto the Common-wealth for thirteene moneths, adding too the thirteenth moneth above the ordinary time of the yreare. Wherefore perceiving every man hated him, and being afraid of them he had offended, he kept souldiers about him, armed with their swords, and so came downe into the Market-place among them. And for the two Kings, he made no account of the one; but of the other that was Agis, he seemed outwardly to make good account, rather for kindreds sake, then for his dignity of a King; and furthermore gave it out abroad, that he would also be one of the Ephores the next year following. Whereupon his enemies speedily to prevent the danger, gathered force together, and openly brought King Leonidas from TEGEA, to restore him againe to his Kingdome. The people were glad to see that, because they were angry they had been mocked in that sort, for that the lands were not divided according unto promise. Furthermore

Hip-

Hippomidon was so well beloved of every man for his valiantnesse, that intreating the People for his Father Agefilaus, he saved his life, and got him out of the City. But for the two Kings, Agis tooke Sanctuary in the Temple of Juno Chalcocoe, and Cleombrotus the other King fled into the Temple of Neptune: for it seemed Leonidas being much more offended with him, did let King Agis alone, and went against him with certaine Souldiers armed. Then he sharply taunted him, that being his Son-in-law, he had conspired against him, to deprive him of his Kingdome, and had driven him out of his Country. But then Cleombrotus not having a word to say, fate still, and made him no answer. Whereupon his Wife Chelonis, the Daughter of Leonidas, who before was offended for the injury they did her Father, and had left her Husband Cleombrotus, that had usurped the Kingdome from him, to serve her Father in his adversity, and while he was in Sanctuary tooke part with him also of his misery, and afterwards when he went into the City of TEGEA, wore blacks for sorrow, being offended with her Husband: she contrarily then changing her anger with her Husbands fortune and misery, became also an humble suiter with him, sitting downe by him, and imbracing him, having her two little Sonnes on either side of them. All men wondring, and weeping for pity to see the goodnesse and naturall love of this Lady, who shewing her mourning Apparell, and haire of her head flaring about her eyes, "bare-headed, she spake in this manner unto her Father: O Father mine, this sorrowfull Garment and countenance is not for pity of Cleombrotus, but hath long remained with me, lamenting fore your former misery and exile: but now, which of the two should I rather choose, either to continue a mourner in this pitifull state, seeing you againe restored to your Kingdome, having overcome your enemies; or else putting on my Princely Apparell, to see my Husband slaine, unto whom you married me a Maide? who if he cannot move you to take compassion on him, and to obtaine mercy, by the teares of his Wife and Children, he shall then abide more bitter paine of his evil counsell, then that which you intend to make him suffer. For he shall see his Wife die before him, whom he loved more dearly then any thing in the World. Also, with what face can I looke upon other Ladies, when I could never bring my Father to pity by any intercession I could make for my Husband, neither my Husband intreat him for my Father: and that my hap is to be borne a Daughter and Wife alwaies most unfortunate, and despised of mine owne? And for my Husband, if he had any reason to do that he did, I then tooke it from him, by taking your part, and protesting against him: and certainly your selfe doth give him honest colour to excuse his fault, when he seeth in you the desire of the Kingdome so great, that for the love thereof, you thinke it lawfull to kill your Sonne-in-law; and also not to regard the children he hath gotten, for her sake. Chelonis pitifully complaining in this sort, putting her face upon Cleombrotus head, cast her swollen and blubbered eyes upon the standers by. Wherefore Leonidas after he had talked a little with his friends, he commanded Cleombrotus to get him thence, and to leave the City as an exile: and prayed his Daughter for his sake to remaine with him, and not to forsake her Father, that did so dearly love her, as for her sake he had saved her Husbands life. This notwithstanding, she would not yeeld to his request, but rising up with her Husband, gave him one of his Sons, and her selfe tooke the other in her armes; and then making her prayer before the Altar of the goddesse, she went as a banished woman away with her Husband. And truly the example of her vertue was so famous, that if Cleombrotus minde had not bene too much blinded with vaine glory, he had cause to thinke his exile far more happy, to enjoy the love of so noble a Wife as he had, then for the Kingdome which he possessed without her. Then Leonidas having banished King Cleombrotus out of the City, and removing the first Ephores, had substituted other in their places, he presently bethought him how he might craftily come by King Agis. First, he perswaded him to come out of the Sanctuary, and to governe the Kingdome safely with him, declaring unto him that his Citizens had forgiven him all that was past, because they knew he was deceived, and subtilly circumvented by Agefilaus craft, being a young man, ambitious of honour. Agis would not leave the Sanctuary for Leonidas cunning persuasion, but mistrusted all that he said unto him. Wherefore Leonidas would no more beguile him with faire words. But Amphares, Demochares and Arcefilaus, did oftentimes go to visit King Agis; and otherwhile also they got him out of the Sanctuary with them unto the Bath, and brought him backe againe into the Temple, when he had bathed. But Amphares having borrowed not long before, certaine rich Apparell and Plate of Agefilaus, because he would not re-deliver them againe, he determined to betray King Agis, his Mother and Grandmother. And it is reported that he chiefly did serve Leonidas turne, and provoked the Ephores (of which number he was one) against Agis. Now therefore, Agis keeping all the rest of his time within the Temple, saving when he went upon occasion to the Bath, they determined to intercept him by the way, and to take him when he was out of the Sanctuary. So they watched him one day when he came and bathed, and came and saluted him as their manner was, and seemed to accompany him, sporting and being merry with him, as with a young man their familiar. But when they came to the turning of a streete that went towards the Prison, Amphares laying hold on him, being one of the Ephores, said unto him: I arrest thee Agis, and will bring thee before the Ephores, to give account of thy doings in the Common-wealth. Then Demochares which was a great mighty man, cast his Gowne over his eares, and pulled him forward: others also thrust him forward behind him, as they had agreed together. So no man being neare them to helpe Agis, they got him into Prison. Then came Leonidas incontinently with a great number of Souldiers that were strangers, and beset the Prison round about. The Ephores went into the Prison, and sent unto some of the Senate to come to them, whom they knew to be of their minde: then they commanded Agis, as if it had bene judicially, to give account of the alteration he had made in the Common-wealth.

L II

The

The naturall
love of Chelo-
nis, Leonidas
Daughter, un-
to her Father
and Husband.

The Oracion
of Chelonis the
Daughter of
Leonidas.

The banish-
ment of King
Cleombrotus.

The great
vertue and
love of Chelo-
nis, to her
Husband Cle-
ombrotus.

Amphares be-
trayeth King
Agis.

King Agis
carried to pri-
son.

Cleomenes
Journey into
the Country
of the Argives.
The Victory
of Cleomenes a
gainst Aratus.

The saying of
the King of
Lacedæmon
touching their
Enemies.

Archidamus
King *Agis*
brother slain.

*Lyfiasdas flaine.
Cleomene's Vi-
ctory of the
Achaïans.*

Lyfias Ty-
rant of *Mega-*
lipolis, gave o-
ver his tyrann-
ny, and mad
it a Popular
State.

The Dreame
of one of the
Enobres.

Thereupon the *Ephors* incontinently sent *Cleomenes* back againe with his Army : who tooke the Fort of *MEATHYDRUM*, and burnt the Borders of the *ARGIVES*. The *ACHAIANS* came against him with an Army of twenty thousand Footmen, and a thousand Horsemen led by *Aratus*. *Cleomenes* met with them by the City of *PALANTUM*, and offered Battell. But *Aratus* quaking at the hardnesse of this young man, would not suffer *Arifimachus* to hazard Battell, but went his way derided by the *ACHAIANS*, and despised by the *LACEDÆMONIANS*, who in all were not above five thousand fighting men. *Cleomenes* courage being now list up, and bravely speaking to his Citizens, he remembered them of a saying of one of their ancient Kings, that the *LACEDÆMONIANS* never enquired what number their Enemies were, but where they were. Shortly after, the *ACHAIANS* making Warre with the *ELIANS*, *Cleomenes* was sent to aide them, and met with the Army of the *ACHAIANS* by the Mountaine *Lyceum*, as they were in their returne; he setting upon them, gave them the overthrow, slew a great number of them, and tooke many also Prisoners, that the rumour ran through *GREECE*, how *Aratus* selfe was slaine. *Cleomenes* wisely taking the occasion which this Victory gave him, he went straight to the City of *MANTINEA*, and taking it upon a sudden, when no man knew of his coming, he put a strong Garrison into it. Now the *LACEDÆMONIANS* hearts failing them, and resisting *Cleomenes* enterprises, over-wearying them with Warres, he went about to send *Archidamus*, King *Agis* Brother, being then at *MESSINA*, unto whom the Kingdome of right belonged by the other House; supposing that he should easily weaken the power of the *Ephores*, by the Authority of the two Kings, if both of them joyned together. Which when the murderers of King *Agis* understood, being afraid that *Archidamus* returning from exile, he would be revenged of them, they secretly received him into the City, and found the means to bring him into *SPARTA*. But when they had him, they put him straight to death, whether it was unwitting to *Cleomenes* (as *Phylarchus* plainly testifieth) or else with his privy, suffering them to make him away, by perswasion of his friends. But it is a cleare case, the City was burdened withall, because probable matter fell out, that they had compelled *Cleomenes* to do it. Nevertheless, he holding still his first determination, to alter the state of the Common-wealth of *SPARTA*, as soone as he could possible, he so fed the *Ephores* with Money, that he brought them to be contented he should make Warre. He had also wonne many other Citizens by the means of his Mother *Cratæclea*, who furnished him with Money, that he lacked not to honour him withall: and further, married as it is reported (though otherwise she meant not to marry) for her Sons sake, unto one of the valiantest men of all the City. So *Cleomenes* leading his Army into the Field, wanne a place within the Territory of *MEGALIPOLIS*, called *LEUCTRA*. The *ACHAIANS* also being quickly come to their aide, led by *Aratus*, they straight fought a Battell by the City selfe, where *Cleomenes* had the worst on the one side of his Army. Howbeit *Aratus* would not suffer the *ACHAIANS* to follow them, because of bogs and quavemires, but sounded the retreat. But *Lyfidas* a *MEGALIPOLITAN* being angry withall, caused the Horsemen he had about him to follow the Chase, who pursued so fiercely, that they came amongst Vines, Walls and Ditches, where he was driven to disperse his men, and yet could not get out. *Cleomenes* perceiving it, sent the light Horsemen of the *TARENTINES* and *CRETANS* against him: of whom *Lyfidas* valiantly fighting was slaine. Then the *LACEDÆMONIANS* being courageous for this Victory, came with great cries; and giving a fierce charge upon the *ACHAIANS*, overthrew their whole Army, and slew a marvellous number of them: but yet *Cleomenes* at their request suffered them to take up the dead bodies of their men to bury them. For *Lyfidas* Corpes, he caused it to be brought unto him, and putting a Purple Robe upon it, and a Crowne on his head, sent it in this array unto the very Gates of the City of *MEGALIPOLIS*. It was that selfe *Leonidas*, who giving over the Tyranny and Government of *MEGALIPOLIS*, made it a Popular State, and free City, and joyned it to the *ACHAIANS*. After this Victory, *Cleomenes* then determined greater matters and attempts, perswaded himselfe that if he might once come to stablish the Affaires of the Common-wealth at *SPARTA* to his minde, he might then easily overcome the *ACHAIANS*, brake with his Father-in-law *Megeisthus*, and told him that it was necessary to take away the Authority of the *Ephores*, and to make division of the Lands among the *SPARTANS*: and then being brought to equality, to encourage them to recover the Empire of *GREECE* againe unto the *LACEDÆMONIANS*, which their Predecessors before them held and enjoyed. *Megeisthus* granting his good will and furtherance, joyned two or three of his friends more unto him. It chanced at that time, that one of the *Ephores* lying in the Temple of *Paphæa*, had a marvellous dreame in the night. For he thought he saw but one Chaire standing where the *Ephors* did use to sit to give audience, and that the other foure which were wont to be there, were taken away; and that marvelling at it, he heard a voice out of the Temple that said, That was the best for *SPARTA*. He declaring this Dreame the next morning unto *Cleomenes*, it somewhat troubled him at the first, thinking that he came to feele him, for that he had heard some inkling of his intent. But when he perswaded himselfe that the other meant good faith, and died not unto him, being bolder then before, he went forward with his purpose; and taking with him unto the Campe all those *SPARTANS* which he suspected to be against his enterprise, he went and tooke the Cities of *HERA* and *ALSEA*, Confederates of the *ACHAIANS*, and victualled *ORCHOMENA*, and went and camped before the City of *MANTINEA*. In fine, he so wearied and over-hurried the *LACEDÆMONIANS* by long journeys, that at length they besought him he would let them remain in *ARCADIA*, to repose themselves there. In the meane time, *Cleomenes* with his strangers which he had hired, returned againe unto *SPARTA*, and imparted his intent by the way unto them he trusted best, and marched at his owne ease, that

that he might take the *Ephores*; at supper.. When he came neare unto the City, he sent *Euryclidas* before, into the Hall of the *Ephores*, as though he brought them newes out of the Campe from him. After him, he sent also *Thericon* and *Phobis*, and two other that had beene brought up with him, whom the *LACEDÆMONIANS* called the *SAMOTHRACIANS*, taking with them a few Souldiers. Now whilst *Euryclidas* was talking with the *Ephores*, they also came in upon them with their Swords drawne, and did set upon the *Ephores*. *Agefilau* was hurt first of all, and falling downe, made as though he had beene slaine; but by little and little he crept out of the Hall, and got secretly into a Chappell consecrated unto *Feare*, the which was wont ever to be kept shut, but then by chance was left open: when he was come in, he shut the doore fast to him. The other foure of the *Ephores* were slaine presently, and above ten moe besides, which came to defend them. Furthermore, for them that fate still and stirred not, they killed not a man of them, neither did keepe any man that was desirous to go out of the City: but moreover, they pardoned *Agefilau*, who came the next morning out of the Chappell of *Feare*: Amongst the *LACEDÆMONIANS* in the City of *SPARTA*, there are not onely Temples of *Feare* and death, but also of *Laughter*; and of many other such passions of the minde. They do worship *Feare*, not as other spirits and devils that are hurtfull, but because they are persuaded that nothing preserveth a Common-wealth better then feare. Wherefore the *Ephori* (as *Aristotle* witnesseth) when they are created, do by publicke Proclamation command all the *SPARTANS* to shave their chins, and to obey the Law, lest they should make them feeble the rigour of the Law. They brought in the shaving of their chins, in my opinion, to enure young men to obey the Magistrates even in trifles. Moreover, it seemes that men in old time did esteeme fortitude to be no taking away of feare, but rather a feare and lothnesse to incur shame. For commonly those that are most afraid to offend the Law, are in the Field most valiant against their Enemies, and shun no perill to win fame and honest reputation. And therefore it was wisely said of one:

That feare cannot be without shamefastnesse.

And so *Homer* in a certaine place made *Helen* say unto King *Priamus* :

Of truth I do confesse deare father-in-law,
You are the man of Whom I stand in awe,
And reverence most of all that ever I saw.

And in another place, speaking of the GREEKIAN Souldiers, he saith thus :

For feare of their Captaines they spake not a word.

For men do use to reverence them whom they feare. And this was the cause why the Chappell of *Fear* was by the Hall of the *Ephores*, having in manner a Princely and absolute Authority. The next morning *Cleomenes* banished by Trumpet fourscore Citizens of *SPARTA*, and overthrew all the Chaires of the *Ephores* but one onely, the which he reserved for himselfe to sit in to give audience. Then calling the People to Councell, he gave them account of his doings, and told them that *Lycurgus* had joyned the Senators with the Kings, and how the City had bene governed a long time by them, without helpe of any other Officers. Notwithstanding, afterwards the City having great Warres with the *Messinians*, the Kings being alwaies employed in that Warre, whereby they could not attend the affaires of the Common-wealth at home, did choose certaine of their friends to sit in judgement in their steads, to determine controversies of Law, which were called *Ephores*, and did governe long time as the Kings Ministers; howbeit that afterwards by little and little, they tooke upon them absolute government by themselves. And for manifest proofe hereof, you see that at this present time when the *Ephori* do send for the King, the first and second time he refuseth to come, but the third time he riseth and goeth unto them. The first man that gave the *Ephores* this Authority, was *Asteropus*, one of the *Ephores*, many yeares after the first institution of the Kings: and yet if they had governed discreetly, peradventure they might have continued longer. But they licentiouslly abusing their Authority, by suppressing the lawfull Governours instituted of old time, taking upon them to banish some of their Kings, and putting oth-
er of them also to death, without Law and Iustice, and threatening others, that desire to restore that noble and former blessed Government unto *SPARTA* againe: all these things, I say, are in no wise to be suffered any longer. And therefore if it had bene possible to have banished all these plagues of the Common-wealth out of *SPARTA*, brought from foraine Nations (I meane, Pleasures, Pastimes, Money, Debts, and Usuries, and others yet more ancient, Poverty and Riches) he might then have esteemed himselfe the happiest King that ever was, if like a good Physician he had cured his Countrey in that infection, without griefe or sorrow. But in that he was constrained to begin with blood, he followed *Lycurgus* example, who being neither King nor other Magistrate, but a private Citizen onely, taking upon him the Authority of the King, boldly came into the Market-place with force and armed men, and made King *Charilans* that then reigned so afraid, that he was driven to take Sanctuary in one of the Temples. But the King being a Prince of a noble nature, and loving the honour of his Countrey, tooke part with *Lycurgus*, adding to, his advice and counsell, for the alteration of the state of the Government of the Common-wealth, which he did confirme. Hereby then it appeareth, that *Lycurgus* saw it was a hard thing to alter the Common-wealth without force and feare: the which he notwithstanding had used with as great modesty and discretion as might be possible, banishing them that were against the profit and wealth of *LACEDÆMON*, giving all the Lands of the Countrey also to be equally divided amongst them, and setting all men cleare that were in debt. And furthermore, that he would make a choice and proofe of the strangers, to make them free Citizens of *SPARTA* whom he knew to be honest men.

e *Cleomenes* flew
f the *Ephores*.

Divers Tem-
ples at Sparta,
of Feare,
Death, and
such other
fancies.

The valiantest
men are most
afraid to of-
fend the Law.

The Chappell
of Feare joyn-
ed to the Hall
of the Ephores.
The Oration
of King Cleo-
manestouching
the first Ori-
ginall of the
Ephores.

Asterops the first man that gave authority to the Ephores.

Cleomenes reformeth the state of the Commonwealth of Lacedæmon.

Cleomenes invadeth the borders of the Megalopolitans.

King Cleomenes the teacher and example of temperance

Cleomenes moderate diet.

Cleomenes courteous entertainment at his board.

Cleomenes leadeth his Army against Aratus and the Achæians.

thereby to defend their City the better by force of Armes: to the end that from henceforth we may no more see our Countrey of LACONIA spoiled by the ÆTOLIANS and ILLYRIANS, for lacke of men to defend themselves against them. Then he began first himselfe to make all the goods common, and after him *Megisthenes* his Father-in-law, and consequently all his other friends. Then he caused the Land also to be divided, and ordained every banished man a part, whom he himselfe had exiled, promising that he would receive them againe into the City, when he had established all things. So when he had replenished the number of the Citizens of SPARTA, with the choicest honest men their neighbours, he made foure thousand Footmen well armed, and taught them to use their Pikes with both hands, instead of their Darts with one hand, and to carry their Targets with a good strong handle, and not buckled with a leather thong. Afterwards he tooke order for the education of children, and to restore the ancient LACONIAN Discipline againe: and did all these things in manner by the helpe of *Sphærus* the Philosopher. Inasmuch as he had quickly set up againe Schoole-houses for children, and also brought them to the old order of diet: and all but a very few, without compulsion were willing to fall to their old institution of life. Then because the name of one King should not offend any man, he made his Brother *Euclidas* King with him. But this was the first time that ever the two Kings were of one House: but then. Furthermore, understanding that the ACHAIANS and *Aratus* were of opinion, that he durst not come out of LACEDÆMON, for feare to leave it in perill of revolting, because of the late change and alteration in the Common-wealth, he thought it an honourable attempt of him to make his Enemies see the readinesse and good will of his Army. Thereupon he invaded the Territories of the MEGALIPOLITANS, and brought away a great prey and booty, after he had done great hurt unto his Enemies. Then having taken certaine Players and Minstrels that came from MESSINA, he set up a stage within the Enemies Countrey, made a game of forty minas for the Victor, and sate a whole day to looke upon them, for no pleasure he tooke in the sight of it, but more to despight the enemies withall, in making them see how much he was stronger then they to make such a maygame in their owne Countrey, in despight of them. For otherwise of all the Armies of the GRECIANS, or Kings in all GREECE, there was no Army but his onely, that was without Players, Minstrels, Fooles and Juglers: for his Campe onely was cleane of such rabble and foolery, and all the young men fell to some exercise of their bodies, and the old men also to teach them. And if they chanced to have any vacant time, then they would pleasantly be one merry with another, in giving some pretty fine mock after the LACONIAN manner. And what profit they got by that kinde of exercise, we have written it at large in *Lycurgus* Life. But of all these things, the King himselfe was their Schoolmaster and example, shewing himselfe very temperate of life, and plaine without curiosity, no more then any private Souldier of all his Campe: the which were great helpes unto him in his enterprises he made in GREECE. For the GRECIANS having cause of suite and negotiation with other Kings and Princes, did not wonder so much at their pompe and riches, as they did abhor and detest their pride and infolency: so disdainfully they would answer them that had to do with them. But contrarily when they went unto *Cleomenes*, who was a King in name and deed as they were, finding no purple Robes nor stately Mantles, nor rich imbroidered Beds, nor a Prince to be spoken to but by Messengers, Gentlemen-ushers, and supplications, and yet with a great ado: and seeing him also come plainly apparelled unto them, with a good countenance, and courteously answering the matters they came for: he thereby did marvellously win their hearts and good wills, that when they returned home, they said he onely was the worthy King that came of the race of *Hercules*. Now for his diet at his boord, that was very streight and LACONIAN-like, keeping onely three boords: and if he chanced to feast any Ambassadors or other his friends that came to see him, he then added to, two other boords; and besides made his men see that his fare should be amended, not with pastry and conserves, but with more store of meate, and some better wine then ordinary. For he one day reprov'd one of his friends, that bidding strangers to supper, he gave them nothing but black broth, and brown bread onely, according to the LACONIAN manner. Now, said he, we may not use strangers so hardly after our manner. The boord being taken up, another little Table was brought with three feet, whereupon they set a bowle of copper full of wine, and two silver cups of a pottle a piece, and certaine other few silver pots besides: so every man dranke what they list'd, and no man was forced to drinke more then he would. Furthermore, there was no sport, nor any pleasant song sung to make the company merry, for it needed not. For *Cleomenes* selfe would entertaine them with some pretty question or pleasant tale: whereby, as his talke was not severe and without pleasure, so was it also pleasant without infolency. For he was of opinion, that to win men by gifts or money, as other Kings and Princes did, was but base and clowne-like: but to seek their good wills by courteous meanes and pleasantnesse, and therewith to meane good faith, that he thought most fit and honourable for a Prince. For this was his minde, that there was no other difference betwixt a friend and hireling, but that the one is won with Money, and the other with civility and good entertainment. The first therefore that received King *Cleomenes* into their City, were the MANTINEANS, who opened him the Gates in the night, and helping him to drive out the Garrison of the ACHAIANS, they yeilded themselves unto him. But he referring them to the use and government of their owne Laws and liberty, departed from thence the same day, and went unto the City of TEGEA. Shortly after he compassed about ARCADIA, and came unto PHERES in ARCADIA, determining one of the two, either to give the ACHAIANS Battell, or to bring *Aratus* out of favour with the People, for that he had suffered him to spoile and destroy their Countrey. *Hyperbatas* was at that time Generall of the ACHAIANS, but *Aratus* did beare all the sway and authority. Then the ACHAIANS coming into the Field with all their People

People armed, and encamping by the City of DYMES, neare unto the Temple of *Hecatombaum*, *Cleomenes* going thither, lay betwixt the City of DYMES that was against him, and the Campe of his Enemies; which men thought a very unwise part of him. Howbeit, valiantly provoking the ACHAIANS, he procured them to the Battell, overthrew them, made them flee, and slew a great number in the Field, and tooke many of them also prisoners. Departing from thence, he went and set upon the City of LANGON, and drave the Garrison of the ACHAIANS out of it, and restored the City againe unto the ELIANS. The ACHAIANS being then in very hard state, *Aratus* that of custome was wont to be their Generall (or at the least once in two yeares) refused now to take the charge, notwithstanding the ACHAIANS did specially pray and intreat him; the which was an ill act of him, to let another steere the rudder, in so dangerous a storme and tempest. Therefore the ACHAIANS sent Ambassadors unto *Cleomenes* to treat peace, unto whom it seemed he gave a very sharpe answer. After that, he sent unto them, and willed them onely to resigne the Seigniorie of GREECE unto him: and that for all other matters he would deale reasonably with them, and presently deliver them up their Townes and Prisoners againe, which he had taken of theirs. The ACHAIANS being glad of peace with these conditions, wrote unto *Cleomenes* that he should come unto the City of LERNA, where the diet and generall assembly should be kept to consult thereon. It chanced then that *Cleomenes* marching thither, being very hot, dranke cold water, and fell on such a bleeding withall, that his voyce was taken from him, and he almost stifled. Wherefore he sent the ACHAIANS their chiefeest prisoners home againe, proroguing the Parliament till another time, and returned backe to LACEDÆMON. It is supposed certainly, that this lett of his coming to the diet, was the onely cause of the utter destruction of GREECE: the which otherwise was in good way to have risen againe, to have bene delivered from the present miseries, and extreme pride and covetousnesse of the MACEDONIANS. For *Aratus*, either for that he trusted not *Cleomenes*, or for that he was afraid of his power, or that he otherwise envied his honour and prosperity, to see him risen to such incredible greatnesse in so short a time; and thinking it also too great shame and dishonour to him, to suffer this young man in a moment to deprive him of his great honour and power, which he had possessed so long time, by the space of thirty yeares together, ruling all GREECE: first he sought by force to terrifie the ACHAIANS, and to make them breake off from this peace. But in fine, finding that they little regarded his threats, and that he could not prevail with them, for that they were afraid of *Cleomenes* valiantnesse and courage; whose request they thought unreasonable, for that he sought but to restore PELOPONNESUS unto her former ancient state againe: he fell then into a practise far unhoneest for a GRECIAN, very infamous for himselfe, but most dishonourable for the former noble acts he had done. For he brought *Antigonus* into GREECE, and in his age filled the Countrey of PELOPONNESUS with MACEDONIANS, whom he himselfe in his youth had driven thence, had taken from them the Castle of CORINTH, and had alwaies bene an enemy of the Kings: but specially of *Antigonus*, of whom before he had spoken all the ill he could, as appeareth in his writings, saying that he tooke marvellous paines, and did put himselfe into many dangers, to deliver the City of ATHENS from the Garison of the MACEDONIANS. And yet notwithstanding he brought them armed with his owne hands, not into his Countrey onely, but into his owne house, yea even into the Ladies chambers and closets: disdainning that the King of LACEDÆMON, descending of the blood-royall of *Hercules* (who setting up againe the ancient manner of life of his Countrey, did temper it as an instrument of musick out of tune, and brought it to the good, ancient, and sober discipline, and DORICAN life instituted by *Lycurgus*) should be called and written King of the SYCYONIANS, and of the TRICCIANS. And furthermore, flying them that were contented with browne bread, and with the plaine course caps of the LACEDÆMONIANS, and that went about to take away riches (which was the chiefeest matter they did accuse *Cleomenes* for) and to provide for the poore, he went and put himselfe and all ACHAIAS unto the Crowne and Diadem, the purple robe, and proud imperious commandment of the MACEDONIANS, fearing lest men should thinke that *Cleomenes* could command him. Furthermore his folly was such, that having Garlands of Flowers on his head, he did sacrifice unto *Antigonus*, and sing Songs in praise of his honour, as if he had bene a god, where he was but a rotten man consumed away. This that we have written of *Aratus* (who was indued with many noble vertues, and a worthy GRECIAN) is not so much to accuse him, as to make us see the frailty and weaknesse of mans nature: the which, though it have never so excellent vertues, cannot yet bring forth such perfect fruit, but that it hath ever some maim and blemish. Now when the ACHAIANS were met againe in the City of ARGOS, to hold the Session of their Parliament before prorogued, and *Cleomenes* also being come from TEGEA, to be at that Parliament, every man was in hope of good peace. But *Aratus* then, who was agreed before on the chiefeest Articles of the Capitulations with *Antigonus*, fearing that *Cleomenes* by faire words or force would grant the People to bring that he desired, sent to let him understand, that he should but come himselfe alone into the City, and for safety of his person, they would give him three hundred Hostages: or otherwise, if he would not leave his Army, that then they would give audience without the City, in the places of exercises, called Cyllarabium. When *Cleomenes* had heard their Answer, he told them they had done him great wrong: for they should have advertised him of it before he had taken his journey, and not now when he was almost hard at their Gates, to send him backe againe, with a flea in his eare. Thereupon he wrote a Letter unto the Councill of the ACHAIANS, altogether full of complaints against *Aratus*. On the other side also, *Aratus* in his Oration to the Councill, inveighed with bitter words against *Cleomenes*.

The Victory of Cleomenes against the Achæians.

Aratus treason to his Countrey.

There-

Thereupon *Cleomenes* departing with speed, sent an Herald to proclaim Wars against the ACHAÏANS, not in the City of ARGOS, but in the City of ÆGION (as *Aratus* writeth) meaning to let upon them being unprovided. Hereupon all ACHAÏA was in an uprore: for divers Cities did presently revolt against the ACHAÏANS, because the common People hoped after the division of Lands, and discharging of their debts. The Noblemen also in many places were offended with *Aratus*, because he practised to bring the MACEDONIANS into the Countrey of PELOPONNESUS. *Cleomenes* therefore hoping well for all these respects, brought his Army into ACHAÏA, and at his first coming tooke the City of PALLENA, and drave out the Garison of the ACHAÏANS: and after that, won also the Cities of PHENEUM and PENTELIUM. Now the ACHAÏANS fearing some treason in CORINTH and SICYONE, sent certaine Horsemen out of the City of ARGOS, to keep those Cities. The ARGIVES in the meane time, attending the celebration of the Feast at the Games Nemea, *Cleomenes* thinking (which fell out true) that if he went to ARGOS, he should finde the City full of People that were come to see the Feasts and Games, and that assailing them upon the sudden, he should put them in a marvellous feare: brought his Army in the night hard to the walls of the City of ARGOS, and at his first coming was a place they call Aspis, a very strong place about the Theater, and ill to come unto. The ARGIVES were so amazed at it, that no man would take upon him to defend the City, but received *Cleomenes* Garison, and gave him twenty Hostages, promising thenceforth to be true Confederates unto the LACEDÆMONIANS, under his charge and conduct. The which doubtlesse was him great fame, and increased his power: for that the ancient Kings of LACEDÆMON, could never before with any policy or device, win the City of ARGOS. For King *Pyrrhus* one of the most valiantest and warlikest Princes that ever was, entering the City of ARGOS by force, could not keepe it, but was slaine there, and the most part of his Army: whereby every man wondered greatly at the diligence and counsell of *Cleomenes*. And where every man did mocke him before, when *Cleomenes* said that he would follow *Solon* and *Lycurgus*, in making the Citizens Goods common, and discharging all debts: they were then clearly perswaded, that he onely was the cause and meane of that great change which they saw in the courage of the SPARTANS, who were before so weake and out of heart, that they having no courage to defend themselves, the ÆTOLIANS entering LACONIA with an Army, tooke away at one time fifty thousand Slaves. Whereupon an old man of SPARTA pleasantly said at that time, that their Enemies had done them a great pleasure, to rid their Countrey of LACONIA of such a rabble of rascals. Shortly after, they being entred againe into the former ancient Discipline of *Lycurgus*, as if *Lycurgus* selfe had bene alive to have trained them unto it, they shewed themselves very valiant, and obedient also unto their Magistrates; whereby they recovered againe the commandement of all GREECE, and the Countrey also of PELOPONNESUS. After *Cleomenes* had taken the City of ARGOS, the Cities also of CLEONES and PHLIUNTH, did yeeld themselves unto him. *Aratus* in the meane time remained at CORINTH, and there did busily accuse them which were suspected to favour the LACEDÆMONIANS. But when newes was brought him that ARGOS was taken, and that he perceived also the City of CORINTH did leane unto *Cleomenes* part, and drave away the ACHAÏANS, he then calling the People to Councell in CORINTH, secretly stole to one of the Gates of the City, and causing his Horse to be brought unto him, tooke his backe, and galloped for life unto the City of SICYONE. When the CORINTHIANS heard of it, they tooke their Horse backs also, striving who should be there soonest, and posted in such haste unto *Cleomenes* at the City of ARGOS, that many of them (as *Aratus* writeth) killed their Horses by the way: howbeit *Cleomenes* was very much offended with them, for that they had let him scape their hands. But *Aratus* faith further, that *Magistonus* came to him from *Cleomenes*, and offered him a great summe of Money to deliver him the Castle of CORINTH, wherein there was a great Garison of the ACHAÏANS. But he answered againe, that things were not in his power, but rather that he was subject to their power. Now *Cleomenes* departing from the City of ARGOS, overcame the TROEZONIANS, the EPIDAU-RIANS, and the HERMIONIANS. After that he came unto CORINTH, and presently intrenched the Castle there round about, and sending for *Aratus* friends and factors, commanded them to keep his house and goods carefully for him; and sent *Trytimallus* MESSINIAN againe unto him, to pray him to be contented that the Castle might be kept indifferently betwixt the ACHAÏANS and LACEDÆMONIANS, promising him privately to double the Pension that King *Ptolomy* gave him. But *Aratus* refusing it, sent his Sonne unto *Antigonus* with other Hostages, and perswaded the ACHAÏANS to deliver up the Castle of CORINTH into *Antigonus* hands. *Cleomenes* understanding it, entred with his Army into the Countrey of the SICYONIANS, and destroyed it as he went, and tooke *Aratus* Goods and Money of the gift of the CORINTHIANS by Decree. Now *Antigonus* in the meane time being passed the Isthmus or the Straight of PELOPONNESUS, but the *Cleomenes* determined not to fortifie the Isthmus or the Straight of PELOPONNESUS, but the MOUNTAINES of the Mountaines of ONIENES; determining to keepe every one of them against the MACEDONIANS, with intent to consume them rather by time, then to fight a Battell with an Army to good Souldiers, and well trained as they were. *Cleomenes* following this determination, did put *Antigonus* to great trouble, because he had not in time provided for Corne, and could not win the passage by force, for that *Cleomenes* kept it with such Guard and Souldiers. Then *Antigonus* stealing secretly into the Haven of LEBCHÆUM, he was stoutly repulsed, and lost a number of his men: whereupon *Cleomenes* and his men being couragious for this Victory, went quietly to supper. *Antigonus* on the other side fell into despaire, to see him brought by necessity into such hard tearmes. Wherefore

Cleomenes winneth the City of Argos.

King *Pyrrhus* slaine at the City of Argos.

The force of *Lycurgus* Laws

Wherefore he determined to go to the Temple of *Juno*, and from thence to passe his Army by Sea into the City of SICYONE, the which required a long time, and great preparation. But the same night there came some of *Aratus* friends of the ARGIVES, who coming from ARGOS by Sea, brought newes that the ARGIVES were rebelled against *Cleomenes*. The practiser of this rebellion was one *Aristoteles*, who easily brought the People unto it, that were already offended with *Cleomenes*, that had promised to passe a Law for the clearing of debts, but performed it not according to their expectation. Wherefore, *Aratus* with a thousand and five hundred men which *Antigonus* gave him, went by Sea unto EPIDAUROM. Howbeit *Aristoteles* tarried not his coming, but taking them of the City with him, went and besieged the Garison of the LACEDÆMONIANS within the Castle, being aided by *Timosthenus*, with the ACHAÏANS that came from SICYONE. *Cleomenes* receiving advertisement hereof, about the second Watch of the night, left for *Megistonus* in basse, and commanded him in anger speedily to go and aide their men that were in the City of ARGOS. For it was *Megistonus* himselfe that promised *Cleomenes* the fidelity of the ARGIVES, and that kept him from driving them out of the City, which he suspected. So sending him away forthwith with two thousand men, he attended *Antigonus*, and comforted the CORINTHIANS the best he could: advertising them that it was but a little mutiny of a few, that chanced in the City of ARGOS. *Megistonus* being come to ARGOS, and slaine in Battell, fighting for the LACEDÆMONIANS in Garison there (who being in great distresse, and scant able to keepe the Castle against the Enemies) sent sundry Messengers unto *Cleomenes*, to pray him to send them immediate aide. *Cleomenes* then being afraid that the Enemies having taken ARGOS, would stop his way to returne backe into his Countrey, who having opportunity safely to spoile LACONIA, and also to besiege the City selfe of SPARTA that had but a few men to defend it, he departed with his Army from CORINTH. Immediately after came *Antigonus* and tooke it from him, and put a strong Garison into it. When *Cleomenes* came before the City of ARGOS, he scaled the Walls, and breaking the Vaults and Arches of the place called Aspis, entred into the City, and joyned with his Garison there, which yet resisted the ACHAÏANS: and taking other parts of the same also, assaulted the Walls, and cleared the streetes in such sort, that not an Enemy durst be seene, for feare of the Archers of the CRETANS. In the meane time, when he saw *Antigonus* as farre off, coming downe the hills into the Valley with his Footmen, and that his Horsemen also came upon the spur into the City, despairing then that he could any longer keepe it, he gathered all his men together, and safely going downe by the Walls, retired without losse of any man. So, when in short time he had conquered much, and had almost wonne all within PELOPONNESUS, in shorter space also he lost all againe. For, of the Confederates that were in his Campe, some did presently forsake him, others also immediately after surrendered up the Townes unto *Antigonus*. *Cleomenes* being thus oppressed with the fortune of Warre, when he came backe to TEGEA with the rest of his Army, newes came to him in the night from LACEDÆMON, which grieved him as much as the losse of all his Conquests: for he was advertised of the death of his Wife *Agis*, whom he loved so dearly, that in the midst of his chiefest prosperity and Victories, he made often journeys to SPARTA to see her. It could not be but a marvellous griefe unto *Cleomenes*, who being a young man, had lost so vertuous and faire a young Lady, so dearly beloved of him; and yet he gave not place to his sorrow, neither did griefe overcome his noble courage, but he used the selfe same voice, apparell, and countenance that he did before. Then taking order with his private Captaines about his Affaires, and having provided also for the safety of the TEGEANS, he went the next morning by breake of day unto SPARTA. After he had privately lamented and sorrowed for his Wives death, with his Mother and Children, he presently bent his minde againe to publicke Causes. Now *Cleomenes* had sent unto *Ptolomy* King of EGYPT, who had promised him aide, but upon demand, to have his Mother and Children in pledge. So he was long time before he would for shame make his Mother privie unto it, and went oftentimes of purpose to let her understand it: but when he came, he had not the heart to breake it to her. She first suspecting the thing, asked *Cleomenes* friends, if her Sonne had not somewhat to say unto her, that he durst not utter. Whereupon, in fine he gave the venture, and brake the matter to her. When she heard it, she fell a laughing, and told him: Why, how cometh it to passe, that thou hast kept it thus long, and wouldst not tell me? Come, come, said she, put me straight into a Ship, and send me whither thou wilt, that this body of mine may do some good unto my Countrey, before trooked age consume my life without profit. Then all things being prepared for their journey, they went by Land, accompanied with the Army, unto the head of Tanarus: where *Crasidela* being ready to imbarque, she tooke *Cleomenes* aside into the Temple of *Neptune*, and imbrating and kissing him, perceiving that his heart yearned for sorrow of her departure, she said unto him: O King of LACEDÆMON, let no man see for shame when we come out of the Temple, that we have wept and dishonoured SPARTA: for that onely is in our power; as for the rest, as it pleaseth the gods so let it be. When she had spoken these words, and fashioned her countenance againe, she went then to take her Shippe with a little Sonne of *Cleomenes*, and commanded the Master of the Shippe to hoist a flagge. Now when she was arrived in EGYPT, and undertook that King *Ptolomy* received *Cleomenes* being requested by the ACHAÏANS to make Peace with them, durst not hearken to it, and end that Warre, without King *Ptolomy* consent, and because of his Mother: she wrote unto him, that he should not spare to do any thing that should be expedient for the honour of SPARTA, without

The *Argives* do rebell against *Cleomenes*.

Cleomenes taketh the City of Corinib.

Cleomenes lost the City of Argos.

The death of *Agis*, King *Cleomenes* wife

The noble minde of *Crasidela*, *Cleomenes* Mother.

Cleomenes sendeth his Mother and Children Hostages unto *Ptolomy* King of Egypt.

without feare of displeasing *Proton*, or for regard of an old woman, and a young boy: Such was the noble minde of this worthy Lady in her Sonne *Cleomenes* adversity. Furthermore, *Antigonus* having taken the City of *TAGEA*, and sacked the other Cities of *ORCHOMENE* and *MANTINEA*, *Cleomenes* seeing himselfe brought to defend the borders onely of *LACONIA*, he did manumitt all the *LOTES* (which were the Slaves of *LACEDÆMON*) paying five Attica Mina's a man. With that Money he made the summe of five hundred Talents, and armed two thousand of these freed Slaves after the *MACEDONIAN* fashion, to fight against the *LEUCASPIDES* (to wit, the white Shields of *Antigonus*;) and then there fell into his hands a marvellous great enterprize, unlooked for of every man. The City of *MEGALIPOLIS* at that time being as great as *SPARTA*, and having the aide of the *ACHAIANS*, and *Antigonus* at hand (whom the *ACHAIANS* as it seemed had brought in, chiefly at the request of the *MEGALIPOLITANS*) *Cleomenes* determining to sacke this City, and knowing that to bring it to passe, nothing was more requisite then celerity, he commanded his Souldiers to victual themselves for five daies: and marching with the choice of all his Army towards *SELACIA*, as though he had meant to have spoiled the *ARGIVES*, suddenly turning from thence, he invaded the Countrey of the *MEGALIPOLITANS*; and supping by *ROETUM*, went straight by *ELICUNTA* unto the City. When he was come neare unto it, he sent *Panteas* before with speed, with two Bands of the *LACEDÆMONIANS*, and commanded him to take a certaine piece of the Wall betwene two Towers, which he knew was not kept nor guarded; and he followed him also with the rest of his Army, coming on faire and softly. When *Panteas* came thither, finding not onely that place of the Wall without Guard or Watch which *Cleomenes* had told him of, but also the most part of that side without defence, he tooke some part of the Wall at his first coming, and manned it: and overthrew another place of it also, putting them all to the Sword that did defend it: and then came *Cleomenes*, and was within the City with his Army, before the *MEGALIPOLITANS* knew of his coming. At length, the Citizens understanding that the City was taken, some fled in haste, conveying such light things as came to hand, in so great a feare: and the others also arming themselves, ran together to resist the Enemies: but though they valiantly fought to repulse them out of the City, and yet prevailed not, they gave the rest leisure thereby to flie and save themselves, so that there remained not behinde above five thousand men: for all the rest were fled with their Wives and Children, into the City of *MESSINA*. The most part of them also that fought with the Enemies, saved themselves, and very few were taken, the chiefest whereof were *Lysandridas* and *Thearidas*, the noblest persons that were amongst the *MEGALIPOLITANS*; wherefore when the Souldiers had taken them, they brought them unto *Cleomenes*. *Lysandridas* when he saw *Cleomenes* a good way off, cried out aloud unto him: O King of *LACEDÆMON*, this day thou hast an occasion offered thee to do a more famous Princely act, then that which thou hast already done, and that will make thy Name also more glorious. *Cleomenes* musing what he would request: Well (quoth he) what is that thou requirest? One thing I will tell thee before-hand, thou shalt not make me restore your City to you againe. Yet, quoth *Lysandridas*, let me request thus much then, that ye do not destroy it, but rather replenish it with friends and confederates, which hereafter will be true and faithfull to you: and that shall you do, giving the *MEGALIPOLITANS* their City againe, and preserving such a number of People as have forsaken it. *Cleomenes* pausing a while, answered, It was a hard thing to believe that: but yet, quoth he, let Honour take place with us before profit. After that he sent an Herald straight unto *MESSINA*, unto them that were fled thither, and told them that he was contented to offer them their City againe, so that they would become good friends and confederates of the *LACEDÆMONIANS*, forsaking the alliance of the *ACHAIANS*. *Philopemen* would by no means suffer the *MEGALIPOLITANS* to accept this gracious offer of *Cleomenes*, nor also to leave their alliance with the *ACHAIANS*: telling them, that he meant not to give them their City againe, but to take them also with their City: and therefore drave *Thearidas* and *Lysandridas* out of *MESSINA*, that moved this practice. It was that *Philopemen* that afterwards was the chiefest man of the *ACHAIANS*, and that wanne such Fame and honour amongst the *GRECIANS*, as we have particularly declared in his Life. This word being brought to *Cleomenes*, who had kept the City from spoiling untill that time, he was then so thoroughly offended, that he gave the Goods in prey to the Souldiers, sent away their goodly Tables, Images, and Pictures unto *SPARTA*, and defaced the chiefest parts of the City, and then returned home againe, being afraid of *Antigonus* and the *ACHAIANS*. Howbeit they stirred not, because of the Parliament that was kept at that time in the City of *ÆGIUM*; where *Aratus* being in the Pulpit for Orations, and holding his Gowne a long time before his face, the People marvelling at it, willed him to tell what he ailed: he answered them: *MEGALIPOLIS* is taken, and razed by *Cleomenes*. The *ACHAIANS* being amazed at the suddennesse of this great losse, straight brake off their Parliament and Assembly. But *Antigonus* thinking to aide them, sent presently for all his Garisons, who being long a coming, he willed them to stay where they were, and he himselfe taking a few Souldiers with him, went unto the City of *ARGOS*. Therefore the second enterprize of *Cleomenes* seemeth at the first fight a very rash and desperate attempt: howbeit *Polybius* writeth, that it was an attempt of great wisdom and policy. For *Cleomenes* understanding that the *MACEDONIANS* were dispersed in Garisons in divers places, and that *Antigonus* lay all the winter in the City of *ARGOS*, with a certaine number of Footmen that were strangers, he invaded the Countrey of the *ARGIVES* with his Army, perswading himselfe, that either *Antigonus* would for shame come and fight with him, or if he did not, that then he should put him in disgrace with the *ARGIVES*: which indeed came so to passe.

Cleomenes was the City of *Megalopolis*.

Cleomenes noble saying.

Cleomenes razed the City of *Megalopolis*.

Cleomenes stratagem.

The *ARGIVES* seeing their Countrey spoiled by *Cleomenes*, were in a marvellous rage, and gathering together at *Antigonus* Lodging, they cried out unto him, either to go into the Field and fight with the Enemy: or else if he were afraid, to resigne his Office of Generall of *GREECE* unto others that were valianter then himselfe. But *Antigonus* like a wife and excellent Captaine, thinking it a dishonour to him, rashly to put himselfe in danger, and his friends also, though he were provoked with many injuries and opprobrious words, would not go into the Field, but stood constant in his first determination. Then *Cleomenes* having brought his Army hard to the Walls of the City of *ARGOS*, and spoiled and destroyed the Countrey round about, without lett or danger he safely returned home againe. Within a while after, *Cleomenes* being advertised that *Antigonus* was come unto *TAGEA*, with intent to invade the Countrey of *LACONIA*, he going another way with his Army (unwitting to his Enemies) they wondered when they saw him in the morning by the City of *ARGOS*, spoiling their Countrey, and cutting downe their Corne, not with Sickles or Swords, as others do use, but with long Poles in forme of Sithes, wherewith the Souldiers as they went sporting-wise, overthrew and spoiled it. But when they came to the place of Exercises in the Suburbs, called *Cyllabaris*, certaine of the Souldiers going about to have set it on fire, *Cleomenes* would not suffer them; and told them, that what he had done at *MEGALIPOLIS*, it was rather angrily then honestly done. Now *Antigonus* presently returned backe againe, being minded first to have gone directly to the City of *ARGOS*, but suddenly altering his minde, did campe upon the top of Hills and Mountains. *Cleomenes* seeming not to be afraid of him, sent *Heraulds* to him to desire the keyes of the Temple of *Juno*, and then after he had done Sacrifice, he would depart his way. Thus mocking *Antigonus*, after he had sacrificed unto the goddesse, under the Temple that was shut up, he sent his Army unto *PHLIUNTA*; and having driven away the Garison out of *OLOGUNTA*, he came unto the City of *ORCHOMENE*, having not onely encouraged his Citizens, but gotten even amongst the Enemies themselves, a fame also to be a noble Captaine, and worthy to manage great affaires. For every man judged him to be a skilfull Souldier, and a valiant Captaine, that with the power of one onely City, did maintaine Warre against the Kingdome of *MACEDON*, against all the People of *PELOPONNESUS*, and against the Treasure of so great a King: and withall, not onely to keepe his owne Countrey of *LACONIA* unfoiled, but far otherwise to hurt his Enemies Countreys, and to take so many great Cities of theirs. But he that first said, that Money was the finew of all things, spake it chiefly in my opinion, in respect of the Warres. *Demades* the Oratour said on a time, when the *ATHENIANS* commanded certaine Gallies should be put out of the Arsenall into the Sea, and presently rigged and armed with all possible speed, though they lacked Money: He that rules the Prowe, must first see before him: meaning, Munition and Victuals must be provided, before the Ships be set out. And it is reported also, that the ancient *Archidamus*, when the Confederates of the *LACEDÆMONIANS* at the beginning of the Warre of *PELOPONNESUS* required, that they might be sessed at a certaine rate, answered: The charges of Warre have no certaine stint. For like as Wrestlers that exercise their bodies continually in Games, are better able to Wrestle, and overthrow them with time, that have no strength but onely art and sleight: even so King *Antigonus*, who by the greatnesse of his Kingdome defrayed the charge of this Warre, did weary and overcome *Cleomenes* at the length, because he lacked Money, both to pay the strangers that served him, and also to maintaine his owne Citizens. For otherwise doubtlesse the time served his turne well, because the troubles that fell upon *Antigonus* in his Realme, did make him to be sent for home. For the barbarous People his Neighbour, in his absence did spoile and destroy the Realme of *MACEDON*, and specially the *ILLYRIANS* of the high Countrey, that came downe then with a great Army: whereupon the *MACEDONIANS* being spoiled and harried on all sides by them, they sent post unto *Antigonus*, to pray him to come home. If these Letters had bene brought him but a little before the Battell, as they came afterwards, *Antigonus* had gone his way, and left the *ACHAIANS*. But Fortune that alwaies striketh the stroke in all weightiest Causes, gave such speed and favour unto him, that immediately after the Battell was fought at *SELASTIA* (where *Cleomenes* lost his Army and City) the very Messengers arrived that came for *Antigonus* to come home: the which made the overthrow of King *Cleomenes* so much more lamentable. For if he had delayed Battell but two daies longer, when the *MACEDONIANS* had bene gone, he might have made what Peace he would with the *ACHAIANS*: but for lacke of Money, he was driven (as *Polybius* writeth) to give Battell with twenty thousand men against thirty thousand: where he shewed himselfe an excellent, and skilfull Captaine, and where his Citizens also fought like valiant men; and the strangers in like case did shew themselves good Souldiers. But his onely overthrow was by the manner of his Enemies Weapons, and the force of their Battell of Footmen. But *Phylarchus* writeth, that Treason was the cause of his overthrow. For *Antigonus* had appointed the *ACARNANIANS*, and the *ILLYRIANS*, which he had in his Army, to scale upon the Wing of his Enemies Army, where *Eucidas*, King *Cleomenes* Brother was, to compass him in behinde, whilst he did set the rest of his men in Battell. When *Cleomenes* was got up upon some hill to looke about him, to see the countenance of the Enemy, and seeing none of the *ACARNANIANS*, nor of the *ILLYRIANS*, he was then afraid of *Antigonus*, that he went about some stratagem of Warre. Wherefore he called for *Demoteles*, whose charge was to take heed of Scratagens and secret Ambushes, and commanded him to looke to the Rere-ward of his Army, and to be very circumspect all about. *Demoteles*, that was bribed before (as it is reported) with Money, told him that all was cleare in the Rere-ward, and bade him looke to overthrow his Enemies before him. *Cleomenes* trusting this report, set forward against

A wife Captaine should not rashly put himselfe in hazard.

The moderation of *Cleomenes* to his Enemies.

Money the finew of Wars.

The saying of *Archidamus*.

Cleomenes overcome by *Antigonus* for lacke of Money to pay his Souldiers.

The power of Fortune. Battell betwixt *Cleomenes* and *Antigonus*, at *Selasta*.

The Treason of *Demoteles*.

against *Antigonus*, and in the end, his Citizens of SPARTA which he had about him, gave such a fierce Charge upon the Squadron of the MACEDONIAN Footmen, that they drave them backe five Furlongs off. But in the meane time, *Euclidas* his Brother, in the other Wing of his Army, being compassed in behinde, *Cleomenes* turning him backe, and seeing the overthrow, cried out aloud: "Alas good Brother, thou art but slaine, yet thou diest valiantly, and honestly, and thy death shall be a worthy example unto all posterity, and shall be sung by the praises of the women of SPARTA. So *Euclidas* and his men being slaine, the Enemies came straight to set upon *Cleomenes* Wing. *Cleomenes* then seeing his men discouraged, and that they durst no longer resist the Enemies, fled, and saved himselfe. Many of the strangers also that served him, were slaine at this Battell: and of sixe thousand SPARTANS, there were left alive but onely two hundred. Now *Cleomenes* being returned unto SPARTA, the Citizens coming to see him, he gave them counsell to yeeld themselves unto *Antigonus* the Conquerour: and for himselfe, if either alive or dead he could do any thing for the honour and benefit of SPARTA, that he would willingly do it. The Women of the City also coming unto them that flying had escaped with him, when he saw them unarme the men, and bring them drinke to refresh them with, he also went home to his owne house. Then a Maid of the House, which he had taken in the City of MEGALIPOLIS (and whom he had entertaigned ever since the death of his Wife) came unto him as her manner was, to refresh him coming hot from the Battell: howbeit he would not drinke though he was extreame dry, nor sit being very weary, but armed as he was, laid his arme across upon a pillar, and leaning his head upon it, reposed himselfe a litle: and casting in his minde all the waies that were to be thought of, he tooke his friends with him, and went to the Haven of Gythium, and there having his Ships which he had appointed for the purpose, he hoisted saile, and departed his way. Immediately after his departure, came *Antigonus* into the City of SPARTA, and courteously entreated the Citizens and Inhabitants he found, and did offend no man, nor proudly despise the ancient Honour and Dignity of SPARTA, but referring them to their owne Lawes and Government: when he had sacrificed to the gods for his Victory, he departed from thence the third day, newes being brought him that the Warre was very great in MACEDON, and that the barbarous People did spoile his Countrey. Now a disease tooke him, whereof he died afterwards, which appeared a Tifick, mixt with a fore Catarre: but yet he yeelded not to his Disease, and bare it out, that fighting for his Countrey, and obtaining a famous Victory, with great slaughter of the barbarous People, he might yet die honourably; as indeed he did, by *Philarchus* testimony, who saith, that with the force of his voice fiercely crying out in the midst of his fight, he tare his lungs and lights, worse then they were before. Yet in the Schooles it is said, that after he had wonne the Battell, he was so joyfull of it, that crying out: O blessed day, he brake out into a great bleeding at the mouth, and a great Feaver tooke him withall, that he died of it. Thus much touching *Antigonus*. Now *Cleomenes* departing out of the Ile of CYTHERA, went and cast Anker in another Island, called EGYPTIA. Then determining to saile over to the City of CYRENA, *Therjcion*, one of *Cleomenes* friends (a man that in Warres shewed himselfe very valiant, but a boaster besides of his owne doings) tooke *Cleomenes* aside, and said thus unto him: "Truly, O King, we have lost an honourable occasion to die in Battell, though every man hath heard us vaunt and say, that *Antigonus* should never overcome the King of SPARTA alive, but dead. A second occasion yet is afforded us to die, with much lesse honour and fame notwithstanding then the first. Whether do we saile to no purpose? Why do we flee the death at hand, and seeke it so far off? If it be no shame nor dishonour for the Posterity and Race of *Hercules* to serve the Successors of *Philip* and *Alexander*, let us save then our labour, and long dangerous sailing, and go yeeld our selves unto *Antigonus*: who in likelihood will better use us then *Protemy*, because the MACEDONIANS are far more noble persons then the EGYPTIANS. And if we disdain to be commanded by them which have overcome us in Battell, why then will we make him Lord of us that hath not overcome us: in stead of one, to make us inferiour unto both, flying *Antigonus*, and serving King *Protemy*? Can we say that we go into EGYPT, in respect to see your Mother there? A joyfull sight no doubt, when we shall shew King *Protemy* Wives her Sonne, that before was a King, a Prisoner, and Fugitive now. Were it not better for us, that having yet LACONIA our Countrey in sight, and our Swords besides in our owne hands, to deliver us from this great misery, and so doing to excuse our selves with them that are slaine at SELASIA for defence of SPARTA: then cowardly losing our time in EGYPT, to enquire whom *Antigonus* left his Lieutenant and Governour in LACEDAMON? *Therjcion* ending his Oration, *Cleomenes* answered him thus: "Doe'st thou thinke it a glory to thee to seeke death, which is the easiest matter, and the presentest unto any man, that can be: and yet wretch that thou art, thou fliest now more cowardly and shamefully then from the Battell. For divers valiant men, and far better then our selves, have often yeelded unto their Enemies, either by some misfortune, or compelled by greater number, and multitude of men: but he, say I, that submitteth himselfe unto paine and misery, or to reproach and praise of men, he cannot but confesse that he is overcome by his owne unhappinesse. For when a man will willingly kill himselfe, he must not do it to be rid of paines and labour, but it must have an honourable respect and action. For to live or die for his owne respect, that cannot but be dishonourable: the which now thou persuadest me unto, to make me flee this present misery we are in, without any honour or profit in our death. And therefore, I am of opinion, that we should not yet cast off the hope, we have to serve our Countrey in time to come: but when all hope faileth us, then we may easily make our selves away when we list. Thereunto *Therjcion* gave no answer, but as soon as he found opportunity

Cleomenes overthrown by *Antigonus*.

Antigonus was the City of Sparta.

The death of *Antigonus* the Sonne of *Demetrius*, King of Macedon.

Cleomenes flieth out of *Peeloponnesus*.

The Oration of *Therjcion*, unto *Cleomenes* against death.

Cleomenes Oration of death.

Willing death must have honourable respect.

to slip from *Cleomenes*, he went to the Sea side, and flew himselfe. *Cleomenes* hoisting saile from the Ile of EGYPTIA, went into AFRICKE, and was brought by the Kings Servants unto the City of ALEXANDRIA. King *Protemy* at his first coming, gave *Cleomenes* no speciall good, but indifferent intertainment: but after that he had shewed himselfe to be of great wisdom and judgement, and that *Protemy* saw the simplicity of his LACONIAN life, he had also a noble disposition and courage, nothing degenerating from the Princely Race and Bloud of *Hercules*, and that he yeelded not to his adversity, he tooke more delight in his company then in all the company of his flatterers and hangers on him: and then repented him greatly that he had made no more account of him before, but had suffered him to be overthrown by *Antigonus*, who through this Victory of him, had marvellously enlarged his honour and power. Then he began to comfort *Cleomenes*, and doing him as great honour as could be, promised that he would send him with Ships and Money into GREECE, and put him againe into his Kingdome: and further, gave him an annual Pension in the meane time, of foure and twenty Talents, with the which he simply and soberly entertained himselfe and his men about him: and bestowed all the rest upon his Countrey men that came out of GREECE into EGYPT. But now old King *Protemy* deceassing before he could performe the promise he made unto *Cleomenes*, to send him into GREECE, the Realme falling then into great lasciviousnesse, drunkennesse, and into the Government of Women, his case and misery was cleane forgotten. For the young King his Son was so given over to Women and Wine, that when he was most sober and in his best wits, he most disposed himselfe to make Feasts and Sacrifices, and to have the Taber playing in his Court, to gather People together, like a Stage-player or Jugler; whilst one *Agathocles* his Lemman, and her Mother, and *Oenanthes* a Baud, did rule all the Affaires of the State. But when he came to be King, it appeared he had need of *Cleomenes*: because he was afraid of his Brother *Magas*, who by his Mothers meanes, was very well esteemed of among Souldiers. Wherefore he called *Cleomenes* to him, and made him of his Privy-Councell, where he devised by practise, which way to kill his Brother. All other his friends that were of counsell with him, did counsell him to do it: but *Cleomenes* onely vehemently dissuaded him from it, and told him, that if it were possible, rather more Brethren should be begotten unto the King for the safety of his Person, and for dividing of the Affaires of the Kingdome between them. Amongst the Kings Familiars that were chiefest about him, there was one *Sosibius* that said unto *Cleomenes*: So long as his Brother *Magas* lived, the Souldiers that be strangers whom the King entertained, would never be true to him. *Cleomenes* answered him for that matter there was no danger: for, saith he, of those hired strangers, there are three thousand PELOPONNESIANS, which he knew at the twinkling of an eye would be at his commandement, to come with their Armour and Weapons where he would appoint them. These words of *Cleomenes* at that time shewed his faith and good-will he bare unto the King, and the force he was of besides. But afterwards, *Protemy* tearfullnesse increasing his mistrust, (as it commonly happeneth, that they that lack wit, thinke it the best safety to be fearefull of every wagging of a straw, and to mistrust every man) the remembrance of *Cleomenes* words made him much suspected of the Courtiers, understanding that he could doe so much with the Souldiers that were strangers: in somuch as some of them said: See (meaning *Cleomenes*) there is a Lyon amongst Sheepe. Indeed considering his fashions and behaviour, they might well say so of him: for he would looke through his fingers as though he saw nothing, and yet saw all what they did. In fine, he required an Army and Ships of the King: and understanding also that *Antigonus* was dead, and that the ACHAIANS and ETOLIANS were at great Warres together, and that the Affaires of his Countrey did call him home, all PELOPONNESUS being in armes and uproare, he prayed that they would licence him to depart with his friends. But never a man would give care unto him, and the King also heard nothing of it, because he was continually entertained among Ladies, with Banquets, Dancing, and Maskes. But *Sosibius* that ruled all the Realm, thought, that to keepe *Cleomenes* against his will, were a hard thing, and also dangerous: and to let him go also, knowing that he was a valiant man, and of a stirring minde, and one that knew the Vices and Imperfections of their Government, he thought that also no safe way, with no Gifts nor Presents that could be offered him, could soften him. For as the holy Bull (which they call in EGYPT, Apis) that is full fed in goodly Pasture, doth yet desire to follow his naturall course and liberty, to runne and leape at his pleasure, and plainly sheweth, that it is a griefe to him to be kept still by the Priest: even so the courtly pleasures did nothing delight *Cleomenes*, but as *Homer* writeth of *Achilles*:

It is his noble heart to sit at home in stobfull rest,
When Martiall matters were in hand, the which he liked best.

Now *Cleomenes* standing in these termes, there arrived in ALEXANDRIA one *Nicagoras* MESSENIAN, who maliced *Cleomenes* in his heart, but yet shewed as though he loved him. This *Nicagoras* on a time had sold *Cleomenes* certaine Land, but was not paid for it, either because he had no present Money, or else by occasion of the Warres which gave him no leisure to make payment. *Cleomenes* one day by chance walking upon the Sands, he saw *Nicagoras* landing out of his Ship, being newly arrived; and knowing him, he courteously welcomed him, and asked what winde had brought him into EGYPT. *Nicagoras* gently saluting him againe, told him, that he had brought the King excellent Horses of Service. *Cleomenes* smiling, told him, Thou hadst been better have brought him some Curtizans and Dancers, for they would have pleased the King better. *Nicagoras* faintly laughed at his answer, but within few daies after he did put him in remembrance

Cleomenes flieth into AFRICKE unto King *Protemy*.

Cleomenes Vertue.

Nicagoras Messenian, an Enemy to *Cleomenes*.

of the Land he sold him, and prayed him then that he would helpe him to Money, telling him that he would not have preit him for it, but that he had sustained losse by Merchandise. *Cleomenes* answered him, that all his Pension was spent he had of the King. *Nicagoras* being offended with this answer, he went and told *Sofibius* of the mocke *Cleomenes* gave the King. *Sofibius* was glad of this occasion, but yet desiring further matter to make the King offended with *Cleomenes*, he perswaded *Nicagoras* to write a Letter to the King against *Cleomenes*, as though he had conspired to take the City of CYRENA, if the King had given him Ships, Money, and men of Warre. When *Nicagoras* had written this Letter, he took Ship, and hoised saile. Foure daies after his departure, *Sofibius* brought his Letter to the King, as though he had but newly received it. The King upon sight of it, was so offended with *Cleomenes*, that he gave present order he should be shut up in a great house, where he should have his ordinary diet allowed him, howbeit that he should keep his house. This grieved *Cleomenes* much, but yet he was worse afraid of that which was to come, by this occasion: *Ptolomy* the Son of *Chryfermus*, one of the Kings familiars, who had oftentimes before been very converfent and familiar with *Cleomenes*, and did frankly talke together in all matters, *Cleomenes* one day sent for him, to pray him to come unto him. *Ptolomy* came at his request, and familiarly discourfing together, went about to dissuade him from all the fufpitions he had, and excused the King also for that he had done unto him: so taking his leave he left him, not thinking that *Cleomenes* followed him (as he did) to the Gate; where he sharply took up the Souldiers, saying that they were very negligent and carelesse in looking to such a fearefull beast as he was, and so ill to be taken if he once icaped their hands. *Cleomenes* heard what he said, and went to his lodging again, *Ptolomy* knowing nothing that he was behind him: and reported the very words again unto his friends. Then all the SPARTANS converting their good hope into anger, determined to be revenged of the injury *Ptolomy* had done them, and to die like noble SPARTANS, not tarrying till they should be brought to the shambles like fat Weathers, to be sold and killed. For it would be a great shame and dishonour unto *Cleomenes*, having refused to make peace with *Antigonus*, a noble Prince and Warriour, to tarry the Kings pleasure till he had left his drunkenness and dancing, and then to come and put him to death. They being full resolved hereof, as you have heard, King *Ptolomy* by chance went unto the City of CANOBUS, and first they gave out in ALEXANDRIA, that the King minded to set *Cleomenes* at liberty. Then *Cleomenes* friends observing the custome of the Kings of EGYPT, when they meant to set a Prisoner at liberty (which was, to fend the Prisoners meat, and Presents before to their Supper) did fend unto him such manner of Presents and so deceived the Souldiers that had the keeping of him, saying, that they brought those Presents from the King. For *Cleomenes* himselfe did sacrifice unto the gods, and sent unto the Souldiers that kept him, part of those Presents that were sent unto him, and supping with his friends that night, made merry with them, every man being crowned with Garlands. Some say, that he made the more haft to execute his Enterprife sooner then he would have done, by meanes of one of his men that was privy unto his conspiracy: who went every night to lie with a Woman he kept, and therefore was afraid lest he would bewray them. *Cleomenes* about noon, perceiving the Souldiers had taken in their Cups, and that they were asleep, he put on his Coate, and unripping it on the right shoulder, went out of the house with his Sword drawn in his hand, accompanied with his friends, following him in that sort, which were thirty in all. Amongst them there was one called *Hippotas*, who being lame, went very lively out with them at the first: but when he saw they went faire and softly because of him, he prayed them to kill him, because they should not hinder their Enterprife for a lame man, that could do them no service. Notwithstanding, by chance they met wit a Towns-man a horse-backe, that came hard by their doore, whom they pluckt from his Horse, and cast *Hippotas* upon him: and then ran through the City, and cried to the People, Liberty, liberty. Now the People had no other courage in them, but onely commended *Cleomenes*, and wondered at his valiantness: but otherwise to follow him, or to further his Enterprife, not a man of them had any heart in them. Thus running up and down the Town, they met with *Ptolomy* (the same whom we said before was the Son of *Chryfermus*) as he came out of the Court: whereupon three of them setting on him, slew him presently. There was also another *Ptolomy* that was Governour and Lieutenant of the City of ALEXANDRIA: who hearing a rumour of this stir, came unto them in his Coach. They went and met him, and first having driven away his Guard and Souldiers that went before him, they pluckt him out of his Coach, and slew him also. After that they went towards the Castle, with intent to set all the Prisoners there at liberty to take their part. Howbeit the Jaylors that kept them had so strongly locked up the Prison doores, that *Cleomenes* was repulst and put by his purpose. Thus wandering up and downe the City, no man neither came to joyne with him, nor to resist him, for every man fled for feare of him. Wherefore at length being weary with going up and down, he turned him to his friends, and said unto them: It is no marvell though Women command such a cowardly People, that fly in this sort from their liberty. Thereupon he prayed them all to die like men, and like those that were brought up with him, and that were worthy of the fame of his so noble deeds. Then the first man that made himselfe be slaine, was *Hippotas*, who died of a wound one of the young men of his company gave him with a Sword at his request. After him every man slew themselves, one after another, without any feare at all, saving *Panteas*, who was the first man that entred the City of MEGALY-POLIS. He was a faire young man, and had been very well brought up in the LACONIAN Discipline, and better then any of his yeares. *Cleomenes* did love him dearely, and commanded him that when he should see he were dead, and all the rest also, that then he should kill himselfe last of all. Now they all being laid on the ground, he searched them one after another with the point

Cleomenes committed to Prison in Alexandria.

Cleomenes practiseth to kill King *Ptolomy*.

The end and death of *Cleomenes* and his friends.

The courage of *Panteas*.

point of his Sword, to see if there were any of them yet left alive: and when he had pricked *Cleomenes* on the heele amongst others, and saw that he did yet knit his browes, he kissed him, and fate down by him. Then perceiving that he had yeelded up the ghost, embracing him when he was dead, he also slew himselfe, and fell upon him. Thus *Cleomenes* having reigned King of SPARTA sixteen yeares, being the same manner of man we have described him to be, he ended his daies in this sort as ye hear. Now his death being presently bruited through the City, *Cratesiclea* his Mother, though otherwise she had a noble minde, did notwithstanding a little forget her greatnesse, through the extreme sorrow she felt for the death of her Son: and so embracing *Cleomenes* Sons, she fell to bitter lamentation. But the Eldest of his Sons (no man mistrusting any such matter) found meanes to get out of her hands, and running up to the top of the house, cast himselfe headlong down to the ground, that his head was all broken and splitted; yet died not, but was taken up crying, and angry with them, that they would not suffer him to die. This newes being brought to King *Ptolomy*, he commanded they should first flea *Cleomenes*, and then hang up his Body, and also that they should put his Children, his Mother, and all her Women waiting on her to death, among the which was *Panteas* Wife, one of the fairest and courtesoulest Women in her time. They had not been long married before, when these mischiefs lighted upon them, at what what time their love was then in greatest force. Her Parents then would not let her depart, and imbarke with her Husband, but had locked her up, and kept her at home by force. Howbeit, shortly after she found the meanes to get her a Horse, and some Money, and stole away in the night, and galloped towards the Haven of Tarnarus; where finding a Ship ready bound for EGYPT, she imbarked and went to seeke her Husband, with whom she gladly and lovingly led her life, forsaking her own Countrey, to live in a strange Realm. Now when the Sergeants came to take *Cratesiclea* to put her to death, *Panteas* Wife led her by the arme, carrying up her traine, and did comfort her; although *Cratesiclea* otherwise was not afraid to die, but onely asked this favour, that she might die before her little Children. This notwithstanding, when they came to the place of execution, the Hangman first slew her Children before her eyes, and then her selfe afterwards, who in such great grief and sorrow, said no more but thus: Alas my poor Children, what is become of you? And *Panteas* Wife also, being a mighty tall Woman, girding her cloathes to her, tooke up the slaine bodies one after another, and wrapped them up in such things as she could get, speaking never a word, nor shewing any signe or token of griefe. And in fine, having prepared her selfe to die, and plucked off her Attire her selfe, without suffering any other to come near her, or to see her, but the Hangman that was appointed to strike off her head, in this sort she died as constantly, as the stoutest man living could have done; and had so covered her Body, that no man needed after her death to touch her, so carefull was she to her end, to keep her honesty, which she had alwaies kept in her life: and in her death was mindfull of her honour, wherewith she decked her Body in her life time. Thus these LACEDÆMONIAN Ladies playing their parts in this pitifull Tragedy, contending at the time of death, even with the courage of the slain SPARTANS their Countreyemen, which of them should die most constantly, left a manifest proof and testimony, that fortune hath no power over fortitude and courage. Shortly after, those that were appointed to keepe the Body of King *Cleomenes* that hung upon the Crosse, they spied a great Serpent wreathed about his head, that covered all his face, inso much as no ravening Fowl durst come near him to eate of it: whereupon the King fell into a superstitious fear, being afraid that he had offended the gods. Hereupon, the Ladies in his Court began to make many Sacrifices of purification, for the clearing of this sinne: perswading themselves, that they had put a man to death beloved of the gods, and that he had something more in him then a man. The ALEXANDRIANS thereupon went to the place of execution, and made their prayers unto *Cleomenes*, as unto a demy-god, calling him the Son of the gods: untill that the Learned-men brought them from that error, declaring unto them, that like as of Oxen being dead and rotten there breed Bees, and of Horse also come Waspes, and of Asses likewise Bettels: even so mens Bodies when the marrow melteth and gathereth together, do bring forth Serpents. The which coming to the knowledge of the Ancients in old time, of all other Beasts they did consecrate the Dragon to Kings and Princes, as proper unto Man.

Cleomenes hanging upon a Crosse, had a Serpent wreathed about his head.

Living things breeding of the corruption of dead Beasts.

Why the Dragon is consecrated unto Princes.

The end of the Life of Agis and Cleomenes.

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TIB 8-

TIBERIUS and CAIUS. GRACCHI.



Ann. Mund.
3773.

Ant. Christ.
175.

The worthi-
ness of Tibe-
rius Gracchus
the Father.
Tiberius Grac-
chus the Father,
married Corne-
lia the Daugh-
ter of Scipio.

The tender
love of Tibe-
rius to his Wife
Cornelia.
The praise of
Cornelia, Mo-
ther of the
Gracchi.

A true descrip-
tion of Tibe-
rius and Caius
Gracchi.

NOW that we have declared unto you the History of the Lives of these two GRECIANS, Agis and Cleomenes aforesaid, we must also write the History of two ROMANES; the which is no lesse lamentable for the troubles and calamities that chanced unto Tiberius and Caius, both of them the Sonnes of Tiberius Gracchus. He having been twice Consull, and once Censor, and having had the Honour of two Triumphes; had notwithstanding more Honour and Fame onely for his Valiantnesse, for the which he was thought worthy to marry with Cornelia, the Daughter of Scipio, who overcame Hannibal after the death of his Father: though while he lived he was never his Friend, but rather his Enemy. It is reported, that Tiberius on a time found two Snakes in his Bed, and that the Soothsayers and Wifards having considered the signification thereof, did forbid him to kill them both, and also to let them both escape, but one onely: assuring him that if he killed the Male he should not live long after; and if he killed the Female, that then his Wife Cornelia should die. Tiberius then loving his Wife dearly, thinking it meet for him also, that he being the elder of both, and she yet a young Woman, should die before her, he slew the Male, and let the Female escape; howbeit he died soon after, leaving twelve Children alive, all of them begotten of Cornelia. Cornelia after the death of her Husband, taking upon her the rule of her House and Children, led such a chaste life, was so good to her Children, and of so noble a minde, that every man thought Tiberius a wife man for that he died, and left her behinde him. She remaining Widow, King Ptolemy made suite unto her, and would have made her his Wife and Queene: but she refused, and in her Widow-hood lost all her Children, but one Daughter (whom she bestowed upon the younger Scipio African) and Tiberius, and Caius, whose Lives we presently write. Those she carefully brought up, that they being become more civill, and better conditioned then any other ROMANES in their time, every man judged, that Education prevailed more in them then Nature. For, as in the favours and Pictures of Castor and Pollux, there is a certaine difference discerned, whereby a man may know that the one was made for Wrestling, and the other for Running; even so between these two young Brethren, amongst other the great likeness between them, being both happily borne to be Valiant, to be Temperate, to be Liberal, to be Learned, and to be Nobly-minded, there grew notwithstanding great difference in their actions and doings in the Common-wealth, the which I thinke convenient to declare, before I proceed any further. First of all, for the favour of the Face, the looke and moving of the Body, Tiberius was much more mild and tractable, and Caius more hot and earnest. For the first in his Orations was very modest, and kept his place: and the other of all the ROMANES was the first that in his Oration jetted up and down the Pulpit, and that plucked his Gown over his shoulders: as they write of Cleo ATHENIAN, that he was the first of all Oratours that opened his Gowne, and clapped his hand on his thigh in his Oration. Furthermore, Caius words, and the vehemency of his perswasion, were terrible and full of passion; but Tiberius words in contrary manner, were mild, moved men more to compassion, being very proper, and excellently applied; where Caius words were full of fineness and curiosity. The like difference

rence also was between them in their Fare and Diet. For Tiberius alwaies kept a convenient Ordinary: and Caius also in respect of other ROMANES, lived very temperately; but in respect of his Brothers Fare, curiously and superfluously. Inasmuch as Drusus on a time reproved him, because he had bought certaine Dolphins of Silver, to the value of a thousand two hundred and fifty Drachmaes for every Pound weight. And now, as touching the manners and naturall disposition of them both agreeing with the diversity of their Tongues, the one being mild and plausible, and the other hot and cholerick: inasmuch that otherwhile forgetting himselfe in his Oration, against his will he would be very earnest and straine his voice beyond his compasse, and so with great uncomeliness confound his words. Yet finding his own fault, he devised this remedy. He had a Servant called Lucinius, a goodwife man, who with an Instrument of Musick he had, by the which they teach men to rise and fall in their Tunes, when he was in his Oration, he ever stood behinde him; and when he perceived that his Masters Voice was a little too loud, and that through choler he exceeded his ordinary speech, he played a soft stop behind him, at the sound whereof Caius immediately fell from his extremitie, and easily came to himselfe againe. And here was the diversity between them. Otherwise, for their hardnesse against their Enemies, justice unto their Tenants, the care and paines in their Offices of Charge, and also their continency against voluptuousnesse, in all these they were both alike. For age, Tiberius was elder by nine yeares, by reason whereof their severall authority and doings in the Common-wealth fell out at sundry times. And this was one of the chiefest causes why their doings prospered not, because they had not both authority in one self-time, neither could they joyne their power together: the which if it had met at one self-time, had been of great force, and peradventure invincible. Wherefore we must write particularly of them both, but first of all we must begin with the Elder. He, when he came to mans state, had such a name and estimation, that immediately they made him fellow in the Colledge of the Priests, which at ROMA are called Augures (being those that have the charge to consider of Signes and Preditions of things to come) more for his Valiantnesse then for Nobility. The same doth Appian Clodius witnesse unto us, one that hath been both Consull and Censor, and also Praesident of the Senate, and of greater authority then any man in his time. This Appian at a Supper when all the Augures were together; after he had saluted Tiberius, and made very much of him, he offered him his Daughter in marriage: Tiberius was very glad of the offer, and therewithall the marriage was presently concluded between them. Thereupon Appian coming home to his house, at the threshold of his Door he called aloud for his Wife, and told her: Antistia, I have bestowed our Daughter Clodia. She wondering at it, O gods said she, and what needed all this haste? what couldst thou have done more, if thou haddest gotten her Tiberius Gracchus for her Husband? I know that some refer this History unto Tiberius, Father of these men we write of, and unto Scipio the AFRICAN: but the most part of Writers agree with that we write at this present. And Polybius himselfe also writeth, that after the death of Scipio AFRICAN, his friends being met together, they chose Tiberius before all the other young men of the City to marry him unto Cornelia, being free, and unpromised, or bestowed upon any man by her Father. Now Tiberius the younger being in the Warres in AFRICA under Scipio the second, who had married his Sister; lying in the Tent with him, he found his Captaine indued with many noble Gifts of Nature; to allure mens hearts to desire to follow his valiantnesse. So in a short time he did excell all the young men of his time, as well in obedience, as in the valiantnesse of his Person: inasmuch that he was the first man that scaled the Walls of the Enemies, as Fannius reporteth, who saith that he scaled the Walls with him, and did helpe him in that valiant Enterprize. So that being present, all the Campe were in love with him; and when he was absent, every man wished for him againe. After this Warre was ended, he was chosen Treasurer, and it was his chance to go against the NUMANTINES, with Caius Mancinus one of the Consuls, who was an honest man, but yet had the worst luck of any Captaine the ROMANES had. Notwithstanding, Tiberius with dome and valiantnesse, in this extreme ill lucke of his Captaine, did not onely appeare with great glory to him, but also most wonderful, by the great obedience and reverence he bare unto his Captaine: though his misfortunes did so trouble and grieve him, that he could not tell himselfe whether he was Captaine or not. For when he was overthrowne in great foughten Fields, he departed in the night, and left his Campe. The NUMANTINES hearing of it, first took his Campe, and then ran after them that fled; and setting upon the rereward, slew them, and environed all his Army. So that they were driven into straight and narrow places, where out they could by no means escape. Thereupon Mancinus despairing that he could get out by force, he sent a Herald to the Enemies to treat of peace. The NUMANTINES made answer that they would trust no man but Tiberius onely, that therefore they willed he should be sent unto them. They desired that, partly for the love they bare unto the Vertues of the young man, because there was no talke of any other in all this Warre but of him: and partly also, as remembering his Father Tiberius, who making Warres in SPAIN, and having there subdued many Nations, he granted the NUMANTINES peace, the which he caused the ROMANES afterwards to confirme and ratifie. Hereupon Tiberius was sent to speake with them, and partly obtaining that he desired, and partly also granted them that they required, he concluded peace with them, whereby assuredly he saved the lives of twenty thousand ROMANE Citizens, besides Slaves and other stragglers that willingly followed the Campe. This notwithstanding, the NUMANTINES tooke the spoile of all the goods they found in the ROMANES Campe, among the which they found Tiberius Booke of accompt touching the Money disbursed of the Treasurie in his Charge. Tiberius being marvellous desirous to have his Booke againe, returned backe to NUMANTIA with two or three of his friends onely,

Tiberius made
Augure.

Tiberius married
Appian Clodia
his Daughter.

Tiberius Soul-
dier-fare.

Tiberius Grac-
chus chosen
Quæstor.

Tiberius Grac-
chus conclu-
deth peace
with the Nu-
mantines.

though the Army of the ROMANS were gone far on their way. So coming to the Towne, he spake unto the Governours of the City, and prayed them to re-deliver him his Bookes of account, because his malicious Enemies should not accuse him, calling him to account for his doings. The NUMANTINES were very glad of this good hap, and prayed him to come into the Towne. He standing still in doubt with himselfe what to do, whether he should go into the Towne, or not: the Governours of the City came to him, and taking him by the hand prayed he would thinke they were not his Enemies, but good Friends, and that he would trust them. Whereupon *Tiberius* thought best to yeeld to their perswasion, being desirous also to have his Bookes againe, and the rather, for fear of offending the NUMANTINES, if he should have denied and mistrusted them. When he was brought into the City, they provided his Dinner, and were very earnest with him, intreating him to dine with them. Then they gave him his Bookes againe, and offered him moreover to take what he would of all the Spoiles they had gotten in the Campe of the ROMANS. Howbeit of all that, he would take nothing but Frankinsence, which he used, when he did any Sacrifice for his Country: and then taking his leave of them, with thanks he returned. When he was returned to ROME, all this peace concluded was utterly misliked, as dishonourable to the majesty of the Empire of ROME. Yet the Parents and Friends of them that had served in this Warre, making the greatest part of the People, they gathered about *Tiberius*, saying, that what faults were committed in this Service, they were to impute it unto the Consul *Mancinus*, and not unto *Tiberius*, who had saved such a number of ROMANS lives. Notwithstanding, they that were offended with this dishonourable peace, would that therein they should follow the example of their Fore-fathers in the like case. For they sent backe their Captaines naked unto their Enemies, because they were contented the SAMNITES should spoile them of that they had, to escape with life. Moreover, they did not only send them the Captaines and Consuls, but all those also that bare any Office in the Field, and had consented unto that condition: to the end they might lay all the perjury and breach of peace upon them. Herein therefore did manifestly appeare, the love and good-will the People did beare unto *Tiberius*: for they gave order, that the Consul *Mancinus* should be sent naked and bound unto the NUMANTINES, and for *Tiberius* sake they pardoned all the rest. I thinke *Scipio*, who bare great sway at that time in ROME, and was a man of greatest account, did helpe him at a pinch, who notwithstanding was ill thought of, because he did not also save the Consul *Mancinus*, and confirme the peace concluded with the NUMANTINES, considering it was made by *Tiberius* his Friend and Kinsman. But these mislikings grew chiefly through the ambition of *Tiberius* Friends, and certaine men, which stirred him up against *Scipio*. But yet it fell not out to open malice between them, neither followed there any hurt upon it. And surely I am perswaded, that *Tiberius* had not fallen into those troubles he did afterwards, if *Scipio* AFRICAN had been present, when he passed those things he preferred. But *Scipio* was then in Warres at the Siege of NUMANTIA, when *Tiberius* upon this occasion passed these Laws. When the ROMANS in old time had overcome any of their neighbours, for ransom they tooke oftentimes a great deale of their Land from them, part whereof they sold by the Crier, for the benefit of the Common-wealth; and part also they reserved to their State as a demaine, which afterwards was let out to Farme for a small Rent yearly, to the poor Citizens that had no Lands. Howbeit the rich men inhauced the Rents; and so began to thrust out the poor men. Thereupon was an Ordinance made, that no Citizen of ROME should have above five hundred Acres of Land. This Law for a time did bridle the covetousness of the rich men, and did ease the poor also that dwelt in the Countrey, upon the Farmes they had taken up of the Common-wealth, and so lived with their own, or with that their Acellours had from the beginning. But in proesse of time, their rich neighbours, by Names of other men, got their Farmes over their heads, and in the end, the most of them were openly seen in it in their own Names. Whereupon, the poor People being thus turned out of all, went with faint courage afterwards to the Warre, nor cared any more for bringing up their Children. So that in short time, the Free-men left ITALY, and Slaves and barbarous People did replenish it, whom the rich men made to Plough those Lands which they had taken from the ROMANS. *Caius Lelius*, one of *Scipio*'s friends, gave an attempt to reforme this abuse: but because the chieft of the City were against him, fearing it would breake out to some uproare, he desisted from his purpose, and therefore he was called *Lelius* the wise. But *Tiberius* being chosen Tribune, he did forthwith preferre the reformation aforesaid being allured unto it (as divers Writers report) by *Diophanes* the Oratour, and *Blossius* the Philosopher: of the which, *Diophanes* was banished from the City of MITYLENE, and *Blossius* the ITALIAN from the City of CAME; who was Schollar and familiar unto *Antipater* of TARSUS at ROME, by whom he was honoured for certaine Works of Philosophy he dedicated unto him. And some also do accuse their Mother *Cornelia*, who did twit her Sons in the teeth, that the ROMANS did yet call her *Scipio*'s Mother-in-law, and not the Mother of the *Gracchi*. Other say it was *Spurius Posthumus*, a Companion of *Tiberius*, and one that contended with him in Eloquence. For *Tiberius* returning from the Warres, and finding him far beyond him in fame reputation, and well beloved of every one, he sought to excell him by attempting this noble Enterprife, and of so great expectation. His own Brother *Caius* in a certaine Booke, wrote, that as he went to the Warres of NUMANTIA, passing through THUSCAN, he found the Countrey in manner uninhabited: and they that did follow the Plough, or keepe Feasts were the most of them Slaves, and barbarous People, come out of a strange Countrey. Whereupon ever after it ran in his minde to bring this Enterprife to passe: which brought great troubles to their house. But in fine, it was the People onely that most set his heart on fire to covet honour, and that hastened his determination:

The peace broken with the NUMANTINES.

Why *Tiberius* preferred the Law Agraria.

Fugera.

Why *Caius Lelius* was called the wise, *Tiberius Gracchus* chosen Tribune of the people.

nation: first bringing him to is by Bills set up on every Wall, in every Porch, and upon the Tombs, praying him by them to cause the poor Citizens of ROME to have their Lands restored, which were belonging to the Common-wealth. This notwithstanding he himselfe made not the Law alone of his own head, but did it by the counsell and advice of the chieft men of ROME, for vertue and estimation: among the which, *Craffus* the high Bishop was one, and *Mutius Scavola* the Lawyer, that then was Consul, and *Appius Claudius* his Father-in-law. And truly it seemeth, that never Law was made with greater favour, then that which he preferred against so great injustice and avarice. For those that should have been punished for transgressing the Law, and should have had the Lands taken from them by force, which they unjustly kept against the Law of ROME, and that should also have been amerced for it, he ordained that they should be payed by the Common-wealth to the value of the Lands, which they held unjustly: and so should leave them to the poor Citizens againe that had no Land, and lacked helpe and relief. Now, though the reformation established by this Law, was done with such great favour, the People notwithstanding were contented, and would forget all that was past, to that they might have no more wrong offered them in time to come. But the rich men, and men of great Possessions, hated the Law for their avarice; and for spite and self-will (which would not let them yeeld) they were at deadly feud with the Lawyer that had preferred the Law, and sought by all device they could to disswade the People from it: telling them that *Tiberius* brought in this Law Agraria againe, to disturbe the Common-wealth, and to make some alteration in the State. But they prevailed not: for *Tiberius* defending the matter, which of it selfe was good and just, with such Eloquence as might have justified an evill cause, was invincible: and no man was able to argue against him to confute him, when speaking in the behalfe of the poor Citizens of ROME (the People being gathered round about the Pulpit for Orations) he told them, that the wild Beasts through ITALY had their Dens and Caves of abode, and that the men that fought, and were flaine for their Countrey, had nothing else but ayre and light; and so were compelled to wander up and down with their Wives and Children, having no resting place nor house to put their heads in: and that the Captaines do but mocke their Souldiers, when they encourage them in Battell to fight valiantly for the Graves, the Temples, their own Houses, and their Predecessours. For, said he, of such a number of poor Citizens as there be, there cannot a man of them shew any ancient House or Tombe of their Ancestors: because the poor men do go to the Warres, and be flaine for the rich mens pleasures and wealth: besides, they fallily call them Lords of the Earth, where they have not a handfull of Ground that is theirs. These and such other like words being uttered before all the People with such vehemency and troth, did so move the common People withall, and put them in such a rage, that there was no Adversary of his able to withstand him. Therefore, leaving to contrary and deny the Law by argument, the rich men did put all their trust in *Marcus Octavius*, Colleague and fellow Tribune with *Tiberius* in Office, who was a grave and wise young man, and *Tiberius*'s very familiar friend. So that the first time they came to him, to oppose him against the confirmation of this Law, he prayed them to hold him excused, because *Tiberius* was his very friend. But in the end, being compelled unto it through the great number of the rich men that were importunate with him, he did withstand *Tiberius* Law, the which was enough to overthrow it. For if any one of the Tribunes speake against it, though all the other passe with it, he overthroweth it: because they all can do nothing, if one of them be against it. *Tiberius* being very much offended with it, proceeded no further in this first favourable Law, but in a rage preferred another more grateful to the common People, as also more extreame against the rich. In that Law he ordained, that whosoever had any Lands contrary to the ancient Lawes of ROME, that he should presently depart from them. But thereupon there fell out continuall brawls in the Pulpit for Orations, against *Octavius*: in the which though they were very earnest and vellement one against another, yet there passed no foule words from them (how hot soever they were one with another) that should shame his Companion. Whereby it appeareth, that to be well brought up, breedeth such a stay and knowledge in a man, not onely in things of pleasure to make him regard his credit, both in word and deed, but in passion and anger also, and in their greatest ambition of glory. Thereupon *Tiberius* finding that this Law among others touched *Octavius*, because he joyed a great deale of Land that was the Common-wealths, he prayed him secretly to contend no more against him, promising him to give him of his own, the value of those Lands which he should be driven to forsake, although he was not very able to performe it. But when he saw *Octavius* would not be perswaded, he then preferred a Law that all Magistrates and Officers should cease their Authority, till the Law was either, past or rejected, by voices of the People: and thereupon he set his own Seale upon the Doores of the Temple of *Saturnus*, where the Coffers of the Treasure lay, because the Treasurers themselves during that time, should neither take out nor put in any thing, upon great Penalties to be forfeited by the Prators or any other Magistrate of authority that should breake this Order. Hereupon, all the Magistrates fearing this Penalty, did leave to exercise their Office for the time. But then the rich men that were of great Livings, changed their Apparell, and walked very sadly up and down the Marker-place, and layed secret waite to take *Tiberius* having hired men to kill him: which caused *Tiberius* himselfe, openly before them all, to wear a short Dagger under his long Gown, properly called in Latine, *Dolon*. When the day came that his Law should be established, *Tiberius* called the People to give their voices: and the rich men on the other side, they tooke away the Pots by force, wherein the Papers of mens voices were throwne, so that there was like to fall out a fire upon it. For the Faction of *Tiberius* was the stronger side, by the number of People that were gathered about him for that purpose: had it not been for *Mutius*, and

Counsellours to *Tiberius* for preferring this Law, *Lex Agraria*.

Tiberius Orations,

Marcus Octavius Tribune, did withstand *Tiberius* Law.

The modest contention betwixt *Tiberius* and *Octavius*.

and Fulvius, both the which had been Consuls; who went unto him, and besought him with the teares in their eyes, and holding up their hands, that he would let the Law alone. *Tiberius* thereupon, foreseeing the instant danger of some great mischief, as also for the reverence he bare unto two such noble Persons, he stayed a little, and asked them what they would have him to do. They made answer, that they were not able to counsell him in a matter of so great weight, but they prayed him notwithstanding, he would be contented to referre it to the judgement of the Senate. Thereupon he granted them presently. But afterwards perceiving that the Senate fate upon it, and had determined nothing, because the rich men were of too great authority, he entred into another device that was neither honest nor meet; which was to deprive *Othavium* of his Tribuneship, knowing that otherwise he could not possibly come to passe the Law. But before he tooke that course, he openly intreated him in the face of the People with courteous words, and tooke him by the hand, and prayed him to stand no more against him; and to do the People this pleasure, which required a matter just and reasonable, and onely requested this small recompence for the great paines they tooke in service abroad for their Countrey. *Othavium* denied him plainly. Then said *Tiberius* openly, that both of them being Brethren in one selfe place and authority, and contrary one to another in a matter of so great weight, this contention could not be possibly ended, without civill Warre: and that he could see no way to remedy it, unless one of them two were depofed from their Office. Thereupon he bad *Othavium* begin first with him, and he would rise from the bench with a good will, and become a private man, if the People were so contented. *Othavium* would do nothing in it. *Tiberius* then replied, that he would be doing with him, if he altered not his minde, upon a better breath and consideration: and so dismissed the Assembly for that day. The next morning the People being againe assembled, *Tiberius* going up to his Seate, attempted againe to perswade *Othavium* to leave off. In fine, finding him still a man unremoveable, he referred the matter to the voices of the People, whether they were contented *Othavium* should be depofed from his Office. Now there were five and thirty Tribes of the People, of the which seventeen of them had already passed their voices against *Othavium*, so that there remained but one Tribe more to put him out of his Office. Then *Tiberius* made them stay for proceeding any further, and prayed *Othavium* againe, embracing him before all the People, with all the intreaty possible, that for self-will sake he would not suffer such an open shame to be done unto him, as to be put out of his Office, neither also to make him the occasion and instrument of so pitifull a deed. They say that *Othavium* at this last intreaty was somewhat moved and won by his perswasions, and that weeping, he stayed a long time, and made no answer. But when he looked upon the rich men that stood in a great company together he was ashamed (I think) to have their ill wils, and rather betooke himselfe to the losse of his Office, and so bad *Tiberius* do what he would. Thereupon he being deprived by voices of the People, *Tiberius* commanded one of his infranchised bondmen to pull him out of the Pulpit for Orations: for he used his infranchised bondmen instead of Sergeants. This made the sight so much more lamentable, to see *Othavium* thus shamefully pluckt away by force. Yea furthermore, the common People would have runne upon him, but the rich men came to rescue him, and would not suffer them to doe him further hurt. So *Othavium* saved himselfe running away alone, after he had been rescued thus from the fury of the People. Moreover, there was a faithfull Servant of *Othavium*, who stepping before his Master to save him from hurt, had his eyes pulled out against *Tiberius* minde, who ranne to the rescue with all speed when he heard the noise. After that, the Law Agraria passed for division of Lands, and three Commissioners were appointed to make inquiry and distribution thereof. The Commissioners appointed were these: *Tiberius* himselfe, *Appius Clodius* his Father-in-law, and *Caius Gracchus* his Brother, who were not at that time in Rome, but in the Campe with *Scipio Africanus*, at the Siege of the City of *Numantia*. Thus *Tiberius* very quietly passed over these matters, and no man durst withstand him: and furthermore, he substituted in *Othavium* place no man of quality, but onely one of his followers, called *Antius*. For which cause the Noble-men were sore offended with him, and fearing the increase of his greatnesse, they being in the Senate-house did what they could possible to do him despite and shame. For when *Tiberius* demanded a Tent at the charge of the Common-wealth, when he should go abroad to make division of these Lands, as they usually granted unto others, that many times went in farr meaner Commissions, they flatly denied him; and through the procurement of *P. Nafica* (who being a great landed man in his Countrey, shewed himselfe in this Action his mortall Enemy, taking it grievously to be compelled to depart from his Land) onely granted him nine of their Oboli a day, for his ordinary allowance. But the People on the other side were all in an uproare against the rich. Infomuch as one of *Tiberius* friends being dead upon the suddaine, upon whose body being dead there appeared very ill Signes, the common People ranne suddainly to his Buriall, and cried out, that he was poysoned. And so taking up the Bier whereon his Body lay upon their shoulders, they were present at the fire of his Funerals, where immediately appeared certaine Signes to make them suspect, that indeed there was vehement cause of presumption: he was poysoned. For his Belly burst, whereout there issued such abundance of corrupt humours, that they put out the first fire, and made them fetch another, the which also they could not make to burne, untill that they were compelled to carry the Body into some other place, where notwithstanding they had much adoe to make it burne. *Tiberius* seeing that, to make the common People mutiny the more, he put on mourning Apparell, and brought his Sonnes before them, and besought the People to be good unto them and their Mother, as one that despaired of his health and safety. About that time

Tiberius depofeth *Othavium* of his Tribuneship.

Tiberius preferreth the Law Agraria.

died *Attalus* surnamed *Philopater*, and *Eudemus* *PERGAMENIAN* brought his Will to Rome, in the which he made the People of Rome his Heire. Wherefore *Tiberius*, still to increase the good will of the common People towards him, preferred a Law immediately, that the ready Money that came by the Inheritance of this King, should be distributed among the poor Citizens, on whose Lot it should fall to have any part of the division of the Lands of the Common-wealth to furnish them towards house, and to set up their Tillage. Furthermore, he said, that concerning the Towns and Cities of the Kingdome of *Attalus*, the Senate had nothing to do to take any order with them, but that the People were to dispose of them, and that he himselfe would put it out. That made him againe more hated of the Senate then before, infomuch as there was one *Pompey* a Senator, that standing up, said, that he was next neighbour unto *Tiberius*, and that by reason of his neighbour-hood he knew that *Eudemus* *PERGAMENIAN* had given him one of King *Attalus* Royall Bands, with a purple Gown besides, for a token that he should one day be King of Rome. And *Quintus Metellus* also reproved him, for that his Father being Censor, the ROMANES having supped in the Town, and repairing every man home to his house, they did put out their Torches and Lights, because men seeing them returne, they should not thinke they carried too long in company banqueting: and that in contrary manner, the seditious and needy rabble of the common People did light his Sonne home, and accompany him all night long up and down the Town. At that time there was one *Titus Annius*, a man that had no goodnesse nor honesty in him, howbeit taken for a great reasoner, and for a subtill Questioner and Answerer. He provoked *Tiberius* to answer him, whether he had not committed a shamefull Fact against his Companion and Brother Tribune, to defame him that by the Lawes of Rome should have been holy and untouched. The People tooke this provocation very angrily, and *Tiberius* also coming out, and having assembled the People, commanded them to bring this *Annius* before him, that he might be ended in the Market-place. But he finding himselfe farre inferiour unto *Tiberius* both in Dignity and Eloquence, ranne to his fine subtill questions, to take a man at his word: and prayed *Tiberius* before he did proceed to his Accusation, that he would first answer him to a question he would aske him. *Tiberius* bad him say what he would. So silence being made, *Annius* asked him: If thou wouldest defame me, and offer me injury, and that I called one of thy Companions to helpe me, and he should rise to take my part, and anger thee: wouldest thou therefore put him out of his Office? It is reported *Tiberius* was so gravelled with this question, that though he was one of the readiest speakers, and the boldest in his Orations of any man, yet at that time he held his peace, and had no power to speake, and therefore he presently dismissed the Assembly. Afterwards, understanding that of all the things he did, the depofing of *Othavium* from his Office was thought (not onely of the Nobility, but of the common People also) as foule and wilfull a part as ever he played, for that thereby he had imbased and utterly overthrowne the Dignity of the Tribunes, the which was alwaies had in great veneration untill that present time: to excuse himselfe therefore, he made an excellent Oration to the People, whereof we will set down some speciall Points, that you may the better discern thereby the force and effect of his Eloquence. "The Tribuneship (said he) indeed was a Holy and Sacred thing, as particularly consecrated to the People, and established for their benefit and safety: where contrariwise, if the Tribune do offer the People any wrong, he thereby minisheth their power, and taketh away the meanes from them to declare their wils by voices; besides that he doth also imbase his owne authority, leaving to do the thing for the which his Authority was first given him. Or otherwise we could not chuse, not suffer a Tribune, if it pleased him, to overthrow the Capitoll, or to set fire on the Arsenall; and yet notwithstanding this wicked part, if it were committed, he should be Tribune of the People still, though a leud Tribune. But when he goeth about to take away the authority and power of the People, then he is no more a Tribune. Were not this against all reason, thinke you, that a Tribune when he list, may take a Consul, and commit him to Prison? and that the People should not withstand the Authority of the Tribune, who gave him the same, when he would use his authority to the prejudice of the People? for the People are they that do chuse both Consul and Tribune. Furthermore, the Kingly Dignity (because in the same is contained the absolute authority and power of all other kinds of Magistrates and Offices together) is consecrated with very great and holy Ceremonies, drawing very near unto the god-head: and yet the People expelled King *Tarquinius*, because he used his authority with cruelty; and for the injury he offered one man onely, the most ancient rule and government (by the which the foundation of Rome was first laid) was utterly abolished. And who is there in all the City of Rome to be reckoned so holy as the Vestall Nuns, which have the custody and keeping of the everlasting Fire? and yet if any of these be taken in fornication, she is buried alive for her offence: for when they are not holy to the gods, they lose the liberty they have, in respect of serving the gods. Even so also it is unmeet, that the Tribune if he offend the People, should for the Peoples sake be revered any more, seeing that through his own folly he had deprived himselfe of that authority they gave him. And if it be so that he was chosen Tribune by the most part of the Tribes of the People, then by reason is he justly deprived that by all the whole Tribes together is forsaken and depofed. There is nothing more holy nor inviolate then things offered up unto the gods: and yet it was never seen that any man did forbid the People to take them, to remove and transport them from place to place, as they thought good. Even so, they may as lawfully transferr the Office of the Tribune unto any other, as any other Offering consecrated to the gods. Furthermore, it is manifest that any Officer or Magistrate may lawfully depofe himselfe: for it hath been often seen, that men in Office have de-

King *Attalus* made the People of Rome his Heire. *Tiberius* Law for dividing of *Attalus* Monney.

Titus Annius a subtill Questioner and Answerer of things.

The Oration of *Tiberius Gracchus*, touching the power and authority of the Tribune.

Other Lawes
made by Tibe-
rius Gracchus.

Unlucky signes
unto Tiberius.

Flavius Flac-
cus bewrayeth
the conspiracy
against Tiberi-
us.

"prived themselves, or otherwise sued to be discharged. This was the effect of *Tiberius* Purgation. Now his friends perceiving the threats the rich and Noblemen gave out against him, they wished him for the safety of his Person, to make suite to be Tribune againe the next year. Whereupon he began to flatter the common People again afresh, by new Lawes which he preferred: by the which he tooke away the time and number of yeares prescribed, when every Citizen of Rome was bound to go to the Warres being called, and his Name Billed. He made it lawfull also for men to appeale from sentence of the Judges unto the People, and thrust in also amongst the Senatours (which then had absolute authority to judge among themselves) a like number of the ROMANE Knights, and by this meanes sought to weaken and imbase the authority of the Senate, increasing also the power of the People, more of malice then any reason, or for any justice or benefit to the Common-wealth. Furthermore, when it came to the gathering of the voices of the People for the confirmation of his new Lawes, finding that his Enemies were the stronger in the Assembly, because all the People were not yet come together, he fell a quarrelling with his Brethren the Tribunes, alwaies to winne them; and yet in the end brake up the Assembly, commanding them to returne the next morning. There he would be the first man in the Market-place, apparelled all in blacke, his face beblubbered with teares, and looking heavily upon the matter, praying the People assembled to have compassion upon him, saying, that he was afraid lest his Enemies would come in the night, and overthrow his house to kill him. Thereupon the People were so moved withall, that many of them came and brought their Tents, and lay about his house to watch it. At the breake of the day, the Keeper of the Chickens (by signes of the which they do divine of things to come) brought them unto him, and cast them down Meate before them. None of them would come out of the Cage but one onely, and yet with much ado, shaking the Cage: and when it came out, it would eate no Meate, but onely lift up her left Wing, and put forth her Legge, and so ranne into the Cage againe. This signe made *Tiberius* remember another he had had before. He had a marvellous faire Helmet and very rich, which he wore in the Warres: under it were crept two Snakes unawares to any, and layed Egges, and hatche them. This made *Tiberius* wonder the more, because of the ill signes of the Chickens: notwithstanding, he went out of his house when he heard that the People were assembled in the Capitoll; but as he went out, he hit his foot such a blow against a Stone at the threshold of the Doore, that he brake the naile of his great Toe, which fell in such a bleeding that it bled through his Shoe. Againe, he had not gone farr, but he saw upon the top of a house on his left hand, a couple of Ravens fighting together: and notwithstanding that there past a great number of People by, yet a stone which one of these Ravens cast from them, came and fell hard at *Tiberius* foot. The fall thereof staied the stoutest man he had about him. But *Blossius* the Philosopher of CUMES that did accompany him, told him it were a great shame for him, and enough to kill the hearts of all his followers, that *Tiberius* being the Sonne of *Gracchus*, and Nephew of *Scipio* the AFRICAN; and the chiefe man besides of all the Peoples side, for feare of a Raven, should not obey his Citizens that called him: and how that his Enemies and ill-willers would not make a laughing sport of it, but would plainly tell the People, that this was a trick of a Tyrant that reigned indeed, and that for pride and disdaine did abuse the Peoples good wils. Furthermore, divers Messengers came unto him, and said, that his friends that were in the Capitoll, sent to pray him to make haste, for all went well with him. When he came thither, he was honourably received: for the People seeing him coming, cried out for joy to welcome him; and when he was gotten up to his Seate, they shewed themselves both carefull and loving towards him, looking warily that none came neare him, but such as they knew well. When *Mutius* began againe to call the Tribes of the People to give their voices, he could not proceed according to the accustomed order in the like case, for the great noise the hindmost People made, thrusting forward, and being driven backe, and one mingling with another. In the meane time *Flavius Flaccus*, one of the Senatours, got up into a place where all the People might see him, and when he saw that his voice could not be heard of *Tiberius*, he made a signe with his hand that he had some matter of great importance to tell him. *Tiberius* straight bad them make a lane through the presse. So, with much ado, *Flavius* came at length unto him, and told him, that the rich men in open Senate, when they could not frame the Consull to their wils, determined themselves to come and kill him, having a great number of their friends and bond-men armed for the purpose. *Tiberius* immediatly declared this conspiracy unto his friends and followers, who straight girt their long Gownes unto them, and brake the Sergeants Javelins which they carried in their hands to make room among the People, and tooke the truncheons of the same to resist those that would set upon them. The People also that stood furthest off, marvelled at it, and asked what the matter was. *Tiberius* by a signe to tell them the danger he was in, laid both his hands on his head, because they could not hear his voice for the great noise they made. His Enemies seeing the signe he gave, ranne presently to the Senate, crying out, that *Tiberius* required a Royall Band or Diademe of the People, and that it was an evident signe, because they saw him clappe his hands upon his head. This Tale troubled all the company. Whereupon *Nasica* befought the Consull, chiefe of the Senate, to helpe the Common-wealth, and to take away this Tyrant. The Consull gently answered againe, that he would use no force, neither put any Citizen to death, but lawfully condemned: as also he would not receive *Tiberius*, nor protect him, if the People by his perswasion or commandement should commit any Act contrary to the Law. *Nasica* then rising in anger, Sith the matter is so (said he) that the Consull regardeth not the Common-wealth, all you then that will defend the Authority of the Law, follow me. Thereupon he cast the

Skirt

Nasica doth
set upon Tibe-
rius *Gracchus*.

Tiberius *Grac-
chus* the Tri-
bune slaine.

Tiberius friends
slaine.
The cruell
death of *Caius
Bilius*.

Nasica chiefe
Bishop of
Rome.

Scipios sen-
tence of the
death of Tibe-
rius *Gracchus*.

Skirt of his Gown over his head, and went straight to the Capitoll. They that followed him also tooke their Gownes and wrapped them about their armes, and laied at as many as they might, to make them give way: and yet very few of the People durst meet with such States as they were to stay them, because they were the chiefe men of the City; but every man flying from them, they fell one on anothers neck for haste. They that followed them, had brought from home great Leavers and Clubs, and as they went they tooke up feete of Treffles and Chaires which the People had overthrowne and broken, running away, and hid them apace to meet with *Tiberius*, striking at them that stood in their way: so that in short space they had disperfed all the common People, and many were slaine flying. *Tiberius* seeing that, betooke him to his legges to save himselfe; but as he was flying, one tooke him by the Gowne and stayed him: but he leaving his Gown behind him, ranne in his Coate, and running fell upon them that were down before. So, as he was rising up againe, the first man that strake him, and that was plainly seene strike him, was one of the Tribunes his Brethren, called *Publius Saturnius*, who gave him a great rap on the head with the foot of a Chaire; and the second blow he had, was given him by *Lucius Rufus* that boasted of it, as if he had done a notable Act. In this tumult, there were slaine above three hundred men, and were all killed with Staves and Stones, and not one man hurt with any Iron. This was the first sedition among the Citizens of Rome, that fell out with murther and bloodshed, since the expulsion of the Kings. But for all other former dissensions (which were no trifles) they were easily pacified, either Party giving place to other: the Senate for feare of the Commoners, and the People for reverence they bare to the Senate. And it seemeth that *Tiberius* himselfe would easily have yeelded also, if they had proceeded by faire meanes and perswasion, so they had meant good faith, and would have killed no man: for at that time he had not in all above three thousand men of the People about him. But surely it seemes this conspiracy was executed against him, more for very spite and malice the rich men did beare him, then for any other apparent cause they presupposed against him. For proof hereof may be alledged, the barbarous cruelty they used to his Body being dead. For they would not suffer his own Brother to have his Body to bury it by night, who made earnest suite unto them for it; but they threw him amongst the other Bodies into the River, and yet this was not the worst. For, some of his friends they banished without forme of Law, and others they put to death which they could meet withall. Among the which they slew *Diophanes* the Orator, and one *Caius Bilius*, whom they inclosed in a Pipe among Snakes and Serpents, and put him to death in this sort. *Blossius* also the Philosopher of CUMES, was brought before the Consuls, and examined about this matter: who boldly confessed unto them, that he did as much as *Tiberius* commanded him. When *Nasica* did aske him, And what if he had commanded thee to set fire on the Capitoll? He made him answer, that *Tiberius* would never have given him any such commandement. And when divers others also were still in hand with him about that question: But if he had commanded thee? I would fire have done it: said he: for he would never have commanded me to have done it, if it had not been for the commodity of the People. Thus he escaped at that time, and afterwards fled into ASIA unto *Arifoniciu*, whom misfortune having overthrowne, he flew himselfe. Now, the Senate to pacifie the People at that present time did no more withstand the Law *Agaria*, for division of the Lands of the Common-wealth, but suffered the People to appoint another Commissioner for that purpose in *Tiberius* place. Thereupon *Publius Crassus* was chosen, being allied unto *Tiberius*, for *Caius Gracchus* (*Tiberius* Brother) had married his Daughter *Licina*. Yet *Cornelius Nepos* saith, that it was not *Crassus* Daughter *Caius* married, but the Daughter of *Brutus*, that triumphed for the LUSITANIANS. Howbeit the best Writers and authority agree with that we write. But whatsoever was done, the People were marvellously offended with his death; and men might easily perceive that they looked but for time and opportunity to be revenged, and did presently threaten *Nasica* to accuse him. Whereupon the Senate fearing some trouble towards him, devised a way (upon no occasion) to send him into ASIA. For the common People did not dissemble the malice they bare him when they met him, but were very round with him, and called him Tyrant, and Murderer, excommunicate, and wicked man, that had imbrued his hands in the blood of the holy Tribune, and within the most sacred Temple of all the City. So in the end he was enforced to forsake Rome, though by his Office he was bound to solemnize all the greatest Sacrifices, because he was then chiefe Bishop of Rome. Thus travelling out of his Country like a meane man, and troubled in his minde, he died shortly after, not far from the City of PERGAMUS. Truly, it is not greatly to be wondered at, though the People so much hated *Nasica*, considering that *Scipio* the AFRICAN himselfe (whom the People of Rome for juster Causes had loved better then any man else whatsoever) was like to have lost all the Peoples good will they bare him, because that being at the Siege of NUMANTIA, when newes was brought him of *Tiberius* death, he rang out this Verse of *Homer*

Such end upon him ever light,
Which in such doings doth delight.

Furthermore, being asked in the assembly of the People, by *Caius* and *Fulvius*, what he thought of *Tiberius* death: he answered them, that he did not like his doings. After that the People handled them very churlishly, and did ever breake off his Oration, which they never did before: and he himselfe also would revile the People even in the Assembly. Now *Caius Gracchus* at the first because he feared the Enemies of his dead Brother, or otherwise, for that he sought meanes to make them more hated of the People, he absented himselfe for a time out of the common Assembly, and kept at home, and medled not, as a man contented to live meanly, without buyng

Caius Gracchus
manners.Caius Gracchus
Quæstor in
Sardinia.Caius Gracchus
Vision and
Dreams.Caius Gracchus
returneth out
of Sardinia un-
to Rome.Caius Gracchus
Tribune of
the People.

busying himselfe in the Common-wealth: inſomuch as he made men thinke and report both, that he did utterly miſlike thoſe matters which his Brother had preferred. Howbeit he was then but a young man, and nine yeares younger then his Brother *Tiberius*, who was not thirty yeares old when he was ſlaine. But in proceſſe of time, he made his manners and conditions (by little and little) appeare, who hated ſloth and curioſity, and was leaſt of all given unto any covetous minde of getting: for he gave himſelfe to be Eloquent, as preparing him Wings afterwards to pra-ctiſe in the Common-wealth. So that it appeared plainly, that when time came, he would not ſtand ſtill and looke on. When one *Vellius* a friend of his was ſued, he tooke upon him to defend his Cauſe in Court. The people that were preſent, and heard him ſpeake, they leaped for joy to ſee him: for he had ſuch an Eloquent Tongue, that all the Oratours beſides were but Children to him. Hereupon the rich men began to be afraid againe, and wiſpered among themſelves, that it behoved them to beware he came not to be Tribune. It chanced ſo that he was choſen Treafurer and it was his fortune to go into the Iſle of *SARDINIA*, with the Conſull *Oreſtes*. His Enemies were glad of that, and he himſelfe was not ſorry for it. For he was a Martiall man, and as ſkillfull in Armes as he was elſe an excellent Oratour: but yet he was afraid to come into the Pulpit for Orations, and miſliked to deale in matters of State, albeit he could not altogether deny the People, and his friends that prayed his furtherance. For this cauſe therefore he was very glad of this Voyage, that he might abſent himſelfe for a time out of *ROME*: though divers were of Opinion, that he was more Popular, and deſirous of the common Peoples good will and favour, then his Brother had been before him. But indeed he was cleane contrary: for it appeared that at the firſt he was drawn rather againſt his will, then of any ſpeciall deſire he had to deale in the Common-wealth. *Cicero* the Oratour alſo ſaith, that *Caius* was bent altogether to ſlie from Office in the Common-wealth, and to live quietly as a private man. But *Tiberius* (*Caius* Brother) appeared to him in his ſleepe, and calling him by his Name, ſaid unto him: Brother, why doeſt thou prolong time, for thou canſt not poſſibly eſcape? For we were both predeſtinated to one manner of life and death, for procuring the benefit of the People. Now when *Caius* arrived in *SARDINIA*, he ſhewed all the proofes that might be in a valiant man, and excelled all the young men of his age in hardineſſe againſt his Enemies, in juſtice to his Inferiours, and in love and obedience towards the Conſull his Captaine: but in Temperance, Sobriety, and in Painfullneſſe, he excelled all them were elder then he. The Winter by chance fell out very ſharpe, and full of ſickeſſe in *SARDINIA*: whereupon the Conſull ſent unto the Cities to helpe his Souldiers with ſome cloathes: but the Townes ſent in poſt to *ROME*, to pray the Senate they might be diſcharged of that burden. The Senate found their allegation reaſonable, whereupon they wrote to the Conſull to finde ſome other meanes to cloathe his People. The Conſull could make no other ſhift for them, and ſo the poor Souldiers in the meane time ſmarted for it. But *Caius Gracchus* went himſelfe unto the Cities, and ſo perſwaded them, that they of themſelves ſent to the *ROMANE* Campe ſuch things as they lacked. This being carried to *ROME*, it was thought ſtraight it was a pretie beginning to creepe into the Peoples favour, and indeed it made the Senate alſo afraid. In the necke of that, there arrived Ambaſſadours of *AFRICKE* at *ROME*, ſent from King *Micipsa*, who told the Senate that the King their Maſter, for *Caius Gracchus* ſake, had ſent their Army Corne into *SARDINIA*. The Senators were ſo offended withall, that they thruſt the Ambaſſadours out of the Senate, and ſo gave order that other Souldiers ſhould be ſent in their places that were in *SARDINIA*: and that *Oreſtes* ſhould ſtill remaine Conſull there, meaning alſo to continue *Caius* their Treafurer. But when he heard of it, he ſtraight tooke Sea, and returned to *ROME* in choller. When men ſaw *Caius* returned to *ROME* unlooked for, he was reprov'd for it, not onely by his Enemies, but by the common People alſo, who thought his returne very ſtrange before his Captaine, under whom he was Treafurer. He being accuſed hereof before the Cenſors, prayed he might be heard. So, anſwering his Accuſation, he ſo turned the Peoples mindes that heard him, that they all ſaid, he had open wrong. For he told them, that he had ſerved twelve yeares in the Warres, where others were enforced to remaine but ten yeares: and that he had continued Treafurer under his Captaine the ſpace of three yeares, where the Law gave him liberty to returne at the end of the yeare. And that he alone of all men elſe that had been in the Warres, had caried his Purſe full, and brought it home empty; where others having drunke the Wine which they caried thither in Veſſels, had afterwards brought them home full of Gold and Silver. Afterwards they went about to accuſe him as acceſſary to a conſpiracy that was revealed in the City of *FREGELLE*, But having cleared all that ſuſpition, and being diſcharged, he preſently made ſuite to be Tribune: wherein he had all the men of quality his ſworne Enemies. On the other ſide alſo he had ſo great favour of the common People, that there came men out of all parts of *ITALY* to be at his Election, and that ſuch a number of them, as their was no lodging to be had for them all. Furthermore, the Field of *Mars* not being large enough to hold ſuch a multitude of People, there were that gave their voices upon the top of houſes. Now the Noblemen could no otherwiſe let the People of their will, nor prevent *Caius* of his hope, but where he thought to be the firſt Tribune, he was onely pronounced the fourth. But when he was once poſſeſſed Officer, he became immediatly the chiefe man, becauſe he was as Eloquent as any man of his time. And furthermore, he had a large occaſion of clariſmity offered him: which made him bold to ſpeake, bewailing the death of his Brother. For what matters ſoever he ſpoke of, he alwaies fell in talke of that, remembering them what matters had paſſed, and laying before them the examples of their Anceſtours, who in old time had made Warre with the *PHALISCS*, by meanes of one *Genutius* Tribune of the People, unto whom they

Caius Gracchus
laws.Cornelia, mother of Gracchi,
honored of the
people of Rome.Other laws
preferred by
Caius Gracchus.Caius Gracchus
power.Other laws of
Caius Gracchus.

they had offered injury: who alſo did condemne *Caius Veturius* to death, becauſe that he only would not give a Tribune place, coming through the Market-place. Where theſe, ſaid he, in your preſence, and before your faces, have ſlain my brother *Tiberius* with ſtaves, and have dragged his body from the mount of the Capitall, and all the City over, to throw it into the River: and with him alſo have moſt cruelly ſlain all his friends they could come by, without any law or juſtice at all. And yet by an ancient cuſtome of long time obſerved in this City of *ROME*, when any man is accuſed of Treason, and that of duty he muſt appear at the time appointed him, they do notwithstanding in the morning ſend a Trumpet to his houſe, to ſummon him to appear; and moreover the Judges were not wont to condemne him, before his ceremony was performed: ſo carefull and reſpective were our predeceſſors, where it touched the life of any *ROMANE*. Now *Caius* having firſt ſtirred up the people with theſe perſwaſions (for he had a marvellous loud voice) he preferred two lawes.

The firſt, that he that had once been put out of Office by the people, ſhould never after be capable of any other office.

The ſecond, that if any Conſul had baniſhed any Citizen without lawful accuſation, the ſentence and hearing of the matter ſhould pertaine to the people.

The firſt of theſe two laws did plainly deſame *Oſtavius*, whom *Tiberius* his brother had by the people depoſed from the Tribuſhip. The ſecond alſo touched *Popilius*, who being Prætor, had baniſhed his brother *Tiberius* friends; whereupon he ſtaid not the triall, but willingly exiled himſelfe out of *ITALY*. And touching the firſt law, *Caius* himſelfe did afterwards revoke it, declaring unto the people that he had ſaved *Oſtavius* at the requeſt of his mother *Cornelia*. The people were very glad of it, and confirmed it, honouring her no leſſe for reſpect of her ſons, then alſo for *Scipioes* ſake her father. For afterwards they caſt her image in braſſe, and ſet it up with this inſcription: *Cornelia the mother of the Gracchi*. Many common matters are found written touching *Cornelia* his mother, and eloquently pleaded in her behalf, by *Caius* againſt her adverſaries. As when he ſaid unto one of them: How dareſt thou preſume to ſpeak evil of *Cornelia* that *Tiberius* to her ſon? And the other party alſo that ſlandered her, being ſorely ſuſpected for a Sodomite: And art thou ſo impudent, ſaid he, to ſhew thy face before *Cornelia*? Haſt thou brought forth children as ſhe hath done? and yet it is well known to all men in *ROME*, that the being but a woman, hath lived longer without a man, then thou that art a man. Thus were *Caius* words ſharpe and ſtinging, and many ſuch like are to gathered out of his writings. Furthermore, he made many other laws afterwards to increaſe the peoples authority, and to imbaſe the Senates greatneſſe.

The firſt was, for the reſtoring of the Colonies to *ROME*, in dividing the lands of the Common-wealth unto the poor Citizens that ſhould inhabit there.

The other, that they ſhould apparel the ſouldiers at the charge of the Common-wealth, and that it ſhould not be deducted out of their pay: and alſo that no Citizen ſhould be billed to ſerve in the warre, under ſeventeen yeares of age at the leaſt.

Another law was, for their confederates of *ITALY*, that through all *ITALY* they ſhould have as free voices in the election of any Magiſtrate, as the natural Citizens of *ROME* it ſelf.

Another, ſetting a reaſonable price of the Corn that ſhould be diſtributed unto the poor people.

Another touching judgement, whereby he did greatly miniſh the authority of the Senate.

For before, the Senators were onely Judges of all matters, the which made them to be the more honoured and feared of the people, and the *ROMANE* Knights: and now he joyned three hundred *ROMANE* Knights unto the other three hundred Senators, and brought ſo to paſſe, that all matters judicial ſhould be equally judged among thoſe ſix hundred men. After he had paſſed this law, it is reported he was very curious in obſerving all other things, but this one thing ſpecially, that where all other Oratours ſpeaking to the people turned them towards the palace where the Senators ſate, and to that ſide of the Market-place which is called *Comitium*: he in contrary manner when he made his Oration, turned him outwards towards the other ſide of the Market-place; and after that kept it conſtantly, and never failed. Thus by a little turning and altering of his look onely, he removed a great matter. For he ſo transferred all the Government of the Common-wealth from the Senate unto the judgement of the people, to teach the Oratours by his example, that in their Orations they ſhould behold the people, not the Senate. Now, the people having not onely confirmed the law he made touching the Judges, but given him alſo full power and authority to chuſe among the *ROMANE* Knights ſuch Judges as he liked of, he found thereby he had abſolute power in his owne hands, inſomuch as the Senators themſelves did aſke counſel of him. So did he ever give good counſel; and did preſerre matters meete for their honour. As amongſt others, the law he made touching certaine Wheate that *Fabius* Vice prætor had ſent out of *SPAIN*, which was a good and honourable act; he perſwaded the Senate that the Corne might be ſold, and ſo to ſend backe againe the mo-ny thereof unto the Townes and Cities from whence the Corne came: and therewithal to puniſh *Fabius* for that he made the Empire of *ROME* hateful and intollerable unto the Provinces and ſubjects of the ſame. This matter wan him great love and comendation of all the Provinces ſubject to *ROME*. Furthermore, he made lawes for the reſtoring of the decayed Townes; for mending High-ways, for building of Garners for proviſion of Corne. And to bring all theſe things to paſſe, he himſelfe tooke upon him the onely care and enterpriſe, being never wearied with any paines taken in ordering of ſo great affaires. For, he followed all thoſe things ſo earneſtly and effectually, as if he had had but one matter in hand: inſomuch that they who moſt hated and feared him, wondered much to ſee his diligence and quicke diſpatch in matters. The people alſo wondered much to behold

him onely, seeing alwayes such a number of labourers, artificers, ambassadors, officers, souldiers, and learned men, whom he easily satisfied and dispatched keeping still his estate, and yet using great courtesie and civility, entertaining every one of them privately; so that he made his accusers to be found liars, that said he was a stately man and very cruell. Thus he wanne the good will of the common people, being more popular and familiar in his conversation and deeds then he was otherwise in his Orations. But the greatest paines and care he tooke upon him was, in seeing the high wayes mended, the which he would have as well done, as profitably done. For he would cast the canies by the line in the softest ground in the fields, and then would pave them with hard stone, and cast a great deal of gravell upon it, which he caused to be brought thither. When he found any low or watery places which the Rivers had eaten into, he raised them up, or else made bridges over them, with an even height equall to either side of the caufie; so that all his work carried a goodly level withall, even by the line or plummet, which was a pleasure to behold. Furthermore, he divided the high wayes by miles, every mile containing eight furlongs, and at every miles end he set up a stone for a marke. At either end also of these high wayes thus paved, he set certain stones of convenient height, a pretty way asunder, to help the travellers by to take their horse backs again without any helpe. The people for these things highly praising and extolling him, and being ready to make shew of their love and goodwill to him any manner of way, he told them openly one day in his Oration, that he had a request to make unto them, the which if it would please them to grant him, he would think they did him a marvellous pleasure; and if they denied him also, he cared not much. Then every man thought it was the Consulship he meant to aske, and that he would sue to be Tribune and Consul together. But when the day came to chuse the Consuls, every man looking attentively what he would do, they marvelled when they saw him come down the field of Mars, and brought Caius Fannius with his friends, to further his suite for the Consulship. Therein he served Fannius turne, for he was presently chosen Consul: and Caius Gracchus was the second time chosen Tribune again, not at his own suite, but by the good will of the people. Caius perceiving that the Senators were his open enemies, and that Fannius the Consul was but a slacke friend unto him, he began againe to curry favour with the common people, and to prefer new laws, setting forth the law of the Colonies, that they should send of the poor Citizens to replenish the Cities of HARENTEM and CAPUA, and that they should grant all the LATINES the freedom of Rome. The Senate perceiving his power grew great, and that in the end he would be so strong that they could not withstand him, they devised a new and strange way to plucke the peoples good will from him, in granting them things not altogether very honest. There was one of the Tribunes, a brother in office with Caius called Livius Drusus, a man nobly borne, and as well brought up as any other ROMANE: who for wealth and eloquence was not inferiour to the greatest men of estimation in Rome. The chiefeest Senators went unto him, and perswaded him to take part with them against Caius, not to use any force or violence against the people to withstand them in any thing, but contrarily to grant them those things which were more honesty for them to deny them with their ill-will. Livius offering to pleasure the Senate with his authority, preferred lawes neither honourable nor profitable to the Common-wealth, and were to no other end, but contending with Caius who should most flatter the people of them two, as plaiers do in their common playes, to shew the people pastime. Whereby the Senate shewed that they did not so much mislike Caius doings, as for the desire they had to overthrow him and his great credit with the people. For where Caius preferred but the replenishing of the two Cities, and desired to send the honestest Citizens thither, they objected against him, that he did corrupt the common people. On the other side also they favoured Drusus, who preferred a law, that they should replenish twelve Colonies, and should send to every one of them three thousand of the poorest Citizens. And where they hated Caius for that he had charged the poor Citizens with an annuall rent for the lands that were divided unto them, Livius in contrary manner did please them by disbursing them of that rent and payment, letting them have the lands scotfree. Furthermore also, where Caius did anger the people, because he gave all the LATINES the freedom of Rome to give their voices in chusing of Magistrates as freely as the naturall ROMANES, when Drusus on the other side had preferred a law that thencefore no ROMANE should whip any souldier of the LATINES with rods to the wars, they liked the law, and past it. Livius also in every law he put forth said in all his orations, that he did it by the counsell of the Senate, who were very careful for the profit of the people; and this was all the good he did in his office unto the Common-wealth. For by his meanes the people were better pleased with the Senate, and where they did before hate all the Noblemen of the Senate, Livius took away that malice, when the people saw that all that he propounded, was for the preferment and benefit of the Common-wealth, with the consent and furtherance of the Senate. The only thing also that perswaded the people to thinke that Drusus meant uprightly, and that he onely respected the profit of the common people, was, that he never preferred any law for himself, or for his own benefit. For in the restoring of these Colonies which he preferred, he alwayes sent others Commissioners, and gave them a charge of it, and would never finger any money himself: where Caius tooke upon him the care and charge of all things himself, and specially of the greatest matters. Rubrius also another Tribune, having preferred a law for the re-edifying and replenishing of CARTHAGE againe with people, the which Scipio had razed and destroyed, it was Caius hap to be appointed one of the Commissioners for it: whereupon he took ship and sailed into AFRIKE: Drusus in the mean time taking occasion of his absence, did as much as might be to seek the favour of the common people, and specially by accusing Fulvius who was one of the best friends Caius had, and

The Italian
mile contains
eight furlongs.

Caius Gracchus
chosen Tribune
the second time

Livius Drusus
one of the Tri-
bunes.

Laws preferred
by Livius Drus-
us.

Livius Drusus
pacified the
people toward
the Senate.

and whom they had also chosen Commissioner with him for the division of these lands among the citizens whom they sent to replenish these Colonies. This Fulvius was a seditious man, and therefore marvellously hated of the Senate, and withall suspected also of them that tooke part with the people, that he secretly practised to make their confederates of ITALY to rebell. But yet they had no evident proofe of it to justify it against him, more then that which he himself did verifie, because he seemed to be offended with the peace and quietnesse they enjoyed. And this was one of the chiefeest causes of Caius overthrow, because that Fulvius was partly hated for his sake. For when Scipio AFRICAN was found dead one morning in his house, without any manifest cause how he should come to his death so suddenly (saying that there appeared certaine blind markes of stripes on his body, that had been given him, as we have declared at large in his life) the most part of the suspicion of his death was laid to Fulvius, being his mortal enemy, and because the same day they had been at great words together in the pulpit for Orations. So was Caius Gracchus also partly suspected for it. Howsoever it was, such a horrible murder as this, of so famous and worthy a man as any was in Rome, was yet notwithstanding never revenged, neither any inquiry made of it, because the common people would not suffer the accusation to go forward, fearing lest Caius would be found in fault, if the matter should go forward. But this was a great while before. Now Caius at that time being in AFRIKE about the re-edifying and replenishing of the City of CARTHAGE againe, the which he named JUNONIA, the voice goeth that he had many ill signes and tokens appeared unto him. For the staffe of his Ensigne was broken with a vehement blast of wind, and with the force of the Ensigne bearer that held it fast on the other side. There came a flaw of wind also that carried away the sacrifices upon the Altars, and blew them quite out of the circuit which was marked out for the compasse of the City. Furthermore, the Wolves came and tooke away the markes which they had set down to limit the bounds of their circuite, and carried them quite away. This notwithstanding, Caius having dispatched all things in the space of thre score and ten dayes, he returned incontinently to Rome, understanding that Fulvius was oppressed by Drusus, and that those matters required his presence. For Lucius Holfilius that was all in all for the Nobility, and a man of great credite with the Senate, being the year before put by the Consulship by Caius practise, who caused Fannius to be chosen, he had good hope this yeare to speed, for the great number of friends that furthered his suite. So that if he could obtain it, he was fully bent to set Caius beside the saddle, and the rather, because his estimation and countenance he was wont to have among the people, began now to decay, for that they were full of such devices as his were: because there were divers others that preferred the like to please the people withall, and yet with the Senates great good will and favour. So Caius being returned to Rome, he removed from his house, and where before he dwelt in mount Palatine, he came now to take a house under the Market-place, to shew himself thereby the lowlier and more popular, because many of the meaner sort of the people dwelt thereabouts. Then he purposed to go forward with the rest of his lawes, and to make the people to establish them, a great number of people repairing to Rome out of all parts for the furtherance thereof. Howbeit the Senate counsell'd the Consul Fannius to make proclamation, that all those which were no naturall ROMANES, resident and abiding within the City selfe of Rome, that they should depart out of Rome. Besides all this there was a strange proclamation made, and never seen before: that none of all the friends and confederates of the ROMANES for certaine dayes should come into Rome. But Caius on the other side set up bills on every post, accusing the Consul for making so wicked a proclamation: and further, promised the confederates of Rome to aide them, if they would remaine there against the Consuls proclamation. But yet he performed it not: for when he saw one of Fannius Sergeants carry a friend of his to prison, he held on his way, and would see nothing, neither did he helpe him: either of likelihood because he feared his credit with the people, which began to decay, or else because he was loth (as he said) to picke any quarrel with his enemies, which fought it of him. Furthermore, he chanced to fall at variance with his brethren the Tribunes, about this occasion. The people were to see the pastime of the Sword players or Fencers at the sharpe, within the very Market-place, and there were divers of the Officers that to see the sport, did set up scaffolds round about, to take money for the standing. Caius commanded them to take them downe againe, because the poore men might see the sport without any cost. But not a man of them would yeeld to it. Wherefore he staid till the night before the pastime should be, and then he took all his labourers he had under him, and went and overthrew the scaffolds every one of them: so that the next morning all the Market-place was cleare for the common people to see the pastime at their pleasure. For this fact of his, the people thanked him marvellously, and tooke him for a worthy man. Howbeit his brethren the Tribunes were very much offended with him, and tooke him for a bold presumptuous man. This seemeth to be the chiefe cause why he was put from his third Tribune ship, where he had the most voices on his side: because his Colleagues, to be revenged of the part he had played them, of malice and spite made false report of the voices. Howbeit there is no great troth in this. It is true that he was very angry with this repulse, and it is reported he spake somewhat too proudly to his enemies that were merry with the matter, and laughed him to scorne: that they laughed a SARDONIANS laugh, not knowing how darkly his deedes were intangled. Furthermore, his enemies having chosen Opimius Consul, they began immediately to revoke divers of Caius lawes: as amongst the rest, his doings at CARTHAGE for the re-edifying of that City, procuring thus all the wayes they could to anger him, because they might have just occasion of anger to kill him. Caius notwithstanding did patiently beare it at the first: but

Fulvius Com-
missioner with
Caius, a very
seditious man.

The death of
Scipio African
the lesse.

Unluckie signs
appearing unto
Caius.

This man is
named after-
wards Opimius.

Caius Gracchus
fell out with
the Tribunes.

Caius Gracchus
repulsed from
the third Tri-
buneship.

Sedition be-
twixt Caius
Gracchus and
the Senate.

Antyllus, Caius
Gracchus Sec-
geant slain.

An ordinance
made by the
Senate against
Caius Gracchus.

The people de-
fended Caius
Gracchus.

The words of
Lutina to her
husband Caius
Gracchus.

but afterwards his friends, and specially *Fulvius*, did encourage him so, that he began againe to gather men to resist the Consull. And it is reported also, that *Cornelia* his mother did help him in it, secretly hiring a great number of strangers which he sent unto *ROME*, as if they had been Reapers, or harvest men. And this is that she wrote secretly in her letter unto her son in Ciphers. And yet other write to the contrary, that she was very angry he did attempt those things. When the day came that they should proceed to the revocation of his lawes, both parties met by breake of day at the Capitoll. There when the Consull *Opimius* had done sacrifice, one of *Caius* Sergeants called *Quintus Antyllus*, carrying the intrailes of the beast sacrificed, said unto *Fulvius*, and others of his tribe that were about him: give place to honest men, vile Citizens that ye be. Some say also, that besides these injurious words, in icorne and contempt he held out his naked Arme to make them ashamed: whereupon they flew him presently in the field with great Bodkins to write with, which they had purposely made for that intent. So the common people were marvellously offended for this murder, and the chiefe men of both sides also were diversly affected. For *Caius* was very sorry for it, and bitterly reproved them that were about him, saying, that they had given their enemies the occasion they looked for, to set upon them. *Opimius* the Consull in contrary manner, taking this occasion, rose upon it, and did stirre up the people to be revenged. But there fell a shewre of raine at that time that parted them. The next morning the Consull having assembled the Senate by breake of day, as he was dispatching causes within, some had taken the body of *Antyllus*, and laid it naked upon the Beere, and so carried it through the Market-place (as it was agreed upon before amongst them) and brought it to the Senate doore, where they began to make great moane and lamentation, *Opimius* knowing the meaning of it, but yet he dissembled it, and seemed to wonder at it. Whereupon the Senators went out to see what it was, and finding this Beere in the Market-place, some fell a weeping for him that was dead, others cried out, that it was a shamefull act, and in no wise to be suffered. But on the other side, this did revive the old grudge and malice of the people, for the wickednesse of the ambitious Noblemen: who having themselves before slain *Tiberius Gracchus* that was Tribune, and within the Capitoll it selfe, and had also cast his body into the river, did now make an honourable shew openly in the Market-place, of the body of the Sergeant *Antyllus* (who though he were wrongfully slaine, yet had himselfe given them the cause that slew him, to do that they did) and all the whole Senate were about the Beere to bewaile his death, and to honour the funerals of a hireling, to make the people also kill him that was onely left the Protector and Defender of the people. After this, they went againe into the Capitoll, and there made a decree, whereby they gave the Consull *Opimius* extraordinary power and authority, by absolute power to provide for the safety of the Common-wealth, to preserve the City, and to suppress the Tyrants. This decree being established, the Consull presently commanded the Senators that were present there, to go arme themselves: and appointed the *ROMANE* Knights that the next morning betimes every man should bring two of their men armed with them. *Fulvius* on the other side prepared his force against them, and assembled the common people together. *Caius* also returning from the Market-place, staid before the image of his father, and looked earnestly upon it without ever a word speaking, onely he burst out a weeping, and fetching a great sigh, went his way. This made the people that saw him to pity him: so that they talked among themselves, that they were but beasts and cowards at such a straight to forsake so worthy a man. Thereupon they went to his house, stayed there all night and watched before his gate: not as that they did watch with *Fulvius*, that passed away the night in guzzling and drinking drunk, crying out, and making noise, *Fulvius* himselfe being drunke first of all, who both spake and did many things farre unmeet for his calling. For on the other side, they that watched *Caius* were very sorrowfull, and made no noise, even as in a common calamity of their Country, devising with themselves what would fall out upon it, waking and sleeping one after another by turnes. When the day brake, they with *Fulvius* did awake him, who slept yet foundly for the Wine he dranke over night and they armed themselves with the spoiles of the *GAULES* that hung round about his house, whom he had overthrowne in battell the same yeare he was Consull: and with great cries, and thundering threatens they went to take the mount *Aventine*. But *Caius* would not arme himselfe, but went out of his house in a long Gowne, as if he would have gone simply into the Market-place according to his wonted manner, saying that he carried a short dagger at his girdle under his Gowne. So as he was going out of his house, his wife staid him at the door, and holding him by the one hand, and a little childe of his in her other hand, she said thus unto him: "Alas *Caius*, thou doest not now go as thou wert wont, a Tribune into the Market-place to speak to the people, neither to preferre any new lawes: neither doest thou go unto an honest warre, that if unfortunately that should happen to thee that is common to all men, I might yet at the least mourne for thy death with honour. But thou goest to put thy selfe into bloody Butchers hands, who most cruelly have slaine thy brother *Tiberius*: and yet thou goest a naked man unarmed, intending rather to suffer than to do hurt. Besides, thy death can bring no benefit to the Common-wealth. For the worse part hath now the upper hand, considering that sentence passeth by force of sword. Had thy brother been slain by his enemies, before the City of *NUMANTIA*, yet had they given us his body to have buried him. But such may be my misfortune, that I may presently go to pray the River or sea to give me thy body, when as thy brothers, it shall likewise be throwne into the same. Alas, what hope or trust is left us now in the laws or gods, since they have slaine *Tiberius*? As *Lutina* was making this pittiful moan unto him, *Caius* faire and softly pulled his hand from her, and left her

her giving her never a word, but went on with his friends. But the reaching after him to pull him by the Gowne, fell to the ground, lay flatting there a great while, speaking never a word, untill at length her servants took her up in a frowne, and carried her so unto her brother *Crassus*. Now *Fulvius*, by the perswasion of *Caius*, when all their faction were met, sent his younger son (which was a pretty fair boy) with an Herald's rod in his hand for his safety. This boy humbly presenting his duty, with the teares in his eyes, before the Consull and Senate, offered them peace. The most of them that were present thought very well of it. But *Opimius* made answer, saying, that it became them not to send messengers, thinking with fair words to win the Senate: but it was their duty to come themselves in person like subjects, and offenders to make their triall, and so to crave pardon, and to seek to pacifie the wrath of the Senate. Then he commanded the boy he should not return againe to them but with this condition he had prescribed. *Caius* (as it is reported) was ready to go and clear himselfe unto the Senate: but the residue would not suffer him to go. Whereupon *Fulvius* sent his sonne backe againe unto them, to speake for them as he had done before. But *Opimius* that was desirous to fight, caused the boy to be taken, and committed him to safe custody, and then went presently against *Fulvius* with a great number of footmen well armed, and of *CRETAN* Archers besides; who with their Arrows did more trouble and hurt their enemies, then with any thing else, that within a while they all began to flie. *Fulvius* on the other side fled into an old hot-house that no body made reckoning of, and there being found shortly after, they slew him and his eldest sonne. Now for *Caius*, he fought not at all, but being mad with himselfe, and grieved to see such blood-shed, he got him into the Temple of *Diana*, where he would have killed himselfe, had not his very good friends *Pomponius* and *Licinius* saved him. For both they being with him at that time, took his sword from him, and counseled him to flie. It is reported that then he fell downe on his knees, and holding up both his hands unto the goddesse, he besought her that the people might never come out of bondage, to be revenged of this their ingratitude and treason. For the common people (or the most part of them) plainly turned their coates, when they heard proclamation made, that all men had pardon granted them that would returne. So *Caius* fled upon it, and his enemies followed him so near that they over tooke him upon the wooden Bridge, where two of his friends that were with him staid, to defend him against his pursuers, and bad him in the meane time make shift for himself, whilst they fought with them upon the Bridge: and so they did, and kept them that not a man got the Bridge of them untill they were both slaine. Now there was none that fled with *Caius*, but one of his men called *Philocrates*: notwithstanding, every man did still encourage and counsel him, as they do men to win a game, but no man would helpe him, nor offer him any horse though he often required it, because he saw his enemies so near unto him. This notwithstanding, by their defence that were slaine upon the Bridge, he got ground on them so, that he had leisure to creep into a little grove of wood which was consecrated to the Furies. There his servant *Philocrates* slew him, and then flew himselfe also, and fell dead upon him. Other write notwithstanding, that both the master and servant were overtaken, and taken alive: and that his servant did so straight embrace his master, that none of the enemies could strike him for all the blowes they gave, before he was slaine himselfe. So one of the murderers strake off *Caius Gracchus* head to carry to the Consull. Howbeit one of *Opimius* friends called *Septimuleius*, tooke the head from the other by the way, because proclamation was made by Trumpet before they fought, that whosoever brought the heads of *Fulvius* and *Caius*, they should be paid the weight of them in Gold. Wherefore this *Septimuleius* carried *Caius* head upon the top of his spear unto *Opimius*: whereupon the scales being brought to weigh it, it was found to weigh seventeen pound weight and two third parts of a pound: because *Septimuleius* besides the horrible murder he had committed, had also holpen it with this valliancy, that he had taken out his brain, and in lieu thereof had filled his scull with Lead. Now the other also that brought *Fulvius* head, because they were poor men, they had nothing. The bodies of these two men, *Caius Gracchus* and *Fulvius*, and of other their followers (which were to the number of three thousand that were slaine) were all throwne into the River, their goods confiscate, and their widowes forbidden to mourne for their death. Furthermore, they took from *Lutina* *Caius* wife, her joynter: but yet they dealt more cruelly and beastly with the young boy, *Fulvius* sonne; who had neither lift up his hand against them, nor was in the fight among them, but onely came to them to make peace before they fought; whom they kept as prisoner, and after the battel ended they put him to death. But yet that which most of all grieved the people was the Temple of Concord, the which *Opimius* caused to be buile: for it appeared that he boasted, and in manner triumphed, that he had slaine so many Citizens of *ROME*. And therefore there were that in the night wrote under the inscription of the Temple these verses:

A furious fall and fall of beastly scheme
This temple buile, that beareth Concorde's name.

This *Opimius* was the first man at *ROME*, that being Consull, usurped the absolute power of the Dictator: and that without law or justice condemned three thousand Citizens of *ROME*, besides *Opimius* the first *Fulvius* *Flaccus* (who had also been Consull, and had received the honour of triumph) and *Caius* Consull, usurping the power of the Dictator. This notwithstanding could not keepe *Opimius* from thevery and extortion. For when he was sent Ambassadour unto *Jugurth* King of *NUMIDIA*, he was bribed with money: and thereupon with money of being accused, he was most shamefully convicted, and condemned. Wherefore he ended his dayes *Jugurth* and with this reproach and infamy, hated and mocked of all the people: because at the time of the condemned.

Fulvius sent his
son to the Con-
sull with an
Heralds rod
to offer peace.

The death of
Fulvius and his
eldest son.

The flight of
Gracchus.

The faithful-
nesse of *Caius*
Gracchus ser-
vant.

The temple of
Concord buile
by *Opimius* the
Consull.

The *Gracchi* were marvelously desired of the people. The magnanimity of *Cornelia*, the mother of the *Gracchi*.

overthrow he dealt bravely with them that fought for his quarrel. But shortly after it appeared to the world how much they lamented the losse of the two brethren of the *Gracchi*. For they made images and statues of them, and caused them to be set up in an open and honourable place, consecrating the places where they had been slaine: and many of them also came and offered to them of their first fruites and flowers, according to the time of the year, and went thither to make their prayers on their knees, as unto the temples of the gods. Their mother *Cornelia*, as writers report, did beare this calamity with a noble heart: and as for the Chappels which they built and consecrated unto them in the place where they were slaine, she said no more, but that they had such graves as they had deserved. Afterwards she dwelt continually by the mount *Misene*, and never changed her manner of life. She had many friends, and because she was a noble Lady, and loved ever to wellcome strangers, she kept a very good house, and therefore had alwayes great repaire unto her, of *GRACIANS* and learned men: besides, there was no King nor Prince but both received gifts from her, and sent her againe. They that frequented her company delighted marvellously to hear her report the deeds and manner of her fathers life, *Scipio AFRICAN*: but yet they wondred more to hear her tell the acts and death of her two sonnes, *Tiberius* and *Caius Gracchi*, without shedding tear, or making any shew of lamentation or grief, no more then if she had told an History unto them that had requested her. Inasmuch as some writers report, that age, or her great misfortunes, had overcome and taken her reason and sense from her to feel any sorrow. But indeed they were senseless to say so, not understanding how that to be nobly borne and virtuously brought up, doth make men temperately to digest sorrow: and that fortune oftentimes overcomes vertue which regardeth honesty in all respects, but yet with any adversity she cannot take away the temperance from them whereby they patiently bear it.

The power of learning to overcome sorrow.

The end of the Life of Tiberius and Caius Gracchi.



THE

THE COMPARISON OF TIBERIUS and CAIUS GRACCHI, with AGIS and CLEOMENES.



Now that we be come to the end of this History, we are to compare the lives of these two men the one with the other. First, as touching the two *Gracchi*, their enemies that most hated them, and spake the worst they could of them, could not deny but that they were the best given to vertue, and as well taught and brought up as any *ROMANS* that were in their time. But yet it appeareth, that nature had the upper hand of them, in *Agis* and *Cleomenes*. For they having been very ill brought up both for Learning and good Manners, for lacke whereof the oldest men were almost spoiled, yet did they notwithstanding make themselves the first masters and example of sobriety, temperance, and simplicity of life. Furthermore, the two first having lived in that time when *ROME* flourished most in honour and virtuous desires, they were more then ashamed to forsake the vertues inherited from their Ancestors. These two last also being borne of fathers that had a clean contrary disposition, and finding their Country altogether without any order, and infected with dissolute life, were not therefore any wit the more slack in their desire to do well. Furthermore the greatest praise they gave unto the two *Gracchi*, was, their abstinence and integrity from taking of money all the time they were in office, and dealt in matters of state, ever keeping their hands cleane, and tooke not a penny wrongfully from any man. Where *Agis* on the other side was offended if any man praised him, for that he took nothing from another man: seeing that he dispossessed himself of his own goods, and gave it to his Citizens, which amounted in ready coyn to the value of six hundred talents. Whereby men may easily judge, how grievous a sin he thought it to take any thing wrongfully from any man, seeing that he thought it a kind of avarice, lawfully to be richer then others. Furthermore, there was marvellous great difference in their alterations, and renewing of the state, which they did both preferre. For the acts of the two *ROMANS* were to mend high wayes and to re-edifie and replenish decayed Towns: and the worthiest act *Tiberius* did, was the law *Agraria*, which he brought in for dividing of the lands of the Common-wealth amongst the poor Citizens. And the best act his brother *Caius* also did, was the mingling of the Judges, adding to the three hundred Senators three hundred *ROMAN* Knights to be indifferent Judges with them.

The wildome of the *Gracchi*.

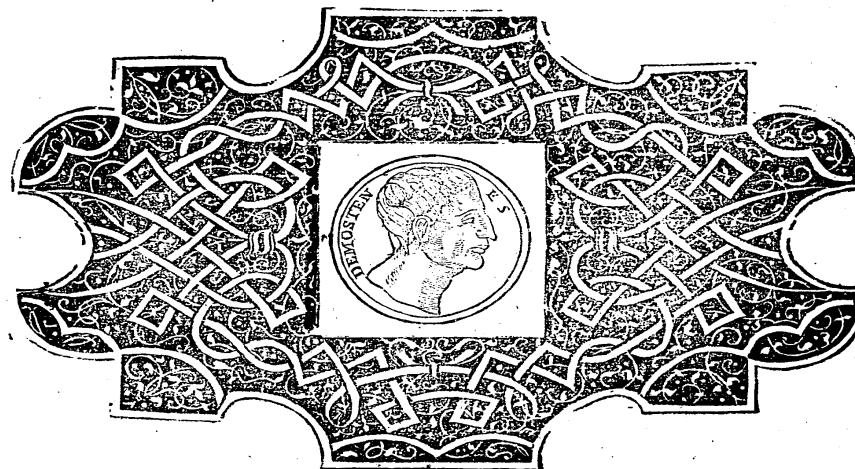
them. Whereas *Agis* and *Cleomenes* in contrary manner were of opinion, that to reforme small faults, and to redresse them by little and little, was (as *Plato* said) to cut off one of the Hydraes heads, of the which came afterwards seven in the place: and therefore they took upon them a change and innovation, even at once to roote out all the mischiefs of their Country (or to speake more truly, to take away the disorder which brought in all vice and mischief to the Common-wealth) and so to restore the City of SPARTA againe to her former ancient honourable estate. Now this may be said againe for the government of the *Gracchi*, that the chiefeest men of ROMA were ever against their purposes. Where, in that *Agis* attempted, and *Cleomenes* ended, they had the noblest ground that could be, and that was the ancient laws and ordinances of SPARTA, touching temperance and equality: the first, instituted in old time by *Lycurgus*, the other confirmed by *Apollo*. Furthermore, by the alterations of the first, ROMA became no greater then it was before: Where, by that which *Cleomenes* did, all GREECE in short time saw that SPARTA commanded all the rest of PELOPONNESUS, and fought at that time against those that were of greatest power in all GREECE, for the signiory thereof. Whereby their only marke and purpose was, to rid all GREECE from the wars of the GAULES and ILLYRIANS, and to restore it againe to the honest government of the race and line of *Hercules*. Their deaths (me thinkes) do shew great difference of their courages. For the *Gracchi* fighting with their own Citizens, were slain flying. Of these two also, *Agis*, because he would put never a Citizen to death, was slain in manner voluntarily: and *Cleomenes* receiving injury stood to his defence, and when he had no opportunity to do it, he stoutly killed himself. And so may it be said on the other side, that *Agis* did never any notable act of a Captain or Souldier, because he was slain before he could come to it. And for the victories of *Cleomenes* on the other side, may be opposed the scaling of the walls of CARTHAGE, where *Tiberius* was the first man that at the assault got up upon the wall, which was no small exploit: and the peace which he made also at the siege of NUMANTIA, whereby he saved twenty thousand fighting men of the ROMANES, the which had no meanes otherwise to save their lives. And *Caius* also in the selfe same war, at the siege of NUMANTIA, and afterwards in SARDINIA, did many noble feats of war; so that there is no doubt, but if they had not beene slain so soone as they were, they might have been compared with the excellentest Capitaines that ever were in ROMA. Again, touching their doings in civil policy, it appeareth that *Agis* dealt more slackly, being abused by *Agefilus*: who likewise deceived the poor Citizens of the division of the lands which he had promised them. In fine, for lacke of courage, because he was very young, he left the things undone which he had purposed to have performed. On the other side, *Cleomenes* went too roundly to work, to renew the ancient government of the Common-wealth again, by killing the Ephores with too much cruelty, whom he might easily have wonne, or otherwise by force have gotten the upper hand. For it is not the part of a wise Physician, nor of a good governour of a Common-wealth to use the sword, but in great extremity, where there is no other helpe nor remedy: and there lacked judgement in them both, but worst of all in the one, for injury is ever joyned with cruelty. The *Gracchi* on the other side, neither the one nor the other began to imbrue their hands in the blood of their Citizens. For it is reported, that though they did hurt *Caius*, yet he would never defend himselfe: and where it was knowne that he was very valiant in battel with his sword in his hand against the enemy, he shewed himselfe as cold againe in the uproare against his Citizens. For he went out of his house unarmed, and fled when he saw them fight, being more circumspect not to do hurt, then not to suffer any. Therefore they are not to be thought cowards for their flying, but rather men fearful to offend any man. For they were driven either to yeeld to them that followed them, or else if they stayed, to stand to their defence, because they might keep themselves from hurt. And where they accuse *Tiberius* for the faults he committed, the greatest that ever he did, was when he deposed *Octavius* his colleague from the Tribuneship, and that he himselfe made suite for the second. And as for *Caius*, they falsely accused him for the death of *Antyllus* the Sergeant, who indeed was slain unknown to him, and to his great grief. Where *Cleomenes* on the other side, though we should forget the murder he committed upon the Ephores, yet he set slaves at liberty, and ruled the Kingdome in manner himselfe alone: but yet for manners sake onely he joyned his own brother with him, which was of the selfe same house. And when he had perawked *Archidamus* (who was next heir to the Kingdom of the other royall house) to be bold to returne home from MESSINA unto SPARTA, he suffered him to be slain; and because he did not revenge his death, he did confirme their opinion that thought he was consenting to his death. *Lycurgus* on the other side, whose example he did counterfeite to follow, because he did willingly resigne the Kingdome unto his brothers son *Charilau*, and being afraid also, that if the young child should chance to miscarry, they would suspect him for his death, he exiled himselfe out of his own Country a long time, travelling up and downe, and returned not to SPARTA againe, before *Charilau* had gotten a son to succeed him in his Kingdome. But we cannot set another GRECIAN by *Lycurgus* comparable unto him. We have declared also that amongst *Cleomenes* deeds, there were many other great alterations then these, and also many other breaches of the law. So they that do condemne the manners of the one and the other, say, that the two GRECIANS from the beginning had an aspiring mind to be tyrants, still practising warres: whereas the two ROMANES onely, even by their most mortall enemies, could be blamed for nothing else, but for an extreame ambition; and did confesse that they were too earnest and vehement above their nature, in any strife or contention they had with their adversaries; and that they yeelded unto their choler and passion, as unto ill winds, which brought them to do those things they did in the end.

For

Theas of the
Gracchi did little
profit Rome.The end of the
Gracchi unfor-
tunate.The faults of
the Gracchi.

For what more just and honest intent could they have had, then the first was? had not the rich men (even through stoutnesse and authority to overthrow the laws) brought them against their wills into quarrel: the one to save his life, the other to revenge his brothers death, who was slain without order, justice, or the authority of any Officer? Thus thou mayest thy selfe see the difference that was betwixt the GRECIANS and the ROMANES: and now to tell you plainly my opinion of both, I thinke that *Tiberius* was the stoutest of the four; and that the young King *Agis* offended least; and for boldnesse and courage, *Caius* came nothing near unto *Cleomenes*.

THE LIFE OF DEMOSTHENES.

Ann. Mund.
356Ant. Christ.
3592

That made the little Book of the praise of *Alcibiades*, touching the victory he wanne at the horse-race of the Olympian games (were it the Poet *Euripides*, as some thinke, or any other) my friend *Sossius*, said: that to make a man happy, he must of necessity be borne in some famous City. But to tell you what I thinke hereof, doubtlesse, true happinesse chiefly consisteth in the vertue and qualities of the mind, being a matter of no moment, whether a man be borne in a pelting village, or in a famous City: no more then it is for one to be borne of a faire or foule mother. For it were a madnesse to thinke that the little village of JULIDE, being the least part of the Isle of CEO (the whole Island of it selfe being but a small thing) and that the Isle of AEGINA (which is of so small a length, that a certaine ATHENIAN on a time made a motion it might be taken away, because it was but as a straw in the sight of the haven of *Piræa*) could bring forth famous Poets, and excellent Comedians: and not breed an honest, just, and wise man, and of a noble courage. For, as we have reason to thinke that Arts and Sciences which were first devised and invented to make some things necessary for mens life, or otherwise to win fame and credit, are drowned, and cast away in little poor villages: so are we to judge also, that vertue, like a strong and fruitful plant, can take root, and bring forth in every place, where it is grafted in a good nature, and gentle person, that can patiently away with pains. And therefore if we chance to offend, and live not as we should, we cannot accuse the meannesse of our Country where we were borne; but we must justly accuse our selves. Surely he hath taken upon him to put forth any worke, or to write any history, in the which he is to thrust many strange things unknown to his Country, and which are not ready at his hand to be had, but dispersed abroad in diverse places, and to be gathered out of diverse books and authorities: first of all, he must needs remaine in some great and famous City through-

True happinesse
consisteth in
the mind and
manners of
man, not in any
place or Coun-
try.Expedient for
an Historio-
grapher to be
in a famous
City.

Plutarch, Count-
ry very little.

thoroughly inhabited, where men do delight in good and vertuous things, because there are commonly plenty of all sorts of books: and that perusing them, and hearing talke also of many things besides, which other Historiographers peradventure have not written of, and which will carry so much more credit, because men that are alive may presently speake of them as of their own knowledge: where by he may make his work perfect in every point, having many and divers necessary things contained in it. But I my selfe that dwell in a poore little Towne, and yet do remaine there willingly lest it should become lesse, whilst I was in ITALY, and at ROME, I had no leisure to study and exercise the Latine tongue, aswell for the great businesse I had then to do, as also to satisfie them that came to learn Philophy of me: so that even somewhat too late and now in my latter time, I began to take Latine books in hand. And thereby (a strange thing to tell you, but yet true) I learned no nor understood matters so much by the words, as I came to understand the words, by common experience and knowledge I had in things. But furthermore, to know how to pronounce the Latine tongue well, or to speake it readily, or to understand the figures, translations, and fine joyning of the simple words one with another, which do beautifie and fet forth the tongue, surely I judge it to be a marvellous pleasant and sweet thing; but withall it requireth a long and laboursome study, meet for those that have better leisure then I have, and that have young years on their backs to follow such pleasure. Therefore in this present booke, which is the fifth of this worke, where I have taken upon me to compare the lives of Noblemen one with another: undertaking to write the lives of *Demosthenes* and *Cicero*, we will consider and examine their nature, manners and conditions, by their acts and deeds in the Government of the Commonwealth, not meaning otherwise to confesse their works and writings of eloquence, neither to define which of them two were sharper, or sweeter in his oration. For as the Poet *John* saith:

*In this behalfe a man may rightly say,
The Dolphins in their proper soile do play.*

Demosthenes
compared with
Cicero.

The which *Cecilius* little understanding, being a man very rash in all his doings, hath unadvisedly written and set forth in print, a comparison of *Demosthenes* eloquence with *Ciceroes*. But if it were an easie matter for every man to know himself, then the gods indeed have given us no commandment, neither could men have said that it came from heaven. But for my opinion, methinks Fortune even from the beginning hath framed, in manner, of one selfe mold *Demosthenes* and *Cicero*, and hath in their natures fashioned many of their qualities one like to the other: as both of them to be ambitious, both of them to love the liberty of their Country, and both of them very fearful in any danger of wars. And likewise their fortunes seem to me, to be both much alike. For it is hard to finde two Orators againe, that being so meanelly borne as they, have come to be of so great power and authority as they two: nor that have deserved the ill will of Kings and Noblemen so much as they have done, nor that have lost their daughters, nor that have been banished their Countries, and that have been restored again with honour, and that again have fled, and have been taken againe, nor that have ended their lives with the liberty of their Country. So that it is hard to be judged, whether Nature have made them liker in manners, or Fortune in their doings: as if they had both like cunning workmasters strived one with the other, to whom they should make them best resemble. But first of all we must write of the elder of them two.

The parentage
of *Demosthenes*.

Demosthenes the father of this Orator *Demosthenes*, was (as *Theopompus* writeth) one of the chief men of the City, and they called him *Macharompus*, to wit, a maker of sword blades, because he had a great shop where he kept a number of slaves to forge them. But touching *Eschines* the Orators report of his mother, who said that she was the daughter of one *Gelon* (that fled from *ATHENS* being accused of treason) and of a barbarous woman that was her mother, I am not able to say whether it be true, or devised of malice to do him despite. Howsoever it was, it is true that his father died, leaving him but seven years old, and left him reasonable well: for his goods came to little lesse then the value of fifteen talents. Howbeit his Guardians did him great wrong, for they stole a great part of his goods themselves; and did let the rest runne to nought, as having little care of it, for they would not pay his Schoole-masters their wages. And this was the cause that he did not learn the liberal sciences which are usually taught unto honest mens sons: and to further that want also, he was but weakling and very tender, and therefore his mother would not much let him go to Schoole, neither also durst his masters keep him too hard to it, because he was but a sickly child at the first, and very weak. And it is reported also, that the surname of *Battalus* was given him in mockery by other schoole boyes his companions, because of his weaknesse of body. This *Battalus* (as diverse men do report) was an effeminate player on the flute, against whom the Poet *Antiphanes* to mocke him, devised a little play. Others also do write of one *Battalus*, a dissolute Orator, and that wrote lascivious verses: and it seemeth that the *ATHENIANS* at that time did call a certaine part of mans body uncomely to be named, *Battalus*. Now for *Argus* (which surname men say was also given him) he was so called, either for his rude and beastly manners (because some Poets do call a snake *Argus*) or else for his manner of speech, which was very unpleasant to the eare; for *Argus* is the name of a Poet that made alwayes bawdy and ill-favoured songs. But hereof enough, as *Plato* said. Furthermore, the occasion (as it is reported) that moved him to give himselfe to eloquence, was this, *Callistratus* the Orator was to defend the cause of one *Oropus* before the Judges, and every man longed greatly for this day of pleading, both for the excellency of the Orator, that then bare the bell for eloquence: as for the matter, and his accusation, which was manifestly known to all. *Demosthenes* hearing his Schoolemasters agree together to go to the hearing of this matter, he prayed his School-

Demosthenes
why he was
called *Battalus*.

Demosthenes
why surnamed
Argus.

Callistratus the
Orator.

masters agree together to go to the hearing of this matter, he prayed his School-master to be so good as to let him go with him. His master granted him: and being acquainted with the keepers of the Hall doore where this matter was to be pleaded, he so intreated them, that they placed their scholar in a very good place, where being at his ease, he might both hear and see all that was done: and no man could see him. Thereupon when *Demosthenes* had heard the case pleaded, he was greatly in love with the honour which the Orator had gotten, when he saw how he was waited upon home with such a traine of people after him: but yet he wondered more at the force of his great eloquence, which could so turne and convey all things at his pleasure. Thereupon he left the study of all other sciences, and all other exercises of wit and body, which other children are brought up in: and began to labor continually, and to frame himselfe to make Orations, with intent one day, to be an Orator among the rest. His master that taught him Rhetoricke was *Isenes*, notwithstanding that *Isocrates* also kept a Schoole of Rhetoricke at that time: either because that being an Orphan he was not able to pay the wages that *Isocrates* demanded of his Scholars, which was ten Minas: or rather for that he found *Isenes* manner of speech more proper for the use of the eloquence he desired, because it was more fine and subtle. Yet *Hermippus* writeth notwithstanding, that he had read certaine bookes having no name of any author, which declared that *Demosthenes* had been *Platoes* Scholar, and that by hearing of him, he learned to frame his pronunciation and eloquence. And he writeth also of one *Ctesibius*, who reporteth that *Demosthenes* had secretly read *Isocrates* works of Rhetoricke, and also *Alcidamas* bookes; by means of one *Callias SYRACUSAN*, and others. Wherefore when he came out of his wardship, he began to put his Guardians in suite, and to write Orations and pleas against them: who in contrary manner did ever use delays and excuses, to save themselves for giving up any account unto him, of goods and patrimony left him. And thus following this exercise (as *Thucydides* writeth) it prospered so well with him, that in the end he obtained it, but not without great paines and danger: and yet with all that he could do, he could not recover all that his father left him, by a good deal. So having now gotten some boldnesse, and being used also to speake in open presence, and withall, having a feeling and delight of the estimation that is wonne by eloquence in pleading, afterwards he attempted to put forward himself, and to practise in matters of state. For, as there goeth a tale of one *Laomedon* an *ORCHOMENIAN*, who having a grievous paine in the spleene, by advice of the Physicians was willed to runne long courses to helpe him: and that following their order, he became in the end so lusty and nimble of body, that afterwards he would needs make one run for games, and indeed grew to be the swiftest runner of all men in his time. Even so the like chanced unto *Demosthenes*. For at the first, beginning to practise Oratory for recovery of his goods, and thereby having gotten good skill and knowledge how to plead, he afterwards tooke upon him to speake to the people in assemblies touching the government of the Common-wealth, even as he should have contended for some game or price; and at the length did excell all the Orators at that time that go up into the Pulpit for Orations: notwithstanding that when he first ventured to speake openly, the people make such a noise, that he could scarce be heard; and besides they mocked him for his manner of speech that was so strange, because he used so many long confused periods; and his matter he spake was so intricate with argument one upon another, that they were tedious, and made them weary to hear him. And furthermore, he had a very soft voice, an impediment in his tongue, and had also a short breath, the which made that men could not well understand what he meant; for his long periods in his Orations were oftentimes interrupted, before he was at the end of his sentence. So at length perceiving he was thus rejected, he gave over to speake any more before the people, and halfe in despaire withdrew himself into the haven of *Piræa*. There *Eunimius* the *THESSALIAN* being a very old man, found him, and sharply reproved him, and told him, that he did himselfe great wrong, considering, that having a manner of speech much like unto *Pericles*, he drowned himselfe by his faint heart; because he did not seeke the way to be bold against the noise of the common people, and to arme his body to away with the paines and burthen of publike Orations, but suffering it to grow feebler for lacke of use and practise. Furthermore, being once againe repulsed and whistled at, as he returned home hanging down his head for shame, and utterly discouraged, *Satyrus* an excellent player of Comedies being his familiar friend, followed him, and went to speake with him. *Demosthenes* made his complaint unto him, that where he had taken more pains then all the Orators besides, and had almost even worne himself to the bones with study, yet he could by no means devise to please the people: whereas other Orators that did nothing but bib all the day long, and Mariners that understood nothing, were quietly heard, and continually occupied the Pulpit with Orations: and on the other side that they made no account of him. *Satyrus* then answered him: Thou sayest true *Demosthenes*, but care not for this, I will helpe it straight, and take away the cause of all this: so thou wilt but tell me without book certain verses of *Euripides*, or of *Sophocles*, thereupon *Demosthenes* presently rehearsed some unto him, that came into his mind. *Satyrus* repeating them after him, gave them quite another grace, with such a pronunciation, comely gesture, and modest countenance becoming the verses, that *Demosthenes* thought them clean changed: Whereby perceiving how much the action (to wit, the comely manner and gesture in his Orations) do give grace and comeliness in his pleading, he then thought it but a trifle, and almost nothing to speake of, to exercise to plead well, unless therewithall he did also study to have a good pronounciation and gesture. Thereupon he built him a cellar under the ground, the which was whole even in cellar my time, and he would daily go downe into it, to fashion his gesture and pronounciation, and also to exercise his voice; and that with such earnest affection, that oftentimes he would be there two

The earnest
desire of *De-*
mosthenes to
learn eloquence

Isenes, *Demosthenes*
Schoole-
master of Rhe-
toricke.

Demosthenes
first practise in
drawing and
and penning of
Orations.

A remedy for
the paine of the
spleene.

Demosthenes
mocked of the
people for his
long Orations.
Demosthenes
impediments
of nature.

Note the inconsistency and subtil evasion of these Orators.

Demosthenes preferreth honesty as a special rule in his Orations.

Demosthenes a timorous man, and given to bribes.

Demosthenes franke speech in his Orations.

Demosthenes Orations, which were true, and which false.

Demosthenes doings against Philip.

beginning: and that not onely he never changed all his life time, but to the contrary, he lost his life, because he would be no chaneling. For he did not like *Demades*: who to excuse himselfe for that he had oft turned coate in matters of Government, said, that he went oftentimes against his owne sayings, as matters fell out: but never against the benefit of the Common-wealth. And *Melanopus* also, who was ever against *Calisthratus*, having his mouth many times stopped with Money, he would up to the Pulpit for Orations, and tell the People, that indeed *Calisthratus*, which maintaineth the contrary opinion against me, is my enemy, and yet I yeeld unto him for this time: for the benefit of the Common-wealth must carry it. And another also, *Nicodemus* MæsiæNIAN, who being first of *Cassanders* side, tooke part afterwards with *Demetrius*, and then said, that he did not speake against himselfe, but that it was meete he should obey his superiours. They cannot detect *Demosthenes* with the like, that he did ever halt or yeeld either in word or deed. For he ever continued firme and constant in one minde in his Orations. Infomuch that *Panæius* the Philosopher saith, that the most part of all his Orations are grounded upon this Maxime and Principle: that for it selfe, nothing is to be taken or accepted, but that which is honest. As, the Oration of the Crowne, the which he made against *Aristocrates*: that also which he made for the Franches and Freedome: and in fine, all his Orations against *Philip* of MACEÐON; in all those he doth not perswade his Countrey men to take that which is most pleasant, easiest, or most profitable: but he proveth that oftentimes honesty is to be preferred above safety or health. So that had he in all his Orations and doings joynted to his honesty, courtesie, and franke speech, valiantnesse in Wars, and cleane hands from bribery, he might deservedly have beene compared, not with *Miracles*, *Polyæulus*, *Hyperides* and other Orators: but even with the highest, with *Cimon*, *Thucydides*, and *Pericles*. For *Phocion*, who tooke the worst way in government of the Common-wealth, because he was suspected that he tooke part with the MACEÐONIANS: yet for valiantnesse, wisdom and justice, he was ever thought as honest a man as *Ephialtes* and *Aristides*. But *Demosthenes* on the other side (as *Demetrius* saith) was no man to trust to for Wars, neither had he any power to refuse gifts and bribes. For though he would never be corrupted by *Philip* King of MACEÐON, yet he was bribed with Gold and Silver that was brought from the Cities of *Susa* and *Ecbatana*; and was very ready to praise and commend the deedes of their Ancestors, but not to follow them. Truly, yet was he the honestest man of all other Orators in his time, excepting *Phocion*. And besides, he did ever speake more boldly and plainly unto the People than any man else, and would openly contrary their mindes, and sharply reprove the *ATHENIANS* for their faults, as appeareth by his Orations. *Theopompus* also writeth, that the People on a time would have had him to accuse a man, whom they would needs have condemned. But he refusing to do it, the People were offended, and did mutiny against him. Thereupon he rising up, said openly unto them: My Lords *ATHENIANS*, I will alwaies counsell you to that which I thinke best for the benefit of the Common-wealth, although it be against your mindes: but falsely to accuse one to satisfie your mindes, though you command me, I will not do it. Furthermore, that which he did against *Antiphon*, sheweth plainly, that he was no People-pleaser, and that he did lean more unto the Authority of the Senate. For when *Antiphon* was quit by the People in the Assembly of the City, *Demosthenes* notwithstanding tooke him, and called him againe into the Court of the *Areopagites*, and did not paffe for the Peoples ill will, but there convinced him for promising *Philip* of MACEÐON to burne the Assemply of *ATHENS*: so by sentence of that Court he was condemned, and suffered for it. He did also accuse the Nunne *Thyridides* for many lewd parts committed, and amongst others, for that she taught Slaves to deceive their Masters: and so following the matter against her, she was condemned to death, and executed. As is thought also, that he made the Oration *Apollodorus* spake against the Prætor *Timotheus*, and proved thereby that he was a debtor to the Common-wealth, and so a naughty man; and that he wrote those Orations also intituled to *Farmio* and *Stephanus*, for the which he was justly reprovèd. For *Farmio* pleaded against *Apollodorus* with the Oration which *Demosthenes* selfe had made for him; which was even alike, as if out of one selfe Cutlers Shop he had sold his Enemies Swords one to kill another: and for his knowne Orations, those which he made against *Androcion*, *Timocrates* and *Aristocrates*, he caused them to give them unto others, when he had not yet dealt in matters of States. For indeede when he did put them forth, he was not passing seven or eight and twenty years old. The Oration which he had made against *Aristogiton*, and the other also of liberty, against *Ctesippus* the Sonne of *Chabrias*; he spake them, as he saith himselfe (or as others write) openly unto the People, because he intended to marry *Chabrias* Mother: howbeit he did not, but married a *SAMIAN* woman, as *Demetrius* MAGEÑIAN writeth in his Booke he made, intituled *Synonyma*. But that he wrote against *Æschines*, where he accuseth him that he dealt falsely when he was Ambassadour, it is not known whether it was recited or not, although *Idomeneus* writeth, that there lacked but thirty voices onely to have quit *Æschines*. But in this methinks he spake not truly, and doth not conjecture it by that one and the other have said in their Orations against the Crowne, in the which neither the one nor the other do say precisely, that this accusation proceeded to judgement. But rather that list decide this doubt. Now before the War began, it was evident enough, to which side *Demosthenes* would incline in the Common-wealth. For, he would never leave to reprove and withstand *Philip* doings. Therefore he being more spoken of in *Philip* Court, than any man else, he was sent unto him the tenth person with nine others in Ambassage: *Philip* gave them all audience one after another: howbeit he was more carefull and circumpect to answer *Demosthenes* Oration than all the rest. But otherwise out of that place, he did not desire *Demosthenes* so much honour, nor gave him so good entertainment, as to his other companions: *Philip*

Philip shewed more kindnesse, and gave better countenance unto *Æschines* and *Philocrates* then unto him. Wherefore when they did highly praise *Philip*, and said that he was a well-spoken Prince, a faire man, and would drinke freely; and be pleasant in company, *Demosthenes* smiled at it, and turned all things to the worst, saying, that those qualities were nothing commendable nor meete for a King. For the first was a quality meete for a Pleader, the second for a Woman, and the third for a Sponge. In fine, Wars falling out betwene them, because *Philip* of the one side could not live in peace, and the *ATHENIANS* on the other side were still incensed and stirred up by *Demosthenes* daily Orations, the *ATHENIANS* first sent into the Isle of *Euboea* (the which by means of certaine private Tyrants that had taken the Townes, became subject againe unto *Philip*) following a Decree *Demosthenes* had preferred, and so went to expulse the MACEÐONIANS againe. After that also he caused them to send aide unto the *BYZANTINES*, and to the *PERINTHIANS*, with whom *Philip* made War. For he so perswaded the *ATHENIANS*, that he made them forget the malice they did beare unto those two Nations, and the faults which either of both the Cities had committed against them in the Wars, touching the rebellion of their Confederates: and he caused them to send them aide, which kept them from *Philip* force and power. Furthermore, going afterwards unto all the great Cities of *GREECE* as Ambassadour, he did so sollicite and perswade them, that he brought them all in a manner to be against *Philip*. So that the Army which their Tribe should finde at their common charge, was fiftene thousand Footmen, all strangers, and two thousand Horlemen, besides the Citizens of every City which should also serve in the Warres at their charge; and the Money also leaved for the maintenance of this Warre, was very willingly disbursed. *Theophrastus* writeth, that it was at that time their Confederates did pray that they would set downe a certaine summe of Money, what every City should pay: and that *Crobylus* an Oratour should make answer, that the Warre had no certaine maintenance: inferring that the charges of Warre was infinite. Now all *GREECE* being in Armes, attending what should happen, and all these People and Cities being united in one League together, as the *EUBOBIANS*, the *ATHENIANS*, the *CORINTHIANS*, the *MEGARIANS*, the *LEUCADIANS*, and those of *CORFU*: the greatest matter *Demosthenes* had to do, was to perswade the *THEBANS* also to enter into this League, because their Countrey confined and bordered with *ATTICA*; besides, their force and power was of great importance, for that they carried the same of all *GREECE* at that time, for the valiantest Souldiers. But it was no trifling matter to winne the *THEBANS*, and to make them breake with *Philip*, who but lately before had bound them unto him by many great pleasures which he had done to them in the Warre of the *PHOCIANS*: besides also that betwixt *ATHENS* and *THEBES*, by reason of vicinity, there fell out daily quarrels and debates, the which with every little thing were soone renewed. This notwithstanding, *Philip* being proud of the Victory he had won by the City of *AMPHISSE*, when he came and invaded the Countrey of *ELATIA*, and was entered into *PHOCIDE*, the *ATHENIANS* were then so amazed with it, that no man durst occupie the Pulpit for Orations, neither could they tell what way to take. Thus the whole Assembly standing in a doubt with great silence, *Demosthenes* onely stept up, and did againe give them counsell to seeke to make league and alliance with the *THEBANS*: and so did further encourage the People, and put them in good hope, as he was alwaies wont to do. Then with others he was sent Ambassadour unto *THEBES*: and *Philip* also for his part, sent Ambassadours unto the *THEBANS*; *Amyntas* and *Clearchus*, two Gentlemen MACEÐONIANS, and with them *Daechus*, *Thestalus*, and *Thracys*, to answer and withstand the perswasions of the *ATHENIANS* Ambassadours. Thereupon the *THEBANS* began to advise themselves for the best, and laid before their eyes then miserable fruits and calamities of Warre, their wounds being yet greene and untured, which they got by the Warres of *PHOCIDE*. Notwithstanding, the great force of *Demosthenes* eloquence (as *Theopompus* writeth) did so inflame the *THEBANS* courage with desire of honour, that it trod under their feete all manner of considerations, and did so ravish them with the love and desire of honesty; that they cast at their heeles all feare of danger; all remembrance of pleasures received, and all reason perswading to the contrary. This act of an Oratour was of so great force, that *Philip* forthwith sent Ambassadours unto the *GRECIANS*, to intreat for peace; and all *GREECE* was up to see what would become of this stir. Thus, not onely the Capitaines of *ATHENS* obeyed *Demosthenes*, doing all that he commanded them; but the Governours also of *THEBES*, and of all the Countrey of *BOEOTIA* besides. And the Assemblies also of the Councell of *THEBES* were as well governed by him as the Assemblies of *ATHENS*, being alike beloved both of the one and the other, and having a like Authority to command both, and not undeservedly, as *Theopompus* saith, but by just desert. But some fatal destiny, and the revolution of times had determined the final end of the liberty of *GREECE* at that time; cleane contrary to his purpose and intent. There were also many celestiall signes that did foreflew and prognosticate what end should ensue thereof. And amongst others, *Apollon*'s Nunne gave these dreadfull Oracles: and this old Prophecy of the *SYBILS* was commonly sung in every bodies mouth:

What time the blondy battell shall be fought at *Thermodon*;

God grant I may be far away; or else (to looke thereon)

Have Eagles Wings to soare above, among the clouds on his:

For there, the vanquisher side shall weepe, and Conquerour shall die.

Men do report that this *Thermodon* is a little River of the Countrey of *CHIRONIA*, which falleth into the River of *Cephissus*: howbeit at this present time there is never a River nor Brooke in all our Countrey, that I know, called *Thermodon*. And I thinke, that that River which we call now

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Hamon,

Demosthenes stirreth up Greece against the MACEÐONIANS.

Demosthenes force of eloquence, joynted the *THEBANS* with the *ATHENIANS*, and won them from *Philip* King of *Macedon*.

The overthrow of the *Grecians* fore-shewed at *Cheronæ*, by signes and ancient Oracles.

The River of *Thermodon* or *Hammon*, in the Countrey of *Chironæ*.

Hæmon, was in old time Thermodon: for it runneth by the Temple of *Hercules*, where the GRECIANS lay in Campe. And it may be, that because it was filled with dead bodies, and that it ran bloud at the day of the Battell, it changed her name, and was surnamed Hæmon, because Hæma in the Greeke Tongue, signifieth bloud. Yet *Duris* writeth notwithstanding, that this Thermodon was no River, but that certaine men setting up their Tent, and trenching it about, found a little Image of stone, whereupon were engraven these Letters: whereby it appeareth that it was a man called *Thermodon*, who carried an AMAZON hurt in his armes; and that for this Image of *Thermodon*, they do sing such another old Oracle as this:

*Te Ernes and Ravens tarry till the field of Thermodon:
There will be store of carcases of men to feede upon.*

This notwithstanding, it is very hard to tell the troth of these things. But *Demosthenes* trusting to the valiantnesse and power of the GRECIANS, and being marvellously encouraged to see such a great number of valiant and resolute men, so willing to fight with the Enemy, he bade them be of good courage, and not to buz about such Oracles, and to give eare to such Prophecies. And furthermore he told them plainly, that he did mistrust the Nunne *Pythia* did leane unto *Philip*, as favouring him, and did put the THEBANS in minde of their Captaine *Epaminondas*, and the ATHENIANS of *Pericles*; and perswaded them, that those two famous men were alwaies of opinion, that such Prophecies were no other but a fine cloake for cowards, and that taking no heed to them, they did dispatch their matters according to their owne discretion. Untill this present time, *Demosthenes* shewed himselfe alwaies an honest man. But when it came to the Battell, he fled like a coward, and did no valiant act any thing answerable to the Orations whereby he had perswaded the People. For he left his ranke, and cowardly cast away his Weapons to run the lighter, and was not ashamed at all (as *Pythias* said) of the words written upon his Shield in golden Letters, which were, *Good Fortune*. Now *Philip* having won the Battell, he was at that present so joyfull, that he fell to commit many a fond part. For after he had drunke well with his friends, he went into the place where the Overthrow was given, and there in mockery began to sing the beginning of the Decree which *Demosthenes* had preferred (by the which the ATHENIANS accordingly proclaimed Warres against him) rising and falling with his voice, and dancing it in measure with his foote:

Demosthenes the Sonne of Demosthenes Paanian did put forth this.

But afterwards beginning to waxe fober, and leaving his drunkennesse, when he had remembered of himselfe what danger he had been in, then his haire stood bolt upright upon his head, considering the force and power of such an Oratour, that in a piece of a day had enforced him to hazard his Realme and life at a Battell. Now *Demosthenes* fame was so great, that it was carried even to the great King of PERSIA'S Court, who wrote unto his Lieutenants and Governours, that they should feede *Demosthenes* with money, and should procure to entertaine him above all the men in GREECE, as he that could best withdraw *Philip*, and trouble him with the Warres and tumults of GREECE. And this was afterwards proved by Letters found of *Demosthenes* himselfe, the which came to King *Alexander*'s hands in the City of SARDIS, and by other Writings also of the Governours and Lieutenants of the King of PERSIA, in the which were named directly the expresse summes of Money which had been sent and given unto him. Now the GRECIANS being thus overthrowne by Battell, the other Orators, adversaries unto *Demosthenes* in the Common-wealth, began to set upon him, and to prepare to accuse him. But the People did not onely cleare him of all the accusations objected against him, but did continue to honour him more then before, and to call him to Assemblies, as one that loved the honour and benefit of his Countrey. So that when the bones of their Countreymen which were slaine at the Battell of CHÆRONEA, were brought to be openly buried according to the custome, the People gave him the honour to make the Funerall Oration in praise of the dead, and made no shew of sorrow or griefe for the losse they had received (as *Theopompus* witnesseth, and doth nobly declare) but rather in contrary manner shewed that they did not repent them in following of his counsell, but did honour him that gave it. *Demosthenes* then did make the Funerall Oration. But afterwards in all the Decrees he preferred to the People, he would never subscribe any, to prevent the sinister lucke and misfortune of his name, but did passe it under his friends names one after another, untill he grew courageous againe, shortly after that he understood of the death of *Philip*, who was slaine immediately after the Victory he wanne at CHÆRONEA. And it seemeth this was the meaning of the Prophecy or Oracle in the two last Verses:

*The vanquished bewailes his lucklesse lot,
And he that wins, with life escapeth not.*

Now *Demosthenes* hearing of *Philip*'s death, before the news were openly knowne, to prevent them, he would put the People againe in good hope of better lucke to come. Thereupon he went with a chearfull countenance into the Assembly of the Councell, and told them there, that he had a certaine dreame that promised great good hap, and that out of hand unto the ATHENIANS: and immediately after, the Messengers arrived, and brought certaine newes of King *Philip*'s death. Thereupon the ATHENIANS made Sacrifices of joy to the gods for this happy newes, and appointed a Crowne unto *Pausanias* that had slaine him. *Demosthenes* also came abroad in his best Gowne, and crowned with Flowers, seven daies after the death of his Daughter, as *Æschines* reporteth: who reproveth him for it, and noteth him to be a man having little love or charity unto his owne children. But indeed *Æschines* selfe deserveth more blame, to have such a tender womanish heart, as to believe, that weeping and lamenting are signes of a gentle and charitable nature, condemning them that

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with patience and constancy do passe away such misfortunes. But now to the ATHENIANS againe. I can neither thinke nor say that they did wisely to shew such open signes of joy, as to weare Crownes and Garlands upon their heads; nor also, to sacrifice unto the gods for the death of a Prince; that behaved himselfe so Princely and courteously unto them in the Victories he had won of them. For though indeed all cruelty be subject to the revenge of the gods, yet is this an act of a vile and base minde, to honour a man while he lived, and to make him free of their City; and now that another had slaine him, they to be in such an exceeding jollity withall, and to exceed the bounds of modesty so far, as to rampe in manner with both their feete upon the dead, and to sing Songs of victory, as if they themselves had been the men that had valiantly slaine him. In contrary manner also, I praise and commend the constancy and courage of *Demosthenes*, that he leaving the teares and lamentation of his home-trouble unto women, did himselfe in the meane time that he thought was for the benefit of the Common-wealth: and in my opinion, I thinke he did therein like a man of courage, and worthy to be a Governour of a Common-wealth, never to stoop nor yeeld, but alwaies to be found stable and constant, for the benefit of the Common-wealth, rejecting all his troubles, cares, and affections, in respect of the service of his Countrey; and to keepe his honour much more carefully, then common Players use to do, when they play the parts of Kings and Princes, whom we see neither weepe nor laugh when they list, though they be on the Stage, but when the matter of the Play falleth out to give them just occasion. But we omit those reasons, if there be no reason (as indeed there is not) to leave and forsake a man in his sorrow and trouble, without giving him some words of comfort, but rather to devise some matter to asswage his sorrow, and to withdraw his minde from that, to thinke upon some pleasanter thing: even as they should keepe sore eyes from seeing bright and glaring colours, in offering them greene and darker. And from whence can a man take greater comfort for his troubles and griefes at home, when the Common-wealth doth well, then to joyne their private griefes with common-joyes, to the end that the better may obscure and take away the worke? But thus far I digressed from my History, enlarging this matter, because *Æschines* in his Oration touching this matter, did move the Peoples hearts too much unto womanish sorrow. But now to the rest. The Cities of GREECE being againe stirred up by *Demosthenes*, made a new League againe together: and the THEBANS also having armed themselves by his practise, did one day set upon the Garison of MACEDONIANS within their City, and slew many of them. The ATHENIANS prepared also to maintaine Warre on the THEBANS behalfe, and *Demosthenes* was daily at all the Assemblies of Councell, in the Pulpit, perswading the People with his Orations: and he wrote also into ASIA unto the King of PERSIA'S Lieutenants and Captaines, to make Warre with *Alexander* on their side, calling him Childe, and Margites, as much to say, as Foole. But after that *Alexander* having set all his things at stay within his Realme, came himselfe in person with his Army, and invaded the Countrey of BOEOTIA, then fell the pride of the ATHENIANS greatly, and *Demosthenes* also plied the Pulpit no more as he was wont. At length the poore THEBANS being left unto themselves forsaken of every man, they were compelled themselves alone to beare the brunt of this Warre, and so came their City to utter ruine and destruction. Thereby the ATHENIANS being in a marvellous feare and perplexity, did suddenly choose Ambassadors to send unto this young King, and *Demosthenes* chiefly among others: who being afraid of *Alexander*'s fury and wrath, durst not go to him, but returned from Mount Cythæron, and gave up the Ambassade. But *Alexander* sent to summon the ATHENIANS, to send unto him ten of their Orators, as *Idomeneus* and *Duris* both do write: or eight, as the most Writers and best Historiographers do report, which were these: *Demosthenes*, *Polyæctus*, *Ephialtes*, *Lycurgus*, *Myrocles*, *Damon*, *Callisthenes* and *Charidemus*. At which time they write that *Demosthenes* told the People of ATHENS the Fable of the Sheepe and Wolves, how that the Wolves came on a time, and willed the Sheepe, if they would have peace with them, to deliver them their Maltives that kept them. And so he compared himselfe and his companions that travelled for the benefit of the People, unto the Dogs that keepe the Flocks of Sheepe, and called *Alexander* the Woolfe. Moreover, he said, like as you see these Corne-masters bringing a sample of their Corne in a Dish or Napkin to shew you, and by that little do sell all that they have: so I thinke you will all wonder, that delivering of us, you shall also deliver your selves into the hands of your Enemies. *Aristobulus* of CASSANDRIA reporteth this matter thus. Now the ATHENIANS being in consultation, not knowing how to resolve, *Demades* having taken five Talents of them whom *Alexander* demanded, did offer himselfe, and promised to go in this Ambassade unto *Alexander*, and to intreate for them; either because he trusted in the love the King did beare him, or else for that he thought he hoped he should finde him pacified, as a Lion glutted with the bloud of Beasts which he had slaine. Howsoever it happened, he perswaded the People to send him unto *Alexander*, whom he so handled, that he got their pardon, and did reconcile him with the City of ATHENS. Thereupon *Alexander* being retired, *Demades* and his fellows bare all the sway and authority, and *Demosthenes* was under foote. Indeed when *Agis* King of LACEDÆMON, came with his Army into the Field, he began a little to rouse himselfe, and to lift up his head: but he shrunke collar againe soone after, because the ATHENIANS would not rise with the LACEDÆMONIANS, who were overthrowne, and *Agis* slaine in Battell. At that time was the cause of the Crowne pleaded against *Ctesiphon*, and the Plea was written a little before the Battell of CHÆRONEA, in the year when *Charondas* was Provost of ATHENS: howbeit no sentence was given till tenne yeares after, when *Aristophan* was Provost. This was such an open judgement, and so famous, as never was any, as well for the great Fame

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Another opinion of Thermodon.

Demosthenes flieth from the Battell.

Demosthenes words and device upon his Shield.

Demosthenes corrupted with money of the King of Persia.

Demosthenes praileth them that were slaine at the Battell of Chæronea.

The death of Philip King of Macedonia.

Demosthenes preferreth the joy of his Countrey, before the sorrow for his owne Daughter. *Æschines* reproveth *Plutarch* for his fond believe, that blabbering and sorrowing are signes of love and charity.

Plutarch praileth *Demosthenes* constancy for leaving of his mourning to rejoyce for his common Countrey benefit.

Demosthenes raised up the Grecians against Alexander.

Alexander required certaine Orators of Athens. *Demosthenes* Tale of the Sheepe and Wolves.

The judgement of the Crowne against *Ctesiphon*.

The death of
Demosthenes.

The time of
Demosthenes
death.

The Atheni-
ans honoured
Demosthenes
after his death

rise, and began to use the former perswasions to him, promising him that he would make *Antipater* his friend. Then *Demosthenes* feeling the poyson worke, cast open his Gowne, and boldly looking *Archias* in the face, said unto him: Now when thou wilt, play *Creons* part, and throw my body to the dogs, without further grave or buriall. For my part, O god *Neptune*, I do go out of thy Temple being yet alive, because I will not profane it with my death: but *Antipater*, and the *MACEDONIANS*, have not spared to defile thy Sanctuary with blood and cruell murder. Having spoken these words, he prayed them to stay him up by his arme-holes, for his feete began already to faile him; and thinking to go forward, as he past by the Altar of *Neptune*, he fell downe, and giving one gaspe, gave up the ghost. Now touching the poyson, *Aristo* reporteth, that he sucked and drew it up into his mouth out of his quill, as we have said before. But one *Pappus* (from whom *Hermippus* hath taken his History) writeth, that when he was laid on the ground before the Altar, they found the beginning of a Letter which said: *Demosthenes* unto *Antipater*, but no more. Now his death being thus sudden, the *THACIAN* Souldiers that were at the Temple doore, reported that they saw him pluck the poyson which he put into his mouth, out of a little cloth he had, thinking to them that it had beene a piece of Gold he had swallowed downe. Howbeit a Maid of the house that served him, being examined about it, told them, that he had carried it about him a long time for a preservative for him. *Eratosthenes* writeth, that he kept this poyson in a little boxe of gold made hollow within, the which he ware as a bracelet about his arme. There are many Writers also that do report his death diversly, but to recite them all were in vaine: saving that there was one called *Demochares* (who was *Demosthenes* very friend) who said, that he died not so suddenly by poyson, but that it was the speciall favour of the gods (to preserve him from the cruelty of the *MACEDONIANS*) that suddenly tooke him out of this life, and made him feele so little paine. *Demosthenes* died the sixteenth day of the Moneth *Pynepsion* (to wit, October) on the which day they do celebrate at *ATHENS* the Feast of *Ceres*, called *Tefmophoria*, which is the dolefullest Feast of all the yeare: on the which day also, the women remaine all day long in the Temple of the goddesse, without meate or drinke. Shortly after, the *ATHENIANS* to honour him according to his deserts, did cast his Image in brasse, and made a Law besides, that the oldest man of his House should for ever be kept within the Palace, at the charge of the Common-wealth: and ingraved these Verses also upon the base of his Image:

Hadst thou Demosthenes had strength according to thy heart,

The Macedons should not have wrought the Greekes such woe and smart.

For they that thinke that it was *Demosthenes* himselfe that made these Verses in the Isle of *CALAU-RIA*, before he tooke his poyson, are greatly deceived. But yet a little before my first coming to *ATHENS*, there went a report that such a thing happened: A certaine Souldier being sent for to come unto the Capitaine, did put such pieces of Gold as he had into the hands of *Demosthenes* Statue, which had both his hands joyned together: and there grew hard by it a great Plane-tree, divers leaves whereof either blowne off with winde by chance, or else put there of purpose by the Souldier, covered to this Gold, that it was there a long time, and no man found it: untill such time as the Souldier came againe, and found it as he left it. Hereupon this matter running abroad in every mans mouth, there were divers men that tooke occasion of this subject, to make Epigrams in the praise of *Demosthenes*, as one who in his life was never corrupted. Furthermore, *Demades* did not long enjoy the honour he thought he had newly gotten. For the justice of the gods, revenger of the death of *Demosthenes*, brought him into *MACEDON*, to receive just punishment by death, of those whom he dishonestly flattered: being before growne hatefull to them, and afterwards committed a fault where- by he could not escape. For there were Letters of his taken, by the which he did perswade and pray

* He saith *An-
tigonus*, in the
Life of *Phoci-
on*.

Demades death
and reward
for his Treas-
on.

* *Perdiccas* to make himselfe King of *MACEDON*, and to deliver *GREECE* from bondage, saying, that it hung but by a thread, and yet it was halfe rotten, meaning thereby *Antipater*. *Dinarchus* *CORINTHIAN* accused him, that he wrote these Letters: the which so grievously offended *Cassander*, that first he slew his owne Sonne in his armes, and then commanded they should afterward kill *Demades*, making him feele then by those miseries (which are the cruellest that can happen unto man) that Traytors betraying their owne Countrey, do first of all betray themselves. *Demosthenes* had often forewarned him of his end, but he would never believe him. Thus, my friend *Sossius*, you have what we can deliver you, by reading or report, touching *Demosthenes* Life and Doings.

The end of the Life of Demosthenes.

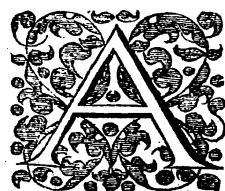
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THE LIFE OF MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO.



Ann. Mund.
870.

Ant. Christ.
78.



As touching *Ciceroes* Mother, whose name was *Helvia*, it is reported she was *Ciceroes* Paren-
tage. a Gentlewoman borne, and lived alwaies very honestly: but for his Father, the reports of him are divers and infinite. For some say, that he was borne and brought up in a Fullers shop: others report, that he came of *Tullus Appius*, who while he lived was honoured among the *VOLSCS* as King, and made very sharpe and cruell Wars with the *ROMANS*. But surely it seemes to me, that the first of that name called *Cicero*, was some famous man, and that for his sake his Offspring continued still that surname, and were glad to keepe it; though many men scorned it, because *Cicero* in English signifieth a chiefe pease: and *Cicero* had a thing upon the tip of his nose, as it had beene a little wart, much like to a chiefe pease; whereupon they surnamed him *Cicero*, why so called. But this *Cicero*, whose Life we write of now, nobly answered certaine of his friends on a time giving him counsell to change his name, when he first made suite for Office, and began to practise in matters of State: that he would endeavour himselfe to make the name of *Ciceroes* more noble and famous, then the *Scouris* or *Catuli*. After that, *Cicero* being made Treasurer in *SICILE*, he gave an Offering of certaine Silver Plate unto the gods, and at large engraved on it his two first names, *Marcus Tullius*: and in place of his third name, he pleasantly commanded the Workman to cut out the forme and fashion of a chiefe pease. Thus much they write of his name. Now for his birth, it was *Ciceroes* birth, said that his Mother was brought to bed of him without any paine, the third day of January: on which day the Magistrates and Governours of *ROME* do use at this present, yearly to make solemne Prayers and Sacrifices unto the gods, for the health and prosperity of the Emperour. Further, it is reported, that there appeared an Image to his Nurse, that did prognosticate unto her, she gave a Childe suck, which in time to come should do great good unto all the *ROMANS*. Now though such things may seeme but dreames and fables unto many, yet *Cicero* himselfe shortly after proved this Prophecy true: because that when he came of age to learne, he grew so toward, and wanne such fame among the Boyes, for his excellent wit and quicke capacity. For thereupon came the other Boyes Fathers themselves to the Schoole to see his face, and to be eye-witnesses of the report that went of him, of his sharpe and quicke wit to learne. But others of the rude and baser sort of men were offended with their Sonnes, because to honour *Cicero*, they did alwaies put him in the midst betweene them, as they went in the streetes. *Cicero* indeed had such a naturall wit and understanding as *Plato* thought meete for learning, and apt for the study of Philosophy. For he gave himselfe to all kinde of knowledge, and there was no Art nor any of the liberrall Sciences that he disdained: notwithstanding in his first young yeares he was apter and better disposed to

An Image ap-
peared to *Ciceroes*
Nurse.

Ciceroes to-
wardnesse and
wit.

to the study of Poetry then any other. There is a pretty Poem of his in Verses of eight staves, called *Pontium Glaucus*, extant at this day, the which he made when he was but a boy. After that, being given more earnestly unto his study, he was not only thought the best Orator, but the best Poet also of all the ROMANS in his time: and yet doth the excellency of his eloquence, and commendation of his tongue continue even to this day, notwithstanding the great alteration and change of the Latine Tongue. But his Poetry hath lost the name and estimation of it, because there were many after him that became far more excellent therein than he. After he had left his childish studies, he became then *Philos* Scholar, the Academick Philosopher, the onely Scholar of *Clitomachus* Scholars, whom the ROMANS esteemed so much for his eloquence, and loved more for his gentle behaviour and conversation. He gave himselfe also to be a follower of *Mutius Scavola*, who at that time was a great man in ROME, and Prince of the Senate, and who did instruct *Cicero* in the Lawes of ROME. He did also follow *Sylla* for a time, in the Wars of the MARIANS. But when he saw that the Common wealth of ROME fell to Civill Wars, and from Civill Wars to a Monarchy, then he returned againe to his Booke and contemplative life, and frequented the learned men of GREECE, and alwaies studied with them, untill *Sylla* had gotten the upper hand, and that he saw all the Common-wealth againe at some stay. About that time, *Sylla* causing the Goods of one that was said to be flaine, to be sold by the Crier (being one of the Outlawes and Proscriptions, to wit, banished by Bills set up on Polls) *Chrysogonus*, one of *Sylla's* freed Bondmen, and in great favour with his Master, bought them for the summe of two thousand Drachmaes. Therewithall the Sonne and Heire of the dead person called *Roscium*, being marvellously offended, he shewed that it was too shamefull an abuse: for his Fathers Goods amounted to the summe of two hundred and fifty Talents. *Sylla* finding himselfe thus openly touched with publick fraud and deceit, for the onely gratifying of his man, he procured *Chrysogonus* to accuse him, that he had killed his owne Father: Never an Orator durst speake in *Roscium* behalfe to defend his cause, but shrunke backe, fearing *Sylla's* cruelty and severity. Wherefore poore *Roscium* the young man, seeing every man forsake him, had no other refuge but to go to *Cicero*, whom his friends did counsell and perswade boldly to take upon him the defence of *Roscium* cause: for he should never have a happier occasion, nor so noble a beginning to bring himselfe into estimation, as this. Thereupon *Cicero* determined to take his cause in hand, and did handle it so well, that he obtained the thing he sued for: whereby he won him great fame and credit. But yet being afraid *Sylla's* displeasure, he absented himselfe from ROME, and went into GREECE, giving it out, that his travell was for a disease he had upon him. Indeed *Cicero* was dog-leane, a little eater, and would also eate late, because of the great weaknesse of his stomack: but yet he had a good loud voice, though it was somewhat harsh, and lacked grace and comeliness. Furthermore, he was so earnest and vehement in his Oration, that he mounted still with his voice into the highest tunes: inso-much that men were afraid it would one day put him in hazard of his life. When he came to ATHENS, he went to heare *Antiochus* of the City of ASCALON, and fell in great liking with his sweete tongue, and excellent grace, though otherwise he misliked new opinions in Philosophy. For *Antiochus* had then forsaken the opinions of the new Academick Philosophers, and the Sect of Carneades: being moved thereunto, either through the manifest proofe of things, or by his certaine judgement, or (as some say) for that of an ambition or dissention against the Scholars and followers of *Clitomachus* and *Philo*, he had reprov'd the resolutions of the Academicks, which he had of long time defended, onely to leane for the most part to the Stoicks opinion. Howbeit *Cicero* had most affection unto the Academicks, and did study that Sect more then all the rest, of purpose, that if he saw he were forbidden to practise in the Common-wealth at ROME, he would then go to ATHENS (leaving all Pleas and Affaires of the Common-wealth) to bestow the rest of his time quietly in the study of Philosophy. At length, when he heard newes of *Sylla's* death, and saw that his body was growne to good state and health by exercise, and that his voice became daily more and more to fill mens eares with a sweete and pleasant sound, and yet was loud enough for the constitution of his body: receiving Letters daily from his friends at ROME, that prayed him to returne home; and moreover, *Antiochus* selfe also earnestly perswading him to practise in the Common-wealth, he began againe to fall to the study of Rhetoricke, and to frame himselfe to be eloquent, being a necessary thing for an Orator, and did continually exercise himselfe in making Orations upon any Speech or Proposition, and so frequented the chiefe Oratours and Masters of eloquence that were at that time. To this end therefore he went into ASIA unto RHODES, and amongst the Orators of ASIA he frequented *Xenocles* ADRAMETIN, and *Dionysius* MAGNESIAN, and studied also with *Menippus* CARIAN: at RHODES he heard *Apollonius* Molon, and the Philosopher *Possidonius*. And it is reported also, that *Apollonius* wanting the Latine Tongue, he did pray *Cicero* for exercise sake to declaim in Greeke. *Cicero* was very well contented with it, thinking that thereby his faults should be the better corrected. When he had ended his Declamation, all those that were present were amazed to heare him, and every man praised him one after another. Howbeit *Apollonius* all the while *Cicero* spake, did never shew any glad countenance: and when he had ended, he stayed a great while, and said never a word. *Cicero* misliking withall, *Apollonius* in length said unto him: As for me *Cicero*, I do not onely praise thee, but more then that, I wonder at thee: and yet I am sorry for poore GREECE, to see that Learning and Eloquence (which were the two onely gifts and honours left us) are by thee obtained with us, and carried unto the ROMANS. Now *Cicero* being very well disposed to go with good hope to practise at ROME, he was a little discouraged by an Oracle that was told him. For inquiring of the god *Apollo* DELPHIAN,

how

how he might do to win fame and estimation; the Nympe *Pythia* answered him; he should obtaine it, so that in his doings he would rather follow the disposition of his owne nature then the opinion of the common People. Wherefore when he came to ROME, at the first he proceeded very warily and discreetly, and did unwillingly seeke for any Office, and when he did, he was not greatly esteemed: for they commonly called him the GREEKIAN, and Scholar, which are two words which the Artificers (and such base mechanickall People at ROME) have ever ready at their tongues end. Now he being by nature ambitious of honour, and prickt forward also by the perswasion of his Father and friends, in the end he began to pleade; and there obtained not the chiefe place by little and little, but so soone as he fell to practise, he was immediately esteemed above all the Orators and Pleaders in his time; and did excell them all. Yet it is reported notwithstanding, that for his gesture and pronunciation, having the selfe same defects of nature at the beginning which *Demosthenes* had, to reforme them, he carefully studied to counterfeit *Roscium*, an excellent Comedian, and *Asop* also a Player of Tragedies. Of this *Asop* men write, that he playing one day *Atrous* part upon a Stage (who determined with himselfe how he might be revenged of his Brother *Thyestes*) a servant by chance having occasion to run suddenly by him, he forgetting himselfe, striving to shew the vehement passion and fury of this King, gave him such a blow on his head with the Scepter in his hand, that he flew him dead in the place. Even so *Cicero's* words were of great force to perswade, by means of his grace and pronunciation. For he mocking the Orators that thrust out their heads, and cried in their Orations, was wont to say, that they were like to lame men, who were driven to ride, because they could not go on foote: even so (said he) they cry out because they cannot speake. Truly pleasant taunts do grace an Orator, and shew a fine wit; but yet *Cicero* used them so commonly, that they were offensive unto many, and brought him to be counted a malicious scoffer and spitefull man. He was chosen Treasurer in the time of dearth, when there was great scarcity of Corne at ROME: and the Province of SICILE fell to his lot. At his first coming thither, the SICILIANS misliked him very much, because he compelled them to send Corne unto ROME: but after they had found his diligence, justice, and lenity, they honoured him above any Governour that ever was sent from ROME. Now there were divers young Gentlemen of ROME, of noble Houses, who being accused for sundry faults committed in Warres against their Honour and Martiall Discipline, had bene sent backe againe unto the Prator of SICILE: for whom *Cicero* pleaded, and did so excellently defend their cause, that they were pardoned every man. Thereupon, thinking well of himselfe, when his time was expired, he went to ROME, and by the way there happened a pretty jest unto him. As he passed through the Countrey of CAMPANIA (otherwise called the Land of labour) he met by chance with one of the chiefe ROMANS of all his friends. So falling in talke with him, he asked him what they said of him at ROME, and what they thought of his doings: imagining that all ROME had bene full of the glory of his name and deeds. His friends asked him againe: And where hast thou bene *Cicero* all this while, that we have not seene thee at ROME? This killed his heart straight, when he saw that the report of his name and doings, entering into the City of ROME as into an infinite Sea, was so suddenly vanished away againe, without any other fame or speech. But after that, when he looked into himselfe, and saw that in reason he tooke an infinite labour in hand to attaine to glory, wherein he saw no certaine end whereby to attaine unto it, it cutt off a great part of the ambition he had in his head: and yet the great pleasure he tooke to heare his owne praise, and to be over-much given to desire of honour and estimation, these two things continued with him even to his dying day, and did estoones make him swerve from justice. Furthermore, when he began thoroughly to practise in the affaires of the State, he thought it an ill thing that Artificers and Craftsmen should have many sorts of Instruments and Tooles without life, to know the names of every one of them; the places where they should take them, and the use whereto they should employ them: and that a man of knowledge and quality (who doth all things with the helpe and service of men) should be foolish and carelesse to learne to know the names of his Citizens. Therefore he gave himselfe to know, not onely mens names of quality, but the streets also they dwelt in; what part of the City soever it was: their goodly Houses in the Countrey, the friends they made of, and the neighbours whom they companied with. So that when he went abroad into ITALY, wheresoever he became, *Cicero* could shew and name his friends Houses: He was not very rich, and yet he had enough to serve his turne: the which made men make the more of him, and they loved him the better, because he tooke no Fee nor Gift for his pleading; what Cause soever he tooke in hand, but then specially, when he defended a matter against *Verrus*: This *Verrus* had bene Prator of SICILE, and had committed many lewd parts there; for the which the SICILIANS did accuse him: *Cicero* taking upon him to defend their Cause, made *Verrus* to be condemned; not by pleading, but in manner without pleading, and in this sort: The Prators being his Judges, and favouring *Verrus*, had made so many journallments and delays, that they had driven it off to the last day of hearing: *Cicero* perceiving that he should not have time to speake all that he had to say against him; and that thereby nothing should be done and judged, he rose up and said, that there needed no further plea in this matter, but onely brought forth the Witnesses before the Judges; and having caused their depositions to be taken, he prayed they would proceed to sentence, according to their evidence given on that behalf: for some do report, that *Cicero* gave many pleasant taunts and girds, in pleading the accusation of the SICILIANS against *Verrus*. The ROMANS do call a Bore, *Verrus*. There was one *Calpurnius* the Sonne of a freed Bondman, who was suspected to hold with the superstition of the JEWES: *Calpurnius* would have put by the

He spake it,
because the
Jewes do cate
no Swines
flesh.

Cicero chosen
Ædilis.

Cicero enriches.

Cicero's great
courtesie and
restraint.

Cicero chosen
Prætor.

Lucius Mæcer
condemned.

Cicero with one
word pacified
the offended
Tribunes.

the SICILIANS from following the accusation of *Verres*, and would have had the matter of his accusation only referred to him, for the prosecuting of it against him. *Cicero* scorning his suite, said unto him: What hath a JEW to do with a BORE? This *Verres* had a Sonne somewhat above twenty yeares of age, who (as the report went) had a very ill name for his beauty. And therefore when *Verres* one day thought to mock *Cicero*, saying, that he was too effeminate: Thy children (said he) are to be reproved of that secretly at home. In this accusation, *Hortensius* the Orator durst not directly defend *Verres*: but touching the condemnation of his fine, he was then contented to answer for him, for he had a *Sphinx* of Ivory given him by *Verres* for his reward. Thereupon *Cicero* gave him a pretty nip by the way: but *Hortensius* not understanding him, said, he could not skill of darke speeches. Well, said *Cicero*, yet hast thou a *Sphinx* in thy house. In the end *Verres* being condemned, and a fine set on his head to the value of three score and fiftene Myriades, *Cicero* notwithstanding was suspected to be bribed with money for agreeing to cast him in so small a summe. But yet when he came to be *Ædilis*, the SICILIANS to shew themselves thankfull to him, both brought and sent him many Presents out of SICILE. Of all that he took nothing to his owne use, but only bestowed their liberality in bringing downe the prices of Victuals at ROME. He had a goodly house within the confines of the City of ARPOS, a Farme also by NAPLES, and another about the City of POMPEII: but all these were no great things. Afterwards he had also the Joynter of his Wife *Terenia*, which amounted to the summe of twelve Myriades, and besides all this, there came to him by inheritance, eleven Myriades of their Denarij. Thereupon he lived very honestly and soberly, without excess, with his familiar friends that loved him, both GRECIANS and ROMANES, and would never go to supper till after Sun-set, not so much for any great businesse he had, as for the weaknesse of his stomacke. But otherwise he was very curious, and carefull of his person, and would be rubbed and anointed, and he would use also to walke a certaine number of turnes by proportion: and so exercising his body in that sort, he was never sicke, and besides was also very strong and lusty of body, able to abide great paines and forrowes which he fell into afterwards. He gave his Fathers chiefe mansion house to his Brother, and went to dwell himselfe in the Mount Palatine: because such as came to waite upon him to do him honour, should not take the paines to go so far to see him. For he had as many men daily at his gate every morning, as either *Crassus* had for his wealth, or *Pompey* for his estimation among the Souldiers, both of them being at that time the chiefe men of ROME. Yea furthermore, *Pompeys* selfe came unto *Cicero*, because his Orations stood him to great purpose, for the increase of his honour and authority. Now when *Cicero* came to make suite to be Prætor (which is, to be as an ordinary Judge) though he had many competitors, and fellow-suiters with him, yet was he first chosen afore them all: and he did so honestly behave himselfe in that Office, that they did not so much as once suspect him of bribery or extortion. And for prooffe hereof, it is reported, that *Lucius Mæcer* (a man that of himselfe was of great power, and yet favoured and supported besides by *Crassus*) was accused before *Cicero* of theft and extortion in his Office: but he trusting much to his supposed credit, and the great suite and labour his friends made for him, went home to his house, before sentence pronounced against him (the Judges being yet to give their opinions) and there speedily trimmed his beard, and put a new Gowne upon his backe, as though he had beene sure to have beene quit of his accusation; and then returned againe into the Market-place. But *Crassus* went to meete him, and told him, all the Judges had condemned him. *Lucius Mæcer* tooke such a griefe and conceit upon it, that he went home to his house againe, laid him downe on his bed, and never rose after. This judgement wan *Cicero* great fame, for they praised him exceedingly for the great paines he tooke, to see justice duly executed. Another also called *Vatinus* (a bedlem fellow, and one that behaved himselfe very unreverently to the Magistrates in his pleading, and besides had a swollen neck) came very arrogantly one day unto *Cicero* being in his Prætoriall seate, and asked him a thing which *Cicero* would not grant him there, but would thinke of it at better leisure. Thereupon *Vatinus* told him, that he would not be scrupulous to grant that; if he were Prætor. *Cicero* turning to him, answered him againe: No more have I (said he) such a swollen necke as thou hast. Towards the end of his Office, two or three daies before his time expired, there was one accused *Manilius* before him, that he also had robbed the Common-wealth. This *Manilius* was very well beloved of the common People, who were perswaded that he was put in suite, not for any fault he had committed, but onely to despight *Pompey* with, whose familiar friend he was. So he required certaine daies to answer the matter he was accused of: but *Cicero* would give him no further respite, but to answer it the next day. The People therewith were marvellously offended, because the other Prætors in such like cases, were wont to give ten daies respite unto others. The next morning when the Tribunes had brought him before the Judges, and also accused him unto them, he besought *Cicero* to heare him patiently: *Cicero* made him answer, that having alwaies used as much favour and courtesie as he possibly might by Law, unto those that were accused, he thought he should offer *Manilius* too great wrong, if he should not do the like to him: wherefore, because he had but one day more to continue Prætor in Office, he had purposely given him that day to make his answer before him. For he said, that to leave his accusation to the hearing of another Prætor, he could not have been thought a man that had borne him good will, and meant to pleasure him. These words did marvellously change the Peoples opinion and affection towards him, and every man speaking well of him, they prayed him to defend *Manilius* cause. He willingly granted them: and coming from the Bench, standing at the Barre like an Oratour to pleade for him, he made a notable Oration, and spake both boldly and sharply against the chiefe men of

of the City, and those specially that did envie *Pompey*. This notwithstanding, when he came to sue to be Consul, he found as great favour amongst the Nobility, as he did with the commonalty. For they did further his suite, for the Common-wealths sake, upon this occasion. The change and alteration of Government the which *Sylla* brought in, was thought strange at the first among the People: but now men by proceffe of time being used to it, it was thoroughly established, and no man misliked it. At that time many men practised to subvert the Government, not for the benefit of the common-wealth, but to serve their owne covetous mindes. For *Pompey* being then in the East parts, made Warres with the Kings of PONTUS and ARMENIA, and had not left sufficient force at ROME to resist these seditious persons, that sought nothing but rebellion. These men had made *Lucius Catiline* their Captaine, a desperate man to attempt any great enterprize, subtil and malicious of nature. He was accused before (besides many other vile faults) for deflowring of his own Daughter, and killing his Brother: and being afraid to be put in suite for it, he prayed *Sylla* to put his Brother amongst the number of the Out-lawes (or Proscriptes) as if he had been then alive. These wicked Rebels having chosen them such a Captaine, were sworn and bound one to another in this manner. They killed a man, and did eate of his flesh together, and had besides corrupted the most part of all the youth. For *Catiline* their Captaine suffered every man to take his pleasure, as his youth was inclined unto, as to banquet, to follow Harlots, and gave them Money largely to bestow in these vaine expences. Furthermore, all THUSCAN began to rise, and the most part of GAULE also, lying between the Alpes and ITALIE. The City of ROME it selfe was also in great danger of rising, for the inequality of the Goods of the Inhabitants. For the Noblemen and of greatest courage, had spent all their Lands in Plaies and Feasts, or in Buldings and common Workes, which they built at their owne charge, to curry favour with the common People, that they might obtaine the chiefe Offices: so that thereby they became very poore, and their Goods were in the hands of the meane men and wretches. Thus the state of ROME stood in great hazard of uproare, the which any man might easily have procured that durst have taken upon him any change or alteration of government, there was then such division among them in the State. *Catiline* notwithstanding, to provide him of a strong bulwarke to prosecute his intent, came to sue to be Consul, hoping that he should be chosen with *Caius Antonius*, a man that of himselfe was apt neither to do any great good, nor much hurt, and yet that he could be a great strength and aide unto him that would attempt any thing. Divers noble and wise men foreseeing that, did procure *Cicero* to sue for the Consulship. The People accepted him, and rejected *Catiline*. *Antonius* and *Cicero* thereupon were created Consuls, although that *Cicero* of all the suiters for the Consulship was but onely a Knights Son, and not the Son of a Senatour of ROME. Now, though the common People understood not the secret practise and meaning of *Catiline*, yet at the beginning of *Ciceros* Consulship, there fell out great trouble and contention in the Common-wealth. For they of the one side, whom *Sylla* had by his Ordinances deposed from their Dignities and Offices in ROME (who were no small men, neither few in number) began to creepe into the Peoples goodwill, alledging many true and just reasons against the Tyrannicall power of *Sylla*: howbeit spoken in ill time, when it was out of time to make any change or alteration in the Common-wealth. The Tribunes on the other side preferred Lawes and Ordinances to further this device. They preferred the Law to choofe the Decemviri, with soveraigne power and authority through all ITALY and SYRIA, and also through all the Countries and provinces which *Pompey* had newly conquered to the Empire of ROME: to sell, and release all Lands belonging to the State of ROME, to accuse any man whom they thought good, to banish any man, to restore the Colonies with People, to take what Money they would out of the Treasurie, to leave men of Warre, and to keepe them in pay as long as they thought good. For this great and absolute power of the Decemviri, there were many men of great account that favoured this Law, but *Antonius* chiefly, being Colleague and fellow Consul with *Cicero*, for he had good hope to be chosen one of these ten Commissioners: and furthermore, it was thought that he was privy unto *Catilines* conspiracy, and that he misliked it not, because he was so much in debt. And this was it that the Noblemen most feared of all other things. Thereupon *Cicero*, to provide first to prevent this danger, granted to him the Province of the Realme of MACEDON: and the Province of GAULE being offered unto himselfe, he refused it. By this good turne he wanne *Antonius* like a hired Player, making him to promise him that he would assit and aide him for the benefit of the Common-wealth, and that he would say no more, then he should will him. When he had brought him to this, and had wonne him to his minde, he then began to be the bolder, and more stoutly to resist them that were Authours of this innovation and new Lawes. *Cicero* therefore in open Senate, did one day sharply reprove and inveigh against this Law of the Decemviri, which the Tribunes would have established. And thereby he did so terrifie the Authours thereof, that there was not one man durst speake against him. This notwithstanding, the Tribunes afterwards attempted once againe to have it to passe, and appointed the Consuls to appeare before the People. Howbeit *Cicero* being nothing abashed at it, he commanded the Senate to follow him. So he did not onely overthrow this Law of the Decemviri, which the Tribunes did preferre, but furthermore they were utterly discouraged and out of hope to bring any of their matters to passe they intended, he strooke them so dead with his Eloquence. For *Cicero* onely of all men in ROME made the ROMANES know, how much Eloquence doth grace and beautifie that which is honest, and how invincible right and justice are, being eloquently set forth: and also how that a man that will be counted a wise Governour of a Common-weale, should alwaies in his doings rather preferre profit, then seeke to curry

Cicero made
Consul.

The conspi-
racy of *Catiline*.

Catilines wickedness.

C. Antonius,
and *M. T. Cicero* created
Consuls.

Great troubles
at Rome in the
time of *Ciceros*
Consulship.

A Law pre-
ferred for the cre-
ation and au-
thority of the
Decemviri.

Cicero by his
Eloquence
overthrew the
Law of the
Decemviri.

Ciceroes sweet Tongue.

* Others do say *Lucius Roscius Ordo* Tribune of the People. *Roscius Law* for dividing of the *Romane* Knights from the common People.

Syllas Souldiers conspired with *Catiline*.

Cicero examined *Catiline* in the Senate.

Syllanus and *Murana* Consuls.

Letters brought to *Cicero* of *Catiline's* conspiracy.

favour with the common People: yet so to use his words, that the thing which is profitable, may not be also unpleasant. And to prove his sweet and pleasant Tongue, may be alleadged that which he did in the time of his Consulship, touching the placing of men at the Theater to see the pastimes. For before, the Knights of *Rome* did sit mingled one with another amongst the common People, and took their place as they came. The first that made the difference between them, was ** Marcus Ordo*, at that time Prator: who made a Law, by the which he appointed severall seats for the Knights, where they might from thenceforth see the pastimes. The People took this grievously, as a thing done to discountenance them: inasmuch that *Ordo* coming afterwards into the Theater, all the common People fell a whistling at him, to shame him withall. The Knights also in contrariwise made him roome among them, with great clapping of hands, in token of honour. Therewith the People fell a whistling lowder then before, and the Knights in like manner to clapping of their hands, and so grew to words one with another, that all the Theater was straight in uproare with it. *Cicero* understanding it, went thither himselfe, and calling the People to the Temple of the goddesse *Bellona*, he there so sharply reproved them, and therewith so perswaded them, that returning presently to the Theater, they did then welcome and receive *Ordo* with clapping of their hands, and contended with the Knights which of them should do him greatest honour. But now againe, the Rebels of *Catiline's* conspiracy (who were prettily cooled at the first for the feare they stood in) began to be lusty againe, and to gather together, boldly encouraging one another to broach their practise, before *Pompey* returned, who was said to be on the way towards *Rome* with his Army. But besides them, those Souldiers that had served before in the Warres under *Sylla*, being dispersed up and down *ITALLIE* (but specially the best Souldiers among them dwelling in the good Townes of *THUSCAN*) did stirre up *Catiline* to hasten the Enterprize, perswading themselves that they should once againe have goods enough at home, to spoile and ranke at their pleasure. These Souldiers having one *Manlius* to their Captaine, that had borne Office in the Field under *Sylla*, conspired with *Catiline*, and came to *Rome* to assist him in his suite: who purposed once againe to demand the Consulship, being determined at the Election to kill *Cicero*, in the tumult and hurly burly. The gods also did plainly shew by Earth-quakes, Lightning and Thunder, and by Vision of Spirits that did appeare, the secret practise and conspiracy: besides also, there fell out manifest conjectures and proofes by men that came to reveale them, howbeit they had no power sufficient to encounter so noble a man, and of so great power as *Catiline* was. *Cicero* therefore deferring the day of Election, called *Catiline* into the Senate, and did there examine him of that which was reported of him. *Catiline* supposing there were many in the Senate that had good wils to rebell, and also because he would shew himselfe ready unto them that were of his conspiracy, he gave *Cicero* a gentle answer, and said thus: What do I offend, said he, if that being two bodies in this Town, the one leane and weake, and thoroughly rotten, and hath a head; and the other being great, strong, and of power, having no head, I do give it one? meaning under this darke answer, to signifie the People and Senate. This answer being made, *Cicero* was more afraid then before, inasmuch that he put on a Brigantine for the safety of his Body, and was accompanied with the chieft men of *Rome*, and a great number of young men besides going with him from his house into the Field of *Mars*, where the Elections were made: and had of purpose left open his Jacket loose at the collar, that his Brigantine might be seen; thereby to let every man that saw him, know the danger he was in. Every man misliked it when they saw it, and came about him to defend him, if any offered to assaile him. But it so came to passe, that by voices of the People, *Catiline* was againe rejected from the Consulship, and *Syllanus* and *Murana* chosen Consuls. Shortly after this Election, the Souldiers of *THUSCAN* being joyned, which should have come to *Catiline*, and the day appointed being at hand to broach their Enterprize, about midnight, there came three of the chieft men of *Rome* to *Cicero's* house (*Marcus Crassus*, *Marcus Marcellus*, and *Scipio Metellus*) and knocking at his gate, called his Porter, and bad him wake his Master presently, and tell him how they three were at the gate to speake with him about a matter of importance. At night after Supper, *Crassus* Porter brought his Master a packet of Letters, delivered him by a stranger unknown, which were directed unto divers persons; among the which, one of them had no Name subscribed, but was onely directed unto *Crassus* himselfe. The effect of the Letter was, that there should be made a great laughter in *Rome* by *Catiline*, and therefore he prayed him that he would depart out of *Rome* to save himselfe. *Crassus* having read his own Letter would not open the rest, but went forthwith unto *Cicero*, partly for feare of the danger and partly also to cleare himselfe of the suspicion they had of him for the friendship that was betwixt him and *Catiline*. *Cicero* counselling with them what was to be done, the next morning assembled the Senat very early and carrying the Letters with him, he did deliver them according to their direction and commanded they should read them out aloud. All these Letters, and every one of them particularly, did bewray the conspiracy. Furthermore, *Quintus Arrius* a man of authority, and that had been Prator, told openly the Souldiers and men of Warre that were leaved in *THUSCAN*. And it is reported also, that *Manlius* was in the Field with a great number of Souldiers about the Cities of *THUSCAN*, gaping daily to hear newes of some change at *Rome*. All these things being thoroughly considered, a decree passed by the Senate, that they should referre the care of the Common-wealth unto the Consuls, to the end that with absolute authority they might (as well as they could) provide for the safety and preservation thereof. Such manner of decree and authority, was not often seen concluded of in the Senate, but in time of present feare and danger. Now *Cicero* having this absolute power, he referred all forreine matters to *Quintus Metellus* charge

charge, and did himselfe take upon him the care and Government of all civill affaires within *Rome*. On the day time when he went up and down the Town, he had such a Troope of men after him, that when he came through the great Market-place, he almost filled it with his traine that followed him. Thereupon *Catiline* would no longer delay time, but resolved to go himselfe unto *Manlius*, where their Army lay. But before he departed, he had drawn into his confederacy one *Martius*, and another called *Cethegus*, whom he commanded betimes in the morning to go to *Cicero's* house with short Daggers to kill him, pretending to come to salute him, and to give him a good morrow. But there was a noble Woman of *Rome* called *Fulvia*, who went over-night unto *Cicero*, and bade him beware of that *Cethegus*, who indeed came the next morning betimes unto him; and being denied to be let in, he began to chafe and raile before the gate. This made him the more to be suspected. In the end *Cicero* coming out of his house, called the Senate to the Temple of *Jupiter Stator*; (as much to say as, Stayer) which standeth at the upper end of the holy street as they go to the Mount Palatine. There was *Catiline* with others, as though he meant to cleare himselfe of the suspicion that went of him: howbeit there was not a Senator that would sit down by him, but they did all rise from the bench where *Catiline* had taken his place. And further, when he began to speake, he could have no audience for the great noise they made against him. So at length *Cicero* rose, and commanded him to avoide out of *Rome*, saying, that there must needs be a leperation of wals between them two, considering that the one used but words, and the other force of armes; *Catiline* thereupon immediately departing the City with three hundred armed men, was no sooner out of the Precinct of the Wals, but he made his Sergeants carry Axes and bundels of Rods before him, as if he had been a Consul lawfully created; and did display his Ensignes of Warre, and so went in this order to seeke *Manlius*. When they were joyned, he had not much lesse then twenty thousand men together, with the which he went to practise the Townes to rebell. Now open Warre being thus proclaimed, *Antonius*, *Cicero's* Colleague and fellow Consul, was sent against him to fight with him. In the meane space, *Cornelius Lentulus*, surnamed *Sura* (a man of a noble house, but of a wicked disposition, and that for his ill life was put off the Senate) assembled all the rest which were of *Catiline's* conspiracy, and that remained behind him in *Rome*, and bad them be afraid of nothing. He was then Prator the second time, as the manner is when any man comes to receive againe the dignity of a Senator which he had lost. It is reported, that this surname of *Sura* was given him upon this occasion. He being Treasurer in *Syllas* Dictatorship, did fondly waite and consume a marvellous summe of Money of the common Treasure. *Sylla* being offended with him for it, and demanding an account of him before the Senate, he carelessly and contemptuously stepped forth, saying, he could make him no other account, but shewed him the calfe of his legges, as Children do when they make a fault at Tennis. And thereof it came, that ever after that they called him *Sura*, because *Sura* in Latine signifieth the calfe of the legges. Another time also being accused for a leud part he had committed, he bribed some of the Judges with Money; and being onely quit by two voices more which he had in his favour, he said, he had lost his Money he had given to one of those two Judges, because it was enough for him to be cleared by one voice more. This man being of this disposition, was first of all incensed by *Catiline*, and lastly married by certaine Wizards and false Prognosticators that had mocked him with a vaine hope, singing Verses unto him which they had fained and devised, and false Prophecies also, which they bare him in hand they had taken out of *Sybilles* Bookes of Prophecy, which said, that there should reigne three *Cornelii* at *Rome*, of the which; two had already fulfilled the Prophecy, *Cinna* and *Sylla*; and for the third, fortune laid it upon him, and therefore bad him go through withall, and not to dreame it out, losing opportunity as *Catiline* had done. Now this *Lentulus* undertook no small enterprise, but had an intent with him to kill all the whole Senate, and as many other Citizens as they could murder, and to set fire on *Rome*, sparing none but *Pompey's* Sons, whom they would reserve for pledges, to make their peace afterwards with *Pompey*: for the rumour was very great and certaine also, that he returned from *Rome* by *Cicero's* very great Warres and Conquests which he had made in the East Countries. So they laid a plot to kill him and put their Treason in execution, in one of the nights of *Saturnes* Feasts. Further, they had brought Flaxe and Brimstone, and a great number of Armour and Weapons into *Cethegus* house. Besides all this provision, they had appointed a hundred men in an hundred parts of the City, to the end that fire being raised in many places at one time, it should the sooner runne through the whole City. Other men also were appointed to stop the Pipes and water Conduits which brought water to *Rome*, and to kill those also that came for water to quench the fire. In all this stirre, by chance there were two Ambassadors of the *ALLOBROGES*, whose country at that time did much mislike of the *Romans*, and were unwilling to be subject unto them. *Lentulus* thought these men very fit instruments to cause all *Gauls* to rebell. Thereupon practising with them, he warned them to be of their conspiracy, and gave them Letters directed to the Councell of their Countrey, and in them did promise them freedom. He sent other Letters also unto *Catiline*, and perswaded him to proclaim Liberty to all bondmen, and to come with all the speed he could to *Rome*; and sent with them one *Tullus* of the City of *CRONORA*, to carry these Letters. But all their counsels and purposes (like fables that never met together but at Feasts, drinking drunk with light Women) were easily found out by *Cicero*, who had a carefull eye upon them, and very wisely and discreetly saw through them. For he had appointed men out of the City to spie their doings, which followed them to see what they intended. Furthermore, he spake secretly with some he trusted, (the which others also took to be of the conspiracy) and knew by them that *Lentulus* and *Cethegus* had practised with the Ambassa-

Fulvia bewrayeth *Catiline's* intent to kill *Cicero*.

Catiline departed.

C. Lentulus was called *Sura*.

Oracles of three *Cornelii* that should reigne at *Rome*. Great treason practised in *Cethegus* house.

Dislike of the *Romans* by the *Allobroges*.

The conspirators apprehended.

Ambassadors of the ALLOBROGES, and drawn them into their conspiracy. At length he watched them one night so narrowly, that he took the Ambassadors, and *TITUS CROTONIAN* with the Letters he carried, by help of the Ambassadors of the ALLOBROGES, which had secretly informed him of all before. The next morning by break of day, *Cicero* assembled the Senate in the Temple of Concord, and there openly read the Letters, and heard the evidence of the Witnesses. Further, there was one *JUNIUS SYLLANUS* a Senator that gave in evidence, that some heard *Cethegus* say that they should kill three Consuls and four Prætors. *Piso* a Senator also, and that had been Consul, told in manner the selfe same tale. And *Caius Sulpicius* a Prætor, that was sent into *Cethegus* house, reported that he had found great store of Darts, Armour Daggers, and Swords new made. Lastly, the Senate having promised *TITUS CROTONIAN* he should have no hurt, so he would tell what he knew of this conspiracy, *Lentulus* thereby was convinced, and driven to give up his Office of Prætor before the Senate, and changing his purple Gown, to take another meet for his miserable state. This being done, *Lentulus* and his Consorts were committed to ward to the Prætors houses. Now growing towards evening, the People waiting about the place where the Senate was Assembled, *Cicero* at length came out, and told them what they had done within. Thereupon he was conveyed by all the People unto a friends house of his hard by: for that his own house was occupied by the Ladies of the City, who were busie, solemnly celebrating a secret Sacrifice in the honour of the goddesse, called of the ROMANES the Good goddesse, and of the GÆCIANS *Gynæcia*, to wit, Feminine: unto her this yearly Sacrifice is done at the Consuls house, by the Wife or Mother of the Consul then being, the Vestall Nunnes being present at it. Now *Cicero* being come into his Neighbours house, began to betinke him what course he were best to take in this matter. For to punish the offenders with severity, according to their deserts, he was afraid to do it, both because he was of a courteous nature, as also for that he would not seeme to be glad to have occasion to shew his absolute power and authority, to punish (as he might) with rigour, Citizens that were of the noblest houses of the City, and that had besides many friends. And contrariwise also, being remisse in so weighty a matter as this, he was afraid of the danger that might ensue of their rashnesse, mistrusting that if he should punish them with lesse then death, they would not amend for it, imagining they were well rid of their trouble, but would rather become more bold and desperate then ever they were, adding moreover the sting and spite of a new malice unto their accustomed wickednesse; besides that he himselfe should be thought a coward and timorous man, whereas they had already not much better opinion of him. *Cicero* being perplexed thus with these doubtles, there appeared a Miracle to the Ladies, doing sacrifice at home in his house. For the Fire being thought to be cleane out upon the Altar where they had sacrificed, there suddenly rose out of the Imbers of the Rindes or Barkes which they had burnt, a great bright flame, which amazed all the other Ladies. Howbeit the Vestall Nunnes willed *Terentia* (*Ciceros* wife) to go straight unto her Husband, and to bid him not to be afraid to execute that boldly which he had considered of, for the benefit of the Common-wealth; and that the goddesse had raised this great flame, to shew him that he should have great honour by doing of it. *Terentia*, that was no timorous nor faint-hearted Woman, but very ambitious, and furthermore had gotten more knowledge from her Husband of the Affaires of the State, then otherwise she had acquainted him with her housewifery in the house, as *Cicero* himselfe reporteth, she went to make report thereof unto him, and prayed him to do execution of those men. The like did *Quintus Cicero* his Brother, and also *Publius Nigidius* his friend and fellow Student with him in Philosophy, and whose counsell also *Cicero* followed much in the Government of the Common-wealth. The next morning the matter being propounded to the Arbitrement of the Senate, how these Malefactours should be punished, *Syllanus* being asked his opinion first, said, that they should be put in prison, and from thence to suffer execution. Others likewise that followed him were all of that minde, but *Caius Caesar*, that afterwards came to be Dictator, and was then but a young man, and began to come forward, but yet such a one, as by his behaviour and the hope he had, took such a course, that afterwards he brought the Common-wealth of Rome into an absolute Monarchy. For at that time *Cicero* had vehement suspicions of *Caesar*, but no apparent proof to convince him. And some say, that it was brought to near, as he was almost convicted, but yet saved himselfe. Others write to the contrary, that *Cicero* wittingly dissembled, that he either heard or knew any signes which were told him against *Caesar*, being afraid indeed of his friends and estimation. For it was a cleare case, that if they had accused *Caesar* with the rest, he undoubtedly had sooner saved all their lives then he should have lost his own. Now when *Caesar* came to deliver his opinion touching the punishment of the Prisoners, he stood up and said, that he did not think it good to put them to death, but to confiscate their Goods; and as for their Persons, that they should bestow them in Prison, some in one place, some in another, in such Cities of ITALY as pleased *Cicero* best, until the Warre of *Catiline* were ended. This sentence being very mild, and the Author thereof marvellous Eloquent to make it good, *Cicero* himselfe added thereunto a counterpoise, inclining unto either of both the opinions, partly allowing the first, and partly also the opinion of *Caesar*. His friends thinking that *Caesars* opinion was the safest for *Cicero*, because thereby he should deserve lesse blame, for that he had not put the Prisoners to death, they followed rather the second. Whereupon *Syllanus* also recanted that he had spoken; and expounded his opinion, saying, that when he spake they should be put to death, he meant nothing so, but thought the last punishment a Senator of Rome could have, was the Prison. But the first that contraried this opinion, was *Catulus Lucilius*, and after him *Cato*, who with vehement words enforced *Caesars* suspicion, and furthermore filled all the Senate with wrath and outrage:

Syllanus sentence of the conspirators.

Caesar privy to *Catilines* conspiracy.

Caesars opinion for the punishment of the conspirators.

rage: so that even upon the instant it was decreed by most voices, that they should suffer death. But *Caesar* stepped up againe, and spake against the confiscation of their goods, mistaking that they should reject the gentlest part of his opinion, and that contrariwise they should sticke unto the severest onely: howbeit because the greatest number prevailed against him, he called the Tribunes to aide him, to the end they should withstand it; but they would give no eare unto him. *Cicero* thereupon yielding of himselfe, did remit the confiscation of their goods, and went with the Senate to fetch the Prisoners, who were not all in one house, but every Prætor had one of them. So he went first to take *C. Lentulus*, who was in the Mount Palatine, and brought him through the holy street and the Market-place, accompanied with the chiefe men of the City, who compassed him round about, and guarded his person. The People seeing that, quaked and trembled for fear, passed by, and said never a word: and specially the young men, who thought it had been some solemn Mystry for the health of their Countrey, that was so accompanied with the chiefe Magistrate, and the Noblemen of the City, with terror and feare. So when he had passed through the Market-place, and was come to the Prison, he delivered *Lentulus* into the hands of the hangman, and commanded him to do execution. Afterwards also *Cethegus*, and then all the rest, one after another, whom he brought to the Prison himselfe, and caused them to be executed. Furthermore, seeing divers of their accomplices in a Troope together in the Market-place, who knew nothing what he had done, and watched onely till night were come, supposing then to take away their Companions by force from the place where they were, thinking they were yet alive, he turned unto them, and said aloud, They lived. This is a phrase of speech which the ROMANES use sometime, when they will finely convey the hardnesse of the speech, to say he is dead. When night was come, and that he was going home-ward, as he came through the Market-place, the People did waite upon him no more with silence as before, but with great cries of his praise, and clapping of hands in every place he went, and called him Saviour, and second Founder of Rome. Besides all this, at every mans door there were Linkes and Torches lighted, that it was as light in the streetes as at noone daies. The very Women also did put lights out of the tops of their houses to doe him honour, and also to see him so nobly brought home, with such a long traine of the chiefe men of the City, (of the which many of them had ended great Warres, for the which they had triumphed, and had obtained many famous Conquests to the Empire of Rome, both by Sea and Land) confelling between themselves one to another, that the ROMANES were greatly bound to many Captaines and Generals of Armies in their time, for the wonderfull riches and spoiles, and increase of their power which they had wonne, howbeit that they were to thanke *Cicero* onely for their health and preservation, having saved them from so great and extreame a danger. Not for that they thought it so wonderfull an Act to have stricken dead the Enterprize of the Conspirators, and also to have punished the offenders by death: but because the conspiracy of *Catiline*, being so great and dangerous an insurrection as ever was any, he had quenched it and pluckt it up by the roots, with so small hurt, and without uproare, trouble, or actual sedition. For the most part of them that were gathered together about *Catiline*, when they heard that *Lentulus* and all the rest were put to death, they presently forsooke him: and *Catiline* himselfe also fighting a Battell with them he had about him, against *Antonius* the other Consul with *Cicero*, he was slaine in the Field, and all his Army defeated. This notwithstanding, there were many that spake ill of *Cicero* for this Fact, and meant to make him repent it, having for their heads *Caesar*, (who was already chosen Prætor for the yeare to come) *Metellus* and *Bellia*, who should also be chosen Tribunes. They so soone as they were chosen Tribunes, would not once suffer *Cicero* to speake to the People, notwithstanding that he was yet in his Office of Consul for certaine daies. And furthermore, to let him that he should not speake unto the People, they did set their benches upon the Pulpit for Orations, which they call at Rome *Rostra*: and would never suffer him to set foot in it, but onely to resigne his Office, and that done, to come down againe immediately. He granted thereunto, and went up to the Pulpit upon that condition. So, silence being made him, he made an Oath, not like unto other Consuls Oathes when they resigne their Office in like manner, but strange, and never heard of before, swearing that he had saved the City of Rome, and preserved all his Countrey and the Empire of Rome from utter ruine and destruction. All the people that were present confirmed it, and did sweare the like Oath. Wherewithall *Caesar* and the other Tribunes his Enemies were so offended with him, that they desired to breed him some new stir and trouble: and amongst others, they made a decree, that *Pompey* should be sent for with his Army to bridle the Tyranny of *Cicero*. *Cato* (who at that time was also Tribune) did him great pleasure in the furtherance of the Common-wealth, opposing himselfe against all their practices, with the like authority and power that they had being a Tribune and Brother with them, and of better estimation then they. So that he did not onely easily break all their devices, but also in a goodly Oration he made in a full assembly of the people, he so highly praised and extolled *Ciceros* Consulship unto them, and the things he did in his Office, that they gave him the greatest honours that ever were decreed or granted unto any man living. For by decree of the People he was called, Father of the Countrey, as *Cato* himselfe had called him in his Oration: the which Name was never given to any man, but onely unto him: and also he bare greater sway in Rome at that time then any man beside him. This notwithstanding, he made himselfe envied and mistaked of many men, not for any ill Act he did, or meant to do, but onely because he did too much boast of himselfe. For he never was in any Assembly of People, Senate, or Judgement, but every mans head was full still to heare the sound of *Catiline* and *Lentulus* brought in for sport, and

The execution of the conspirators.

They lived, a word usurped for the dead.

Ciceros praise.

Catiline slaine in Battell by *Antonius*.

Caesar chosen Prætor. *Metellus* and *Bellia*, Tribunes of the People.

Cicero resigneth his Office.

Ciceros Consulship praised by *Cato*. *Cicero* the first man called, Father of the Countrey.

Cicero too much given to himselfe.

Cicero friendly
to praise o-
thers.

Cicero saith
Demosthenes
sleepeth in his
Orations.

Ciceroes subtil
and pleasant
sayings.

The Stoickes
Opinion: A
wife man is e-
ver rich.

* *Aelius*
Kegons.
Aelius is a pro-
per Name of
a Roman, and
signifieth in
Greek signifi-
eth, worthy:
So the grace of
the equivoca-
on cannot be
expressed in a-
ny other
Language.

* Because the
Africans have
commonly
their eares
boared
through.

filling the Bookes and Workes he compiled besides full of his owne praises: the which made his sweet and pleasant stile tedious and troublesome to those that heard him: as though this misfortune ever followed him to take away his excellent grace. But now, though he had this worne of ambition, and extreme covetous desire of honour in his head, yet did he not malice or envy any others glory, but would very frankly praise excellent men, as well those that had been before him, as those that were in his time. And this appeareth plainly in his Writings. They have written also certaine notable words he spake of some ancient men in old time, as of *Aristotle*, that he was like a golden flowing River: and of *Plato*, that if *Jupiter* himselfe would speake, he would speake like him: and of *Theophrastus*, he was wont to call him his delight: and of *Demosthenes* Orations, when one asked him on a time which of them he liked best: The longest, said he. There be divers Writers also, who to shew that they were great followers of *Demosthenes*, do follow *Ciceroes* saying in a certaine Epistle he wrote unto one of his friends, wherein he said, that *Demosthenes* sleep in some of his Orations: but they forgot to tell how highly he praised him in that place; and that he calleth the Orations which he wrote against *Antonius* (in the which he tooke great paines, and studied more then all the rest) *PHILIPPIANS*: to follow those which *Demosthenes* wrote against *Philip* King of *MACEDON*. Furthermore, there was not a famous man in all his time, either in Eloquence or in Learning, whose fame he hath not commended in writing, or otherwise in honourable speech of him. For he obtained of *Cesar*; when he had the Empire of *ROME* in his hands, that *Cratippus* the *PERIPATETICK* Philosopher was made Citizen of *ROME*. Further, he procured that by decree of the Court of the *Areopagites*, he was intreated to remaine at *ATHENS*, to teach and instruct the youth there: for that he was a great Honour and Ornament unto their City. There are extant also of *Ciceroes* Epistles unto *Herodes*, and others unto his Son, willing him to follow *Cratippus* in his study and knowledge. He wrote another Letter also unto *Gorgias* the Rhetorician, and forbad him his Sons company, because he understood he incited him to drunkenesse, and to other great dishonesty. Of all his Epistles he wrote in Greek, there is but that onely written in choller, and another which he wrote unto *Pelops* *BYZANTINE*. And for that he wrote to *Gorgias*, he had great reason to be offended with him, and to taunt him in his Letter, because (as it seemed) he was a man of very leud life and conversation. But in contrary manner, writing as he did to *Pelops*, finding himselfe grieved with him, for that he was negligent in procuring the *BYZANTINE*s to ordaine some publique honours in his behalfe: that, me thinkes, proceeded of overmuch ambition, the which in many things made him too much forget the part of an honest man, and onely because he would be commended for his Eloquence. When he had on a time pleaded *Munatius* Cause before the Judges, who shortly after accused *Sabinus* a friend of his, it is reported, that he was so angry with him, that he told him, What *Munatius*, hast thou forgotten that thou wert discharged the last day of thine Accusation, not for thine innocency, but for a Mist I cast before the Judges eyes, that made them they could not discern the fault? Another time also, having openly praised *Marcus Crassus* in the Pulpit, with good Audience of the People, shortly after he spake to the contrary all the evill he could of him, in the same place. Why, how now, said *Crassus*, didst thou not thy selfe highly praise me in this place, the last day? I cannot deny it, said *Cicero*: but indeed I tooke an ill matter in hand to shew mine Eloquence. Another time *Crassus* chanced to say in an open Assembly, that none of all the *Crassii* of his house had ever lived above threescore yeares: and afterwards againe repenting himselfe, he called it in againe, and said, Sure I know not what I did, when I said so. *Cicero* answered him againe: Thou knewest well enough the People were glad to heare it, and therefore thou spakest it to please them. Another time *Crassus* liking the Opinion of the *STOICK* Philosophers, that said, the wise man was ever rich, *Cicero* answered him, and bade him consider whether they meant not thereby, that the wise man had all things. *Crassus* covetousnesse was defamed of every man. Of *Crassus* Sonnes, one of them did much resemble *Aelius*, and therefore his Mother had an ill Name by him: one day this Sonne of *Crassus* made an Oration before the Senate, which divers of them commended very much. So, *Cicero* being asked how he liked it: Me thinkes, said he, it is * *Aelius* of *Crassus*. About this time, *Crassus* being ready to take his Journey into *SYRIA*, he desired to have *Cicero* his friend rather then his Enemy. Therefore one night making much of him, he told *Cicero* that he would come and Suppe with him. *Cicero* said, he should be welcome. Shortly after, some of his friends told him of *Vatinius*, how he was desirous to be made friends with him, for he was his Enemy. What, quoth *Cicero*, and will he come to Supper too? Thus he used *Crassus*. Now this *Vatinius* having a swollen necke, one day pleading before *Cicero*, he called him the swolne Oratour. Another time when he heard say that he was dead, and then that he was alive againe: A vengeance on him, said he, that hath lyed so shamefully. Another time when *Cesar* had made a Law for the dividing of the Lands of *CAMPANIA* unto the Souldiers, divers of the Senate were angry with him for it, and among other, *Lucius Gellius* (a very old man) said, he would never grant it while he lived. *Cicero* pleasantly answered againe, Alas, tarry a little, the good old man will not trouble you long. Another time there was one *Obavius*, supposed to be an * *AFRICAN* borne: he when *Cicero* on a time pleaded a matter, said, that he heard him not: *Cicero* presently answered him againe, And yet hast thou a hole boared through thine eare. Another time *Metellus Nepos* told him, that he had overthrowne more men by his Witnesse then he had saved by his Eloquence. I grant, said *Cicero*, for indeed I have more Faith, then Eloquence in me. So was there also a young man that was suspected to have poysoned his Father with a Tart, that boasted he would revile *Cicero*: I had rather have that

that of thee, quoth *Cicero*, then thy Tart. *Publius Sextius* also having a matter before the Judges, entertained *Cicero*, with other of his Counsellours: bus yet he would speake all himselfe, and give none of the Oratours leave to say any thing. In the end, when they saw plainly that the Judges would discharge him, being ready to give sentence, *Cicero* said unto him, Besirre thee hardly to day, for to morrow *Sextius* thou shalt be a private man. Another, one *Publius Cotta*, who would faine have been thought a wise Lawyer, and yet had little wit and understanding, *Cicero* appealed to him as a Witnesse in a matter; and being examined, he answered he knew nothing of it. *Cicero* replied to him againe: Thou thinkest peradventure they aske thee touching the Law. Againe, *Metellus Nepos*, in a certaine disputation he had with *Cicero*, did many times repaite, Who is thy Father? *Cicero* answered him againe: Thy Mother hath made this question harder for thee to answer. This *Nepos* Mother was reported to be a light housewife, and he as subtil-witted and unconstant. For he being Tribune, left in a geere the exercise of his Office, and went into *SYRIA* to *Pompey* upon no occasion: and as fondly againe he returned thence upon a suddaine. His Schoole-master *Philager* also being dead, he buried him very honestly, and set a Crow of Stone upon the top of his Tombe. *Cicero* seeing it, told him, Thou hast done very wisely: for thy Master hath taught thee rather to sile, then to speake. Another time *Appius Claudius* pleading a matter, said in his Preamble, that his friend had earnestly requested him to employ all his knowledge, diligence, and faith upon this matter. O gods, said *Cicero*, and hast thou shewed thy selfe so hard-hearted to thy friend, as to performe nothing of all that he requested thee? Now to use these fine taunts and girds to thy Enemies, it was a part of a good Oratour: but so commonly to gird every man to make the People laugh, that wanne him great ill-will of many, as shall appeare by some examples I will tell you. *Marcus Aquinius* had two Sonnes-in-law, who were both banished: *Cicero* therefore called him *Adrastrus*. *Lucius Cotta* by chance also was Censor at that time, when *Cicero* sued to be Consul: and following his suite at the day of Election, he was a thirft, and was driven to drinke. But while he dranke, all his friends stood about him, and after he had drunke, he said unto them: It is well done of ye (said he) to be afraid lest the Censor should be angry with me because I drinke Water: for it was reported the Censor loved Wine well. Another time *Cicero* meeting one *Vocomsus*, with three foule Daughters of his with him, he cryed out aloud:

This man hath gotten Children in despite of Phæbus.

It was thought in *ROME* that *Marcus Gellius* was not borne of free Parents by Father and Mother, who reading certaine Letters one day in the Senate very loud: *Cicero* said unto them that were about him, Wonder not at him, quoth he, for this man hath been a Cryer in his daies. *Fausus*, the Sonne of *Sylla* Dictatour at *ROME*, which set up Billes Out lawing divers *ROMANS*, making it lawfull for any man to kill them without danger where they found them, this man after he had spent the most part of his Fathers Goods, was so sore in debt, that he was driven to sell his household Stuffe, by Billes set up on every Post. *Cicero* when he saw them, Yea marry, said he, these Billes please me better, then those which his Father set up. These taunts and common quippes without purpose, made divers men to malice him. The great ill-will that *Clodius* bore him, beganne upon this occasion. *Clodius* was of noble houle, a young man, and very wilde and insolent: he being in love with *Pompeia Cæsars* Wife, found the meanes secretly to get into *Cæsars* house, apparelled like a young singing Wench, because on that day the Ladies of *ROME* did solemnly celebrate a secret Sacrifice in *Cæsars* house, which is not lawfull for men to be present at. So there was no man there but *Clodius*, who thought he should not have been known, because he was but a young man, without any haire on his face, and that by this meanes he might come to *Pompeia* amongst the other Women. He being gotten into this great houle by night, not knowing the Roomes and Chambers in it, there was one of *Cæsars* Mothers Maides of her Chamber, called *Aurelia*, who seeing him wandering up and down the houle in this sort, asked him what he was, and how they called him. So being torced to answer, he said he sought for *Aura*, one of *Pompeias* Maides. The Maide perceived straight it was no Womans voice, and therewithall gave a great shriek, and called the other Women, the which did see the Gates fast shut, and then sought every corner up and down, so that at length they found him in the Maides Chamber, with whom he came in. His offence was straight blowne abroad in the City, whereupon *Cesar* put his Wife away: and one of the Tribunes also accused *Clodius*, and burdened him that he had prophaned the holy Ceremonies of the Sacrifices. *Cicero* at that time was yet his friend, being one that had very friendly done for him at all times, and had ever accompanied him to guard him, if any man would have offered him injury in the busie time of the conspiracy of *Catiline*. *Clodius* stoutly denied the matter he was burdened with, and said that he was not in *ROME* at that time, but farre from thence. Howbeit *Cicero* gave evidence against him, and deposed, that the selfe same day he came home to his houle unto him, to speake with him about certaine matters. This indeed was true, though it seemeth *Cicero* gave not this evidence so much for the truthe sake, as to please his Wife *Terentia*: for the hated *Clodius* to the death, because of his Sister *Clodia* that would have married *Cicero*, and did secretly practise the marriage by one *Tullius*, who was *Ciceroes* very friend; and because he repaired very often to this *Clodia* that dwelt hard by *Cicero*, *Terentia* began to suspect him. *Terentia* being a cruell Woman, and wearing her Husbands Breeches, allured *Cicero* to set upon *Clodius* in his adversity, and to Witnesse against him, as many other honest men of the City also did: Some that he was perjured, others

The malice
of a young man,
berwixt *Cicero*
and *Clodius*.

Cicero gave e-
vidence a-
gainst *Clodius*.

The wicked parts of *Clodius*.

* Some old Bookes do read *Terentia*.

Clodius quit, and found not guilty.

Cassius words of the putting away his Wife *Pompeia*. *Clodius* chosen Tribune of the People. *Piso* and *Gabinus* Consuls.

Cassius, *Pompey* and *Cesar*, three of the greatest men in Rome, took part with *Clodius* against *Cicero*.

Cicero accused of *Clodius*.

The Knights of Rome and Senate changed Garments for *Cicero's* sake.

Pompey would not see *Cicero* being accused.

others that he committed a thousand lewd parts, that he bribed the People with Money, that he had enticed and deflowed many Women. *Lucullus* also brought forth certaine Maidens, which depofed that *Clodius* had deflowed the youngest of his own Sisters, she being in the house with him, and married. And there went a great rumour also, that he knew his two other Sisters, of the which the one was called * *Terentia*, and married unto King *Marius*; and the other *Clodia*, whom *Metellus Celer* had married, and whom they commonly called *Quadrantaria*: because one of her Paramours sent her a Purse full of *Quadrines* (which are little pieces of Copper Money) instead of Silver. *Clodius* was slandered more by her, then with any of the other two. Notwithstanding, the People were very much offended with them that gave evidence against him, and accused him. The Judges being afraid of it, got a great number of armed men about them, at the day of his judgement, for the safety of their Persons: and in the Tables where they wrote their Sentences, their Letters for the most part were confusedly set down. This notwithstanding, it was found that he was quit by the greatest number: and it was reported also that some of them were close fifted. *Catulus* therefore meeting with some of them going home, after they had given their sentence, told them: Surely ye had good reason to be well guarded for your safety, for you were afraid your money should have been taken from you, which you tooke for Bribes. And *Cicero* said unto *Clodius*, who reproved him that his Witnesse was not true he gave against him: Cleanse contrary, quoth *Cicero*, for five and twenty of the Judges have beleevved me, being so many that have condemned thee; and the thirty would not beleevve thee, for they would not quit thee before they had figned Money. Notwithstanding in this judgement *Cesar* never gave evidence against *Clodius*: and said moreover, that he did not thinke his Wife had committed any adultery: howbeit that he had put her away, because he would that *Cesar's* Wife should not onely be cleane from any dishonesty, but also voide of all suspicion. *Clodius* being quit of this Accusation and trouble, and having also found meanes to be chosen Tribune, he began straight to persecute *Cicero*, changing all things, and stirring up all manner of People against him. First he wanne the goodwill of the common People by devising of new Lawes which he preferred for their benefit and commodity: to both the Consuls he granted great and large Provinces: unto *Piso*, *MACEDON*, and to *Gabinus*, *SYRIA*. He made also many poor men free Citizens, and had alwaies about him a great number of Slaves armed. At that present time there were three notable men in *ROME*, which carried all the sway: *Cassius* that shewed himselfe an open Enemy unto *Cicero*: *Pompey* the other, made much both of the one and the other: the third was *Cesar*, who was prepared for his Journey into *GAULE* with an Army. *Cicero* did leane unto him, (though he knew him no fast friend of his, and that he mistrusted him for matters past in *Catiline's* conspiracy) and prayed him that he might go to the Warres with him, as one of his Lieutenants. *Cesar* granted him. Thereupon *Clodius* perceiving that by this meanes he got him out of the danger of his Office of Tribuneship for that yeare, he made faire weather with him (as though he meant to reconcile himselfe unto him) and told him that he had cause rather to thinke ill of *Terentia*, for that he had done against him, then of himselfe: and alwaies spake very courteously of him as occasion fell out, and said, he did thinke nothing in him, neither had any malice to him, howbeit it did a little grieve him, that being a friend, he was offered unkindnesse by a friend. These sweet words made *Cicero* no more afraid, so that he gave up his Lieutenantcy unto *Cesar*, and began againe to pleade as he did before. *Cesar* tooke this in such disdain, that he heartned *Clodius* the more against him, and besides, made *Pompey* his Enemy. And *Cesar* himselfe also said before all the People, that he thought *Cicero* had put *Lentulus*, *Cethegus*, and the rest unjustly to death, and contrary to Law, without lawfull triall and condemnation. And this was the fault for the which *Cicero* was openly accused. Thereupon *Cicero* seeing himselfe accused for this Fact, he changed his usuall Gown he wore, and put on a mourning Gown: and so suffering his beard and haire of his head to grow without any combing, he went in this humble manner, and sued to the People. But *Clodius* was ever about him in every place and street he went, having a sight of Rascals and Knaves with him, that shamefully mocked him for that he had changed his Gown and countenance in that sort, and oftentimes they cast dirt and stones at him, breaking his talke and requests he made unto the People. This notwithstanding, all the Knights of *ROME* did in manner change their Gownes with him for company; and of them there were commonly twenty thousand young Gentlemen of noble house which followed him with their haire about their eares, and were suiters to the People for him. Furthermore, the Senate assembled to decree that the People should mourn in Blacks, as in a common calamity: but the Consuls were against it. And *Clodius* on the other side was with a band of armed men about the Senate, so that many of the Senatours ranne out of the Senate, crying and tearing their cloathes for sorrow. Howbeit, these men seeing all that, were nothing the more moved with pity and shame, but either *Cicero* must needs absent himselfe, or else determine to fight with *Clodius*. Then went *Cicero* to intreate *Pompey* to aide him, but he absented himselfe of purpose out of the City, because he would not be intreated, and lay at one of his houses in the Countrey, near unto the City of *ALBA*. So he first of all sent *Piso* his Sonne-in-law unto him to intreate him, and afterwards went himselfe in Person to him. But *Pompey* being told that he was come, had not the heart to suffer him to come to him, to looke him in the face: for he had been past all shame to have refused the request of so worthy a man, who had before shewed him such pleasure, and also done and said so many things in his favour. Howbeit *Pompey* being the Sonne-in-law to *Cesar*, did unfortunately (at his request) forsake him at his need, unto whom he was bound for so many infinite

nite pleasures, as he had received of him afore: and therefore when he heard say he came to him, he went out at his back-gate, and would not speake with him. So *Cicero* seeing himselfe betrayed of him, and now having no other refuge to whom he might repaire unto, he put himselfe into the hands of the two Consuls. Of them two, *Gabinus* was ever cruell and churlish unto him, but *Piso* on the other side spake alwaies very courteously unto him, and prayed him to absent himselfe for a time, and to give place a little to *Clodius* fury, and patiently to beare the change of the time. For in so doing, he might come againe another time to be the preserver of his Countrey, which was now for his sake in tumult and sedition. *Cicero* upon this answer of the Consull, consulted with his friends; among the which *Lucullus* gave him advice to tarry, and said that he should be the stronger. But all the rest were of contrary opinion, and would have him to get him away with speed, for the People would shortly wish for him againe, when they had once been beaten with *Clodius* fury and folly. *Cicero* liked best to follow this counsell. Whereupon having had a Statue of *Minerva* a long time in his house, the which he greatly revered, he carried her himselfe, and gave her to the Capitoll, with this inscription: *Unto Minerva Protectour of ROME*. So his friends having given him safe conduct, he went out of *ROME* about midnight, and tooke his way through the Countrey of *LUX* by Land, meaning to goe into *SICILE*. When it was knowne in *ROME* that he was fled, *Clodius* did presently banish him by decree of the People, and caused Billes of inhibition to be set up, that no man should secretly receive him within five hundred miles compasse of *ITALIE*. Howbeit, divers men reverencing *Cicero*, made no reckoning of that inhibition: but when they had used him with all manner of courtesie possible, they did conduct him besides at his departure, saving one City onely in *LUKE*, called at that time *HIPPONIUM*, and now *VIONE*: where a *SICILIAN* called *Vibius* (unto whom *Cicero* before had done many pleasures, and specially among others, had made him Master of the Workes in the year that he was Consull) would not once receive him into his house, but promised him he would appoint him a place in the Countrey that he might goe unto. And *Caius Virgilius* also, at that time Prator and Governour of *SICILE*, who before had shewed himselfe his very great friend, wrote then unto him, that he should not come near unto *SICILE*. This grieved him to the heart. Thereupon he went directly unto the City of *BRUNDISIUM*, and there embarked to passe over the Sea unto *DYRRACHIUM*, and at the first had winde at will, but when he was in the maine Sea, the winde turned, and brought him backe againe to the place from whence he came. But after that he hoised saile againe, and the report went, that at his arrivall at *DYRRACHIUM* when he tooke Land, the Earth shooke under him, and the Sea gave backe together: whereby the Soothsayers interpreted, that his exile should not be long, because both the one and the other was a token of change. Yet *Cicero*, notwithstanding that many men came to see him for the good will they bare him, and that the Cities of *GREECE* contended who should most honour him, he was alwaies sad, and could not be merry; but cast his eyes still towards *ITALY*, as passionate Lovers doe towards the Women they love: shewing himselfe faint-hearted, and tooke this adversity more basely then was looked for of one so well studied and learned as he. And yet he oftentimes prayed his friends, not to call him Oratour; but rather Philosopher: saying, that Philosophy was his chieft Profession, and that for his Eloquentie he did not use it, but as a necessary Instrument to one that pleadeth in the Common-wealth. But glory and opinion, hath great power to take mans reason from him, even like a colour; from the minds of them that are common Pleaders in matters of State, and to make them feeble the selfe-same passions that common People doe, by daily frequenting their company: unless they take great heed of them, and that they come to practise in the Common-wealth with this resolute minde, to have to doe with the like matters that the common People have, but not to entangle themselves with the like passions and moodes that the which their matters doyle. Now *Clodius* was not contented that he had banished *Cicero* out of *ITALIE*, but further, he burnt all his houses in the Countrey, and his house also in *ROME* standing in the Market-place, of the which he built a Temple of Liberty, and caused his Goods to be sold by the Crier: so that the Crier was occupied all day long crying the Goods to be sold, and no man offered to buy any of them. The chieft men of the City beginning to be afraid of the violent parts, and having the common People at his commandement, whom he had made very bold and insolent, he began to envenom against *Pompey*, and spake ill of his doings in the time of his Warres, the which every man else but himselfe did commend. *Pompey* then was very angry with himselfe that he had so forsaken *Cicero*, and repented him of it, and by his friends procured all the meanes he could to call him home againe from his banishment. *Clodius* was against it all he could. The Senate notwithstanding with one full consent ordained, that nothing should be established him the Common-wealth, before *Cicero's* banishment were first repealed. *Lentulus* was at that time Consull, and there grew such an uproare and stirre upon it, that some of the Tribunes were hurt in the Market-place; and *Quintus Cicero* (the Brother of *Cicero*) was beaten down and hidden under the dead bodies. Then the People began to change their mindes. And *Annius Milo*, one of the Tribunes, was the first man that durst venture upon *Clodius*, and bring him by force to be tried before the Judges. *Pompey* himselfe also having gotten a great number of men about him, as well of the City of *ROME* as of other Townes adjoining to it, being strongly guarded with them, he came out of his house, and compelled *Clodius* to get him out of the Market-place, and then called the People to give their voices for the calling home againe of *Cicero*. It is reported that the

Cicero's Exile.

Hipponium, alias *Vibone*, a City in *LUKE*.

A wonder shewed unto *Cicero* in his exile. *Cicero's* faint heart in his exile.

The wonderfull power of Glory.

Pompey changing minde doch favoure *Cicero*. *Lentulus* Consull.

Cicero called home from banishment.

Cicero taketh away the Tables of Clodius Acts out of the Capitoll.

Clodius the Tribune, slain by Milo.

Cicero fearful in Warres, and timorous in pleading.

Cicero pleadeth M. loes case.

Cicero chosen Augure. Cicero Pro-Consull of Cilicia.

Ciceroes integrity for the Government of his provinces.

the People never passed thing with so great good-will, nor so wholly together, as the returne of *Cicero*. And the Senate for their parts also, in the behalfe of *Cicero*, ordained, that the Cities which had honoured and received *Cicero* in his exile, should be greatly commended: and that his houses which *Clodius* had overthrowne and razed, should be re-edified at the charge of the Common-wealth. So *Cicero* returned the sixteenth Moneth after his banishment, and the Townes and Cities he came by, shewed themselves so joyfull of his returne, that all manner of men went to meet and honour him. with so great love and affection, that *Ciceroes* report thereof afterwards came indeed short of the very truth as it was. For he said, that *ITALIE* brought him into *ROME* upon their shoulders. Inasmuch as *Crassus* himselfe, who before his banishment was his Enemy, went then with very good-will unto him, and became his friend, saying: That he did it for the love of his Sonne, who loved *Cicero* with all his heart. Now *Cicero* being returned, he found a time when *Clodius* was out of the City, and went with a good company of his friends unto the Capitoll, and there tooke away the Tables, and brake them, in the which *Clodius* had written all his Acts that he had passed and done in the time of his Tribuneship. *Clodius* would afterwards have accused *Cicero* for it, But *Cicero* answered him; that he was not lawfully created Tribune, because he was of the *PATRICIANS*, and therefore all that he had done in his Tribuneship was void, and of none effect. Therewith *Cato* was offended, and spake against him, not for that he liked of *Clodius* doings, (but to the contrary, utterly misliked all that he did) but because he thought it out of all reason, that the Senate should cancell all those things which he had done and passed in his Tribuneship, and specially, because amongst the rest, that was there which he himselfe had done in the Isle of *CYPRUS*, and in the City of *BYZANTIUM*. Hereupon there grew some strangnesse betwixt *Cicero* and *Cato*, the which notwithstanding brake not out to openenimy, but only to an abstinence of their wonted familiarity, and access one to another. Shortly after, *Milo* slew *Clodius*. *Milo* being accused of murder, prayed *Cicero* to pleade his cause. The Senate fearing that this Accusation of *Milo*, (who was a hardy man, and of quality besides) would move some sedition and uproare in the City, they gave Commission to *Pompey* to see justice executed as well in this cause as in other offences, that the City might be quiet, and judgement all executed with safety. Thereupon *Pompey* the night before tooke the highest places of the Market-place, by his Souldiers that were armed, whom he placed thereabout. *Milo* fearing that *Cicero* would be afraid to see such a number of harnesssed men about him, being no usual matter, and that it might peradventure hinder him to pleade his cause well, he prayed him he would come betimes in the morning in his Litter into the Market-place, and there to stay the coming of the Judges; till the place were full. For *Cicero* was not onely fearfull in Warres, but timorous also into pleading. For indeed he never beganne to speake, but it was in feare: and when his Eloquence was come to the best prooffe and perfection, he never left his trembling and timorousnesse. Inasmuch that pleading a case for *Mutius Muræna* (accused by *Cato*) striving to excell *Hortensius*, whose pleading was very well thought of, he tooke no rest all night; and what through watching and the trouble of his minde, he was not very well, so that he was not so well liked for his pleading as *Hortensius*. So, going to defend *Miles* cause, when he came out of his Litter, and saw *Pompey* set aloft as it had been in a Campe, and the Market-place campassed about with armed men, glittering in every corner, it so amazed him, that he could scant fashion himselfe to speake; all the parts of him did so quake and tremble, and his voice could not come to him. But *Milo* on the other side stood boldly by himselfe, without any feare at all of the judgement of his cause, neither did he let his haire grow, as other men accused did: neither did he weare any mourning Gowne, the which was (as it seemed) one of the chiefest causes that condemned him. Yet many held opinion that this timorousnesse of *Cicero* came rather of the good will he bore unto his friends, then of any cowardly minde of himselfe. He was also chosen one of the Priests of the Soothsayers, which they call *Augures*, in the roome of *Publius Crassus* the younger, who was slaine in the Realme of *PARTHIA*. Afterwards, the Province of *SILICIA* being appointed to him, with an Army of twelve thousand Footmen, and two thousand and five hundred Horsemen, he tooke the Sea to go thither. So when he was arrived there, he brought *CAPPADOCIA* againe into the subjection and obedience of King *Ariobarzanes*, according to his Commission and Commandement given by the Senate: moreover, both there and else where he tooke as excellent good order as could be devised, in reducing of things to quietnesse without Warres. Furthermore, finding that the *CILICIANS* were growne somewhat stout and unruly, by the overthrow the *ROMANS* had of the *PARTHIANS*, and by reason of the rising and rebellion in *SYRIA*, he brought them unto reason by gentle perswasions: and never received Gifts that were sent him; no nor from Kings and Princes. Furthermore, he did disburden the Provinces of the Feasts and Banquets they were wont to make other Governours before him. On the other side also, he would ever have the company of good and Learned men at his Table, and would use them well, without curiosity and excess. He had never Porter to his Gate, nor was seen by any man in his bed: for he would alwaies rise at the breake of day, and would walke or stand before his door. He would courteously receive all them that came to salute and visit him. Further they report of him, that he never caused man to be beaten with rodde, nor to teare his own Garments. In his anger he never reviled any man, neither did despitefully set fine upon any mans head. Finding many things also belonging to the Common-wealth, which private men had stolne and imbezeled to their own use, he restored againe unto the Cities, where by

by they grew very rich and wealthy: and yet did save their honour and credit that had taken them away, and did them no other hurt; but onely constrained them to restore that which was the Common-wealths. He made a little Warre also and drave away the Thieves that kept about the Mountain *AMANN*, for the which exploit his Souldiers called him *Imperator*, to say, chiefe Captaine. About that time there was an Orator called *Cecilius*, who wrote unto him from *ROME*, to pray him to send him some Leopards or Panthers out of *SILICIA*, because he would shew the People some pastime with them. *Cicero* boasting of his doings, wrote to him againe, that there were no more Leopards in *SILICIA*, but that they were all fled into *CARIA* for anger, that seeing all things quiet in *SILICIA*, they had leasure now to hunt them. So when he returned towards *ROME*, from the charge of his Government, he came by *RHODES*, and stayed a few daies at *ATHENS* with great delight, to remember how pleasantly he lived there before, at what time he studied there. Thither came to him the chiefe Learned-men of the City, and his friends also, with whom he was acquainted at his first being there. In fine, having received all the honourable entertainment in *GREECE* that could be, he returned unto *ROME*, where at his arrivall he found great factions kindled, the which men saw plainly would grow in the end to civill Warre. Thereupon the Senate having decreed that he should enter in Triumph into the City, he answered, that he would rather (all parties agreed) follow *Cæsars* Coach in Triumph. So he travelled very earnestly between *Pompey* and *Cæsar*, oftsoones writing unto *Cæsar*, and also speaking unto *Pompey* that was present, seeking all the meanes he could, to take up the quarrell and milking betwixt them two. But it was so impossible a matter, that there was no speech of agreement would take place. So *Pompey* hearing that *Cæsar* was not farre from *ROME*, he durst no longer abide in *ROME*, but fled with divers of the greatest men in *ROME*. *Cicero* would not follow him when he fled, and therefore men thought he would take part with *Cæsar*: but this is certaine, that he was in a marvellous perplexity, and could not easily determine what way to take. Whereupon he wrote in his Epistles: What way should I take? *Pompey* had the juster and honest cause of Warre, but *Cæsar* can better execute, and provide for himselfe and his friends with better safety: so that I have meanes enough to flie, but none to whom I might repaire. In all this stirre, there was one of *Cæsars* friends called *Trebatius*, which wrote a Letter unto *Cicero*, and told him that *Cæsar* wished him in any case to come to him, and to run with him the hope and fortune he undertooke: but if he excused himselfe by his age, that then he should get him into *GREECE*, and there to be quiet from them both. *Cicero* marvelling that *Cæsar* wrote not to him himselfe, answered in anger, that he would do nothing unworthy of his acts all the daies of his life thitherto: and to this effect he wrote in his Letters. Now *Cæsar* being gone into *SPAIN*, *Cicero* imbarcked presently to go to *Pompey*. so when he came unto him, every man was very glad of his coming, but *Cato*. Howbeit *Cato* secretly reproved him for coming unto *Pompey*, saying: that for himselfe he had been without all honesty at that time to have forsaken that part the which he had alwaies taken and followed from the beginning of his first practise in the Common-wealth: but for him, on the other side, that it had been better for the safety of his Countrey, and chiefly for all his friends, that he had been a neuter to both, and so to have taken things as they had fallen out: and that he had no manner of reason nor instant cause to make him to become *Cæsars* Enemy, and by coming thither to put himself into so great perill. These perswasions of *Cato* overthrew all *Ciceroes* purpose and determination, besides that *Pompey* himselfe did not employ him in any matter of service or importance, But hereof himselfe was more in fault then *Pompey*, because he confessed openly that it did repent him he was come thither. Furthermore, he scorned and disdaind all *Pompeys* preparations and counsels, the which indeed made him to be had in jealousie and suspition. Also he would ever be fltering and gibing at those that tooke *Pompeys* part, though he had no list himselfe to be merry. He would also go up and down the Campe very sad and heavy, but yet he would ever have one jest or other to make men laugh, although they had as little list to be merry as he: and surely, it shall do no hurt to call some of them to minde in this place. *Domitius* being very desirous to preferre a Gentleman to have charge of men, to recommend him, he said, he was an honest, wife, and sober man. Whereunto *Cicero* presently answered: Why dost thou not keepe him then to bring up thy Children? Another time when they commended *Theophanes* *LESIAN* (that was Master of all the Artificers of the Campe) because he had notably comforted the *RHODIANS* when they had received a great losse of their Navy: See, said *Cicero*, what a goodly thing it is to have a *GRECIAN*, Master of Artificers in the Campe? When both Battels came to joyne together, and that *Cæsar* had in manner all the advantage, and kept them as good as besieged, *Lentulus* told him on a time, that he heard say, all *Cæsars* friends were mad, and melancholy men. Why? quoth *Cicero* to him againe: dost thou say that they do envie *Cæsar*? Another called *Martius*, coming lately out of *ITALY*, said, that there ranne a rumour in *ROME*, that *Pompey* was besieged. What? quoth *Cicero* to him againe: and didst thou take ship to come and see him thy selfe, because thou mightest believe it when thou hadst seen it? *Pompey* being overthrowne, one *Nonius* said, there was yet good hope left, because they had taken seven Eagles within *Pompeys* Campe. Thy perswasion were not ill, quoth *Cicero*, so we were to fight but with Pies and Dawes. *Labiænus* repoled all his trust in certaine Oracles, that *Pompey* of necessity must have the upper-hand. Yea said *Cicero*, but for all this goodly stratageme of Warre, we have not long since lost our whole Campe. After the Battell of *PHARSALIA*, where *Cicero* was not by reason of his sicknesse: *Pompey* being fled, and *Cato* at that time at *DYRRACHIUM*, where he had gathered a great number of men of Warre, and had also prepared a great

Noni Ammanus Cicero called Imperator.

Cicero seeketh to pacifie the quarrell betwixt Pompey and Cæsar.

Ciceroes words of Pompey and Cæsar.

Cicero goeth unto Pompey.

Cato gave place to Cicero, and offered him the charge of the Navy at Dyrrachium.

The force of Cicero's Eloquence, how it altered Caesar.

Cicero's life under Caesar.

Cicero did put away his Wife Terentia.

Cicero married a young maiden.

great Navy, he praised Cicero to take charge of all this Army, as it pertained unto him, having been Consul. Cicero did not onely refuse it, but also told them, he would meddle no more with this Warre. But this was enough to have made him been flaine: for the younger Pompey and his friends called him Traitor, and drew their Swords upon him to kill him, which they had done, had not Cato stepped between them and him; and yet had he much adoe to save him, and to convey him safely out of the Campe. When Cicero came to BRUNDISIUM, he stayed there a certaine time for Caesar coming, who came but slowly, by reason of his troubles he had in ASIA, and also in AEGYPT. Howbeit newes was brought at length that Caesar was arrived at TARENTUM, and that he came by Land unto BRUNDISIUM: Cicero departed thence to go meet him, not mistrusting that Caesar would not pardon him, but rather being ashamed to come to his Enemy being a Conquerour, before such a number of men as he had about him. Yet he was not forced to do or speake any thing unfeemly to his calling: for Caesar seeing him coming towards him farre before the rest that came with him, he lighted from his Horse and imbraced him, and walked a great way on foot with him, still talking with him onely; and ever after he did him great honour, and made much of him. In somuch as Cicero having written a Booke in praise of Cato, Caesar on the other side wrote another, and praised the Eloquence and Life of Cicero, matching it with the Life of Pericles, and Themistocles. Cicero's Booke was intituled Cato, and Caesar's Booke called Anticato, as much to say, against Cato. They say further, that Quintus Ligarius being accused to have been in the Field against Caesar, Cicero took upon him to defend his cause: and that Caesar said unto his friends about him, What hurt is it for us to hear Caesar speake, whom we have not heard of long time? for otherwise Ligarius (in my opinion) standeth already a condemned man, for I know him to be a valiant man, and mine Enemy. But when Cicero had begonne his Oration, he moved Caesar marvellously, he had so sweet a grace, and such force in his words, that it is reported Caesar changed colour often, and shewed plainly by his countenance, that there was a marvellous alteration in all the parts of him. For, in the end when the Orator came to touch the Battell of PHARSALIA, then was Caesar so troubled, that his Body shooke withall, and besides, certaine Bookes he had fell out of his hands, and he was driven against his will to set Ligarius at liberty. Afterwards, when the Common-wealth of Rome came to be a Kingdome, Cicero leaving to practise any more in the State, he gave himselfe to reade Philosophy to the young men that came to heare him: by whose access unto him (because they were the chiefe of the Nobility in Rome) he came againe to beare as great sway and Authority in Rome as ever he had done before. His study and endeavour was, to write matters of Philosophy Dialogue-wise, and to translate out of Greeke into Latine, taking paines to bring all the Greeke words, which are proper unto Logicke and naturall Causes, into Latine. For he was the first man by report, that gave Latine Names unto these Greeke words, which are proper unto Philosophers, as, *κατασκευα*, he termed, *Visio*. *Κατάσκευα*, *Assensus*. *Εννοια*, *Assensus*. *Κατασκευα*, *Comprehensio*. *Τὸ ἀτομον*, *Corpus indivisibile*. *Τὸ ἀπυκτον*, *Corpus simplex*. *τὸ κενον*, *Vacuum*, and many other such like words. But though he was not the first, yet was it he that most did devise and use them, and turned some of them by translation, others into proper termes: so that at length they came to be well taken, knowne, and understood of every man. And for his readinesse in writing of Verses, he would use them many times for his recreation: for it is reported, that whensoever he tooke in hand to make any, he would dispatch five hundred of them in a night. Now all that time of his recreation and pleasure, he would commonly be at some of his houses in the Countrey, which he had near unto THUSCULUM, from whence he would write unto his friends, that he led *Laertes* life: either spoken merrily as the manner was, or else pricked forward with ambition, desiring to returne againe to be practiser in the Common-wealth, being weary with the present time and state thereof. Howsoever it was, he came oftentimes to Rome, onely to see Caesar to keep him his friend, and would ever be the first man to confirme any honours decreed unto him, and was alwaies studious to utter some new matter to praise him and his doings. As that was he said touching the Statues of Pompey, the which being overthrowne, Caesar commanded them to be set up againe, and so they were. For Cicero said, that by that courtesie in setting up of Pompey's Statues againe, he did establish his own. So Cicero being determined to write all the ROMANES History, and to mingle with it many of the GRECIANS doings, adding thereunto all the fables and devices which they do write and report, he was hindered of his purpose against his will, by many open and privat troubles that came upon him at once: whereof notwithstanding he himselfe was cause of the most of them. For first of all, he did put away his Wife Terentia, because she had made but small account of him in all the Varres: so that he departed from Rome having no necessary thing with him to entertain him out of his Countrey; and yet when he came backe againe into ITALY, he never shewed any sparke of love or good will towards him. For the never came to BRUNDISIUM to him, where he remained a long time: and worse then that, his Daughter having the heart to take so long a Journey in hand to go to him, the neither gave her company to conduct her, nor Money, nor other furniture convenient for her; but so handled the matter, that Cicero at his returne to Rome found bare wals in his house and nothing in it, and yet greatly brought in debt besides. And these were the honest causes alleaded for their Divorce. But besides that Terentia denied all these, Cicero himselfe gave her a good occasion to cleare her selfe, because he shortly after married a young Maide, being fallen in fancy with her (as Terentia said) for her beauty: or, as Tyro his servant wrote, for her riches, to the end that with her Goods he might pay his debts. For she was very rich, and Cicero also was appointed her Gardian, she being left Sole-Heire. Now, because he ought a marvellous summe of

of mony, his parents and friends did counsel him to marry this young maiden, notwithstanding he was too old for her, because that with her goods he might satisfie his creditors. But Antonius speaking of this marriage of Cicero, in his answers and Orations he made against the PHILIPPANS, he doth reprove him for that he put away his wife, with whom he was grown old; being merry with him by the way, for that he had been an idle man, and never went from the smoak of his Chimney, nor had been abroad in the wars in any service of his Countrey or Commonwealth. Shortly after that he had married his second wife, his daughter died in labor of child, in Lentulus house, whose second wife she was, being before married unto Piso, who was her first husband. So the Philosphers and learned men came of all sides to comfort him: but he took her death so sorrowfully, that he put away his second wife, because he thought the did rejoyce at the death of his daughter. And thus much touching the state and troubles of his house. Now touching the conspiracy against Caesar, he was not made privy to it, although he was one of Brutus greatest friends, and that it grieved him to see things in that state they were brought unto, and albeit also he wished for the times past, as much as any other man did. But indeed the conspirators were afraid of his nature, that lacked hardinesse: and of his age, the which oftentimes murther the stoutest and most hardiest natures faint hearted and cowardly. Notwithstanding, the conspiracy being executed by Brutus and Cassius, Caesar's friends being gathered together, every man was afraid that the City would againe fall into civil wars. And Antonius also, who was Consul at that time, did assemble the Senate, and made some speech and motion then to draw things againe unto quietnesse. But Cicero having used divers perswasions fit for the time, in the end he moved the Senate to decree (following the example of the ATHENIANS) a general oblivion of things done against Caesar, and to assigne unto Brutus and Cassius some governments of Provinces. Howbeit nothing was concluded: for the people of themselves were sorry, when they saw Caesar's body brought through the Market-place. And when Antonius also did shew them his Gown all be bloodied; cut, and thrust through with swords, then they were like mad men for anger, and sought up and down the Market-place if they could meet with any of them that had slain him: and taking firebrands in their hands, they ran to their houses to set them on fire. But the conspirators having prevented this danger, saved themselves: and fearing that if they tarried at Rome, they should have many such alarmes, they forsooke the City. Then Antonius began to looke a lost, and became fearfull to all men, as though he meant to make himselfe King: but yet most of all unto Cicero above all others. For Antonius perceiving that Cicero began againe to increase in credit and authority, and knowing that he was Brutus very friend, he did mislike to see him come neare him; and besides there was at that time some jealousie betwixt them, for the diversity and difference of their manners and dispositions. Cicero being afraid of this, was first of all in mind to go with Dolabella to his Province of SYRIA, as one of his Lieutenants. But they that were appointed to be Consuls the next year following after Antonius, two noble Citizens, and Cicero's great friends, Hircius and Pansa, they treated him not to forsake them, understanding that they would plucke down this over-great power of Antonius, so he would remaine with them. But Cicero, neither beleiving nor altogether mistrusting them, forsooke Dolabella, and promised Hircius and Pansa, that he would spend the Summer at ATHENS, and that he would returne againe to Rome so soon as they were entered into their Consulship. With this determination Cicero tooke the sea alone, to go into GREECE. But as it chanceth oftentimes, there was some let that kept him he could not faile, and newes came to him daily from Rome (as the manner is) that Antonius was wonderfully changed, and that now he did nothing any more without the authority and consent of the Senate, and that there lacked nothing but his person to make all things well. Then Cicero condemning his dastardly fear, returned forthwith to Rome, not being deceived in his first hope. For there came such a number of people out to meet him, that he could do nothing all day long but take them by the hands, and imbrace them, who to honour him, came to meet him at the Gate of the City, as also by the way to bring him to his house. The next morning Antonius assembled the Senate, and called for Cicero by name. Cicero refused to go, and kept his bed, saying that he was wearie with his journey and paines he had taken the day before: but indeed the cause why he went not, was, for feare and suspicion of an ambush that was laid for him by the way, if he had gone, as he was informed by one of his very good friends. Antonius was marvellously offended that they did wrongfully accuse him, for laying any ambush for him: and therefore sent souldiers to his house, and commanded them to bring him by force, or else to set his house on fire: After that time, Cicero and he were alwaies at jarre, but yet coldly enough, one of them taking heed of another: untill that young Caesar returning from the City of APOLLONIA, came as lawfull heire unto Julius Caesar Dictator, and had contention with Antonius for the summe of two thousand and five hundred Myriades, the which Antonius kept in his hands of his fathers goods. Thereupon Philip who had married the mother of this young Caesar, and Marcel- Cicerus and his who had also married his sister, went with young Caesar unto Cicero, and there agreed together, that Cicero should helpe young Caesar with the favour of his authority and eloquence, as joyned in well towards the Senate, as also to the people: and that Caesar in recompence of his goodwill should stand by Cicero, with his money and souldiers: for this young Caesar had many of his fathers souldiers about him, that had served under him. Now there was another cause that made Cicero glad to embrace the friendship of this young Caesar, and that was this. Whilest Pompey and Julius Caesar were alive and in good case, Cicero dreamed one might that the Senators sons were called into the Capitol, because Jupiter had appointed to shew them him that one day should come to be Lord and King of Rome, and that the ROMANES being desirous to see who it should be, ran all unto the Julian Caesar.

Cicero not made privy to the conspiracy against Caesar.

Private grudge betwixt Antonius and Cicero.

Cicero saileth into Greece.

Ill will betwixt Cicero and Antonius.

Cicero and his joyned in friendship.

Cicero's dream of Octavius a-dropped son of Julius Caesar.

Octavius and Accia, the parents of Octavius Caesar. Octavius Caesar was born in the year of Cicero's Consulship.

Cicero's great power at Rome.

Octavius Caesar, fusth to be Consul.

Octavius Caesar forlakes Cicero. Note the fickleness of youth. The meeting of the Triumviri, Antonius, Lepidus, Octavius Caesar. Cicero appointed to be flaine.

Temple: and that all the children likewise were waiting there in their goodly garded Gowns of purple, until that suddenly the doors of the temple were open; and then that all the children arose one after another, and went and passed by the image of *Jupiter*, who looked upon them all, and sent them away discontented, saving this young *Caesar*, unto whom he put forth his hand as he passed by, and said: My Lords of *ROME*, this child is he that shall end all your civil wars, when he cometh to be Lord of *ROME*. Some say, that *Cicero* had this vision in his dreame, and that he carried in good memory the look of this child, howbeit that he knew him not: and that the next morning he went of purpose into the field of *Mars*, where these young boyes did exercise themselves, who, when he came thither, had broken up from playing, and were going home: and that amongst them he first saw him whom he had dreamed of, and knew him very well, and musing at him the more, asked him whose son he was. The boy answered, that he was the son of one *Octavius* (a man otherwise of no great calling) and of *Accia*, the sister of *Julius Caesar*: who having no child, he made him his heire by his last will and testament, and left him all his lands and goods. After that time, it is reported, that *Cicero* was very glad to speake to him when he met with him, and that the boy also liked *Cicero's* friendship, and making much of him: for by good hap the boy was born the same year that *Cicero* was Consul. And these be the reasons alledged, why *Cicero* did favour this young *Caesar*. But in truth, first of all the great malice he bare unto *Antonius*, and secondly his nature that was ambitious of honour, were (in my opinion) the chiefest causes why he became young *Caesar's* friend: knowing that the force and power of his souldiers would greatly strengthen his authority and countenance in managing the affairs of the state; besides that the young man could flatter him so well, that he called him father. But *Brutus* being offended with him for it, in his Epistles he wrote unto *Atticus* he sharply reproveth *Cicero*, saying, that for fear of *Antonius* he flattered this young *Caesar*: whereby it appeared, he did not so much seek for the liberty of *ROME*, as he did procure himself a loving and gentle master. This notwithstanding *Brutus* brought with him *Cicero's* son that studied Philosophy at *ATHENS*, and gave him charge of men under him, and employed him in great affaires, wherein he shewed himself very forward and valiant. Now *Cicero's* authority and power grew againe to be as great in *ROME*, as ever it was before. For he did what he thought good, and so vexed *Antonius*, that he drave him out of the City, and sent the two Consuls *Hircius* and *Pansa* against him, to fight with him: and caused the Senate also to decree, that young *Caesar* should have Sergeants to carry Rods and Axes before him, and all other furniture for a Prætor, as a man that fighteth for his Country. After that *Antonius* had lost the battel, and that both the Consuls were flaine, both the Armies came unto *Caesar*. The Senate then being afraid of this young man that had so great good fortune, they practised by honours and gifts to call the Armies from him, which he had about him, and so to minish the greatnesse of his power: saying, that their Country now stood in no need of force nor fear of defence, sith her enemy *Antonius* was fled and gone. *Caesar* fearing this, sent men secretly unto *Cicero*, to pray him to procure that they two together might be chosen Consuls, and that when they should be in office, he should do and appoint what he thought good, having the young man at his commandement, who desired no more but the honour onely of the name. *Caesar* himself confessed afterwards, that being afraid he should have been utterly cast away, to have been left alone he finely served his turne by *Cicero's* ambition, having perswaded him to require the Consulship through the helpe and assistance that he would give him. But there was *Cicero* finely colted, as old as he was, by a young man, when he was contented to sue for the Consulship in his behalfe, and to make the Senate agreeable to it: wherefore his friends presently reproveth him for it, and shortly after he perceived he had undone himselfe, and together also lost the liberty of his Country. For this young man *Octavius Caesar* being growne to be very great by his meanes and procurement, when he saw that he had the Consulship upon him, he forsooke *Cicero*, and agreed with *Antonius* and *Lepidus*. Then joining his Army with theirs, he divided the Empire of *ROME* with them, as if it had been lands left in common between them: and besides that, there was a bill made of two hundred men and upwards, whom they had appointed to be flaine. But the greatest difficulty and difference that fell out between them, was about the out-lawing of *Cicero*. For *Antonius* would hearken to no peace between them, unless *Cicero* were flaine first of all: *Lepidus* was also in the same mind with *Antonius*: but *Caesar* was against them both. Their meeting was by the City of *BOLOGNA*, where they continued three dayes together, they three onely secretly consulting in a place environed about with a little River. Some say that *Caesar* stucke hard with *Cicero* the two first dayes, but at the third that he yielded and forsooke him. The exchange they agreed upon between them, was this. *Caesar* forsooke *Cicero*: *Lepidus*, his owne brother *Paulus*: and *Antonius Lucius Caesar* his Uncle by mothers side. Such place took wrath in them, as they regarded no kindred nor blood: and to speak more properly, they shewed that no brute or savage beast is so cruell as man, if with his licentiousnesse he have liberty to execute his will. While these matters were a brewing, *Cicero* was at a house of his in the Country, by the City of *THUSCULUM*, having at home with him also his brother *Q. Cicero*. Newes being brought them thither of these proscriptions of out-lawries, appointing men to be flaine, they determined to go to *ASTYRA*, a place by the sea side where *Cicero* had another house, there to take sea, and from thence to go into *MACEDON* unto *Brutus*. For there ran a rumor that *Brutus* was very strong, and had a great power. So they caused themselves to be conveyed thither in two Litters, both of them being so weake with sorrow and griefe, that they could not otherwise have gone their wayes. As they were on their way, both the Litters going as neare to each other as they could, they bewailed their miserable estate: but *Quintus* chiefly, who took it most grievously.

grievously. For, remembering that he took no money with him when he came from his house, and that *Cicero* his brother also had very little for himself, he thought it best that *Cicero* should hold on his journey, whilest he himself made an errand home to fetch such things as he lacked, and so to make hast again to overtake his brother. They both thought it best so, and then tenderly embracing one another, the teares falling from their eyes, they took leave of each other. Within few dayes after, *Quintus Cicero* being betrayed by his own servants, unto them that made search for him, he was cruelly flaine, and his son with him. But *Marcus Tullius Cicero* being called into *ASTYRA*, and there finding a ship ready, embarked immediately, and sailed along the coast unto Mount *Circe*, having a good gale of wind. There the Mariners determining forthwith to make saile againe, he came ashore, either for fear of the sea, or for that he had some hope that *Caesar* had not altogether forsaken him: and therewithal returning towards *ROME* by land, he had gone about an hundred furlongs thence. But then being at a straight how to resolve, and suddainly changing his mind, he would needs be carried backe againe to the sea, where he continued all night marvellous sorrowful, and full of thoughts. For one while he was in the mind to go secretly unto *Octavius Caesar's* house, and to kill himself by the hearth of his Chimney, to make the furies of hell to revenge his blood: but being afraid to be intercepted by the way, and cruelly handled, he returned from that determination. Then falling into other unadvised determinations, being perplexed as he was, he put himself againe into his servants hands, to be conveyed by sea unto another place called *CAPITES*. There he had a very proper pleasant Summer house, where the North winds, called *Etesia*, do give a trimme fresh aire in the Summer season. In that place also there is a little temple dedicated unto *Apollo*, not far from the sea side. From thence there came a great shole of Crowes, making a marvellous noise, that came flying toward *Cicero's* ship, which rowed upon the shore. This shole of Crowes came and lighted upon the yard of their sail, some crying, and some pecking the cords with their bills: so that every man judged straight, that this was a signe of ill lucke at hand. *Cicero* notwithstanding this, came ashore, and went into his house, and laid him down to see if he could sleep. But the most part of these Crowes came and lighted upon the Chamber window where he lay, making a wonderfull great noise: and some of them got unto *Cicero's* bed where he lay, the clothes being cast over his head, and they never left him, till by little and little they had with their bills plucked off the clothes that covered his face. His men seeing that, and saying to themselves that they were too vile beasts, if they would tarry to see their master flaine before their eyes (considering that brute beasts had care to save his life, seeing him so unworthily intreated) and that they should not do the best they could to save his life: partly by intreaty, and partly by force, they put him againe into his Litter to carry him to the sea. But in the mean time came the murders appointed to kill him. *Herennius* a Centurion, and *Popilius Lena*, Tribune of the souldiers (to wit, Colonell of a thousand men, whose cause *Cicero* had once pleaded before the Judges, when he was accused for the murder of his owne father) having souldiers attending upon them. So *Cicero's* gate being shut, they entred the house by force, and missing him, they asked them of the house what was become of him. They answered they could not tell. Howbeit, there was a young boy in the house called *Philologus*, a slave infranchised by *Quintus Cicero*, whom *Tullius Cicero* had brought up in the Latine tongue, and had taught him the liberal Sciences: he told this *Herennius* that his servants carried him in a Litter towards the sea, through darke narrow lanes, shadowed with wood on either side. *Popilius* the Colonell taking some souldiers with him, ran about on the outside of the lanes to take him at his coming out of them: and *Herennius* on the other side entred the lanes. *Cicero* hearing him coming, commanded his men to set down his Litter, and raking his beard in his left hand, as his manner was, he stoutly looked the murderers in the faces, his head and beard being all white, and his face leane and wrinkled, for the extreme sorrows he had taken: diverse of them that were by, held their hands before their eyes, whilest *Herennius* did cruelly murder him. So *Cicero* being threefore and four years of age, thrust his necke out of the Litter, and had his head cut off by *Antonius* commandement, and his hands also, which wrote the Orations (called the *Philippians*) against him. For so did *Cicero* call the Orations he wrote against him, for the malice he bare him: and they do yet continue the same name until this present time. When these poore dismembered members were brought to *ROME*, *Antonius* by chance was busily occupied at that time about the election of certaine Officers: who when he heard of them and saw them, he cried out aloud, that now all his outlawries and proscriptions were executed: and thereupon commanded his head and his hands should straight be set up over the pulpit for Orations, in the place called *Rostra*. This was a fearful and horrible sight unto the *ROMANES*, who thought they saw not *Cicero's* face, but an image of *Antonius* life and disposition: who among so many wicked deeds as he committed, yet he did one Act onely that had some shew of goodnesse, which was this. He delivered *Philologus* into the hands of *Pomponia*, the wife of *Quintus Cicero*: and when she had him, besides other cruell torments she made him abide, she compelled him to cut his owne flesh off by little morfels, and to broile them, and then to eat them. Some Historiographers do thus report it: but *Tyro* who was a slave infranchised by *Cicero*, made no mention of the treason of this *Philologus*. Howbeit I understand that *Caesar Augustus* long time after that, went one day to see one of his Nephewes, who had a booke in his hand of *Cicero's*: and he fearing lest his Uncle would be angry to find that booke in his hands, thought to hide it under his Gowne. *Caesar* saw it, and took it from him, and read the most part of it standing, and then delivered it to the young boy, and said unto him: He was a wise man indeed, my childe, and loved his Country well. After he had flaine *Antonius*, being Consul, he made *Cicero's* son

Quintus Cicero flaine.

**Some do read Calia.*

A wonderous matter shewed by Crowes unto Cicero.

Herennius and Popilius sent to kill M.T. Cicero

M.T. Cicero flaine by Herennius.

Cicero's head and hands set up over the Pulpit for Orations.

A strange and cruel punishment taken by Pomponia (Quintus Cicero's wife) of Philologus for betraying of his master.

Augustus Caesar testimony of Cicero.

Cicero's sonne Consul with Augustus Caesar

THE LIFE OF DEMETRIUS.



Ann. Mund.
3641

Ant. Christ.
307

How senses and
arts do agree
and differ.



HO first likened Arts to our Senses, seemeth to have respected especially that one property of them both, in receiving objects of contrary quality: for, in the use and end of their operation, there is great difference. The Senses receive indifferently, without discretion and judgement, white and blacke, sweet and fowre, soft and hard: for their office is onely to admit their severall objects, and to carry and referre the judgement thereof to the common sense. But Arts being the perfection of reason, receive and allow those things only which make for their operation, regarding and eschewing the contraries. The one chiefly, and for use: the other by way, and with intent to avoide them. So Physicke dealeth with diseases, Musicke with discords, to the end to remove them, and worke their contraries. And the great Ladies of all other Arts, Temperance, Justice, and Wisdom, do not onely consider honesty, uprightness, and profit: but examine withall, the nature and effects of leudnesse, corruption and damage. And innocency, which vaunteth her want of experience in undue practises, men call simplicity, and ignorance of things that be necessary and good to be known. And therefore the ancient MACEDONIANS in their solemne feasts forced their ILOTES the bondmen, to overcharge themselves with Wine: and such they shewed them unto their youth, by their apparent beaflinesse of drunken men, to worke in them an abhorring of so loathsome vice. Wherein although I cannot much praise them for humanity or wisdom, that corrupt and spoile one man, by example of him, to correct and reclaime another: yet (as I hope) it shall not be reprehended in me, if amongst the rest I put in one or two paire of such, as living in great place and account, have increased their fame with infamy. Which in truth, I do not, to please and draw on the Reader with variety of report, but as *Ismenias* the THEBAN Musician shewed his Scholars, both those that strake a clean stroke, with, Do so: and such as bungled it, with, Do not so: and *Antigenidas* thought men should like better, and with great desire contend for skill, if they heard and discerned untunable notes: so think I, we shall be the forwarder in reading and following the good, if we know the lives, and see the deformity of the wicked. This treaty containeth the lives of *Demetrius*, surnamed the Fort-gainer, and *M. Anthony* the Triumvir, and great examples to confirme the saying of *Plato*: That from great minds both great vertues and great vices do proceed. They were both given over to women and wine, both valiant and liberal, both sumptuous and high minded: for fortune served them both alike, not onely in the course of their lives, in attempting great matters, sometimes with good, sometime with ill successe, in getting and losing things of great consequence, overthrowing both when they feared not, restoring both when they hoped not: but also in their end there was no great difference, the one brought to his death by his mortal enemies, and the others fortune not so much unlike. But now to our history. *Antigonus* had two

The manner of
the Spartans to
make their
slaves drunke.

The cause of
describing the
lives of the
wicked.

Plato of vertue
and vice.

two sonnes by his wife *Stratonice*, the daughter of *Corraus*, the one of them he named *Demetrius*, and the other *Philip* after his fathers name. Thus far the most writers do agree: howbeit some hold *Demetrius* opinion, that *Demetrius* was not the sonne of *Antigonus*, but his Nephew. But because his father remeined leaving him a child, and that his mother was straight married again unto *Antigonus*, thereupon came the report that he was *Antigonus* son. Howsoever it was, *Philip*, that was not much younger then *Demetrius*, died. Now for *Demetrius*, though he was a very bigge man, he was nothing to high as his father, but yet so passing and wonderfull faire, that no Painter could possibly draw his picture and counterfeite to his likeness. For they saw a sweet countenance, mixed with a kind of gravity in his face, a fear with courtesie, and an incomparable Princely Majesty accompanied with a lively spirit and youth; and his wit and manners were such, that they were both fearful, and pleasant unto men that frequented him. For as he was most pleasant in company having leisure, and most given to banqueting, pleasant life, and more wantonly given to follow lust and pleasure, then any King that ever was: so was he alwayes very careful and diligent in dispatching matters of importance. And therefore he marvelously commended, and also endeavoured to follow *Dionysius* (as much to say, as *Bacchus*) above all the other gods, as he that had been a wife and valiant Capitaine in war, and that in peace invented and used all the pleasure that might be. He marvelously loved and revered his father, and it seemeth that the dutifullnesse he shewed unto his mother, was more to discharge the due obedience and duty of a sonne, then otherwise to entertaine his father, for fear of his power, or hope to be his heire. And for prooffe hereof we reade, that one day as he came home from hunting, he went unto his father *Antigonus*, giving audience to certaine Ambassadors; and after he had done his duty to him, and kissed him, he sate down by him even as he came from hunting, having his darts in his hand, which he carried out a hunting with him. Then *Antigonus* calling the Ambassadors aloud as they went their way, having received their answer: My Lords, said he, you shall carry home this report of my sonne and me, be witnesses I pray you, how we live one with another. As meaning to shew thereby that the agreement betwixt the father and the sonne together, is a great safety to the affaires of a King, as also a manifest prooffe of his greatnesse: so jealous is a King to have a companion, besides the hate and mistrust it should breed. So that the greatest Prince and most ancientest of all the successors of *Alexander*, boasted, that he stood not in fear of his sonne, but did suffer him to sit by him, having a dart in his hand. So was this house onely of all other the MACEDONIAN Kings, least defiled with such villany, many successions after: and to confesse a troth, in all *Antigonus* race there was not one but *Philip* onely, that slew his owne sonne. But we have many examples of diverse other houses of Kings, that have put their sonnes, wives, and mothers to death: and for their brethren, it was an ordinary thing with them to kill them, and never flinke at it. For like as Geometricians would have men grant them certain propositions which they suppose, without proof: even so was this holden for a generall rule, to kill their brethren, for the safety of their estate. But further, to shew you more plainly that *Demetrius* was of a noble and courteous nature, and that he dearly loved his friends, we may alledge this example. *Mithridates* the sonne of *Ariobarzanes*, was his familiar friend and companion (for they were both in manner of an age) and he commonly followed *Antigonus* Court, and never practised any villany or treason to him, neither was he thought such a man: yet *Antigonus* did somewhat suspect him, because of a dreame he had. He thought that being in a goodly great field, he sowed of the scrapings of gold, and that of that feed, first of all came up goodly wheat which had eares of gold: howbeit that shortly after returning that way again, he found nothing but the straw, and the eares of the wheate cut off; and that he being very angry and sorry for it, some told him, that *Mithridates* had cut off these golden eares, and had carried them with him into the Realme of *PONT*. *Antigonus* being marvelously troubled with this dreame, after he had made his sonne swear unto him that he would make no man alive privy to that he would tell him, he told him all his dream what he had dreamed, and therewith that he was determined to put this young man *Mithridates* to death. *Demetrius* was marvellous sorry for it, and therefore the next morning, this young noble Prince going as he was wont, to passe the time away with *Mithridates*, he durst not by word of mouth utter that he knew, because of his oath: howbeit, taking him aside from his other familiars when they were both together by themselves, he wrote on the ground with the end of his dart, *Mithridates* looking on him: Flie *Mithridates*. *Mithridates* found straight what he meant, and fled the very same night into *CAPPADOCIA*: and shortly after it was his destiny to fulfill *Antigonus* dreame. For he conquered many goodly Countries, and it was he onely that established the house of the Kingdom of *PONT*, the which the ROMANES afterwards overthrew, about the eighth succession. By these examples we may easily conjecture the good nature and courtesie of *Demetrius*. For like as the Elements (according to *Empedocles* opinion) are ever at strife together, but specially those that are nearest each to other: even so, though all the successors of *Alexander* were at continuall warres together, yet was it soonest kindled, and most cruel between them which bordered nearest unto each other, and that by being near neighbours had alwayes occasion of brawle together, as fell out at that time between *Antigonus* and *Protony*. This *Antigonus* lay most commonly in the Country of *PHRYGIA*: who having intelligence that *Protony* was gone into *CYPRUS*, and that he over-ranne all *SYRIA*, winning by force, or faire meanes, all the Townes and Cities subject unto him, he sent his sonne *Demetrius* thither, being at that time but two and twenty yeares of age; and it was the first time that ever he tooke charge, as General to his father, in matters of great importance. But he being a young man, and that had no skill of warres, fighting a battel with an old soldier (trained up in the discipline of warres under *Alexander* the Great, and that through him, and

The death of
Philip the
younger brother of *Demetrius*.

Demetrius beauty.
Demetrius manners.

Demetrius love
to his father.

A King can abide no equal.

The sport of
the East Kings
was to kill their
own children,
wives, and mothers.

Demetrius
courtesie.

Antigonus
dreame.

Demetrius saveth
Mithridates
life.

Mithridates
King of *Pont*.
Because he
said, that love
were ever the
efficient causes
of generation
and corruption
of all things.
Enmity betwixt
Antigonus
and *Protony*.
Demetrius General to
Antigonus against
Protony.
in

Demetrius overthrown in battle by Ptolemy. The bountifulness of Ptolemy the conqueror, unto Demetrius conquered.

Demetrius victory of Ptolemy.

Demetrius thankfulness unto Ptolemy.

Demetrius invaded Arabia.

Demetrius invaded Mesopotamia.

Antigonus and Demetrius do go about to set Greece at liberty.

Demetrius Phalerian, Governor of Athens, for Cassander.

in his name, had fought many great battels) was soon overthrowne, and his Army put to flight, by the City of GAZA. At which overthrow were slaine five thousand men, and almost eight thousand taken: and besides, *Demetrius* lost his Tents and Pavilions, his gold and silver, and to be short all his whole carriage. But *Ptolemy* sent him all his things againe, and his friends also that were taken after the battel, with great courteous words: that he would not fight with them for all things together, but onely for honour and Empire, *Demetrius* receiving them at his hands, befought the gods that he might not long live a debtor unto *Ptolemy* for his great courtesie, but that he might quickly requite it with the like againe. Now *Demetrius* tooke not this overthrow like a young man though it was his first souldier-fare: but like an old and wife Captain that had abidden many overthrowes, he used great diligence to gather men againe, to make new Armors, and to keep the Cities and Countries in his hands under obedience, and did traine and exercise his souldiers in armes, whom he had gathered together. *Antigonus* having newes of the overthrow of his son *Demetrius*, said no more, but that *Ptolemy* had overcome beardless men: and that afterwards he should fight with bearded men. But now, because he would not discourage his sonne altogether, who craved leave once againe to fight a battell with *Ptolemy*, he granted him. So, shortly after came *Cilles*, *Ptolemies* General, with a great puissant Army, to drive him altogether out of SYRIA: for they made no great account of *Demetrius*, because he had been once overthrowne before. Howbeit *Demetrius* stole upon him, gave him charge on the suddaine, and made him so afraid, that he tooke both the Campe and the General, with seven thousand prisoners besides, and wanne a marvellous treasure of money: which made him a glad man, not so much for the gaine he should have by it, as for the opportunity he had thereby to come out of *Ptolemies* debt; nothing regarding the treasure nor the honour he had gotten by this victory, but onely the benefit of his requital of *Ptolemies* courtesie towards him. But yet he did nothing of his own head, before he had written to his father: and then receiving full grant and commission from him to dispose of all things as he thought good, he sent back *Cilles* unto *Ptolemy*, and all his other friends besides, with great and rich gifts which he bountifully bestowed on them. This misfortune and overthrow did utterly put *Ptolemy* out of all SYRIA, and brought *Antigonus* also from the City of CELENE, for the exceeding joy he had of this victory, as also for the great desire he had to see his son. After that he sent *Demetrius* into ARABIA, against a people called the NABATHENIANS, to conquer them: but there he was in great danger and distresse in the deserts for lacke of water, howbeit he never shewed any signe that he was afraid. Thereby he so astonished the barbarous people, that he had leisure enough to retire with safety, and with a great booty of a thousand Camels, which he brought away with him. About that time *Seleucus* (whom *Antigonus* had driven from BABYLON) returning thither againe, he came and conquered it without other aide then of himself: and went with a great Army against the people and Nations confining upon the INDIES, and the Provinces adjoining unto mount *Caucasus*, to conquer them. Thereupon *Demetrius* hoping to finde MESOPOTAMIA without any guard or defence, suddainly passed over the River of *Euphrates*, and came unlooked for unto BABYLON, and there distressed the Garrison of *Seleucus*, that kept one of the Castles or Citadels of the City, being two of them: and then putting in seven thousand souldiers to keep them, he commanded the rest of his men to get what they could, and to bring it away with them. After that he marched towards the sea to returne home, leaving thereby the Realme and Kingdom of *Seleucus* in better state and safety, then it was when he invaded it. For it appeared that he had taken all the Country from *Seleucus*, leaving him nothing in it, by spoiling and forraging all that was there. At this returne home, newes was brought him that *Ptolemy* lay at the siege of the City of HALICARNASSUS: whereupon he drew thither with speed to make him raise the siege, and thereby saved the City from him. Now because by this exploit they wan great fame, both of them (*Antigonus* and *Demetrius*) fell into a marvellous desire to set all GREECE at liberty, the which *Ptolemy* and *Cassander* kept in servitude and bondage. Never King tooke in hand a more honourable, nor juster warre and enterprise, then that was. For what power or riches he could gather together, in oppressing of the barbarous people; he bestowed it all in restoring the GRECIANS to their liberty; and onely to winne fame and honour by it. So, they being in consultation what way to take, to bring their purpose and desire to passe, and having taken order to begin first at ATHENS, one of *Antigonus* chiefe friends about him, told him, that he should take the City, and place a good Garrison there for themselves, if they could once win it: for (said he) it will be a good bridge to passe further into all GREECE. *Antigonus* would not hearken to that, but said, that the love and good will of men was a surer bridge, and that the City of ATHENS was as a Beacon to all the land, the which would immediately make his doings shine through the world, as a Cresset light, upon the top of a keep or watch-tower. Thus *Demetrius* hoisted saile, having five thousand silver talents, and a Fleet of two hundred and fifty saile, and sailed towards the City of ATHENS: in the which *Demetrius* PHALERIAN was Governour in the behalf of *Cassander*, and kept a strong Garrison there within the Haven and Castle of MUNYCHIA. He had an excellent good wind to further his journey, so that with this good foresight and speed he made, he arrived in the Haven of PIRÆA, the five and twentieth day of the month *Thargelion* (now called *May*) before any man knew of his coming. Now when this Fleet was within a kenning of the City, and lesse, that they might easily see them from thence, every man prepared himselfe to receive them, taking them to be *Ptolemies* ships. But in fine, the Captaines and Governours understanding too late who they were, did what they could to helpe themselves: but they were all in hurly burly, as men compelled to fight out of order, to keep their enemies from landing, and to repulse them, coming

ing so suddainly upon them. *Demetrius* having found the barre of the Haven open, launched in presently. Then being come to the view of them all, and standing upon the hatches of his Galley, he made signes with his hand, that he prayed silence. The tumult being pacified, he proclaimed aloud by one of his Heraulds, that his father had sent him in a happy houre to deliver the ATHENIANS from all their Garrisons, and to restore them againe to their ancient liberty and freedom, to enjoy their lawes and ancient government of their forefathers. After the proclamation made, all the common people straight threw downe their weapons and Targets at their feet, to clap their hands with great shouts of joy: praying him to land, and calling him aloud, their Saviour, and benefactor. Now for them that were with *Demetrius* PHALERIAN, they all thought good to let the stronger in, although he performed not that he promised, and also sent Ambassadors unto him to treat of peace. *Demetrius* received them very courteously, and sent with them for pledge, one of the dearest friends his father had, *Arifodemus* MILESIAN. Furthermore, he was not carelesse of the health and safety of *Demetrius* PHALERIAN, who by reason of the change and alteration of the Government of the Common-wealth of ATHENS, stood more in fear of the people of ATHENS, then of his enemies. Therefore *Demetrius* regarding the fame and vertue of the man, caused him to be conveyed (according to his desire) unto THEBES, with good and sufficient safe conduct. And for *Demetrius* himselfe, although he was very desirous to see the City, he said he would not come into it, before he had first restored it unto her ancient liberty and freedom, and also driven away the Garrison thence: and thereupon he cast trenches round about the Castle of MUNYCHIA. In the mean season because he would not be idle, he hoisted saile, and coasted towards the City of MEGARA, within the which *Cassander* also kept a strong Garrison. *Demetrius* busily following these matters, was advertised that *Cratespolis*, surnamed *Polyperchon* (who had been *Alexanders* wife) a Ladie of passing fame and beauty, and lay at that time in the City of PATRAS, would be glad to see him, he leaving his Army within the Territory of the MEGARIANS, took his journey presently unto her, with a few of his lightest armed men; and yet he stole from them, and made his Tent to be set up a good way from them, because this Ladie might not be seen, when she came unto him. Some of his enemies having present intelligence thereof, came and set upon him before he knew it. *Demetrius* was so scared, that he had no further leisure, but to cast an ill-favoured cloake about him, the first that came to hand, and disguising himself to flee for life, and escaped very hardly, that he was not shamefully taken of his enemies for his incontinency. But though they missed him, they took his tent and all his money in it. After that, the City of MEGARA was taken and won from *Cassanders* men, where *Demetrius* souldiers would have sacked all: howbeit the ATHENIANS made humble intercession for them, that they might not be spoiled. *Demetrius* thereupon, after that he had driven out *Cassanders* Garrison, he restored it againe to her former liberty. In doing that, he called to mind the Philosopher *Stilpo*, a famous man in MEGARA, though he lived a quiet and contemplative life. He sent for him, and asked him if any of his men had taken any thing of his. *Stilpo* answered him, they had not: for (quoth he) I saw no man that took my learning from me. This notwithstanding, all the slaves of the City were in a manner carried away. Another time, *Demetrius* making much of him, as he was going his way, said unto him. Well, *Stilpo*, I leave you your City free. It is true, O King (quoth he) for thou hast left us never a slave. Shortly after, he returned againe unto ATHENS, and laid siege to the Castle of *Munychia*, the which he took, and drave out the Garrison, and afterwards razed it to the ground. After that, through the intreaty and earnest desire of the ATHENIANS, who prayed him to come and refresh himself in their City, he made his entry into it, and caused all the people to assemble, and then restored unto them their ancient Lawes and Liberty of their Country; promising them besides, that he would procure his father to send them an hundred and fifty thousand bushels of Wheat, and as much wood and timber as should serve to make them an hundred and fifty Gallies. Thus the ATHENIANS, through *Demetrius* meanes, recovered the Democratia againe (to wit, their popular government) fifteen yeares after they had lost it, and lived all the time between their losse and restitution from the warre called *Lamachus* warre, and the battell that was fought by the City of CRANON, in the State of Oligarchia, to wit, under the government of a few governours in sight, but in truth a Monarchy or Kingdom, because they were under the government of one man *Demetrius* PHALERIAN that had an absolute authority over them. But by this meanes they made their saviour and preserver of their Country, *Demetrius* (who seemed to have obtained such honour and glory through his goodnesse and liberality) hateful and odious to all men, for the over-great and unmeasurable honors which they gave him. For first of all, they called *Antigonus* and *Demetrius* Kings, who before that time had alwayes refused the name, and the which (among all other princely honors and prerogatives granted) they that had divided between them the Empire of *Philip* and *Alexander*, durst never once presume to challenge nor to take upon them. So unto them onely they gave the stile and names of the gods favours, and took away their yearly Major, whom they called *Eponymos*, because they did shew the yeares of old time by the names of them that had been Majors. Furthermore, in stead thereof they ordained in the Council of the City, that there should yearly be chosen one by voices of the people, whom they should name the Priest of their favours, whose name they should write and subscribe in all publike grants and covenants, to shew the year: and besides all this, that they should cause their pictures to be drawn in the veile or holy banner, in the which were set out the images of their gods, the Patrons and Protectors of their City. And furthermore they did consecrate the place where *Demetrius* first came out of his Coach, and there did set up an Altar, and called it *Demetrius* Altar

Demetrius restoreth the Athenians to their liberty.

Demetrius Antigonus honourerth Demetrius Phalerian.

Demetrius danger for lechery.

Demetrius winneth the City of Megara, and restored it to her liberty. Stilpo, a famous Philosopher in Megara. Stilpoes layings unto Demetrius.

Demetrius restoreth the Athenians to their lawes and liberty. Democratia popular government.

Oligarchie, the government of a few. Too much honours decreed to Demetrius by the Athenians.

The boldnesse
of *Stratocles*
Athenian.

Stratocles cruel
saying.

The moneth of
May, when al-
red, and called
Demetrius for
the honor of *De*
metrius name.
Wonders.

Hemlocke, the
usual herbe,
with the juice
whereof they
poisoned offend-
ers at *Athen*.
Philippides the
Poet.

Philippides not-
able answer un-
to King *Lyfi-*
machus, not de-
siring to hear
his secrets.

Altar coming out of his Coach: and unto their tribes they added two other, the *ANTI-GONIDES* and the *DE-METRIADES*. Their great councill at large, which they created yearly of five hundred men, was then first of all brought unto six hundred, because every tribe must needs furnish of themselves fifty Counsellors. But yet the strangest act, and most new-found invention of flattery, was that of *Stratocles* (being the common flatterer and people-pleaser) who put forth this decree, by the which it was ordained: That those whom the Common-wealth should send unto *Antigonus* and *Demetrius*, should in stead of Ambassadors be called Theoroi, as much to say, as, Ministers of the Sacrifices. For so were they called, whom they sent to *DELPHES* to *Apollo Pythias*, or unto *ELIDE* to *Jupiter Olympias*, at the common and solemne feasts of all *GREECE*, to do the ordinary sacrifices and oblations for the health and preservation of the Cities. This *Stratocles* in all things else was a desperate man, and one that had alwayes led a wicked and dissolute life: and for his shamelesse boldnesse, he seemed wholly to defend the steps of *Cleons* foole-hardinesse and old insolency, which (when he lived) he shewed unto the people. He openly kept a harlot in his house, called *Phylacion*. One day he having bought for his supper, beastes heads and neckes commonly eaten, he said unto her: Why, how now? thou hast bought me acates which we toss like balls, that have to do in the Common-wealth. Another time when the Army of the *ATHENIANS* was overthrown by sea, by the Isle of *AMORGOS*, he would needs prevent the news of this overthrow, and came through the street of *Ceranicus* crowned with Garlands of flowers, as if the *ATHENIANS* had won the barrel: and was also the author of a decree whereby they did sacrifice unto the gods, to give them thanks for the victory; and meat was given amongst every tribe, in token of common joy. But shortly after the messengers arrived, which brought report of the shipwracke and overthrow. The people were in an uproar withal, and sent for *Stratocles* in a marvellous rage. But he with a face of brasse came unto them, and arrogantly defended the peoples ill will, and angrily told them: well, and what hurt have I done you, if I have made you merry these two dayes? Such was *Stratocles* impudency and rashnesse. But, as the Poet *Aristophanes* saith:

*But hotter matters were that time in hand,
Then fire that wasteth both by sea and land.*

For there was another that passed *Stratocles* in knavery, who procured a decree, that as often as *Demetrius* came into the City of *ATHENS*, he should be received with all ceremonies and like solemnity, as they use in the feasts of *Ceres* and *Bacchus*: and further, that they should give unto him that did excell all the rest in sumptuousnesse and riches at such time as *Demetrius* made his entry into the City, so much money out of the common treasure as should serve to make an image or other offering, which should be consecrated to the Temples in memory of his liberality. And last of all, they changed the name of the moneth *Munichion* (to wit, the moneth of January) and called it *Demetrian*: and the last day of the moneth, which they called before, The new a and old Moone, they then called it the *Demetriad*: and the feasts of *Bacchus* also, called then *Dionysia*, they presently named *Demetria*. But the gods by divers signes and tokens shewed plainly, that they were offended with these changes and alterations. For the holy banner: in the which (according to the order set downe) they had painted the images of *Antigonus* and *Demetrius*, with the pictures of *Jupiter* and *Minerva*, as they carried it a procession through the Street *Ceranicus*, it was torne asunder in the middest by a tempest of wind. And furthermore, about the Altars which were set up in the honour of *Demetrius* and *Antigonus*, there grew a great deale of Hemlocke, the which otherwise was impossible to grow there. On the feast day also of *Bacchus*, they were compelled to leave the pompe or procession for that day, it was such an extreme hard frost out of all season: and besides, there fell such a mil-dew and great frost upon it, that not onely their Vines and Olives were killed with it, but also the most part of the Wheat blades which were newly sprung up. And therefore the Poet *Philippides* (an enemy of the foresaid *Stratocles*) in one of his Comedies writeth certaine verses against him to this effect:

*The party for whose wickednesse the veile was rent in twaine,
Which with the honour due to God did worship men most vaine,
Is he for whom our budding Vines were blasted with the frost,
Those things and not our Comedies have us so deavly cost.*

This *Philippides* was very well beloved of King *Lyfimachus*, inasmuch that for his sake the King had done many pleasures to the Common-wealth of *ATHENS*. For he loved him so dearly, that as often as he saw him, or met with him at the beginning of any war, or matter of great importance, he was of opinion that he brought him good lucke. For indeed he did not so much esteeme him for the excellency of his art, but he was much more to be beloved and esteemed for his vertuous and honest conditions. He was no troublesome man, neither was he infected with the fineness of Courts, as he shewed one day when the King made much of him, and giving him good countenance, said unto him: What wilt thou have me give thee of my things *Philippides*? Even what it shall please thee, O King, so it be none of thy secrets. Thus much we thought good to speak of him in by-talke, because an honest Player of Comedies should match with a shamelesse and impudent Orator of the people. But yet there was another *Democles*, of the village of *SPHETTUS*, that dreamed out a more strange kind of honour, touching the consecration of their Targets, which they dedicated to the Temple of *Apollo* in *DELPHES*, that is to say, that they should go and aske the Oracle of *Demetrius*. But I will shew you the very effect and forme of the law, as it was set down. In good hour, the people ordaine that he should be chosen one of the Citizens of *ATHENS*, which shall go unto

our

our favour: and after that he hath done due sacrifice unto him, he shall aske *Demetrius* our favour, after what sort the people shall with greatest holinesse and devotion, without delay, make consecration of their holiest gifts and offerings: and according to the Oracle it shall please him to give them, the people shall duely execute it. Thus laying upon *Demetrius* all these foolish mockeries, who besides was no great wiseman, they made him a very fool. *Demetrius* being at that time at leisure in *ATHENS*, he married a widow called *Eurydice*, which came of that noble and ancient house of *Miltiades*, and had been married before unto one *Opeltas* Prince of the *CYRENIANS*, and after his death returned againe to *ATHENS*. The *ATHENIANS* were very glad of this marriage, and thought it the greatest honour came to their City, supposing he had done it for their sakes. Howbeit he was loone wonne to be married, for he had many wives, but amongst them all he loved *Phila* best, and gave her most honour and preeminence above them all, partly for the respect of her father *Antipater*; and also for that he had been first married unto *Craterus*, whom the *MACEDONIANS* loved best when he lived, and most lamented after his death above all the other successors of *Alexander*. His father, I suppose, made him to marry her by force, although indeed her yeers was not meet for him: for he was marvellous young, and the very old. And when *Demetrius* seemed not to be contented withall, his father rounded him softly in the eare with this saying:

*Refuse no Woman nere so old,
Whose marriage bringeth store of gold.
Wherein he cunningly alluded to these verses of Eurypides.
Refuse not to become a thrall,
Where lucre may ensue withall.*

But so much did *Demetrius* honour his wife *Phila*, and all his other wives he married, that he was not ashamed to keep a number of Curtizans, and other mens wives besides: so that he onely of all other Kings in his time, was most detected with this vice of lecherie. While these things passed on in this sort, he was commanded by his father to fight with *Ptolomy* for the Realme of *CYPRUS*. So there was no remedy but he must needs obey him, although otherwise he was very sorry to leave the warre he had begun, to let the *GRECIANS* at liberty, the which had been far more honourable and famous. Howbeit, before he departed from *ATHENS*, he sent unto *Cleonides* *Ptolomies* General, that kept the Cities of *CORINTH* and *SYCONE*, to offer him money if he would set their Cities at liberty. But *Cleonides* would not be dealt withall that way. Thereupon *Demetrius* straightway took sea, and sailed with all his Army towards *CYPRUS*, where at his first coming he overcame *Mene-laus* *Ptolomies* brother. But shortly after, *Ptolomy* went thither in person with a great Army both by sea and land, and there passed betwixt them fierce threatnings and proud words to each other. For *Ptolomy* sent to *Demetrius* to bid him depart if he were wise, before all his Army came together: which would tread him under their feet, and march upon his belly if he tarried their coming. *Demetrius* on the other side sent him word, he would do him this favour to let him escape, if he would sweare and promise unto him to withdraw his Garrisons which he had in the Cities of *CORINTH* and *SYCONE*. So the expectation of this battell made these two Princes not onely very pensive to fight one with the other, but also all the other Lords, Princes, and Kings: because the successe thereof was uncertaine, which of them two should prevail. But every man judged this, that which of them obtained the victory, he should not onely be Lord of the Realme of *CYPRUS* and *SYRIA*, but therewith also of greater power than all the rest. *Ptolomy* in person with fifty saile began to row against his enemy *Demetrius*, and commanded his brother *Mene-laus*, that when he saw them fast grapled in fight together, he should launch out of the haven of *SALAMINA*, and give charge upon the rereward of *Demetrius* ships, to breake their order, with the threescore Gallies he had in charge. *Demetrius* on the other side prepared ten Gallies against these threescore, thinking them enow to choke up the havens mouth being but narrow, so that none of the Gallies that were within could come out: and furthermore, he dispersed his Army by land upon the foreland points which reach unto the sea, and went himselfe into the maine sea with nine score Gallies, and gave such a fierce charge upon *Ptolomy*, that heavily made him flie. Who when he saw his Army broken, fled as speedily as he could with eight Gallies onely: for all the rest were either broken or sunke in fight, and those eight onely escaped, besides threescore and ten which were taken, and all their fouldiers in them. And as for his carriage, his traine, his friends, his officers and household servants, his wives, his gold and silver, his armour, engines of battery, and all such other warlike furniture and munition as was conveyed aboard his caricks and great ships riding at Anchor: of all these things nothing escaped *Demetrius* hands, but all was brought into his Campe. Among those spoiles also was taken that famous Curtizan *Lamia*, who at the first had her name onely for her passing playing upon the flute: but after she fell to Curtizan trade, her countenance and credit increased the more. So that even then when her beauty through yeares fell to decay, and that she found *Demetrius* much younger then her self, yet she so wanne him with her sweet conversation and good grace, that he only liked her, and all the other women liked him. After this victory by sea, *Mene-laus* made no more resistance, but yeelded up *SALAMINA* and his ships unto *Demetrius*, and put into his hands also twelve hundred horsemen, and twelve thousand footmen well armed. This so famous and triumphant victory was yet much more beautified by *Demetrius* great bounty and goodnesse, which he shewed in giving his enemies slaine in battell honourable funerals, setting the prisoners at liberty without ranfome paying, and giving moreover twelve hundred compleat armors unto the *ATHENI-*

Demetrius married unto *Eurydice* at *Athen*.

Demetrius had many wives together.
Phila *Demetrius* wife, *Antipaters* daughter, and *Craterus* widow.
The judgement of marriage, and obedience.

Battel by sea in the Isle of *Cyprus* betwixt *Demetrius* and *Ptolomy*.

Demetrius victory of *Ptolomy*.

Lamia the famous Curtizan taken by *Demetrius*, upon the defeating of *Ptolomy*.
Sulamius yeelded up to *Demetrius*.

ANS

Aristodemus a notorious flatterer in Antigonus Court.

The first time Antigonus and Demetrius were called Kings.

Note the force of flattery by Aristodemus Milesian. Antigonus and Demetrius journey against Ptolemy.

Medius dreamed

Antigonus smiteth with his sonne Demetrius.

ANS. After this Demetrius sent Aristodemus Milesian unto his father Antigonus, to tell him by word of mouth the news of this victory. Aristodemus was the greatest flatterer in all Antigonus Court, who devised then (as it seemeth to me) to adde unto this exploit the greatest flattery possible. For when he had taken land after he was come out of the Isle of Cyprus, he would in no wise have the ship he came in, to come neare the shoare, but commanded them to ride at Anchor, and no man so hardy to leave the ship: but he himself got into a little boat, and went unto Antigonus, who all this while was in a marvellous fear and perplexity for the successe of this battell, as men may easily judge they are which hope after so great uncertainties. Now when word was brought him that Aristodemus was coming to him all alone, then was he worse troubled then afore, inasmuch that he could scant keep within doors himself, but sent his servants and friends one after another to meet Aristodemus, to aske him what newes, and to bring him word presently again how the world went. But not one of them could get any thing out of him, for he went on still faire and softly with a sad countenance, and very demurely, speaking never a word. Wherefore Antigonus heart being cold in his belly, he could stay no longer, but would himself go and meet with Aristodemus at the gate, who had a marvellous preface of people following of him, besides those of the Court which ranne out to heare his answer. At length when he came neare unto Antigonus, holding out his right hand unto him, he cried out aloud: God save thee, O King Antigonus: we have overcome King Ptolemy in battell by sea, and have won the Realme of Cyprus, with sixteen thousand and eight hundred prisoners. Then answered Antigonus: And God save thee too. Truly Aristodemus thou hast kept us in a trance a good while, but to punish thee for the paine thou hast put us to, thou shalt the later receive the reward of thy good newes. Then was the first time that the people with a loud voice called Antigonus and Demetrius Kings. Now for Antigonus, his friends and familiars did at that instant put on the royal band or Diademe upon his head: but for Demetrius, his father sent it unto him, and by his letters called him King. They also that were in Egypt with Ptolemy, understanding that, did call and salute him by the name of King: because it should not seem that for one overthrow received, their hearts were dead. Thus this ambition by jealousie and emulation went from man to man to all Alexanders successors. For Lysimachus then also began to weare the Diademe, and likewise Seleucus, as often as he spake with the Grecians: for before that time, he dealt in matters with the barbarous people as a King. But Cassander, though others wrote themselves Kings, he onely subscribed after his wonted manner. Now this was not onely an increase of a new name, or changing of apparel, but it was such an honour, as it lift up their hearts, and made them stand upon themselves: and besides, it so framed their manner of life and conversation with them, that they grew more proud and lately then ever they were before: like unto common Players of Tragedies, who apparelling themselves to play their parts upon the Stage, do change their gate, their countenance, their voice, their manner of sitting at the table, and their talke also. So that afterwards they grew more cruel in commanding their subjects, when they had once taken away the vizor and dissimulation of their absolute power, which before made them farre more lowly and gentle in many matters unto them. And all this came through one vile flatterer, that brought such a wonderful change in the world. Antigonus therefore puffed up with the glory of the victory of his sonne Demetrius, for the conquest of Cyprus, he determined forthwith to set upon Ptolemy. Himselfe led the Army by land, having his son Demetrius still rowing by the shore side with a great Fleete of ships. But one of his familiars called Medius, being asleep, had a vision one night that told him, what should be the end and successe of this journey. He thought he saw Antigonus runne with all his Army, who should have the upper hand; and that at the first he ranne with great force and swiftnesse, but that afterwards his strength and breath failed him so much, that when he should return, he had scant any pulse or breath, and with much ado retired againe. And even so it chanced unto him. For Antigonus by land was easiesoones in great danger: and Demetrius also by sea was often in hazard to leave the coast, and by storme and weather to be cast into places where was neither haven, creekes, nor harborough for ships. And at length having lost a great number of his ships, he was driven to return without any attempt given. Now Antigonus was at that time little lesse then fourescore yeares old, but yet his fat and corpulent body was more comberfome to him then his yeares: therefore being grown unmeet for wars, he used his sonne in his place. Who for that he was fortunate, as also skilful through the experience he had gotten, did wisely govern the weightiest matters. His father besides did not passe for his youthful parts, lavish expences and common drunkennesse he gave himself unto. For in time of peace, he was given over to all these vices: but in time of warre, he was as sober and continent as any man so borne by nature. And therefore it is reported, that Lamia being manifestly known to be mistresse over him, one day when he was come from hunting, he came (as his manner was) to kisse his father: and that Antigonus smiling upon him, said: What, how now son, dost thou think thou art kissing of Lamia? Another time Demetrius was many dayes together drinking and ryoting, and saw not his father: and then to excuse himself unto him, he told him he had gotten a Rheume that made him keep his chamber, that he could not come to him. So I heard, said Antigonus: but was it of Thasos or Chios that Rheume? He spake of, because that in either of those two Islands, there were excellent good wines. Another time Demetrius sent his father word, that he was not well: thereupon Antigonus went to see him, and coming thither, he met a faire young boy at his door. So he went up to his chamber, and sitting down by his beds side, he took him by the hand to feel his pulse. Demetrius told him that his Feaver had left him but a little before. I know it well (said Antigonus) for I met the young boy even at the door as I came in. So Antigonus did gently bear with his sons faults, in respect of the many

many other vertues he had. The voice goeth, that the Scythians, when they are disposed to drinke drunke together, do divers times twang the strings of their bowes, as though that would serve to keep the strength of their courage and hardinesse, which otherwise the pleasantnesse of the wine would take from them. But Demetrius gave himself to one thing onely at one selfe time: sometime to take his pleasure, sometime to deal in matters of weight; and in all extremity he ever used but one of them, and would never mingle the one with the other: and yet this notwithstanding, he was no lesse politicke and circumspect to prepare all manner of munition for wars. For as he was a wife Capitaine to lead an Army, so was he also very careful to provide all things meet for their furniture, and would rather have too much then too little. But above all, he exceeded in sumptuous building of ships, and framing of all sorts of engines of battery, and especially for the delight he tooke to invent and devise them. For he had an excellent natural wit to devise such works as are made by wit and hand, and did not bestow his wit and invention in handy-crafts, in trifling toys and bables: as many other Kings that have given themselves to play on Flutes, others to paint and draw, and others also to Turners craft. As Eriopis King of Macedonia, who delighted to make fine tables and pretty lamps. And as Hellebore, Lingwort, or Bears-foot, Hofsynamum, Henbane, Cicuta, Hemlocke, Aconitum, Libardaine or Wolfe-baine, and Dorycnium: for the which we have no English word: all these would he set himself with his own hands in the Gardens of his owne Pallace, and also gather them in time of the yeare, to know the vertue and power of them. Or as Asaces the Kings of PARTHIA, that boasted they could themselves make their Arrowes heads, and sharpen them. But the Artificers workes which Demetrius practised, shewed that they came from a King. For his manner of workmanship had a certaine greatnesse in it, the which even with the subtilty and finenesse of his workes, shewed the trimme handling of the workman: so that they appeared not onely worthy the understanding and riches of a King, but also the forging and making by the hands of a great King. For his friends did not onely wonder at their greatnesse, but his very enemies also were delighted with the beauty of them. And this is more true then meete to be spoken: the enemies could not but marvel when they saw his Galleys rowing along the coast, with fiftene or sixtene bankes of Oares: and his Engines of battery which they called Elepolis (as much to say, Engines to take Cities) were a spectacle of great admiration unto those whom he besieged, as the events following did thoroughly witnesse. For Lysimachus, who of all other Kings did malice Demetrius most, coming to raise the siege from the City of SOLI in CILICIA, the which Demetrius besieged, he sent unto him to pray him to let him see his Engines of battery, and his Galleys rowing upon the sea. Demetrius granting him, Lysimachus returning with wonderful admiration. The RHODIANS also having long time defended his siege, at the last made peace with him, and prayed him to leave some one of his Engines with them, for a perpetuall testimony and remembrance both of his power, and also of their courage and valiantnesse. The cause why Demetrius made warre with the RHODIANS, was, because they were confederates with King Ptolemy: he brought against their walls the greatest Engine he had, the foote whereof was like a tile, more long then abroad, and at the base on either side it was eight and forty cubits long, and threescore and six high, rising still narrow even to the very top: so that the upper parts were narrower then the nether, and within it were many pretty roomes and places conveyed for souldiers; The forepart of it was open towards the enemy, and every room or partition had windowes, out of which they bestowed all kind of shot, because they were full of armed men fighting with all sorts of weapons. But now, because it was so well framed and counterpoised, that it gave no way, nor reeled on either side, which way soever they removed it, but that it stood fast and upright upon her foundation, making a terrible noise and found, that made the worke as wonderful to behold, as it was a marvellous pleasure for men to see it. In this warre were brought unto Demetrius two notable armors weighing forty pounds a peece, and made by one Zoilus an armorer, who to shew the hardnesse and goodnesse of the temper, suffered them to be proved and shot at, at sixscore paces, with the Engines of their battery: and albeit the armors were shot at and hit, yet were they never pierced, and but only a little race or scratch seen, as it were of a bodkin or penknife, and had no more hurt. Demetrius always wore one of them in these warres, and Alcimus ALBANIAN the other, the strongest and valiantest man he had in all his host, and that onely carried a compleat armour weighing sixscore pounds, where all other souldiers wore none above threescore. This Alcimus was slaine at RHODES, valiantly fighting by the Theater. In this siege the RHODIANS did valiantly defend themselves, that Demetrius could do no act worthy memory. This notwithstanding, although he saw he could not prevail, but lose his time, yet was he the more obstinately bent against them, to be even with them, because they had taken a ship of his, in the which his wife Phila had sent unto him certain hangings of Tapestry, Linnen, Apparell, and Letters, and because they had sent them all unto Ptolemy as soone as they had taken them. But therein they did not follow the honest courtesie of the ATHENIANS, who having intercepted certain curreurs of King Philips that made war against them, they opened all the letters they carried, and read them, saving onely his wife Olympias letters she sent him, the which they sent unto King Philips sealed, as they were when they received them. Now though this part did much grieve him and offend him, yet he could not finde in his heart to serve them in that fort, when he might have done it not long after. For by chance at that time Protogenes an excellent Painter, borne in CAUNUS, did paint the draught of the City of IALYSUS. Demetrius found this table in a house in the suburbs of the City, being almost ended. The RHODIANS thereupon sending an Herald unto

Rrr

him,

A strange custom of the Scythians in their drunkennesse.

Demetrius a skilful Capitaine, and an excellent shipwright.

Sundry delights of Princes.

Demetrius wonderful workes.

Demetrius besieged Rhodes.

The description of Demetrius greatest engine of battery called Elepolis.

The armors made of notable temper by Zoilus an Armorer.

Alcimus Albanian, wore an armour of sixscore pound weight.

The discourse of the Rhodians.

The great courtesie of the Athenians unto King Philip.

Protagenes born in the City of *Caunus* an excellent painter. *Protagenes* table of the City of *Satysus* greatly commended by *Apelles* himself

Demetrius concludes peace with the *Rhodi-ans*.

Demetrius victories in *Greece*.

Antigonus shamefastness.

Demetrius wantonness.

The names of *Demetrius* Curtians.

Demetrius journey into *Peloponnesus*.

him, to beseech him to spare the defacing of so goodly a worke, he returned them answer, that he would rather suffer his fathers images to be burnt, then so excellent and passing a worke as that to be lost and brought to nothing. For it is reported, that *Protagenes* was seven yeares drawing of the same: and it is said also that *Apelles* himself when he saw it, did so wonder at it, that his speech failed him, and he stood mute a long time, and at last said: Surely this a wonderfull peece of work, and of great labour, yet doth it want those graces and ornaments whereby those that I paint do reach unto heaven. This table afterwards being brought to *Rome*, and hanged up with others, was in the end burnt by fire. Now as the *Rhodians* were desirous to be rid of this warre, and that *Demetrius* also was willing to take an honest occasion to do it, the Ambassadors of the *Athenians* came happily to serve both their desires, who made peace between them with these conditions: that the *Rhodians* should be confederates with *Antigonus* and *Demetrius* against all men, but *Ptolomy* onely. The *Athenians* sent for *Demetrius*, upon *Cassanders* coming to lay siege to their City: whereupon *Demetrius* immediately hoisted saile towards *Athens*, with three hundred and thirty Gallies, and a great number of men of warre besides: so that he did not onely drive *Cassander* out of the Province of *Attica*, but followed him even to the straight of *Thermopyles*, and there overthrew him in fer battel, and received the City of *Heraclea*, which willingly yeelded unto him, and fixe thousand *Macedonians* came unto him to take his part. So in his return back, he set all the *Grecians* at liberty on this side the straight: he made a league with the *Borotians*, and took the City of *Cenchrees*, and the Castles of *Phyle* and *Panactos*, in the frontiers and confines of *Attica*, in the which *Cassander* had left Garrisons to keep the Country in subjection: and after he had driven them out of the Country, he rendered the forts again unto the *Athenians*. Therefore though it seemed the *Athenians* had before bestowed to their uttermost power all kinds of honours that could be offered him, every man striving for life to prefer the same, yet they found out new devices to flatter and please him. For they ordained that the place behind the temple of *Minerva* called *Parthenon* (as who would say the temple of the Virgin) should be prepared for his house to live in: and they said, that the goddesse *Minerva* did lodge him with her. But to say truly, he was too unchast a guest, to think that a maiden goddesse would be content he should lye with her. And yet his father *Antigonus* perceiving that they had lodged his son *Philip* in a time in a house, where there were three young women, he said nothing to *Philip* himself, but before he sent for the Harbinger, and said unto him: wilt thou not remove my son out of this straight lodging, and provide him of a better? And *Demetrius*, that should have revered the goddesse *Minerva*, though for no other respect but because he called her his eldest sister (for so he would the should be called) he defiled all the Cattle where was the temple of these holy virgins, with horrible and abominable insolencies, both towards young boyes of honest houses, as also unto young women of the City. So that this place seemed to be most pure and holy, at such times as he lay with his common Curtifins, *Chrysis*, *Lamia*, *Demio*, and *Anticyra*. It shall not be greatly for the honour of the City of *Athens*, to tell particularly all the abominable parts he committed there. But *Democles* vertue and honesty deserved worthy and condigne remembrance. This *Democles* was a young boy that had no hair on his face, of whose beauty *Demetrius* being informed by the surname he had, as commonly called through the City, *Democles* the faire, he sought diverse wayes to entice him, both by faire meanes, large promises and gifts, and also with threats besides. But when he saw no man could bring him to the bent of his bow, and that the young boy in the end seeing him so importunate upon him, came no more to the common places of exercise, where other children used to recreate themselves, and that to avoid the common stoves, he went to wash himself in another secret stowe: *Demetrius* watching his time and houre of going thither, followed him, and got into him being alone. The boy seeing himself alone, and that he could not resist *Demetrius*, tooke off the cover of the Kettle or Cauldron where the water was boiling and leaping into it drowned himself. Truly he was unworthy of so lamentable an end, but yet shewed a noble heart, worthy of his Beauty and Country. But he did not as another called *Cleomenes*, the sonne of *Cleomenes*, who brought letters from *Demetrius*, directed to the people, whereby through *Demetrius* intercession and request, his fathers fine of fifty talents in the which he was condemned (and for non-payment remained prisoner) was clearly remitted and forgiven. But by this act, he not onely shamed and dishonoured himself, but also troubled all the City. For the people thereupon released *Cleomenes* of his fine, but therewith they made a decree that no Citizen should thenceforth bring any more letters from *Demetrius*. But afterwards understanding that *Demetrius* was marvellously offended with this decree, they did not onely revoke their first decree, but they did also put some of them to death, which were the procurers and authors of the decree, and others also they banished. And further they made a law, that the people of *Athens* should account all religious to the gods, and just unto all men, whatsoever it pleased *Demetrius* to order and appoint. At that time there was one of the chiefeest men of the City, that said *Stratocles* was a mad man to prefer such matters. Indeed quoth *Demochares* surnamed *Laconian*, he were a mad man if he were otherwise: and he spake it because this *Stratocles* had many great pleasures at *Demetrius* hands for this flattery. Howbeit, *Demochares* being accused and condemned upon these words, he was banished *Athens*. See the *Athenians* how they used themselves, who seemed to be delivered from the Garrison they had before, and to be restored unto their former liberty and freedom. From thence *Demetrius* went into *Peloponnesus*, and never an enemy of his durst tarry his coming, but all fled before

before him, and left him their Castles and Towns. Thus *Demetrius* wan unto himself all the Country called *Acte*, and all *Archadia*, saving the City of *Mantineia*: and for the summe of an hundred talents given amongst them, he delivered the Cities of *Argos*, *Sicyone*, and of *Corinth*, from the Garrisons that lay amongst them. About that time fell out the great feast of *Juno* in *Argos*, called *Herea*. Therefore *Demetrius*, to honour this feast with the *Grecians*, married *Deidamia* (the daughter of *Eacides*, King of the *Molossians*, and sister of *Pyrrius*) and persuaded the *Sicyonians*, to leave their City, and to come and build in another goodly place neare unto it, where they now do dwell: and so with the place and situation, he changed also the name of the City. For in stead of *Sicyon*, he made it to be called *Demetriade*. Then at a general assembly of the states of *Greece*, which was kept in the straight of *Peloponnesus*, called *Isthmos*, *Demetrius* was chosen Lieutenant General of all the *Grecians*, as *Philip* and *Alexander* (both Kings of *Macedon*) had been before him, unto whom he did not onely compare himself, but thought himself greater then they, because fortune smiled on him, and for that he had so good successe in all his affairs. Whereas *Alexander* did never take away the title and name of King from any other Kings, neither did ever call himself King of Kings, although he had given unto diverse of them the name and power of a King: and in contrary manner also, *Demetrius* laughed them to scorne which called any other Princes Kings but his father and himselfe. Moreover he tooke great pleasure to heare his flatterers, who being at banquets called for wine to drinke to King *Demetrius*, and then to *Seleucus* master of the Elephants, to *Ptolmy* Admiral, to *Lysimachus* keeper of the treasure, and to *Agathocles* *Silician*, governour of the Isles. All the Kings, but *Lysimachus*, laughed at these toys when they were reported to him: but *Lysimachus* was very angry, and thought great scorne that *Demetrius* should reckon him a gelding, for that it was an old custome commonly to give an Eunuch the charge of keeping the treasure. So *Lysimachus* of all other Princes did bear him most malice; and because he would finely taunt him for that he ever kept *Lamia* his Curtisan with him: Untill this present time, said he, I never saw harlot play in a Tragedy before. *Demetrius* answered him againe, that his harlot was chaster then *Penelope* his wife. So *Demetrius* departing for that time out of *Peloponnesus*, took his journey towards *Athens*, and wrote before to the *Athenians*, that when he came thither he would be received into the fraternity of the holy mysteries, and that he meant they should shew him at one selfe time, all that was to be seen, even from the least to the highest secrets of their ceremonies, called *Epoptices*, because they made the brethren of the fraternity see them long time after that they had been first received into the lesser ceremonies: the which was not lawful then, neither was ever heard of before. For these smaller mysteries, in old time were celebrated in the moneth of *November*, and the greater in the moneth of *August*: and besides it was not lawful to celebrate or use these ceremonies within the space of a yeare one of the other. When these letters were openly read, no man durst speak against them, but *Pythodorus* the Priest, who carried the torch lighted when they shewed these mysteries. Howbeit his words prevailed not, for by the device of *Stratocles* it was enacted at an assembly of the City, that the moneth of *March* in the which they were at that time, should be called and reputed *November*. And so as they could best helpe it, by their ordinances of the City they did receive *Demetrius* into the fraternity of the mysteries: and afterwards againe, this selfe moneth of *March* which they had translated into *November*, became suddenly *August*: and in the selfe same year was celebrated the other ceremony of these great mysteries, whereby *Demetrius* was admitted to see the most straight and secret ceremonies. Therefore *Philippides* the Poet inveighing against the sacriledge and impiety of Religion prophaned by *Stratocles*, made these verses of him:

Unto one moneth his coming hither,
Hath thrust up all the yeare together.

And afterwards because *Stratocles* was the procurer that *Demetrius* was lodged in the Temple of *Minerva* within the Castle:

Of Chast *Minervaes* holy Church he makes a filthy stewes,
And in that Virgins very fight his harlots doth abuse.

But yet of all the insolent parts done at that time in *Athens* (although many were committed) none of all the rest grieved the *Athenians* more, then this did: that *Demetrius* commanded them they should presently furnish him with two hundred and fifty talents. The taxation of this payment was very hard unto them; both for the shortnesse of the time appointed them, as also for the impossibility of abating any part of it. When he had seen all this masse of money laide on a heap before him, he commanded it should be given to *Lamia*, and among his other Curtifins, to buy them hope. The shame the *Athenians* received by this gift, grieved them more then the losse of their money: and the words he spake to the great contempt of them and their City, did more trouble them then the payment they made. Some say notwithstanding, that *Demetrius* did not alone use the *Athenians* thus shamefully, but the *Thessalians* also in the same manner. But passing this over, *Lamia* of her self and through her own countenance did get a great sum of money together of diverse persons for one supper she made unto *Demetrius*, the preparation whereof was of such exceeding charge, that *Lycus* borne in the Isle of *Samos*, did set down the order thereof in writing. And therefore a certaine Poet no lesse pleasant, then truly, called this *Lamia* Elepolis: to wit, an engine to take Cities. And *Demochares* also borne in the City of *Soli*, called *Demetrius* a fable, because he had *Lamia* ever with him: as in the fables which old women tell little children, there is ever lightly a *Lamia*, as much to say, as a witch, or forcereffe. So that the great credit and authority this

Demetrius married *Deidamia* King of *Pyrrius* sister, and changed the name of the City of *Sicyone* and called it *Demetriade*. *Demetrius* chosen General of all *Greece*.

Demetrius pride.

Philippides verses against *Stratocles* the boaster.

Demetrius prodigal gift of two hundred and fifty talents to his Curtifins to buy them hope.

Lamia made *Demetrius* a supper of her own cost. *Lamia* Elepolis.

Plistarchus, the brother of Cassander, at that time Governor of Cilicia.

Demetrius in a death Cilicia.

Seleucus married Stratonice, Demetrius daughter.

The death of Deidamia, Demetrius wife. Demetrius married Stratonice, Demetrius daughter. Diligence betwixt Demetrius and Seleucus.

Plato's saying of riches.

Demetrius journey against the Athenians.

** Four crowns.
* Thirty crowns.*

The Athenians do yield unto Demetrius. A rare device of Epicurus at this strange siege of Athens, to keep his scholars alive with beans.

good fortune offered him beyond all hope, presently took his daughter with him, and sailed with all his ships directly towards SYRIA. In the which voyage he was constrained of necessity to land sometimes, and specially in CILICIA, the which *Plistarchus* the brother of *Cassander* kept at that time, being given him by the other Kings for his part and portion of the spoils of *Antigonus*, after he was overthrown. This *Plistarchus* thinking that *Demetrius* landed not to refresh himselfe, but for forage and spoils, because he would complaine of *Seleucus* for the alliance he made with their common enemy, without the consent and privy of all the other Kings and Princes confederates, he went privately unto his brother *Cassander*. *Demetrius* having intelligence thereof, he suddenly invaded the land, and spoiled as farre as the City of CYNDUS, and carried away (which he had leaved) twelve hundred talents, which he found yet left of his fathers treasure: and then with all the speed he could possible he returned to his ships, and hoisted saile. Shortly after, his wife *Phila* also came unto him. So *Seleucus* received them all near unto the City of OROSUS, and there their meeting was princely, without sorrow or suspicion one of the other. First of all *Seleucus* did feast *Demetrius* in his Tent, in the middle of his Campe: and afterwards *Demetrius* feasted him againe in his Gallies, with thirteen bankes of Oares. Thus they passed many dayes together, feasting and rejoycing each with other: being unarmed, and having no souldiers to waite upon them: untill at length *Seleucus* with his wife *Stratonice* departed, and took his way with great pompe towards the City of ANTIOCH. Now for *Demetrius* he kept the Province of CILICIA, and sent his wife *Phila* unto her brother *Cassander*, to answer the complaints and accusations of *Plistarchus* against him. In the mean time *Deidamia* his wife departed out of GREECE to come unto him: who after she had remained with him a few dayes, died of a sickness. Afterwards *Demetrius* coming againe in favour with *Prology*, by *Seleucus* his son in lawes meane; he married his daughter *Prolemaide*. Hitherto *Seleucus* used *Demetrius* very courteously, but afterwards he prayed him to deliver him CILICIA againe, for a sum of money that he offered him: but *Demetrius* plainly denied him. Then did *Seleucus* shew a cruell and tyrannical covetousnesse: for in anger, and with fierce threats and countenance he asked him the Cities of TYRE, and SIDON. But therein he thinks he lacked honesty and civility: as though he that had under his obedience and subjection all that which lay betwixt the INDIES, and the sea of LYREA, was in such need and poverty, that for two Cities onely, he should drive his father in law from him, who had sustained so hard and bitter change. But thereby he rightly confirmed *Plato* saying: that he that will be rich indeed, must indeavour himself not to increase his riches, but rather to diminish his covetousnesse. For he shall never be but a begger and needy, whose covetous desire hath no end. This notwithstanding, *Demetrius* yielded not for fear, but provided to replenish the Cities with good Garrisons to keep them against him: saying, that though he had been overcome ten thousand times more in battell, yet it should never sink into his head that he should be contented, and thinke himself happy to buy *Seleucus* alliance so deare. On the other side, being advertised that one *Lachares* having spied opportunity when the ATHENIANS were in civil wars one against the other, and that he had overcome them, and did tyrannically usurpe the government, he then perswaded himself that he might easily win it againe, if he came thither upon the suddain. Thereupon he crossed the seas with a great flecte of ships, without any danger: but he had such a great storme and tempest upon the coast of ATTICA, that he lost the most part of his ships, and a great number of his men besides. But for himself he escaped; and began to make a little war with the ATHENIANS. Yet perceiving that he did no good there, but lost his time, he sent some of his men to gather a number of his ships againe together, and he himself in the mean time went into PELOPONNESUS, to lay siege to the City of MESSINA, where his person was in great danger. For fighting hard by the wall, he had such a blow with a dart, that it hit him full in the mouth, and ran through his cheek. Notwithstanding this, after he was healed of that wound, he brought into his subjection againe certaine Townes that had rebelled against him. After that he returned againe into ATTICA, and took the Cities of ELEUSIN, and of RHAMNUS: and then spoiled all the Country, and took a ship fraught with corne, and hung up the Merchant, that ought it, and the master of the ship that brought it: thereby to terrifie all other Merchants, that they should be afraid to bring any more corne thither, and so to famish the City, by keeping them from all things necessary for their sustenance, and so it happened. For a bushell of salt was sold at ATHENS for fourty silver Drachmaes, and a bushell of wheat for three hundred Drachmas. In this extreme necessity, the ATHENIANS had but a short joy for the hundred and fifty Gallies they saw neer unto EGINA, the which *Prology* sent to aide them: for when the souldiers that were in them saw that they brought unto *Demetrius* a great number of ships out of PELOPONNESUS, out of CYPRUS, and diverse other parts, which amounted in the whole to the number of three hundred saile, they weighed their Anchors, and fled presently. Then *Lachares* forsok the City, and secretly saved himself. Now the ATHENIANS, who before had commanded upon paine of death, that no man should make any motion to the counsell, to treat of any peace with *Demetrius*, they did then upon *Lachares* flying, presently open the Gates next unto *Demetrius* Campe, and sent Ambassadors unto him, not looking for any grace or peace, but because necessity drave them to it. During this so hard and straight siege, there fell out many wonderful and strange things; but among others, this one is of speciall note. It is reported that the father and son sitting in their house, void of all hope of life, there fell a dead Rat before them from the top of the house, and that the father and the son sought who should have it to eat. Moreover, that at the selfe same siege the Philosopher *Epicurus* maintained himself and his Scholars, by giving them a portion of Beanes every day, by the which they lived. Thus the City of ATHENS being brought

brought unto this extremity, *Demetrius* made his entry into it, and gave commandment to all the Citizens, that they should assemble every man within the Theatre: where he made them to be compassed in with armed souldiers, and then placed all his guard armed about the stage. Afterwards he came down himself into the Theatre through high Galleries and entries by the which the common players used to come to play their parts in Tragedies, in such sort as the ATHENIANS were then worse afraid then before: howbeit *Demetrius* presently pacified their fear, as soon as he began to speak unto them. For he did not fashion his Oration with a hasty angry voice, neither did he use any bitter words: but only after he had courteously told them their faults and discourtesies towards him, he said he forgave them, and that he would be their friend again: and furthermore, he caused millions of bushells of wheat to be given unto them, and established such governments, that the people misliked not of. Then *Demetrius* the Orator, seeing that the people gave out great shouts of joy in the praise of *Demetrius*, and that the Orators daily contented in the pulpit for Orations, who should exceed other in preferring new honours for *Demetrius*, he caused an order to be made, that the haven of PIRAEUS and MOUNTICHA should be put out into *Demetrius* hands, to use at his pleasure. This being established by voices of the people, *Demetrius* of his own private authority did place a great Garrison within the fort called MUSEUM, because the people should rebell no more against him, nor divert him from his other enterprises. Thus when he had taken ATHENS, he went to set upon the LACEDEMONIANS. But *Archidamus* King of LACEDEMON, came against him with a puissant Army, whom he discomfited in battell, and put to flight, by the City of MANTINEA. After that he invaded LACONIA with all his Army, and made an invade to the City of SPARTA, where he once againe overthrew the LACEDEMONIANS in set battell, took five hundred of them prisoners, and slew two hundred: in so much as every man thought he might even then go to SPARTA without any danger to take it, which had never yet been taken afore by any. But there was ever King that had so often and suddain changes of fortune as *Demetrius*, nor that in other affairs was never so often little, and then great: so suddenly down, and up again: so weak, and straight so strong. And therefore it is reported, that in his great adversities when fortune turned so contrary against him, he was wont to cry out upon fortune, that which *Aeschylus* speaketh in a place:

*Thou seemest to have begotten me, of purpose for to show
Thy force in lifting of me up, me downe againe to throw.*

Now againe when his affaires prospered so well, and that he was likely to recover a good force and Kingdome, news were brought him, first that *Lysimachus* had taken all his Towns from him, which he held in ASIA: and on the other side, that *Prology* had won from him all the Realme of CYPRUS, the City of SALAMINA onely excepted, in the which he kept his mother and children very straightly besieged. This notwithstanding, fortune played with him; as the wicked woman *Archilochus* speaketh of, who

*Did in the one hand water show,
And in the other first bestow.*

For taking him away, and (as it were) the City of SPARTA also out of his hands by these dreadful news, even when he was certain to have won it, he presently offered him hopes of other great and new things, by this occasion following. After the death of *Cassander*, *Philip* who was the eldest of all his other sons, and left his heir and successor in the Kingdome of MACEDON, reigned no long time over the MACEDONIANS; but deceased soone after his father was dead. The two other brethren also fell at great variance, and wars together: so that the one called *Antipater*, slew his own mother *Thesalonica*: and the other named *Alexander*, called in to aide him *Demetrius* and *Pyrrius*, the one out of the Realm of EPIRUS, and the other out of PELOPONNESUS. *Pyrrius* came first before *Demetrius*, and kept a great part of MACEDON for recompence of his paines, coming to aide him at his desire: so that he became a dreadful neighbour unto *Alexander* himself, that had sent for him into his Country. Furthermore, when he was advertised that *Demetrius* did presently upon the receipt of his letters, set forward with all his Army to come to aide him, the young Prince *Alexander* was twice as much more amazed and afraid, for the great estate and estimation of *Demetrius*. So he went to him notwithstanding, and received him at a place called DERION, and their imbraced and welcomed him. But immediately after, he told them that his affaires were now in so good estate, that praised be the gods he should not now need his presence to aide him. After these words the one began to mistrust the other, so it chanced one day, that as *Demetrius* went to *Alexander* lodging, where the feast was prepared, there came one to him to tell him of an ambush that was laid for him, and how they had determined to kill him when he should thinke to be merry at the Banquet. But *Demetrius* was nothing abashed at the newes, and onely went a little fustier, for making such halt as he did before, and in the meane time sent to command his Captaine to arme their men, and to have them in readinesse: and willed his gentlemen and all the rest of his officers that were about him (which were a greater number by many then those of *Alexander* side) every man of them to go in with them into the hall, and to tarry there till he arose from the table. By this meane the men whom *Alexander* had appointed to assault him durst not, being afraid of the great traine he had brought with him. Furthermore, *Demetrius* saying that he was not well at ease at that time to make merry, he went immediately out of the hall, and the next morning determined to depart, making him believe that he had certaine newes brought him of great importance: and prayed *Alexander* to pardon him, that he could no longer keep him company, for that he was driven of necessity to depart from him; and that another time they would meet together, with better leisure and liberty. *Alexander* was

Demetrius clemency unto the Athenians.

Demetrius journey against the Lacedemonians.

Demetrius variable fortune.

Demetrius misfortune.

Great dissension and strife for the Realme of Macedon, after the death of Cassander.

Antipater and Alexander, the son of Cassander, Demetrius invaded MANTINEA, Wiles how Alexander and Demetrius.

very glad to see that *Demetrius* went his way out of *MACEDON* not offended, but of his own good will: whereupon he brought him into *THESSALIA*, and when they were come to the City of *LARISSA*, they began againe to feast one another, to intrap each other: the which offered *Demetrius* occasion to have *Alexander* in his hand as he would with himself. For *Alexander* of purpose would not have his guard about him, fearing lest thereby he should teach *Demetrius* also to stand upon his guard. Thus *Alexander* turned his practise for another, upon himselfe: and he was determined not to suffer *Demetrius* to scape his hands, if he once againe came within danger. So *Alexander* being bidden to supper to *Demetrius*, he came accordingly. *Demetrius* rising from the board in the midst of supper, *Alexander* rose also, being afraid of that strange manner, and followed him foote by foote to the very doore. Then *Demetrius* said but to his Warders at the gate, Kill him that followeth me. With those words he went out of the doores, and *Alexander* that followed him was slaine in the place, and certaine of his gentlemen with him which came to rescue him: of the which, one of them as they killed him said, that *Demetrius* had prevented them but one day. All that night (as it is no other likely) was full of uproare and tumult. Howbeit, the next morning the *MACEDONIANS* being marvellously troubled and afraid of *Demetrius* great power, when they saw that no man came to assaile them, but that *Demetrius* in contrary manner sent unto them to tell them that he would speak with them, and deliver them reason for that he had done: then they all began to be bold againe, and willingly gave him audience. Now *Demetrius* needed not to use many words, nor to make any long Orations, to win them unto him: for, because they hated *Antipater*, as a horrible manqueller and murderer of his mother, and because they had no better man to preferre, they easily chose *Demetrius* King of *MACEDON*, and thereupon brought him backe into *MACEDON*, to take possession of the Kingdome. This change was not disliked of the other *MACEDONIANS* that remained at home in their Country, for that they yet remembered the traitorous and wicked fact of *Cassander* against *Alexander* the Great: for which cause they utterly hated and detested all his issue and posterity. And furthermore, if there were any sparke of remembrance in their hearts, of the bounty and goodnesse of their grandfather *Antipater*, *Demetrius* received the fruit and benefit, for his wife *Philae* sake; by whom he had a son that should succeed him in the Kingdome, and was a proper youth, in Campe with his father. *Demetrius* having this great good hap and fortune come unto him, he received newes also that *Prodomy* had not onely raised his siege from the City of *SALAMINA* where he kept his mother and children straightly besieged: but further, that he had done them great honour, and bestowed great gifts upon them. On the other side also he was advertised, that his daughter *Stratonice*, who had before been married unto *Selenus*, was now married againe unto *Antiochus*, the sonne of the said *Selenus*, and how that she was crowned Queen of all the barbarous Nations inhabiting in the high Provinces of *ASIA*: and that it came to passe in this manner. It chanced that this young Prince *Antiochus* (as love overcometh all men) became in love with his mother in law *Stratonice*, who already had a sonne by *Selenus* his father. She being young and passing faire, he was so ravished with her, that though he proved all the wayes possible to master his fury and passion that way, yet he was still the weaker. So that in the end, condemning himselfe to death because he found his desire abominable, his passion incurable, and his reason utterly overcome, he resolved to kill himselfe by little and little, with abstinence from meate and drinke; and made no other reckoning to remedy his griefe, faining to have some secret inward discaise in his body. Yet could he not so finely cloake it, but that *Erasistratus* the Physician easily found his griefe, that love, not sickenesse, was his infirmite: howbeit it was hard for him to imagine with whom he was in love. *Erasistratus* being earnestly bent to find out the party he loved, he sat by this young Prince all day long in his chamber, and when any faire young boy or wife came to see him, he earnestly looked *Antiochus* in the face, and carefully observed all the parts of the body, and outward movings, which do commonly betray the secret passions and affections of the mind. So having marked him divers times, that when others came to see him, whatsoever they were, he still remained in one selfe state, and that when *Stratonice* his mother in law came alone or in company of her husband *Selenus* to visite him, he commonly perceived those signes in him, which *Sappho* writeth to be in lovers (to wit, that his words and speech did faile him, his colour became red, his eyes still rolled to and fro, and then a suddain sweat would take him, his pulse would beat fast and rife high; and in the end, that after the force and power of his heart had failed him, and shewed all these signes, he became like a man in an extasie and trance, and white as a kercher) he then gathering a true conjecture by these so manifest signes and declarations, that it was onely *Stratonice* whom this young Prince fancied and the which he forced himselfe to keepe secret to the death, thought that to bewray it to the King it would offend him much, but yet trusting to his great affection and fatherly love he bare to his son, he ventured one day to tell him, that his sonnes sicknesse was no other but love, and withall, that his love was impossible to be enjoyed, and therefore that he must of necessity die, for it was incurable. *Selenus* was cold at the heart to hear these newes: so he asked him, What, is he incurable? Yea, Sir, answered the Physician, because he is in love with my wife. Then replied *Selenus* againe: Alas *Erasistratus*, I have alwayes loved thee as one of my dearest friends, and wouldst thou not now do me this pleasure, to let my sonne marry thy wife, sith thou knowest it well that I have no more sonnes but he; and that I see he is but cast away, if thou helpe me not? But your grace would not do it your self, said *Erasistratus*, if he were in love with *Stratonice*. O, said *Selenus* to him again, that it were the will of the gods some god or man could turne his love that way: for mine own part, I would not onely leave him the thing he loved, but I would give my King-

Demetrius killed *Alexander* the son of *Cassander*.

Demetrius proclaimed King of *Macedon*.

Antiochus the son of *Selenus* married his mother in law *Stratonice*, with his fathers good will.

Erasistratus Physician to *Selenus*.

Erasistratus the Physician came to find out the young Prince *Antiochus* love. *Sappho* described the signes and tokens of a passioned lover.

Kingdome also to save his life. Then *Erasistratus* seeing that the King spake the word from his heart, and with abundance of teares, he took him by the right hand, and told him plainly, your grace needeth not *Erasistratus* helpe in this. For being father, husband, and King, your selfe also may onely be the Physician, to cure your sons discaise. When *Selenus* heard that, he called an assembly of the people, and declared before them all, that he was determined to Crowne his son *Antiochus* King of the high Provinces of *ASIA*, and *Stratonice* Queene, to marry them together: and that he was persuaded, that his son (who had alwayes shewed himselfe obedient to his fathers will) would not disobey him in this marriage. And as for *Stratonice*, if she disliked this marriage, and would not consent unto it because it was no common matter, then he prayed that his friends would persuade her, she should think all good and comely that should please the King: and withall that concerned the general benefit of the Realme and Common-wealth. Hereupon *Antiochus* and *Stratonice* were married together. But now to returne againe to the history of *Demetrius*. *Demetrius* came by the Kingdome of *MACEDON* and *THESSALY* by this meanes as you have heard, and did moreover possesse the best part of *PELOPONNESUS*, and on this side the streight, the Cities of *MEGARA* and *ATHENS*. Furthermore he led his Army against the *BOEOTIANS*, who were at the first willing to make peace with him. But after that *Cleonymus* King of *SPARTA* was come into the City of *THEBS* with his Army, the *BOEOTIANS* encouraged by the faire words and allurements of one *Pisistratus*, borne in the City of *THESPIS* (who at that time bare all the sway and chiefe authority amongst them) they gave up their treaty of peace they had begun with *Demetrius*, and determined to make warre. Thereupon *Demetrius* went to besiege the City of *THEBS*, and laid his engines of battery unto it: in so much as *Cleonymus* for feare, stole secretly out of the City. Thereupon the *THEBANS* being also afraid, yeelded themselves unto *Demetrius* mercy: who putting great Garrisons into the Cities, and having leaved a great summe of money of the Province, left them *Hieronymus* the Historiographer, his Lieutenant and governour there. So it appeared that he used them very courteously, and did them many pleasures, and specially unto *Pisistratus*. For when he had taken him prisoner, he did him no hurt, but received him very courteously, and used him well: and furthermore, he made him Polemarchus (to wit, Campe-master) in the City of *THESPIS*. Shortly after these things were thus brought to passe, King *Lyfimachus* by chance was taken by another barbarous Prince, called *Dromichetes*. Thereupon *Demetrius*, to take such a noble occasion offered him, went with a great Army to invade the Country of *THRACIA*, supposing he should finde no man to withstand him, but that he might conquer it at his pleasure. Howbeit, so soone as *Demetrius* backe was turned, the *BOEOTIANS* revolted againe from him, and therewithall newes was brought him, that *Lyfimachus* was delivered out of prison. Then he returned backe with all speed, marvellously offended with the *BOEOTIANS*, whom he found already discomfited in battell by his son *Antigonus*, and went againe to lay siege to the City of *THEBS*, being the chiefe City of all that Province of *BOEOTIA*. But at that present time, *Pyrrhus* came and foraged all *THESSALY*, and entered even to the straight of *THERMOPILES*. Therefore *Demetrius* was constrained to leave his son to continue the siege at *THEBS*, whilst he himselfe went against *Pyrrhus*, who suddainly returned againe into his Realme. So *Demetrius* left ten thousand footmen, and a thousand horsemen in *THESSALY* to defend the Country, and returned with the rest of his Army to win *THEBS*. Thereupon he brought his great Engine of battery called Elepolis, against the wall, as you have heard before, the which was thrust forward by little and little, with great labour, by reason of the weight and heaviness of it: so that it could scant be driven forward two furlongs in two moneths. But the *BOEOTIANS* and the *THEBANS* did valiantly defend themselves: and *Demetrius* of a malicious mind and desire of revenge (more oftener then needful, or to any purpose) compelled his men to go to the assault, and to hazard themselves: so that there were daily a great number of them slain. *Antigonus* his son perceiving it: Alas, said he, why do we thus suffer our men to be slaine and cast away to no purpose? Wherefore *Demetrius* angrily answered him againe: What needest thou to care? Is there any * Come to be distributed to those that are dead? But notwithstanding, because men should not thinke he still meant to put others in danger, and durst not venture himselfe, he fought with them, till at length he was shot through the necke with a sharpe Arrow-head, that was shot at him from the well. Wherewithall he fell very sicke, but yet raised not his siege, nor removed his Campe, but took the City of *THEBS* againe by assault: the which being not long before againe replenished with people, was in ten yeares space twice won and taken. Now he put the *THEBANS* in a marvellous feare, by his cruel threats he gave them at his coming into *THEBS*: so that they looked to have received the extremest punishment the vanquished could have, through the just wrath and anger of the conquerour. Howbeit after *Demetrius* had put thirteen of them to death, and banished some, he pardoned all the rest. About that time fell out the celebration of the feast called *Pyschia*: in the honour of *Apollon*: and because the *ETOLIANS* kept all the high-ways to bring them unto the City of *DELPHE*, in the which of old time they did use to celebrate those sports aforesaid, he caused them to be kept and solemnized at *ATHENS*, as in a place where this god in reason should be best honoured and revered, because he was patron of the City, and for that the *ATHENIANS* maintained that he was their progenitor. From thence he returned into *MACEDON*, and knowing that it was against his nature to live idly, and in peace, and seeing on the other side also that the *MACEDONIANS* did him more service, and were more obedient to him in wars, and that in time of peace they grew fedicious, full of vanity and quarrells, he went to make war with the *ETOLIANS*: and after he had spoiled and destroyed their Country, he left *Pantarchus* his Lieutenant there, with a great part of his Army. *Demetrius* himselfe went

Selenus love unto his sonne *Antiochus*.

The City of *Thebes* yeelded unto *Demetrius*. *Hieronymus*, the Historiographer, *Demetrius* Lieutenant.

* Come men chiefly distributed to the soldiers as their wages.

Demetrius in-
new against
Pyrrhus.

Demetrius in-
solency.

Demetrius
cloake drawne
with the figure
of the world,
and stars.

The plain-
fwer of the
Ambassador of
Sparta, unto De-
metrius.

Axius fr.

The praise of
King Philips
courtesie.
The bell
speech of a
poor woman to
King Philip.
The chieft
efface of a
King.

Demetrius cal-
led a Fort-
gainer.

Demetrius Ar-
my and prepa-
ration for the
recovering of
his Realme a-
gainc.

went in the mean time with the rest of his Army against *Pyrrhus*, and *Pyrrhus* also against him; but they missed of meeting each with other. Whereupon *Demetrius* passed further unto the Realm of *Epirus*, the which he spoiled and foraged. *Pyrrhus* on the other side went on so far that he met with *Pantarchus*, *Demetrius* Lieutenant, with whom he fought a battel, and came to the sword with him: so that he did both hurt him, and was also hurt by him. But in the end *Pyrrhus* had the upper hand, put *Pantarchus* to flight, and slew a great number of his men, and took five thousand prisoners: the which was the chief overthrow of *Demetrius*. For *Pyrrhus* was not the *MACEDONIANS* ill will so much for the mischiefes and hurts he had done unto them, as he got himself great fame and renown with them, because himself alone had with his own hands done all the noble exploits of war in that journey: for the which he was afterwards had in great estimation among the *MACEDONIANS*. Now many of them began to say, that he was the onely King of all others, in whom the lively image of the hardnesse and valiantnesse of *Alexander the Great* was to be seen: and that all the rest (but specially *Demetrius*) did but counterfeit his gravity and Princely countenance like players upon a Stage, that would counterfeit his countenance and gesture. And to say truly, there was much finenesse and curiosity about *Demetrius*, to make him a playing stocke in common plays. For some say, that he did not onely wear a great hat with his Diademe upon his head, and was apparelled in purple Gowns imbroidered with gold: but also that he did use to wear certain woollen shoes on his feet died in purple colour, not woven, but fashioned together like a felt, and guilt upon it. And furthermore, he had long before caused a cloak to be made of a marvellous rich and sumptuous peece of work. For upon it was drawn the figure of the world, with stars and circles of heaven, the which was not thoroughly finished, by the change of his fortune. But there was never King of *MACEDON* after him that durst wear it: albeit there were many proud and arrogant Kings that succeeded him. Now the *MACEDONIANS* were not onely sorry, and offended to see such things as they were not wont to be acquainted withal: but they much more misliked his curious manner of life, and specially because he was ill to come to, and worse to be spoken with. For he gave no audience, or if he did, he was very rough, and would sharply take them up that had to do with him. As, he kept the Ambassadors of the *ATHENIANS* two years, and would give them no answer: and yet made as though he loved them better than any other people of *GREECE*. Another time also he was offended, because the *LACEDÆMONIANS* had sent but one man onely Ambassadors unto him, taking it that they had done it in despite of him. And so did the Ambassador of the *LACEDÆMONIANS* answer him very gallantly, after the *LACONIAN* manner. For when *Demetrius* asked him, how chanceth it that the *LACEDÆMONIANS* do send but one man unto me? No more but one, said he, O King, unto one. On a time he came abroad more plainly and popular like, then he was wont to do: whereby he put the people in good hope that they might the easilier speak with him, and that he would more courteously hear their complaints. Thereupon many came, and put up their humble supplications and bills of petition unto him. He received them, and put them up in the lap of his cloake. The poor suiters were glad of that, and waited upon him at his heels, hoping they should quickly be dispatched: but when he was upon the bridge of the River of *Axius*, he opened his cloake, and cast them all into the River. This went to the hearts of the *MACEDONIANS*, who then thought, they were no more governed by a King, but oppressed by a tyrant: and it grieved them so much the more, because they did yet remember (either for that they had seen themselves, or otherwise heard their forefathers say) how courteous King *Philip* was in all such matters, and how that one day as he passed through the street, a poor old woman plucked him by the Gowne, and besought him humbly to hear her, but he answered her he was not then at leisure. Whereupon the poor woman plainly cried out to him, Leave then to be King. This word so nettled him, and he tooke such a conceit of it, that he returned presently to his palace, and setting all other matters apart, did nothing else many dayes but gave himself to hear all suits, and began with this poor old woman. For truly nothing becometh a Prince better, then to minister justice: for *Mars* (as *Timotheus* saith) signifyeth force, and is a tyrant: but justice and law, according to *Pindarus*, is Queen of all the world. Moreover, the wife Poet *Homer* saith not that Princes and Kings have received the custody of Engines, and of munition, neither also strong and mighty ships of *Jupiter*, to keep them to destroy Townes withall: but with them to maintaine law and justice. And therefore he calleth not the cruel and bloody King, but the just and merciful Prince, *Jupiter* friend and Scholar. And *Demetrius* boasted that he had a name and title contrary to *Jupiter*, whom they called *Poliotes*, or *Tolionchus*, signifying Protector and preserver of Cities: and that he was called *Polioretes*, a Fort-gainer. Thus the ill was taken for the good, and vice preferred for vertue: because he could not discern the truth from falshood, which turned his injustice to glory, and iniquity to honour. But now to returne where we left: *Demetrius* fell into a great and dangerous sickness in the City of *PELLA*, during which time he almost left all *MACEDON*, by a suddain invasion *Pyrrhus* made, who in manner rode it all over, and came as far as the City of *EDUSSA*. Howbeit so soon as he recovered health again, he easily drave him out, and afterwards made peace with him, because he would not fighting with him (whom he should have daily at his doores still skirmishing sometime here, sometime there) lose the opportunity and weaken himself to bring that to passe which he had determined. For he had no small matters in his head, but thought to recover all the Realmes his father had: and besides, the preparation he made was no lesse sufficient then the purpose of such an imagination required. For he had leaved and assembled an Army of fourescore and eighteen thousand footmen: and unto them he had also well neare twelve thousand horsemen, and had besides gotten above five hundred ships together, which were built part in the haven of *PIRÆUS*, part at *CORINTH*, part

in the City of *CHALCIS*, and part about *PELLA*. He himself in person went through their work-houses, and shewed the Artificers how they should make them, and did help to devise them: so that every man wondered not onely at his infinite preparation, but at the greatnesse and sumptuousnesse of his works. For at that time there was no man living that ever saw a Galley of fifteen or sixteen banks of Oares. But this is true, that afterwards *Ptolomy*, surnamed *Philopater*, built a Galley of forty banks of Oares, the which was two hundred and eighty cubits long, and from the Keel in height to the toppe of the Poop, forty eight cubits: and to look to the tackle and guide her, did require four hundred Mariners, and four thousand water-men to row her; and besides all that, she could yet carry above the hatches, well near three thousand fighting men. Howbeit this Galley never served to other purpose but for shew, and was like to a house that never stirred: and it was never removed out of the place where it was built but with marvellous ado, and great danger, more to make men wonder at then for any service or commodity it could be employed unto. But now the beauty of *Demetrius* ships did nothing hinder their swiftnesse and goodnesse for fight, neither did the hugeness of their building take away the use of them; but their swiftnesse and nimblenesse deserved more commendation, then their sumptuousnesse and statelinenesse. Thus as this great power and preparation was in hand, being such as never King before (since the time of *Alexander the Great*) had assembled a greater to invade *ASIA*, these three Kings, *Ptolomy*, *Seleucus*, and *Lysimachus*, did all joyn together against him. And afterwards also, they sent Ambassadors unto *Pyrrhus* in the name of them all, to draw him to their side, alluring him to come into *MACEDON*, perswading him not to repose any trust in the peace *Demetrius* had made with him, to make account of it as a good and sure peace: for, they said that *Demetrius* did not give him pledge that he would never make war with him, but rather first took opportunity himself to make war with whom he thought good. *Pyrrhus* considering so much, and finding their words true, there rose a sharpe and cruel war on every side against *Demetrius*, who tract ed him, and stayed yet to begin. For at one self time, *Ptolomy* with a great Fleet of ships came down into *GREECE*, and made all *GREECE* revolt from him: and *Lysimachus* also on *THRACIAES* side, and *Pyrrhus* upon the borders of *EPIRUS*, confining with the Realm of *MACEDON*, they entred with a great Army, and spoiled and sacked all as they went. Thereupon *Demetrius* leaving his son *Antigonus* in *GREECE*, he returned with all possible speed into *MACEDON*, to go first against *Lysimachus*. But as he was preparing to go against him, news were brought him that *Pyrrhus* had already taken the City of *BERROEÆ*. This news being blown abroad amongst the *MACEDONIANS*, all *Demetrius* doings were turned topsie turvy. For all his Campe was straight full of tears and complaints, and his men began openly to shew their anger against him, speaking all the ill they could of him, so that they would tarry no longer, but every one prayed leave to depart, pretending to looke to their businesse at home, but in truth to go and yeeld themselves unto *Lysimachus*. Wherefore *Demetrius* thought it best for him to get him as far from *Lysimachus* as he could, and to bend all his Army against *Pyrrhus*: because the other was their Countryman, and familiarly known among the most of them, for that they had served together under *Alexander the Great*, and that as he thought, the *MACEDONIANS* would not preferre *Pyrrhus* a stranger, before him. But there his judgement failed him: for as soon as *Pyrrhus* had pitched his Campe have by him, the *MACEDONIANS* that had ever loved valiantnesse, and had of ancient time esteemed him worthier to be King that was the best souldier and valiantest in the field; and furthermore had heard the report of his great clemency and courtesie he had shewed to the prisoners he had taken: they having had goodwill of long time, fought but good occasion to forsake *Demetrius*, and to yeeld themselves unto *Pyrrhus*, or to any other Prince whatsoever he were. Then they secretly began to steale away one after another, by small companies at the first: but afterwards there rose such a general tumult against him throughout all the Campe, that some of them were so desperate to go into his tent to bid him flie, and save himself, because the *MACEDONIANS* were too weary with fighting for his cariosity. And yet *Demetrius* found these words more gentle and modest, in respect of the vile and cruel words which others gave him. So he went into his tent, and cast a blacke cloak about his face, in stead of his rich and stately cloake he was wont to wear, not like unto a King, but like a common player when the play is done; and then secretly stole away. When this was known in the Campe, many of his souldiers ran to his tent to rife it, and every man took such hold of it to have his part, that they tare it in peeces, and drew their swords to fight for it. But *Pyrrhus* coming in the midst of the tumult, pacified this stirre, and presently without blow given, wan all *Demetrius* Campe: and afterwards he divided the Realme of *MACEDON* with *Lysimachus*, in the which *Demetrius* had quietly reigned the space of seven years. Now *Demetrius* being thus miserably overthrowen, and turned out of his Realm, he fled unto the City of *CASSANDRIA*. There he found his wife *Phila*, who took it marvellous heavily, and could not abide to see him againe a private man, driven out of his Kingdome, and the most miserable King that ever was of all other. Wherefore intending no more to follow vaine hope, and detesting the fortune of her husband, she being more constant in calamity then in prosperity, killed her self with poyson. The wracks: and there assembled all his Captains and friends that he had. So it seemeth to me, the comparison *Menelaus* maketh of his fortune, in one of the Tragedies of *Sophocles*, in these verses:

My state doth turne continually about on Fortunes wheele,
Whose double dealing diverse times enfor's I am to feel:

Demetrius
Re- strange fortune

Estolmis won-
derful Galley
of forty banks
of Oares.

Three Kings,
Seleucus, *Ptolomy*, and *Lysimachus* conspired
against *Demetrius*.

Demetrius Ar-
my forsakeeth
him and goeth
to *Pyrrhus*.

Phila, *Demetrius*
wife poison-
eth her self.

*Resembling right the Moone, whose face abideth at no stay
Two nights together, but doth change in shape from day to day.
At first she riseth small with horns; and as in age she grows,
With fuller cheekes and bigger light a great face she shewes.
And when she cometh to the full, and shineth faire and bright,
Among the goodly glistering Stars the goodliest in the night:
She fades and falls away againe, and runs a counter-pace,
Untill she have foregone the light, and figure of her face.*

This comparison might (I say) much better be applied unto Demetrius fortune, to his rising and falling, and to his overthrow and relief again. For when every man thought his force and power utterly overthrown, then began he to rise again by repaire of souldiers, which by little and little came unto him, and straight revived him with good hope. This was the first time that he was ever seen meanly appalled, like a private man up and down the Country, without some shew or tokens of a King. And there was one that seeing him in this estate at THE BES, pleasantly applied these verses of Euripides unto him:

Of God immortal, now become a mortal wight:

Iimenus bankes and Dirces streames he hauntheth in our sight.

Demetrius misery from Princely happines.

Crates the Philosopher delivereth Athens from Demetrius siege.

Demetrius married Ptolemaide

Demetrius troubles in Asia.

Plague, by ill meat.

Demetrius famine.

Now when he began to have some hope againe, and was (as it were) entred into the great high way of Kings, and had gotten souldiers about him, which made a body and shew of royal power, he restored the THEBANS their liberty and government againe. But the ATHENIANS once more revolted from him, and did revoke the dignity and Priesthood of Diphilus, who had been that yeare created Priest of the favours, instead of the Governour, which they called in old time Eponymos, as we have told you before: and made a law, that from thenceforth the ancient and common Governours of their City should be restored againe to their ancient manner: and they sent also into MACEDON unto King Pyrrhus, rather to terrifie Demetrius (whom they saw begin to rise againe) then for any hope they had he would come and helpe them. Howbeit Demetrius came against them with great fury, and did straightly besiege the City of ATHENS. Then the ATHENIANS sent Crates the Philosopher to him (a man of great estimation and authority) who so handled him, partly by intreaty, and partly also through his wise persuasions and counsell he gave him for his profit, that Demetrius presently raised his siege. Wherefore, after he had gathered together so many ships as were left him, and had imbarcked twelve thousand footmen, and a small number of horsemen, he presently took sea, and failed towards ASIA, meaning to take the Provinces of CARIA and LYDIA from Lyfimachus, and to make them to rebell against him. There Euridice, sister to Phila, received him by the City of MILETUM, having with her one of Ptolemies daughters and hers, called Ptolemaide; the which had been afore affianced to him by Seleucus means. So he married Ptolemaide there, with the good will and content of her mother Euridice. After his marriage he presently went into the field againe, and did set forwards to winne some Cities, whereof many willingly received him, and others he took by force. Amongst them he took the City of SARDIS, whither came diverse Captaines unto him of King Lyfimachus, who yielded themselves, and brought him a great number of men and much money besides. But Demetrius receiving advertisement that Agathocles, Lyfimachus son, followed him with a great Army, he went thence into PHRYGIA, making account, and also hoping, that if he could win ARMENIA, he might easily make MEDIA rebel; and then that he would see if he could conquer the high Provinces of ASIA, where he might have many places of refuge, if fortune turned against him. Agathocles followed him very neare, and yet skirmishing diverse times with him, Demetrius alway had the better: howbeit Agathocles did cut off his victuals from him every way, and kept him at such a strait, that his men durst no more stray from the Campe to forrage: wherefore they sustained great want of victuals, and then began his men to be afraid, and to mistrust that he would make them follow him into ARMENIA and MEDIA. The famine daily increased more and more in his Army, and it chanced besides, that missing his way, and failing to gage the foord well as he passed over the River of Lycus, the fury and force of the River carried his men down the streame, and drowned a great number of them: and yet notwithstanding these great troubles, they mocked him besides. For one wrote at the entry and coming in to his tent, the first verse of the Tragedy of Oedipus COLONIAN, written by Sophocles, changing onely some word:

Thou impe of old and blind Antigonus,

To what a point hast thou now carried us?

But in the end, the plague began also in the midst of this famine (a common thing, and almost a matter of necessity it should be so) because that men being driven to need and necessity, do frame themselves to eat all that comes to hand: whereupon he was driven to bring backe those few men that remained, having lost of all sorts (good and bad) not so few as eight thousand fully told. When he came into the Province of TARsus, he commanded his men in no case to meddle with any thing, because the Country was subject unto King Seleucus, whom he would in no wise displease. But when he saw it was impossible to stay his men being now brought to such extremity and need, and that Agathocles had bard up the streights and passages of mount Taurus against him, he wrote a letter unto Seleucus, first declaring his miserable state and hard fortune: and then presenting his humble petition and request unto him, prayed him to take pity upon his friend, whom spitefull fortune had throwne into such misery and calamity, that could not but move his greatest enemies to

to have compassion of him. These Letters somewhat softened Seleucus heart, inso much that he wrote to his Governours and Lieutenants of those parts, to furnish Demetrius person with all things needfull for a Princes house and Victuals sufficient to maintain his men. But one Paracles, a grave wise man counted, and Seleucus faithful friend also, came to tell him, that the charge to entertain Demetrius Souldiers, was not the greatest fault he made therein, and most to be accounted of: but that he did not wisely looke into his Affaires, to suffer Demetrius to remaine in his Countrey, considering that he had alway been a more fierce and venturous Prince then any other, to enterprise any matters of great importance; and now he was brought to such despaire and extremity, that he had framed his men which were but ranke cowards, (contrary to their nature) to be most desperate and hardy in greatest dangers. Seleucus being moved with these persuasions, presently tooke his journey into CILICIA with a great Army. Demetrius being astonied with this suddain change, and dreading so great an Army, got him to the strongest places of Mount Taurus. Then he sent unto Seleucus, first of all to pray him to suffer him to conquer certaine barbarous People thereabouts, who lived according to their own Lawes, and never had King: to the end that he might yet there with safety end the rest of his life and exile, staying at length in some place where he might be safe. Secondly, if that liked him not, then that it would yet please him to Victual his men for the Winter time onely, in the same place where they were, and not to be so hard-hearted unto him as to drive him thence, lacking all needfull things, and so to put him into the mouth of his most cruell and mortall Enemies. But Seleucus mistrusting his demand, sent unto him that he should Winter if he thought good, two Moneths, but no more, in the Countrey of CATAONIA, so he gave him the chieft of his friends for Hostages: howbeit in the meane time he stopped up all the waies and passages going from thence into SYRIA. Demetrius now seeing himselfe kept in of all sides, like a Beast to be taken in the toyle, he was driven to trust to his owne strength. Thereupon he overranne the Countrey thereabouts, and so often as it was his chance to have any Skirmish or Conflict with Seleucus, he had ever the better of him: and sometime also when they drave the armed Carts with Siches against him, he overcame them, and put the rest to flight. Then he drave them away that kept the top of the Mountaines, and had barred the passages to keepe him that he should not go into SYRIA, and so kept them himselfe. In fine, finding his mens hearts lift up againe, and pretily encouraged, his heart also grew to bigge, that he determined to fight a Battell with Seleucus, and to set all at six and seven. So that Seleucus was at a straight with himselfe, and wist not what to do. For he had returned back the aide which Lyfimachus sent unto him, because he was afraid of him, and mistrusted him. On the other side also he durst not fight with Demetrius alone, being afraid to venture himself with a desperate man: and also mistrusting much his unconstant fortune, the which having brought him to great extremity, raised him up againe to great prosperity. But in the meane space Demetrius fell into a great sicknesse, the which brought his body very weake and low, and had almost utterly overthrown his Affaires. For his Souldiers, some of them yeelded themselves to his Enemies, and others stole away without leave, and went where they listed. Afterwards when he had hardly recovered his health, and within forty daies space was pretily grown to strength againe, with those few Souldiers that remained with him, he seemed to his Enemies, that he would go and invade CILICIA: but then suddainly in the night without sounding any Trumpet, he removed his Campe, and went another way; and having passed over Mount Amanus, he spoiled the Countrey under it, as farre as the Region of CYRESTACA. But Seleucus followed him, and camped hard by him. Thereupon Demetrius suddainly armed his men, and went out by night to assault Seleucus; and to take him sleeping when he mistrusted nothing. So that Seleucus knew nothing of his stealing on him, but late enough, untill that certaine Traitors of Demetrius Campe that fled before, went quickly to advertise him, finding him asleepe, and brought him newes of the danger he was in. Then Seleucus in a maze and feare withall got up, and sounded the Alarme: and as he was putting on his hose and making him ready, he cried out (speaking to his friends and familiars about him): We have now a cruell and dangerous beast to deale with. Demetrius on the other side perceiving by the great stir and noise he heard in the Enemies Campe, that his enterprise was discovered, he retired againe with speed, and the next morning by breake of day, Seleucus went and offered him Battell. Demetrius prepared himselfe to joyne with him, and having given one of his faithful friends the leading of one of the Wings of his Army, himselfe led the other; and overthrow some of his Enemies on his side. But Seleucus in the midst of the Battell lighted from his Horse, and taking his Helmet from his head, he tooke a Target on his arme, and went to the first Ranks of his Army, to make himselfe known unto Demetrius men: perswading them to yeeld themselves unto him, and to acknowledge in the end that he had so long time deferred to give them Battell, rather to save them than to spare Demetrius. Demetrius Souldiers hearing him say so, they did him humble reverences, and acknowledging him for their King, they all yeelded unto him. Demetrius having sundry times before proved to many changes and overthrowes of fortune, thinking yet to escape this last also, and to passe it over, he fled unto the Gates Amanides, which are certain Straights of the Mount Amanus. There he found certain little thick Groves, where he determined to stay all night with certaine Gentlemen of his house, and a few other of his household Servants and Officers which had followed him: meaning, if he could possiblie, to take his way towards the City of CAUNUS, to go to that Sea Coast, hoping to heare of his Ships there. But when it was told him, he had no Victuals nor Provision left but onely to serve him that day, he began then to devise some other way. At length one of his familiar friends Sosigenes came unto him, that had foure hundred pieces of Gold about him in his Girdle.

Paracles stirreth up Seleucus against Demetrius.

Desperate men are not to be fought with.

Amanus Mount.

Demetrius despairing of his good success, attempteth to assault Seleucus by night.

Demetrius Army forsooke him, and yeelded themselves to Seleucus. Demetrius flyeth from Seleucus.

So hoping that with the same Money he might flee to the Sea, they took their way by night directly to the top of the Mountaine. But when they perceived that the Enemies kept Watch there, and that there were great store of fires hard by them, they then despaired to passe any further; left they should be seen. So they turned to the selfe same place from whence they came, not all of them, for some of them fled: neither had they that remained also any life in them, as before. So one amongst the rest tooke upon him to say, that there was no other way to escape, but to put Demetrius into Seleucus hands. Demetrius therewithall drew out his Sword, and would have slaine himselfe: but his friends about him would not suffer him, but perswaded him to yeeld himselfe unto Seleucus. Thereupon he sent unto Seleucus, to tell him that he yeelded himselfe unto him. Seleucus was so joyfull of the newes, that he said, it was not Demetrius good fortune that saved him, but his own: who besides many other happy good turnes he had done him, gave him yet so honourable occasion and good hap, as to make the world to know his clemency and courtesie. Thereupon immediately he called for his Officers of household, and commanded them to set up his richest Pavillion, and to prepare all things meet to receive him honourably. There was one Apollonides a Gentleman in Seleucus Court, who sometime had been very familiar with Demetrius: him Seleucus sent immediately unto Demetrius, to will him to be of good cheere, and not to be afraid to come unto the Kings Master, for he should finde him his very good friend. So soone as the Kings pleasure was known, a few of his Courtiers went at the first to meet him: but afterwards, every man strived who should go meet him first, because they were all in hope that he should presently be much made of, and grow in credit with Seleucus. But here by they turned Seleucus pittie into envie, and gave occasion also to Demetrius Enemies and spitefull men, to turne the Kings bountifull good nature from him. For they put into his head many doubts and dangers, saying, that certainly so soone as the Souldiers saw him there would grow great stirre and change in their Campe. And therefore shortly after that Apollonides was come unto Demetrius, being glad to bring him these good newes, and as others also followed him one after another, bringing him some good newes from Seleucus; and that Demetrius himselfe after so great an overthrow (although that before he thought it a shamefull part of him to have yeelded his body into his Enemies hands), changed his minde at that time, and began then to grow bold, and to have good hope to recover his state againe: behold there came one of Seleucus Captaines called Parfanias, accompanied with a thousand Footmen and Horsemen in all, who compassed in Demetrius with them, and made the rest depart that were come unto him before; having charge given him to bring him to the Court, but to convey him into Cherronesus of Syria, whether he was brought, and ever after had a stronge Garrison about him to keepe him. But otherwise, Seleucus sent him Officers, Money, and all things else meet for a Princes house: and his ordinary Fare was so delicate, that he could wish for no more then he had. And furthermore, he had places of liberty and pleasure appointed him, both to ride his Horse in, and also pleasant Walkes, and goodly Arbours to walke or sit in, and fine Parkes full of Beasts where he might hunt: moreover, the King suffered his own household Servants that followed him when he fled, to remaine with him if they would. And furthermore, there daily came some one or other unto him from Seleucus, to comfort him, and to put him in hope, that so soone as Antiochus and Stratonice were come, they would make some good agreement and peace between them. Demetrius remaining in this state, wrote unto his Son Antigonus, and to his friends and Lieutenants which he had at CORINTH and ATHENS, that they should give no credit to any Letters written in his Name, though his Seale were to them: but that they should keep the Townes they had in charge for his. So Antigonus, and all the rest of his Forces, as if he himselfe were dead. When Antigonus heard the pittifull captivity of his Father he marvellous grievously tooke his hard fortune, wearing blackes for sorrow, and wrote unto all the other Kings, but unto Seleucus specially, beseeching him to take him as a pledge for his Father, and that he was ready to yeeld up all that he kept, to have his Fathers liberty. The like request did many Cities make unto him, and in manner all Princes, but Lyfimachus, who promised Seleucus a great summe of Money to put Demetrius to death. But Seleucus, who of long time had no great fancy to Lyfimachus, but rather utterly despised him, did then thinke him the more cruell and barbarous, for this vile and wicked request he made unto him. Wherefore he still delayed time, because he would have Demetrius delivered by his sonne Antiochus and Stratonice: meane while, for that Demetrius should be bound to them for his delivery, and for ever should acknowledge it to them. Now for Demetrius, as he from the beginning patiently tooke his hard fortune, so did he daily more and more forget the misery he was in. For first of all, he gave himselfe to riding and hunting, as farre as the place gave him liberty. Then by little and little he grew to be very grosse, and to give over such pastimes, and therewithall he fell unto drunkennesse and dicing: so that in that sort he passed away the most part of his time (as it should seeme) either to avoide the grievous thoughts of his hard fortune, which came into his minde when he was sober; or else under colour of drunkennesse and eating, shadow the thoughts he had: or else finding in himselfe that it was that manner of life he had long desired, and that through his vaine ambition and folly till that time he could never attaine unto; greatly turmoiling and troubling himselfe and others, supposing to finde in Warres, by Sea and Land, the felicity and delight which he had found in ease and idleness, when he neither thought of it, nor looked for it. For what better end can evill and unadvised Kings and Princes looke for, of all their troubles, dangers, and Warres? who indeed deceive themselves greatly, not onely for that they follow their pleasure and delights as their chiefest felicity, instead of vertue and honest life: but also, because that in truth they cannot be merry and take their pleasure as they would. So Demetrius after

Demetrius yeelded himselfe unto Seleucus.

Demetrius kept as prisoner in Syria by Seleucus.

The naturall love of Antigonus to his Father Demetrius.

Demetrius turned his captivity into pleasure.

after he had been shut up in Cherronesus three yeares together, by ease, grossnesse, and drunkennesse, fell sick of a disease whereof he died; when he was foure and fifty yeares old. Therefore was Seleucus greatly blamed, and he himselfe also did much repent him that he so suspected him as he did, and that he followed not Dromichetes courtesie, a barbarous man borne in Thracia, who had so royally and courteously intreated Lyfimachus, whom he had taken prisoner in the Wars. But yet there was some Tragical Pompe in the order of his Funerall. For his Son Antigonus understanding that they brought him the ashes of his Body, he tooke Sea with all his Ships, and went to meet them, to receive them in the Isles: and when he had received them, he set up the Funerall Pot of Gold (in the which were his embers) upon the poope of his Admirall Galley. So all the Cities and Townes whereby they passed or harboured, some of them did put Garlands of Flowers about the Pot, others also sent a number of men thither in mourning Apparell, to accompany and honour the convoy, to the very Solempny of his Funerals. In this sort sailed all the whole Fleet towards the City of CORINTH, the Pot being plainly scene far off, standing on the top of the Admirall Galley: all the place about it being hanged with Purple; and over it, the Diademe or Royall Band; and about it, also were goodly young men armed, which were as Pensioners to Demetrius. Furthermore, Xenophantus the famous Musician in that time, being set hard by it, played a sweet and lamentable Song on the flute, wherewith all the Oares keeping stroke and measure, the sound did meet with a gallant grace, as in a convoy where the Mourner do knock their breasts at the foot of every Verse. But that which most made the People of CORINTH to weep and lament, which ran to the Peere, and all alongst the shore side to see it, was Antigonus, whom they saw all beblubbered with teares, apparelled as a Mourner in Blacks. Now after they had brought a wonderfull number of Garlands and Nofegayes, and cast them upon the Funerall Pot, and had solemnized all the honours possible for the Funerals at CORINTH, Antigonus carried away the Pot to bury it in the City of DEMETRIADE, the which bare the Name of Demetrius that was dead, and was a new City, that had been replenished with People, and built of little Townes which are about IOLCOS. Demetrius left two Children by his first Wife Phila, to wit, Antigonus and Stratonice: and two other Sonnes, both of them named Demetrius, the one surnamed the leane, of a Woman of ILLYRIA, and the other, King of the CYRENIA, of his Wife Ptolemaide: and another by Deidamia called Alexander, who lived in EGYPT. And it is reported also, that he had another Sonne called Corrbabus, by his Wife Euridice, and that his Posterity reigned by Succession from the Father to the Sonne, untill the time of Persus: who was the last King of MACEDON, whom the ROMANES overcame by Paulus Emilius, and wane all the Realme of MACEDON unto the Empire of ROME.

Now that the MACEDONIAN hath played his part, give the ROMANES also leave to come upon the Stage.

The death of Demetrius in Cherronesus.

The Funerals of Demetrius.

Xenophantus a famous Musician.

Demetrius posterity.

Persus, the last King of Macedon came of the Posterity of Demetrius.

The end of the Life of Demetrius



THE LIFE OF MARCUS ANTONIUS.



Ann. Mund.
3901.

Ant. Christ.
47.

Antonius Pa-
rentage.

* Because that
by his death
he ended the
Warre which
he unfortunat-
ly made against
the whole of Gre-
ce.

The liberality
of Antonius
Father.

Julia the Mo-
ther of Marcus
Antonius.

Antonius cor-
rupted by Cu-
rio.

ANTONIUS Grandfather was that famous Oratour whom *Marium* slew because he tooke *Syllas* part. His Father was another *Antonius* surnamed * *CRETAN*, who was not so famous, nor bare any great sway in the Common-wealth: howbeit otherwise he was an honest man, and of a very good nature, and specially very liberal in giving, as appeareth by an Act he did. He was not very wealthy, and therefore his Wife would not let him use his liberality and franke nature. One day a friend of his coming to him to pray him to helpe him to some Money, having great need, *Antonius* by chance had no Money to give him, but he commanded one of his men to bring him some water in a Silver Bason; and then after he had brought it him, he washed his beard as though he meant to have shaven it, and then found an errand for his man to send him out, and gave his friend the Silver Bason, and bade him get him Money with that. Shortly after, there was a great stirre in the house among the Servants, seeking out of this Silver Bason. Inasmuch as *Antonius* seeing his Wife marvellously offended for it, and that she would examine all her Servants, one after another about it, to know what was become of it, at length he confessed he had given it away, and prayed her to be contented. His Wife was *Julia*, of the noble house and Family of *Julius Caesar*: who for her vertue and chastity, was to be compared with the noblest Lady of her time. *Marcus Antonius* was brought up under her, being married after her first Husbands death, unto *Cornelius Lentulus*, whom *Cicero* put to death with *Cethegus* and others, for that he was of *Caecilias* conspiracy against the Common-wealth. And this seemeth to be the Originall cause and beginning of the cruell and mortall hate *Antonius* bare unto *Cicero*. For *Antonius* selfe saith, that he would never give him the Body of his Father-in-law to bury him, before his Mother went first to intreate *Ciceros* Wife: the which undoubtedly was a flat lie. For *Cicero* denied buriall to none of them whom he executed by law. Now *Antonius* being a faire young man, and in the prime of his youth, he fell acquainted with *Curio*, whose friendship and acquaintance (as it is reported) was a plague unto him. For he was a dissolute man, given over to all lust and insolency, who to have *Antonius* the better at his commandement, trained him on into great follies, and vaine expences upon Women, in rioting and banqueting: so that in short time, he brought *Antonius* into a marvellous great debt, and too great for, one of his yeares, to wit, of two hundred and fifty Talents, for all which summe *Curio* was his Surety. His Father hearing of it, did put his Sonne from him, and forbad him his house. Then he fell in with *Clodius*, one of the desperatest and most wicked Tribunes at that time in

ROME

ROME. Him he followed for a time in his desperate attempts, who bred great stirre and mischief in *ROME*: but at length he forsooke him, being weary of his rashnesse and folly, or else for that he was afraid of them that were bent against *Clodius*. Thereupon he left *ITALY*, and went into *GREECE*, and there bestowed the most part of his time, sometime in Warres, and other while in the study of Eloquence. He used a manner of phrase in his speech, called Asiaticke, which carried the best grace and estimation at that time, and was much like to his manners and life: for it was full of ostentation, foolish bravery, and vaine ambition. After he had remained there some time; *Gabinus* Pro-Consull going into *SYRIA*, perswaded him to go with him; *Antonius* told him he would not go as a private man: wherefore *Gabinus* gave him charge of his Horsemen, and so tooke him with him. So, first of all he sent him against *Aristobulus*, who had made the *JAVVES* to rebell, and was the first man himselfe that got up to the Wall of a Cattle of his, and so drove *Aristobulus* out of all his holds: and with those few men he had with him, he overcame all the *JAVVES* in set Battell, which were many against one, and put all of them almost to the Sword; and furthermore, tooke *Aristobulus* himselfe prisoner with his Son. Afterwards *Ptolomy* King of *EGYPT*, that had been driven out of his Countrey, went unto *Gabinus* to entreate him to go with his Army with him into *EGYPT*, to put him againe into his Kingdom: and promised him if he would go with him, ten thousand Talents. The most part of the Captaines thought it not best to go thither, and *Gabinus* himselfe made it dainty to enter into this War, although the covetousnesse of these ten thousand Talents stuck sorely with him. But *Antonius* that fought but for opportunity and good occasion to attempt great enterprises, and that desired also to gratifie *Ptolomies* request, he went about to perswade *Gabinus* to go this Voyage. Now they were more afraid of the way they should go, to come to the City of *PAULUSIUM*, then they feared any danger of the War besides: because they were to passe through deepe sands and desert places, where was no fresh water to be had all the Marishes through, which are called the Marishes Serbonides, which the *EGYPTIANS* call the Exhalations or Fume, by the which the Giant *Typhon* breathed. But in truth it appeareth to be the overflowing of the red Sea, which breaketh out under the ground in that place where it is divided in the narrowest place from the Sea on this side. So *Antonius* was sent before into *EGYPT* with his Horsemen, who did not onely win that passage, but also took the City of *PAULUSIUM* (which is a great City) with all the Souldiers in it: and thereby he cleared the way, and made it safe for all the rest of the Army, and the hope of the Victory also certaine for his Captaine. Now did the Enemies themselves feeble the fruites of *Antonius* courtesie, and the desire he had to winne honour: for when *Ptolomy* (after he had entered into the City of *PAULUSIUM*) for the malice he bare unto the City, would have put all the *EGYPTIANS* in it to the Sword, *Antonius* withstood him, and by no means would suffer him to do it. And in all other great Battels and skirmishes which they fought, being many in number, *Antonius* did many noble Acts of a valiant and wise Captaine: but specially in one Battell, where he compassed in the Enemies behinde, giving them the Victory that fought in front, whereby he afterwards had such honourable reward, as his valiantnesse deserved. So was his great courtesie also much commended of all, the which he shewed unto *Archelaus*: for having been his very friend, he made Warre with him against his will while he lived, but after his death he fought for his Body, and gave it honourable buriall. For these respects he wan himselfe great fame of them of *ALEXANDRIA*, and he was also thought a worthy man of all the Souldiers in the *ROMANES* Campe. But besides all this, he had a noble presence, and shewed a countenance of one of a noble house: he had a goodly thick beard, a broad forehead, crooked nosed, and there appeared such a manly looke in his countenance, as is commonly seen in *Hercules* Pictures, stamped or graven in Mettall. Now it had been a speech of old time, that the Family of the *Antonij* were descended from one *Anton* the Son of *Hercules*, whereof the Family tooke Name. This Opinion did *Antonius* seeke to confirme in all his doings: not onely resembling him in the likenesse of his Body, as we have said before, but also in the wearing of his Garments. For when he would openly shew himselfe abroad before many People, he would alwaies weare his Casstocke girt down low upon his hippes, with a great Sword hanging by his side, and upon that, some ill-favoured Cloake. Furthermore, things that seeme intolerable in other men, as to boast commonly, to jest with one or other, to drinke like a good fellow with every body, to sit with the Souldiers when they dine, and to eate and drinke with them souldier-like, it is incredible what wonderfull love it wanne him amongst them. And furthermore, being given to love, that made him the more desired, and by that meanes he brought many to love him. For he would further every mans love, and also would not be angry that men should merrily tell him of those he loved. But besides all this, that which most procured his rising and advancement, was his liberality, who gave all to the Souldiers, and kept nothing for himselfe: and when he was grown to great credit, then was his Authority and Power also very great, the which notwithstanding himselfe did overthrow by a thousand other faults he had. In this place I will shew you one example onely of his wonderfull liberality. He commanded one day his Cofferer that kept his Money, to give a friend of his five and twenty Myriades, which the *ROMANES* call in their Tongue, *Decies*. His Cofferer marvelling at it, and being angry withall in his minde, brought him all this Money in a heape together, to shew him what a marvellous Masse of Money it was. *Antonius* seeing it as he went by, asked what it was: the Cofferer answered him, It was the Money he willed him to give unto his friend. Then *Antonius* perceiving the spite of his man, I thought (said he) that *Decies* had been a greater Summe of Money then it is, for this is but a trifle: and therefore he gave his friend as much more another time, but that was afterwards.

S f f 3

Now

Antonius used
in his pleading
the Asiaticke
phrase.

Antonius had
charge of
Horsemen un-
der *Gabinus*
Pro-Consull,
going into
SYRIA.
Antonius acts
against *Aristo-
bulus*.
Antonius took
Aristobulus
prisoner.

Antonius acts
in *EGYPT*
under *Gabini-
us*.

Antonius cour-
tesie unto *Ar-
chelaus* being
dead.

Antonius shape
and presence.

The house of
the *Antonij* de-
scended from
Hercules.
Antonius Li-
berality.

Antonius Tribune of the People, and Augure.

Antonius Ags for Caesar.

Antonius fleth from Rome unto Caesar.

Cicero re-proved for lying.

Alexander, Cyrus, and Caesar, all contended to reigne. Caesars ambition on the onely cause of the civill Warre.

Caesar gave the charge of Italy unto Antonius. Antonius Vices.

Now the ROMANES maintaining two factions at ROME at that time, one against the other, of the which, they that tooke part with the Senate did joyne with Pompey being then in ROME: and the contrary side taking part with the People, sent for Caesar to aide them, who made Warres in GAULE: then Curio, Antonius friend, that had changed his Garments, and at that time tooke part with Caesar, whose Enemy he had been before, he wanne Antonius; and so handled the matter, partly through the great credit and sway he bare amongst the People, by reason of his Eloquent Tongue, and partly also by his exceeding expence of Money he made which Caesar gave him: that Antonius was chosen Tribune, and afterwards made Augure. But this was a great helpe and furtherance to Caesars practises. For so soone as Antonius became Tribune, he did oppose himselfe against those things which the Confull Marcellus preferred (who ordained that certaine Legions which had been already leaved and billed, should be given unto Cneus Pompey, with further Commission and authority to leave others unto them) and set down an Order, that the Souldiers which were already leaved and assembled, should be sent into SYRIA for a new supply unto Marcus Bibulus, who made Warre at that time against the PARTHIANS. And further, gave a prohibition that Pompey should leavy no more men, and also that the Souldiers should not obey him. Secondly, where Pompeys friends and followers would not suffer Caesars Letters to be received, and openly read in the Senate, Antonius having power and warrant by his Person, through the holinesse of his Tribuneship, did read them openly, and made divers men change their mindes: for it appeared to them that Caesar by his Letters required no unreasonable matters. At length, when they preferred two matters of consideration unto the Senate, whether they thought good that Pompey or Caesar should leave their Army, there were few of the Senators that thought it meet Pompey should leave his Army, but they all in manner commanded Caesar to do it. Then Antonius rising up, asked whether they thought it good that Pompey and Caesar both, should leave their Armies. Thereupon all the Senators joyntly together gave their whole consent, and with a great cry commending Antonius, they prayed him to referre it to the judgement of the Senate. But the Consuls would not allow of that. Therefore Caesars friends preferred other reasonable demands and requests againe, but Cato spake against them: and Lentulus, one of the Consuls drave Antonius by force out of the Senate, who at his going out made grievous curses against him. After that, he tooke a Slaves Gowne, and speedily fled to Caesar, with Quintus Cassius, in a hired Coach. When they came to Caesar, they cried out with open mouth, that all went hand over head at ROME: for the Tribunes of the People might not speake their mindes; and were driven away in great danger of their lives, as many as stood with Law and Justice. Hereupon Caesar went incontinently into ITALY with his Army, which made Cicero say in his Philippides: That as Hellen was cause of the Warre of TROY, so was Antonius the Author of the civill Warres; which indeed was a starke lie. For Caesar was not so fickle headed, nor so easily carried away with anger, that he would so suddainly have gone and made Warre with his Countrey, upon the sight onely of Antonius and Cassius, being fled to him in miserable Apparell, and in a hired Coach, had he not long before determined it with himselfe. But fith indeed Caesar looked of long time but for some colour, this came as he wished, and gave him just occasion of Warre. But to say truly, nothing else moved him to make Warre with all the World as he did, but one selfe cause, which first procured Alexander and Cyrus also before him, to wit, an insatiable desire to reigne, with a senselesse covetousnesse to be the best man in the World; the which he could not come unto, before he had put down Pompey, and utterly overthrowne him. Now after that Caesar had gotten ROME at his commandement, and had driven Pompey out of ITALY, he purposed first to go into SPAIN against the Legions Pompey had there: and in the meane time to make provision for Ships and marine preparation, to follow Pompey. In his absence, he left Lepidus that was Prætor Governour of ROME: and Antonius that was Tribune, he gave him charge of all the Souldiers, and of ITALY. Then was Antonius straight marvellously commended and beloved of the Souldiers, because he commonly exercised himselfe among them, and would oftentimes eate and drinke with them, and also be liberall unto them, according to his ability. But then in contrary manner, he purchased divers other mens evil wils, because that through negligence he would not doe them justice that were injured, and dealt very churlishly with them that had any suite unto him: and besides all this, he had an ill name to entice mens Wives. To conclude, Caesars friends that governed under him, were cause why they hated Caesars Government (which indeed in respect of himselfe was no lesse then a tyranny) by reason of the great insolencies and outrageous parts that were committed: amongst whom Antonius that was of greatest power, and that also committed greatest faults, deserved most blame. But Caesar notwithstanding, when he returned from the Warres of SPAIN, made no reckoning of the complaints that were put up against him: but contrarily, because he found him a hardy man, and a valiant Captaine, he employed him in his chiefeft affaires, and was no whit deceived in his opinion of him. So he passed over the IONIAN Sea unto BRUNDISIUM, being but slenderly accompanied, and sent unto Antonius and Gabinus, that they should imbarke their men as soone as they could, and passe them over into MACEDON. Gabinus was afraid to take the Sea, because it was very rough, and in the Winter-time: and therefore fetched a great compasse about by Land. But Antonius fearing some danger might come unto Caesar, because he was compassed in with a great number of Enemies, first of all he drave away Liba, who rode at Anchor with a great Army before the Haven of BRUNDISIUM. For he manned out such a number of Pinnaes, Barkes, and other small Boates about every one of his Gallies, that he drave him thence. After that, he imbarke into Ships twenty thousand Footmen, and eight hundred

hundred Horsemen, and with this Army he hoisted saile. When the Enemies saw him, they made out to follow him: but the Sea rose so high, that the billowes put backe their Gallies that they could not come near him, and so he escaped that danger. But withall he fell upon the Rocks with his whole Fleet, where the Sea wrought very high, so that he was out of all hope to save himselfe. Yet by good fortune, suddainly the Winde turned South-west, and blew from the gulf, driving the waves of the River into the maine Sea. Thus Antonius loosing from the Land, and sailing with safety at his pleasure, soone after he saw all the Coasts full of Shipwrackes. For the force and boisterousnesse of the winde did cast away the Gallies that followed him: of the which, many of them were broken and splited, and divers also cast away: and Antonius tooke a great number of them Prisoners, with a great summe of Money also. Besides all these, he tooke the City of LYSSUS, and brought Caesar a great supply of men, and made him courageous, coming at a pinch with so great a power to him. Now there were divers hot Skirmishes and Encounters, in the which Antonius fought so valiantly, that he carried the praise from them all: but specially at two severall times, when Caesars men turned their backs, and fled for life. For he stepped before them, and compelled them to returne againe to fight: so that the Victory fell on Caesars side. For this cause he had the second place in the Campe among the Souldiers, and they spake of no other man unto Caesar, but of him: who shewed plainly what opinion he had of him, when at the last Battell of PHARSALIA (which indeed was the last triall of all, to give the Conquerour the whole Empire of the World) he himselfe did lead the right Wing of his Army, and gave Antonius the leading of the left Wing, as the valiantest man and skilfullest Souldier of all those he had about him. After Caesar had wonne the Victory, and that he was created Dictator, he followed Pompey step by step: howbeit, before he named Antonius Generall of the Horsemen, and sent him to ROME. The Generall of the Horsemen is the second Office of Dignity, when the Dictator is in the City: but when he is abroad, he is the chiefeft man, and almost the onely man that remaineth, and all the other Offices and Magistrates are put down, after there is a Dictator chosen. Notwithstanding, Dolabella being at that time Tribune, and a young man desirous of change and innovation, he preferred a Law which the ROMANES call *Novæ tabulæ* (as much to say, as a cutting off and cancelling of all Obligations and Specialties; and were called New tables, because they were driven then to make Bookes of daily receipt and expence,) and perswaded Antonius his friend (who also gaped for a good occasion to please and gratifie the common People) to aide him to passe this Law. But Trebellius and Asinius dissuaded from it all they could possible. So by good hap it chanced that Antonius mistrusted Dolabella for keeping of his Wife, and tooke such a conceit of it, that he thrust his Wife out of his house, being his Cousin Germane, and the Daughter of C. Annonius who was Confull with Cicero; and joyning with Asinius, he resisted Dolabella, and fought with him, Dolabella hat gotten the Market-place, where the People do assemble in Councell, and had filled it full of armed men, intending to have this Law of the New tables to passe by force. Antonius by commandement of the Senate, who had given him authority to leave men, and to use force against Dolabella, went against him, and fought so valiantly, that men were slaine on both sides. But by this meane he got the ill will of the common People; and on the other side, the Noble men (as Cicero saith) did not onely mislike him, but also hate him for his naughty life: for they did abhor his banquets and drunken Feasts he made at unreasonable times, and his extreame wastfull expences upon vaine light huswives; and then in the day time he would sleep or walke out his drunkennesse, thinking to weare away the fume of the abundance of Wine which he had taken over-night. In his house they did nothing but feast, dance, and maske: and himselfe passed away the time in hearing of foolish Playes, and marrying these Players, Tumblers, Jesters, and such sort of People. As for prooffe hereof it is reported, that at Hippias marriage, one of his Jesters, he dranke Wine so lustily all night, that the next morning when he came to pleade before the People assembled in Councell, who had sent for him, he being queasie stomacked with his Surfet he had taken, was compelled to lay up all before them, and one of his friends held him his Gown instead of a Basen. He had another pleasant Player called *Sergius*, that was one of the chiefeft men about him, and a Woman also called *Cytheride*, of the same profession, whom he loved dearly: he carried her up and down in a Litter unto all the Townes he went, and had as many men waiting upon her Litter (she being but a Player) as were attending upon his own Mother. It grieved honest men also very much, to see that when he went into the Countrey he carried with him a great number of Cup boards full of Silver and Gold Plate openly in the face of the World, as it had been the pompe or shew of some Triumph: and that estoones in the midst of his journey he would set up his Hals and Tents hard by some greene Grove or pleasant River, and there his Cooks should prepare him a sumptuous Dinner. And furthermore, Lions were harnessed in Traces to draw his Carts: and besides also, in honest mens houses in the Cities where he came, he would have common Harlots, Curtizans, and these tumbling gillots lodged. Now it grieved men much, to see that Caesar should be out of ITALY following of his Enemies, to end it is great Warre with such great perill and danger, and that others in the meane time abusing his name and authority, should commit such insolent and outrageous parts upon their Citi zens. This me thinks was the cause that made the conspiracy against Caesar increase more and more, and laid the reines of the bridle upon the Souldiers neckes, whereby they durst more boldly commit many extortions, cruelties and robberies. And therefore Caesar after his returne pardoned Dolabella, and being treated Confull the third time, he tooke not Antonius, but choose Lepidus his Colleague and fellow Confull. Afterwards when Pompeys house was put to open sale, Antonius bought it: but when they asked him Money for it, he

Antonius catcht Sea with his Army at Brundisium, and goeth unto Caesar.

Antonius manhood in War.

Antonius led the left Wing of Caesars Battell at Pharsalia, where Pompey lost the Field. The Dignity of the Generall of the Horsemen.

Dissention betwixt Antonius and Dolabella.

Antonius abhorrible life.

Antonius laid up his stomack before the whole assembly. Antonius insolency.

Caesar and Lepidus, Consuls, Antonius buyeth Pompeys house.

Antonius married Fulvia, Clodius Widow. Fulvia ruled Antonius at home and abroad.

he made it very strange, and was offended with them; and wrote himselfe that he would not go with *Cesar* into the Warres of *Africke*, because he was not well recompensed for the service he had done him before. Yet *Cesar* did somewhat bridle his madnesse and infoleney, not suffering him to passe his faults so lightly away, making as though he saw them not. And therefore he left his dissolute manner of life, and married *Fulvia* that was *Clodius* Widow, a Woman not so basely minded to spend her time in spinning and hufwivry; and was not contented to master her Husband at home, but would also rule him in his Office abroad, and commanded him that commanded Legions and great Armies: so that *Cleopatra* was to give *Fulvia* thanks for that she had taught *Antonius* this obedience to Women, that learned so well to be at their commandement. Now, because *Fulvia* was somewhat fowre and crooked of condition, *Antonius* devised to make her pleasanter, and somewhat better disposed: and therefore he would play her many pretty youthfull parts to make her merry. As he did once, when *Cesar* returned the last time of all Conquerour out of *SPAIN*, every man went out to meet him, and so did *Antonius* with the rest. But on the suddain there ranne a rumour through *ITALIE*, that *Cesar* was dead, and that his Enemies came againe with a great Army. Thereupon he returned with speed to *ROME*, and tooke one of his mens Gownes, and so apparelled came home to his house in a darke night, saying, that he had brought *Fulvia* Letters from *Antonius*. So he was let in, and brought to her muffled as he was, for being known: but the taking the matter heavily, asked him if *Antonius* were well. *Antonius* gave her the Letters, and said never a word. So when she had opened the Letters, and began to reade them, *Antonius* ramped on her necke, and killed her. We have told you this tale for examples sake onely, and so could we also tell you of many such like as these. Now when *Cesar* was returned from his last Warre in *SPAIN*, all the chiefeft Nobility of the City rode many daies journey from *ROME* to meet him, where *Cesar* made marvellous much of *Antonius* above all the men that came unto him. For he alwaies tooke him into his Coach with him throughout all *ITALY*, and behinde him *Brutus Albinus* and *Octavius* the Son of his Neece, who afterwards was called *Cesar* and became Emperor of *ROME* long time after. So *Cesar* being afterwards chosen Consull the fift time, he immediately chose *Antonius* his Colleague and Companion: and desired by depositing himselfe of his Consulship, to make *Delabella* Consul in his roome, and had already moved it to the Senate. But *Antonius* did stoutly withstand it, and openly reviled *Delabella* in the Senate, and *Delabella* also spared him as little. Thereupon *Cesar* being affamed of the matter, he let it alone. Another time also when *Cesar* attempted againe to substitute *Delabella* Consul in his place, *Antonius* cried out, that the signes of the Birds were against it: so that at length *Cesar* was compelled to give him place, and to let *Delabella* alone, who was marvellously offended with him. Now in truth, *Cesar* made no great reckoning of either of them both. For it is reported that *Cesar* answered one that did accuse *Antonius* and *Delabella* unto him for some matter of conspiracy: Tush said he, they be not those fat fellowes and fine combed men that I feare, but I mistrust rather these pale and leane men, meaning by *Brutus* and *Cassius*, who afterwards conspired his death and slew him. *Antonius* murtherers afterwards gave *Cesar* Enemies just occasion and colour to do as they did: as you shall hear. The *ROMANS* by chance celebrated the Feast called *Lupercalia*, and *Cesar* being apparelled in his triumphing Robe, was set in the Tribune where they use to make their Orations to the People, and from thence did behold the sport of the Runners. The manner of this running was thus: On that day there are many young men of noble house, and those specially that be chiefe Officers for that yeare, who running naked up and down the City, anointed with the Oyle of Olive, for pleasure to strike them they meet in their way, with white Leather Thongs they have in their hands. *Antonius* being one among the rest that was to run, leaving the ancient Ceremonies and old Customes of that Solemnity, he ran to the Tribune where *Cesar* was set, and carried a Lawrell Crown in his hand, having a Royall Band or Diademe wreathed about it, which in old time was the ancient marke and token of a King. When he was come to *Cesar*, he made his fellow Runners with him lift him up, and so he did put his Lawrell Crown upon his head, signifying thereby that he had deserved to be King. But *Cesar* making as though he refused it, turned away his head. The People were so rejoiced at it, that they all clapped their hands for joy. *Antonius* againe did put it on his head: *Cesar* againe refused it; and thus they were striving off and on a great while together. As oft as *Antonius* did put this Lawrell Crown unto him, a few of his followers rejoiced at it: and as oft also as *Cesar* refused it, all the People together clapped their hands. And this was a wonderful thing, that they suffered all things, subjects should do by commandement of their Kings: and yet they could not abide the Name of a King, detesting it as the utter destruction of their Liberty. *Cesar* in a rage arose out of his Seate, and plucking down the choller of his Gown from his necke, he shewed it naked, bidding any man strike off his head that would. This Lawrell Crown was afterwards put upon the head of one of *Cesar* Statues or Images, the which one of the Tribunes pluckt off. The People liked his doing therein so well, that they waited on him home to his house, with great clapping of hands. Howbeit *Cesar* did turne them out of their Offices for it. This was a good encouragement for *Brutus* and *Cassius* to conspire his death, who fell into a consort with their trustiest friends, to execute their enterprife, but yet stood doubtful whether they should make *Antonius* privy to it or not. All the rest liked of it, saving *Trebonius* onely. He told them, that when they rode to meet *Cesar* at his returne out of *SPAIN*, *Antonius* and he alwaies keeping company, and lying together by the way, he felt his minde afar off: but *Antonius* finding his meaning, would hearken no more unto it, and yet notwithstanding never made *Cesar* acquainted with this talke, but had faithfully kept it to himselfe. After that

Antonius unwittingly gave *Cesar* Enemies occasion to conspire against him.

Antonius Lupercin putteth the Diademe upon *Cesar* head.

Brutus and *Cassius* conspire *Cesar* death.

that they consulted whether they should kill *Antonius* with *Cesar*. But *Brutus* would in his wife consent to it, saying, that venturing on such an enterprife as this, for the maintenance of Law and justice, it ought to be cleare from all villany. Yet they fearing *Antonius* power, and the Authority of his Office, appointed certaine of the conspiracy, that when *Antonius* were gone into the Senate, and while others should execute their enterprife, they should keep *Antonius* in a talke out of the Senate-house. Even as they had devised these matters, so were they executed: and *Cesar* was slain in the midst of the Senate. *Antonius* being put in a feare withall, cast a Slaves Gown upon him, and hid himselfe. But afterwards when it was told him that the Murderers slew no man else; and that they went onely into the Capitoll, he sent his Son unto them for a pledge, and bad them boldly come down upon his word. The selfe same day he bid *Cassius* to suppe; and *Lepidus* also bid *Brutus*. The next morning the Senate was assembled, and *Antonius* himselfe preferred a Law; that all things past should be forgotten, and that they should appoint Provinces unto *Cassius* and *Brutus*: the which the Senate confirmed, and further ordained, that they should cancel one of *Cesar* Lawes. Thus went *Antonius* out of the Senate more praised and better esteemed then ever man was, because it seemed to every man that he had cut off all occasion of civill Warres, and that he had shewed himselfe a marvellous wife Governour of the Common-wealth: for the appealing of these matters of so great weight and importance. But now, the opinion he conceived of himselfe after he had a little felt the good will of the People towards him, hoping thereby to make himselfe the chiefeft man if he might overcome *Brutus*, did easily make him alter his first minde. And therefore when *Cesar* body was brought to the place where it should be buried, he made a Funerall Oration in commendation of *Cesar*, according to the ancient custome of praying noble men at their Funerals. When he saw that the People were very glad and desirous also to hear *Cesar* spoken of, and his praises uttered, he mingled his Oration with lamentable words; and by amplifying of matters did greatly move their hearts and affections unto pity and compassion. In fine to conclude his Oration, he unfolded before the whole Assembly the bloody Garments of the dead, thrust through in many places with their Swords, and called the Malefactors, cruell and cursed Murderers. With these words he put the people into such a fury, that they presently tooke *Cesar* Body, and burnt it in the Market-place, with such Tables and Formes as they could get together. Then when the fire was kindled, they tooke fire-brands, and ran to the Murderers houses to set them on fire, and to make them come out to fight. *Brutus* therefore and his accomplices, for safety of their persons were driven to flee the City. Then came all *Cesar* friends unto *Antonius*, and specially his Wife *Calpurnia* putting her trust in him, she brought the most part of her Money into his house, which amounted to the Summe of foure thousand Talents; and furthermore brought him all *Cesar* Books and Writings, in the which were his Memorials of all that he had done and ordained. *Antonius* did daily mingle with them such as he thought good, and by that meanes he created new Officers, made new Senators, called home some that were banished, and delivered those that were Prisoners: and then he said, that all those things were so appointed and ordained by *Cesar*. Therefore the *ROMANS* mocking them that were so moved, they called them *CHARONITES*, because that when they were overcome, they had no other helpe but to say, that thus they were found in *Cesar* Memorials, who had failed in *Charon* Boate, and was departed. Thus *Antonius* ruled absolutely also in all other matters, because he was consull, and *Caius* one of his Brethren Prator, and *Lucius* the other Tribune. Now things remaining in this state at *ROME*, *Octavius* *Cesar* the younger came to *ROME*, who was the Son of *Julius* *Cesar* Neece, as you have heard before, and was left his lawful Heire by Will, remaining at the time of the death of his great Uncle that was slain, in the City of *APOLLONIA*. This young man at his first arrivall went to salute *Antonius*, as one of his late dead Father *Cesar* friends, who by his last Will and Testament had made him his Heire: and withall, he was presently in hand with him for Money and other things which were left of trust in his hands; because *Cesar* had by Will bequeathed unto the People of *ROME* threefoore and fiftene Silver Drachmes to be given to every man, the which he as Heire stood charged withall. *Antonius* at the first made no reckoning of him, because he was very young, and said, he lacked wit, and good friends to advise him, if he looked to take such a charge in hand, as to undertake to be *Cesar* Heire. But when *Antonius* saw that he could not shake him off with those words, and that he was still in hand with him for his Fathers Goods, but specially for the ready Money, then he spake and did what he could against him. And first of all, it was he that did keep him from being Tribune of the People: and also when *Octavius* began to meddle with the dedicating of the Chaire of Gold, which was prepared by the Senate to honour *Cesar* with, he threatened to send him to Prison, and moreover desired not to put the People in an uproare. This young *Cesar* seeing his doings, went unto *Cicero* and others, which were *Antonius* Enemies, and by them crept into favour with the Senate: and he himselfe sought the Peoples good will every manner of way, gathering together the old Souldiers of the late deceased *Cesar*, which were dispersed in divers Cities and Colonies. *Antonius* being afraid of it, talked with *Octavius* in the Capitoll, and became his friend. But the very same night *Antonius* had a strange Dreame, who thought that lightning fell upon him, and burnt his right hand. Shortly after word was brought him, that *Cesar* lay in waite to kill him. *Cesar* cleared himselfe unto him and told him there was no such matter: but he could not make *Antonius* beleve the contrary. Whereupon they became further Enemies then ever they were: infomuch that both of them made friends of either side to gather together all the old Souldiers through *ITALY*, that were dispersed in divers Townes: and made them large promises, and sought also to winne the Legions on their

Consultation about the murder of *Antonius* with *Cesar*.

Antonius murthered uproare among the People, for the murther of *Cesar*.

Calpurnia, *Cesar* Wife.

Charonites why so called.

M. Antonius Consul. *Caius Antonius* Prator. *Lucius Antonius* Tribune, all three Brethren.

Variance betwixt *Antonius* and *Octavius* *Cesar*, Heire unto *Julius* *Cesar*.

Octavius *Cesar* joyned in friendship with *Cicero*. *Antonius* and *Octavius* became friends. *Antonius* Dreame.

Antonius judged an Enemy by the Senate. Hircius and Panfa Consuls.

Antonius overthrown in Battell by the City of Modena. Antonius patient in adversity.

Antonius hard-nelle in adversity, notwithstanding his fine bringing up.

Antonius won all Lepidus Army from him.

Varus surnamed Cotta.

The conspiracy and meeting of Caesar, Antonius, and Lepidus.

The proscription of the Triumviri.

their side, which were already in armes. Cicero on the other side being at that time the chiefeft man of authority and estimation in the City, he stirred up all men against Antonius: so that in the end he made the Senate pronounce him an Enemy to his Country, and appointed young Caesar Sergeants to carry Axes before him, and such other signes as were incident to the Dignity of a Consul or Prætor: and moreover, sent Hircius and Panfa, then Consuls, to drive Antonius out of ITALIE. These two Consuls together with Caesar, who also had an Army, went against Antonius that besieged the City of MODENA, and there overthrew him in Battell: but both the Consuls were slaine there. Antonius flying upon this overthrow, fell into great misery all at once: but the chiefeft want of all other, and that pinched him most, was famine. Howbeit he was of such a strong nature, that by patience he would overcome any adversity, and the heavier fortune lay upon him, the more constant shewed he himselfe. Every man that seeth want or adversity, knoweth by Vertue and discretion what he should do: when indeed they are overlaid, with extremity, and be sore oppressed, few have the hearts to follow that which they praise and commend, and much lesse to avoid that they reprove and dislike: but rather to the contrary, they yeeld to their accustomed ease life, and through faint-heart, and lacke of courage, do change their first minde and purpose. And therefore it was a wonderfull example to the Souldiers, to see Antonius that was brought up in all finesse and superfluity, so easily to drink puddle water, and to eat wild Fruits and Roots: and moreover it is reported, that even as they passed the Alpes, they did eat the barks of Trees, and such Beasts as never man tasted of their flesh before. Now their intent was to joyne with the Legions that were on the other side of the Mountaines, under Lepidus charge: whom Antonius tooke to be his friend, because he had holpen him to many things at Caesars hand, through his meanes. When he was come to the place where Lepidus was, he camped hard by him: and when he saw that no man came to him to put him in any hope, he determined to venture himselfe, and to go unto Lepidus. Since the overthrow he had at MODENA, he suffered his beard to grow at length and never clip it, that it was marvellous long, and the Hire of his head also without combing: and besides all this, he went in a mourning Gown, and after this sort came hard to the Trenches of Lepidus Camp. Then he began to speake unto the Souldiers, and many of them their hearts yearned for pity to see him so poorly arrayed, and some also through his words began to pity him: insomuch that Lepidus began to be afraid, and therefore commanded all the Trumpets to sound together to stop the Souldiers eares, that they should not hearken to Antonius. This notwithstanding, the Souldiers tooke the more pity of him, and spake secretly with him by Clodius and Lucius meanes, whom they sent unto him disguised in Womens apparell, and gave him counsell that he should not be afraid to enter into their Campe, for there were a great number of Souldiers that would receive him, and kill Lepidus, if he would say the word. Antonius would not suffer them to hurt him, but the next morning he went with his Army to wade a foord, at a little River that ran between them: and himselfe was the foremost man that tooke the River to get over, seeing a number of Lepidus Campe that gave him their hands, plucked up the stakes, and layed flat the bancke of their Trench to let him into their Campe. When he was come into their Campe, and that he had all the Army at his commandement, he used Lepidus very courteously, embraced him, and called him Father: and though indeed Antonius did all, and ruled the whole Army, yet he alway gave Lepidus the Name and Honour of the Capitaine. Munacius Plancus, lying also in Campe hard by with an Army, understanding the report of Antonius courtesie, he also came and joyined with him. Thus Antonius being a foot againe, and grown of great power, repassed over the Alpes, leading into ITALIE with him severene Legions, and ten thousand Horsemen, besides six Legions he left in Garrison among the GAULES, under the charge of one Varus, a Companion of his that would drinke lustily with him, and therefore in mockery was surnamed Cotta, to wit, a bibber. So Octavius Caesar would not leane to Cicero, when he saw that his whole travell and endeavour was onely to restore the Common-wealth to her former liberty. Therefore he sent certaine of his friends to Antonius, to make them friends againe: and thereupon all three met together (to wit, Caesar Antonius and Lepidus) in an Island environed round about with a little River, and there remained three daies together. Now as touching all other matters, they were easily agreed, and did divide all the Empire of Rome between them, as if it had been their owne Inheritance. But yet they could hardly agree whom they would put to death: for every one of them would kill their Enemies, and save their Kinsmen and friends. Yet at length, giving place to their greedy desire to be revenged of their Enemies, they spruod all reverence of Blood, and holiness of friendship at their feet. For Caesar left Cicero to Antonius will, Antonius also forooke Lucius Caesar, who was his Uncle by his Mother: and both of them together suffered Lepidus to kill his own Brother Paulus. Yet some Writers affirme, that Caesar and Antonius requested Paulus might be slaine, and that Lepidus was contented with it. In my Opinion there was never a more horrible, unnatural, and crueller change then this was. For thus changing murder for murder, they did aswell kill those whom they did forsake and leave unto others, as those also which others left unto them to kill: but so much more was their wickednesse and cruelty great unto their friends, for that they put them to death being innocents, and having no cause to hate them. After their plot was agreed upon between them, the Souldiers that were thereabouts, would have his friendship and league betwixt them confirmed by marriage, and that Caesar should marry Clodia, the Daughter of Fulvia Antonius Wife. This marriage also being agreed upon, they condemned three hundred of the chiefeft Citizens of Rome, to be put to death by proscription. And Antonius also commanded them to whom he had given Commission to kill Cicero, that they should strike off his head

head and right hand, with the which he had written the invective Orations (called Philippides) against Antonius. So when the Murderers brought him Ciceros head and hand cut off, he beheld them a long time with great joy, and laughed heartily, and that oftentimes for the great joy he felt. Then when he had taken his pleasure of the sight of them, he caused them to be let up in an open place, over the Pulpit for Orations (where when he was alive, he had often spoken to the People,) as if he had done the dead man hurt, and not blemished his owne fortune, shewing himselfe (to his great shame and infamy) a cruell man, and unworthy the Office and authority he bare. His Uncle Lucius Caesar also, as they fought for him to kill him, and followed him hard, fled unto his Sister. The Murderers coming thither, forcing to breake into her Chamber, she stood at her Chamber door with her armes abroad, crying out still: You shall not kill Lucius Caesar, before you first kill me, that bare your Capitaine in my Wombe. By this meanes she saved her Brothers life. Now the Government of these Triumviri grew odious and hatefull to the ROMANS, for divers respects: but they most blamed Antonius, because he being elder then Caesar, and of more power and force then Lepidus, gave himselfe againe to his former riot and excessse, when he left to deale in the Affaires of the Common-wealth. But setting aside the ill Name he had for his infolency, he was yet much more hated in respect of the house he dwelt in, the which was the house of Pompey the Great: a man as famous for his temperance, modesty, and civill life, as for his three Triumphs. For it grieved them to see the gates commonly shut against the Captaines, Magistrates of the City, and also Ambassadors of strange Nations which were sometimes thrust from the gate with violence: and that the house within was full of Tumblers, anticke Dancers, Juglers, Players, Jestlers, and Drunkards, quaffing and guzzling; and that on them he bestowed the most part of his Money he got by all kinde of possible extortions, bribery and policy. For they did not onely sell by the Cryer the goods of those whom they had out-lawed and appointed to murder, slanderously deceived the poor Widowes and young Orphanes, and also raised all kinds of Imposts, Subsidies and Taxes: but notwithstanding also that the holy Vestall Nunnes had certaine goods and money put in their custody to keep, both of mens in the City, and those also that were abroad, they went thither, and tooke them away by force. Octavius Caesar perceiving that no Money would serve Antonius turne, he prayed that they might divide the Money between them, and so did they also divide the Army, for them both to go into MACEDON to make Warre against Brutus and Cassius: and in the meane time they left the Government of the City of Rome unto Lepidus. When they had passed over the Seas, and that they began to make Warre, they being both camped by their Enemies, to wit, Antonius against Cassius and Caesar against Brutus, Caesar did no great matter, but Antonius had alway the upper hand, and did all. For at the first Battell Caesar was overthrowne by Brutus, and lost his Campe, and very hardly saved himselfe by flying from them that followed him. Howbeit he writeth himselfe in his Commentaries, that he fled before the charge was given, because of a Dreame one of his friends had. Antonius on the other side overthrew Cassius in Battell, though some write that he was not there himselfe at the Battell, but that he came after the overthrow, whilst his men had the Enemies in chase. So Cassius at his earnest request was slaine by a faithfull servant of his own called Pindarus, whom he had enfranchised: because he knew not in time that Brutus had overcome Caesar. Shortly after they fought another Battell againe, in the which Brutus was overthrowne, who afterwards also slew himselfe. Thus Antonius had the chiefeft glory of this Victory, specially because Caesar was sicke at that time. Antonius having found Brutus body after this Battell, blaming him much for the murder of his Brother Caius, whom he had put to death in MACEDON for revenge of Ciceros cruell death, and yet laying the fault more in Hortensius then in him, he made Hortensius to be slaine on his Brothers Tombe. Furthermore he cast his Coate-armour (which was wonderfull rich and sumptuous) upon Brutus Body, and gave commandement to one of his Slaves enfranchised, to defray the charge of his buriall. But afterwards Antonius hearing that his enfranchised bondmen had not burnt his Coate-armour with his body, because it was very rich, and worth a great summe of Money, and that he had also kept backe much of the ready Money appointed for his Funerall and Tombe, he also put him to death. After that, Caesar was conveyed to Rome, and it was thought he would not live long, nor escape the sicknesse he had. Antonius on the other side went towards the East Provinces and Regions to leave money: and first of all he went into GREECE, and carried an infinite number of Souldiers with him. Now, because every Souldier was promised five thousand Silver Drachmes, he was driven of necessity to impose extreame Tallages and Taxations. At his first coming into GREECE, he was not hard nor bitter unto the GRECIANS, but gave himselfe onely to hear wise men dispute, to see Playes, and also to note the Ceremonies and sacrifices of GREECE, ministring justice to every man: and it pleased him marvellously to hear them call him Philhellens, (as much to say, A lover of the GRECIANS) and specially the ATHENIANS, to whom he did many great pleasures. Wherefore the MEGARIANS, to exceed the ATHENIANS, thinking to shew Antonius a goodly sight, they prayed him to come and see their Senate-house, and Councell-hall. Antonius went thither to see it. So when he had seene it at his pleasure, they asked him: My Lord, how like you our Hall? Me thinkes (quoth he) it is little, old, and ready to fall down. Furthermore he tooke measure of the Temple of Apollo Pythias, and promised the Senate to finish it. But when he was once come into ASIA, having left Lucius Cornelius Gouvernour in GREECE, and that he had felt the riches and pleasures of the East parts, and that Princes, great Lords, and Kings, came to waite at his gate for his coming out: and that Queenes and Princesses to excell one another, gave him very rich Presents, and came to see him, curiously setting forth themselves,

Antonius cruelty unto Cicero.

Lucius Caesars life saved, by his Sister.

Antonius riot in his Triumvirate.

The praise of Pompey the Great.

The valiantnesse of Antonius against Brutus.

The death of Cassius.

Brutus slew himselfe.

Antonius gave honourable buriall unto Brutus.

Antonius greet courtesie in Greece.

The plagues of
Italy, in riot.

themselves, and using all Art that might be to shew their beauty, to winne his favour the more: (Cesar in the meane space turmoyleing his wits and body in civill Warres at home, Antonius living merrily and quietly abroad) he easily fell againe to his old licentious life. For straight, one *Anaxenor* a Player of the Citherne, *Xonius* a Player of the Flute, *Metrodorus* a Tumbler, and such a rabble of Minstrels and fit Ministers for the pleasures of Asia, (who in fineness and flattery passed all the other plagues he brought with him out of ITALY) all these flocked in his Court, and bare the whole sway: and after that, all went awry. For every one gave themselves to riot and excessse, when they saw he delighted in it: and all Asia was like to the City *Sophocles* speaketh of in one of his Tragedies:

*Was full of sweet Perfumes, and pleasant Songs,
With wofull weeping mingled there amongs.*

Antonius cruel-
ty in Asia.

Hybraus words
unto Antonius
touching their
great pay-
ments of Mo-
ney unto him.

Antonius
simplicity.

Antonius
in sinners.

Antonius love
to Cleopatra
whom he sent
for into Cili-
cia.

For in the City of EPHEsus, Women attired as they go in the Feasts and Sacrifice of *Bacchus*, came out to meet him with such Solemnities and Ceremonies, as are then used: with men and Children disguised like Faunes and Satyres. Moreover, the City was full of Ivy, and Darts wreathed about with Ivy, Psalterions, Flutes and Howboyes; and in their Songs they called him *Bacchus* Father of mirth, courteous and gentle: and so was he unto some, but to the most part of men, cruell and extreame. For he robbed Noblemen and Gentlemen of their goods, to give it unto vile flatterers: who oftentimes begged living mens goods, as though they had been dead, and would enter their houses by force. As he gave a Citizens house of MAGNESIA unto a Cooke, because (as it is reported) he dressed him a fine Supper. In the end he doubled the Taxation, and imposed a Second upon Asia. But then *Hybraus* the Oratour sent from the Estates of Asia to tell him the state of their Country, boldly said unto him: If thou wilt have power to lay two Tribunes in one year upon us, thou shouldest also have power to give us two Summers, two Autumnes, and two Harvests. This was gallantly and pleasantly spoken unto Antonius by the Oratour, and it pleased him well to hear it: but afterwards amplifying his speech, he spake more boldly, and to better purpose: Asia hath payed thee two hundred thousand Talents. If all this Money be not come to thy Coffers, then aske account of them that leaved it: but if thou have received it, and nothing be left of it, then are we utterly undone. *Hybraus* words nettled Antonius roundly. For he understood not of the thefts and robberies his Officers committed by his Authority, in his Treasure and Affaires: not so much because he was careless, as for that he over-simply trusted his men in all things. For he was a plaine man, without subtilty, and therefore over-late found out the foule faults they committed against him: but when he heard of them, he was much offended, and would plainly confesse it unto them whom his Officers had done injury unto by countenance of his authority. He had a noble minde, as well to punish offenders, as to reward well doers: and yet he did exceed more in giving, then in punishing. Now for his outrageous manner of railing he commonly used, mocking and flouting of every man, that was remedied by it selfe: for a man might as boldly exchange a mocke with him, and he was well contented to be mocked, as to mocke others: but yet it oftentimes marred all. For he thought that those which told him so plainly and truly in mirth, would never flatter him in good earnest in any matters of weight. But thus he was easily abused by the praises they gave him, not finding how these flatterers mingled their flattery under this familiar and plaine manner of speech unto him, as a fine device to make difference of Meats with sharpe and tart Sauce; and also to keepe him by this frantick jekling and boarding with him at the Table, that their common flattery should not be troublesome unto him, as men do easily mislike to have too much of one thing: and that they handled him finely thereby, when they would give him place in any matter of weight, and follow his counsell, that it might not appeare to him they did it so much to please him, but because they were ignorant, and understood not so much as he did. Antonius being thus inclined, the last and extreamest mischief of all other (to wit, the love of *Cleopatra*) lighted on him, who did waken and stirre up many Vices yet hidden in him, and were never seen to any and if any sparke of goodnesse or hope of rising were left him, *Cleopatra* quenched it straight, and made it worse then before. The manner how he fell in love with her was this. Antonius going to make Warre with the PARTHIANS, sent to command *Cleopatra* to appeare personally before him when he came into CILICIA, to answer unto such Accusations as were laid against her, being this: that she had aided *Cassius* and *Brutus* in their Warre against him. The Messenger sent unto *Cleopatra* to make this summons unto her, was called *Dellius*; who when he had thoroughly considered her Beauty, the excellent grace and sweetnesse of her Tongue, he nothing mistrusted that Antonius would do any hurt to so noble a Lady, but rather assured himselfe, that within few daies she should be in great favour with him. Thereupon he did her great honour, and persuaded her to come into CILICIA, as honourably furnished as she could possibly; and had her not to be afraid at all of Antonius, for he was a more courteous Lord, then any that she had ever seen. *Cleopatra* on the other side beleiving *Dellius* words, and guessing by the former access and credit she had with *Julius Caesar*, and *C. Pompey*. (The Son of *Pompey* the Great) onely for her beauty, she began to have good hope that she might more easily win Antonius. For *Cesar* and *Pompey* knew her when she was but a young thing, and knew not then what the World meant: but now she went to Antonius at the age when a Womans Beauty is at the prime, and she also of best judgement. So she furnished her selfe with a world of Gifts, store of Gold and Silver, and of Riches and other sumptuous Ornaments, as is credible enough she might bring from so great a house, and from so wealthy and rich a Realme as EGYPT was. But yet she carried nothing with her wherein she trusted

trusted more then in her selfe, and in the charmes and enchantment of her passing beauty and grace. Therefore when she was sent unto by divers Letters, both from Antonius himselfe, and also from his friends, she made so light of it, and mocked Antonius so much, that she diddine to set forward otherwise, but to take her Barge in the River of Cydnus; the Poop whereof was of Gold, the Sailes of Purple, and the Oares of Silver, which kept stroke in rowing after the found of the Musick of Flutes, Howboyes, Cithernes, Viols, and such other Instruments as they played upon in the Barge. And now for the person of her selfe, she was layed under a Pavillion of Cloth of Gold of Tissue, apparelled and attired like the goddesse *Venus*, commonly drawne in Picture: and hard by her, on either hand of her, pretty faire Boyes apparelled as Painters do set forth god *Cupid*, with little Fans in their hands, with the which they fanned winde upon her. Her Ladies and Gentlewomen also, the fairest of them were apparelled like the Nymphs *Nereides* (which are the Myrmaids of the Waters) and like the *Graces*; some steering the Helme, others tending the Tackle and Ropes of the Barge, out of the which there came a wonderfull passing sweete savour of Perfumes, that perfumed the Wharfe side, pestered with innumerable multitudes of People. Some of them followed the Barge all along the River side: others also ran out of the City to see her coming in. So that in the end, there ranne such multitudes of People one after another to see her, that Antonius was left post alone in the Market-place, in his Imperiall Seate to give audience: and there went a rumour in the Peoples mouths, that the goddesse *Venus* was come to play with the god *Bacchus* for the generall good of all Asia. When *Cleopatra* landed, Antonius sent to invite her to supper to him: But she sent him word againe, he should do better rather to come and sup with her, Antonius therefore to shew himselfe courteous unto her at her arrivall, was contented to obey her, and went to supper to her: where he found such passing sumptuous fare, that no tongue can expresse it. But amongst all other things, he most wondered at the infinite number of lights and torches hanged on the top of the house, giving light in every place, so artificially set and ordered by devices, some round, some square: that it was the rarest thing to behold that eye could discern, or that ever Bookes could mention. The next night, Antonius feeling her, contented to passe her in magnificence and fineness: but she overcame him in both. So that he himselfe began to scorne the grosse service of his House, in respect of *Cleopatra*'s sumptuousnesse and fineness. And when *Cleopatra* found Antonius jests and flents to be but grosse, and Souldier-like, in plaine manner, she gave it him finely, and without feare taunted him thoroughly. Now her beauty (as it is reported) was not so passing, as unmatchable of other women, nor yet such, as upon present view did enamour men with her: but so sweete was her company and conversation, that a man could not possibly but be taken. And besides her beauty, the good grace she had to talke and discourse, her courteous nature that tempered her words and deedes, was a spur to the quicke. Furthermore, besides all these, her voice and words were marvellous pleasant: for her tongue was an Instrument of Musicke to divers Sports and Pastimes, the which she easily turned into any Language that pleased her. She spake unto few barbarous People by Interpreter, but made them answer her selfe, or at the least the most part of them: as the ETHIOPIANS, the ARABIANS, the TROGLODYTES, the HEBREWES, the SYRIANS, the MEDES, and the PARTHIANS, and to many others also, whose Languages she had learned. Whereas divers of her Progenitors, the Kings of EGYPT, could scarce learne the EGYPTIAN Tongue onely, and many of them forgot to speake the MACEDONIAN. Now Antonius was so ravished with the love of *Cleopatra*, that though his Wife *Fulvia* had great Wars, and much ado with *Cesar* for his affaires, and that the Army of the PARTHIANS (the which the King Lieutenants had given to the onely leading of *Labiennus*) was now assembled in MESOPOTAMIA, ready to invade SYRIA, yet (as though all this had nothing touched him) he yielded himselfe to go with *Cleopatra* unto ALEXANDRIA, where he spent and lost in childish sports (as a man might say) and idle Pastimes, the most precious thing a man can spend (as *Antiphon* saith) and that is, Time. For they made an Order betwene them, which they called *Amimetobion* (as much to say, No life up by Antonius and *Cleopatra*, Antonius and *Cleopatra* in Egypt. An Order set up by Antonius and *Cleopatra*, Antonius and *Cleopatra* in Egypt. Bighe wilde Boares roasted whole. *Philotas* a Physician borne in *Amphissa*, reporter of this fable. *Philotas* Physician to the younger *Antony*. *Philotas* (with) Proposition.

T t t

But

owne Sonne. This noble exploit as famous as ever any was, was a full revenge to the ROMANES of the shame and losse they had received before by the death of *Marcus Crassus*: and he made the PARTHIANS flee, and glad to keepe themselves within the Confinnes and Territories of MESOPOTAMIA and MEDIA, after they had thrice together beene overcome in severall Battels. Howbeit *Ventidius* durst not undertake to follow them any farther, fearing lest he should have gotten *Antonius* displeasure by it. Notwithstanding, he led his Army against them that had rebelled, and conquered them againe: amongst whom he besieged *Antiochus* King of COMMAGENA, who offered him to give a thousand Talents to be pardoned his rebellion, and promised ever after to be at *Antonius* commandement. But *Ventidius* made him answer, that he should send unto *Antonius*; who was not far off, and would not suffer *Ventidius* to make peace with *Antiochus*, to the end that yet this little exploit should passe in his name, and that they should not thinke he did any thing but by his Lieutenant *Ventidius*. The Siege grew very long, because they that were in the Towne, seeing they could not be received upon no reasonable composition, determined valiantly to defend themselves to the last man. Thus *Antonius* did nothing, and yet received great shame, repenting him much that he tooke not their first offer. And yet at the last he was glad to make Truce with *Antiochus*, and to take three hundred Talents for composition. Thus after he had set order for the State and Affaires of SYRIA, he returned againe to ATHENS: and having given *Ventidius* such honours as he deserved, he sent him to ROME, to triumph for the PARTHIANS. *Ventidius* was the onely man that ever triumphed of the PARTHIANS until this present day, a meane man borne, and of no noble House or Family: who onely came to that he attained unto, through *Antonius* friendship, the which delivered him happy occasion to attchieve great matters; and yet to say truly, he did so well quit himself in all his Enterprises, that he confirmed that which was spoken of *Antonius* and *Cesar*, to wit, that they were alway more fortunate when they made Warre by their Lieutenants, then by themselves. For *Sossius* one of *Antonius* Lieutenants in SYRIA, did notable good service: and *Candidus* whom he had also left his Lieutenant in the borders of ARMENIA, did conquer it all. So did he also overcome the Kings of the IBERIANS and ALBANIANS, and went on with his Conquests unto Mount Caucasus. By these Conquests, the fame of *Antonius* Power increased more and more, and grew dreadfull unto all the barbarous Nations. But *Antonius* notwithstanding, grew to be marvellously offended with *Cesar*, upon certaine reports that had beene brought unto him: and so tooke Sea to goe towards ITALY with three hundred Saile. And because those of BRUNDISIUM would not receive his Army into their Haven, he went farther unto TARENTUM. There his Wife *Octavia* came out of GREECE with him, besought him to send her unto her Brother, the which he did. *Octavia* at that time was great with childe, and moreover had a second Daughter by him, and yet she put her selfe in journey, and met with her Brother *Octavius Caesar* by the way, who brought his two chiefe friends, *Maecenas* and *Agrippa* with him. She tooke them aside, and with all the instance she could possible, intreated them they would not suffer her that was the happiest Woman of the World, to become now the most wretched and unfortunatest creature of all other. For now, said she, every mans eyes do gaze on me, that am the Sister of one of the Emperours, and Wife of the other. And if the worst counsell take place (which the gods forbid) and that they grow to Warres: for your selves, it is uncertaine to which of them two the gods have assigned the victory or overthrow. But for me, on which side soever the victory fall, my state can be but most miserable still. These words of *Octavia* so softened *Cesar*'s heart, that he went quickly unto TARENTUM. But it was a noble sight for them that were present, to see so great an Army by Land not to stir; and so many Ships afloat in the Roade, quietly and safe: and furthermore, the meeting and kindeaffe of friends, lovingly embracing one another. First, *Antonius* feasted *Cesar*, which he granted unto for his Sisters sake. Afterwards they agreed together, that *Cesar* should give *Antonius* two Legions to go against the PARTHIANS: and that *Antonius* should let *Cesar* have an hundred Gallies armed with brazen Spurs at the Prowes. Besides all this, *Octavia* obtained of her Husband twenty Brigantines for her Brother: and of her Brother for her Husband, a thousand armed men. After they had taken leave of each other, *Cesar* went immediately to make Warre with *Sextus Pompeius*, to get SICILIA into his hands. *Antonius* also leaving his Wife *Octavia* and little Children begotten of her, with *Cesar*, and his other Children which he had by *Fulvia*, went directly into ASIA. Then began this pestilent plague and mischief of *Cleopatra*'s love (which had slept a long time, and seemed to have beene utterly forgotten, and that *Antonius* had given place to better counsell) againe to kindle, and beene utterly forgotten, and that *Antonius* came neare unto SYRIA. And in the end, the horse of the minde, to be in force, so soone as *Antonius* came neare unto SYRIA. And in the end, the horse of the minde, as *Plato* tearmeth it, that is so hard of reine (I meane the unreined lust of concupiscence) did put out of *Antonius* head all honest and commendable thoughts: for he sent *Fonteus Capito* to bring *Cleopatra* unto SYRIA: unto whom, to welcome her, he gave no trifling things; but unto that she had already, he added the Provinces of PHENICIA, thre of the nethermost SYRIA, the Isle of CYPRUS, and a great part of CILICIA, and that Countrey of JURY where the true Balme is, and that part of ARABIA where the NABATHEIANS do dwell, which stretcheth out toward the Ocean. These great gifts much misliked the ROMANES. But now, though *Antonius* did easily give away great Seignories, Realmes, and mighty Nations unto some private men, and that also he tooke from other Kings their lawfull Realmes (as from *Antigonus* King of the JEWES, whom he openly beheaded, where never King before had suffered like death: yet all this did not so much offend the ROMANES, as the unmeasurable honours which he did unto *Cleopatra*. But yet he did much more aggravate their malice and ill will towards him, because that *Cleopatra* having brought his two Twinnes, a Sonne

Ventidius the onely man of the Romanes, that triumphed for the Parthians.

Candidus Conquers.

New displeasure betwixt *Antonius* and *Octavius Caesar*.

The words of *Octavia* unto *Maecenas* and *Agrippa*.

Octavia pacifieth the quarrell betwixt *Antonius* and her Brother *Octavius Caesar*.

Plato calleth concupiscence the horse of the minde. *Antonius* sent for *Cleopatra* into SYRIA. *Antonius* gave great Provinces unto *Cleopatra*. *Antigonus* King of Jurie, the first King beheaded by *Antonius*.

a Sonne and a Daughter, he named his Sonne *Alexander*, and his Daughter *Cleopatra*; and gave them to their surnames, the Sonne to the one, and the Moone to the other. This notwithstanding, he that could finely cloake his shamefull deeds with fine words, said, that the greatnesse and magnificence of the Empire of ROME appeared most, not where the ROMANES tooke; but where they gave much: and Nobility was multiplied amongst men by the Posterity of Kings, when they left of their seede in divers places: and that by this means his first Ancestor was begotten of *Hercules*, who had not left the hope and continuance of his Line and Posterity in the wombe of one onely woman, fearing *Solons* Lawes, or regarding the Ordinances of men touching the procreation of children: but that he gave it unto nature, and established the foundation of many noble Races and Families in divers places. Now when *Phraortes* had slaine his Father *Orodes*, and possessed the Kingdome, many Gentlemen of PARTHIA forsooke him, and fled from him. Amongst them was *Monses* a Nobleman; and of great Authority amongst his Countrey men, who came unto *Antonius* that received him, and compared his fortune unto *Themistocles*, and his owne riches and magnificence unto the Kings of PERSIA. For he gave *Monses* three Cities, LARISSA, ARETHUSA, and HIERAPOLIS, which was called before BOMBICE. Howbeit the King of PARTHIA shortly after called him home againe, upon his faith and word: *Antonius* was glad to let him go, hoping thereby to steale upon *Phraortes* unprovided. For he sent unto him, and told him that they would remaine good friends, and have peace together, so he would but onely redeliver the Standards and Ensignes of the ROMANES (which the PARTHIANS had won in the Battell where *M. Crassus* was slaine) and the men also that remained yet Prisoners of this overthrow. In the meane time he sent *Cleopatra* backe into EGYPT; and tooke his way towards ARABIA and ARMENIA, and there tooke a generall muster of all his Army he had together, and of the Kings his Confederates that were come by his commandement to aide him, being a marvellous number: of the which, the chiefeest was *Artabazus* King of ARMENIA, who did furnish him with six thousand Horsemen, and seven thousand Footmen. There were also of the ROMANES about threecore thousand Footmen, and of Horsemen (SPANIARDS and GABLES reckoned for ROMANES) to the number of ten thousand; and of other Nations thirty thousand men; reckoning together the Horsemen and light armed Footmen. This so great and puissant Army (which made the INDIANS quake for feare, dwelling about the Countrey of the BACTRIANS; and all ASIA also to tremble) served him to no purpose, and all for the love he bare to *Cleopatra*. For the earnest great desire he had to lie all Winter with her, made him begin this Warre out of due time, and for haste to put all in hazard: being so ravished and enchanted with the sweete poison of her love, that he had no other thought but of her, and how he might quickly returne againe, more then how he might overcome his enemies. For first of all, where he should have wintered in ARMENIA to refresh his men, wearied with the long journey they had made, having come 8000 furlongs, and then at the beginning of the Spring to go and invade MEDIA before the PARTHIANS should stir out of their houses and garisons: he could tarry no longer, but led them forthwith unto the Province of ATROPATENE, leaving ARMENIA on the left hand, and foraged all the Countrey. Furthermore, making all the haste he could, he left behinde him Engines of battery which were carried with him in 300 Carts (amongst the which also there was a Ram fourescore foote long) being things most necessary for him; and the which he could not get againe for money, if they were once lost or marred. For the high Provinces of ASIA have no trees growing of such height and length, neither strong nor straight enough to make such like Engines of battery. This notwithstanding, he left them all behinde him, as an hinderance to bring his matters and intent speedily to passe: and left a certaine number of men to keepe them, and gave them in charge unto one *Tatianus*. Then he went to besiege the City of PHARATA; being the chiefeest and greatest City the King of MEDIA had, where his wife and children were. Then he straight found out his owne fault, and the want of his Artillery he left behinde him, by the worke he had in hand: for he was faine for lacke of a breach (where his men might come to the Sword with their Enemies that defended the wall) to force a mount of earth hard to the walls of the City, the which by little and little with great labour, rose to some height. In the meane time King *Phraortes* came downe with a great Army, who understanding that *Antonius* had left his Engines of battery behinde him, he sent a great number of Horsemen before, which environed *Tatianus* with all his carriage; and slew him, and ten thousand men he had with him. After this the barbarous People tooke these Engines of battery and burnt them, and got many Prisoners; amongst whom they tooke also King *Polemon*. This discomfiture marvellously troubled all *Antonius* Army, to receive so great an overthrow (beyond their expectation) at the beginning of their Journey: inso much that *Artabazus* King of the ARMENIANS, despairing of the good successe of the ROMANES, departed with his men; notwithstanding that he was himselfe the first procurer of this Warre and Journey. On the other side, the PARTHIANS came courageously unto *Antonius* Campe; who lay at the Siege of their chiefeest City; and cruelly reviled and threatened him. *Antonius* therefore fearing that if he lay still and did nothing, his mens hearts would faile them, he tooke ten Legions, with three Cohorts or Ensignes of the Prators which are Companies appointed for the guard of the Generall) and all his Horsemen; and carried them out to forrage, hoping thereby he should easily allure the PARTHIANS to fight a Battell. But when he had marched about a daies journey from his Campe, he saw the PARTHIANS wheeling round about him to give him the onser, and to skirmish with him, when he would thinke to march his way. Therefore he set out his signall of Battell, and yet caused his Tents and Fardels to be trussed up, as though he meant not to fight, but onely to leade his men backe againe. Then he marched before the Army of the barbarous People, the which was martialled like a Cressant or halfe Moone:

Antonius ewins by *Cleopatra*, and their names.

Phraortes slew his Father *Orodes* King of Parthia.

Antonius great and puissant Army.

Antonius drunk with the love of *Cleopatra*.

Antonius besieged the City of *Phraata* in Media.

The Parthians tooke *Antonius* Engines of battery.

Battell berwitz
the Parthians
and Antonius.
The Romanes
good order in
their march.

Decimation a
Martial pun-
ishment.

The craft of
the Parthians
against the Ro-
manes.

Antonius retur-
neth from the
Journey of the
Parthians.

and commanded his Horsemen, that as soone as they thought the Legions were neare enough unto their Enemies to set upon the Voward, they should set spurs to their Horses, and begin the Charge. The PARTHIANS stood in Battell-ray, and beholding the countenance of the ROMANES as they marched, tooke them for Souldiers indeed, for that they marched in as good array as was possible. For in their march they kept their ranks a little space one from another, not fraging out of order, and shaking their Pikes, speaking never a word. But so soone as the Alarm was given, the Horsemen suddenly turned head upon the PARTHIANS, and with great cries gave Charge on them: who at the first received their Charge courageously, for they were joynt nearer then within an Arrows shoote. But when the Legions also came to joyne with them, shouting out aloud, and rating of their Armour, the PARTHIANS Horses and themselves were so afraid and amazed withall, that they all turned taile and fled, before the ROMANES could come to the Sword with them. Then Antonius followed them hard in chase, being in great hope by this conflict to have brought to end all or the most part of this Warre. But after that his Footmen had chased them fifty furlongs off, and the Horsemen also thrice as far, they found in all but thirty persons taken, and about fourscore men onely flaine: which did much discourage them, when they considered with themselves, that obtaining the victory, they had flaine so few of their Enemies: and when they were overcome, they lost so many of their men, as they had done at the overthrow when their carriage was taken. The next morning Antonius Army trusted up their carriage, and marched backe towards their Campe: and by the way in their returne they met at the first a few of the PARTHIANS; then going on further, they met a few more. So at length when they all came together, they reviled them, and troubled them on every side, as freshly and courageously as if they had not bene overthrowne: so that the ROMANES very hardly got to their Campe with safety. The MARDIANS on the other side, that were besieged in their chiefe City of PHRAATA, made a salley out upon them that kept the Mount which they had forced and cast against the Wall of the City, and drave them for feare from the Mount they kept. Antonius was so offended withall, that he executed the Decimation. For he divided his men by ten Legions, and then of them he put the tenth Legion to death, on whom the lot fell: and for the other nine, he caused them to have Barley given them in stead of Wheate. Thus this Warre fell out troublesome unto both parties, and the end thereof much more fearfull: for Antonius could looke for no other of his side but famine, because he could forage no more, nor fetch in any Victuals, without great losse of his men: and on the other side, Phraortes knew well enough that the PARTHIANS would do any thing rather then lie in Campe abroad in the Winter. Therefore he was afraid, that if the ROMANES continued their Siege all Winter long, and made Warre with him still, that his men would forsake him, and specially because the time of the yeare went away apace, and the aire waxed cloudy and cold in the Equinoctiall Autumne. Thereupon he called to minde this device: He gave the chiefe of his Gentlemen of the PARTHIANS charge, that when they met the ROMANES out of their Campe, going to forage, or to water their Horses, or for some other Provision, that they should not distresse them too much, but should suffer them to carry somewhat away, and greatly commend their valiantnesse and hardinesse, for which their King did esteeme them the more, and not without cause. After these first allurements, they began by little and little to come nearer unto them, and to talke with them on Horseback, greatly blessing Antonius selfe-will, that did not give their King Phraortes occasion to make a good Peace, who desired nothing more then to save the lives of so goodly a company of valiant men: but that he was too fondly bent to abide two of the greatest and most dreadfull Enemies he could have, to wit, Winter and Famine, the which they could hardly away withall, though the PARTHIANS did the best they could to aide and accompany them. These words being oftentimes brought to Antonius, they made him a little pliant, for the good hope he had of his returne: but yet he would not send unto the King of PARTHIA before they had first asked these barbarous People that spake so courteously unto his men, whether they spake of themselves, or that they were their Masters words. When they told them, the King himselfe said so, and did perswade them further not to feare or mistrust them, then Antonius sent some of his friends unto the King, to make demand for the delivery of the Ensignes and Prisoners he had of the ROMANES since the overthrow of Crassus, to the end it should not appeare, that if he asked nothing, they should thinke he were glad that he might onely escape with safety out of the danger he was in. The King of PARTHIA answered him, that for the Ensignes and Prisoners he demanded, he should not breake his head about it, but if he would depart presently and without delay, he might do it peaceably, and without danger. Wherefore Antonius after he had given his men some time to trust up their carriage, he raised his Campe, and tooke his way to depart. But though he had an excellent tongue at will, and very proper to entertaine his Souldiers and men of Warre, and that he could passingly well do it, as well or better then any Capitaine in his time: yet for shame he would not speake unto them at his removing, but gave the charge thereof to Domitius Aenobarbus. Many of them tooke this in very ill part, and thought that he did it in disdain of them: but the most part of them presently understood the truth of it, and were also ashamed. Therefore they thought it their duties to carry the like respect unto their Capitaine that their Capitaine did unto them: and so they became the more obedient unto him. So Antonius was minded to returne the same way he came, being a plaine barren Countrey without Woodes. But there came a Souldier to him, borne in the Countrey of the MARDIANS, who having bene long familiar with the PARTHIANS, knew their fashions very well, and had also shewed himselfe very true and faithfull to the ROMANES in the Battell where Antonius engines of battery and carriage were taken

taken away. This man came unto Antonius, to counsell him to beware how he went that way, and to make his Army a prey (being heavily armed) unto so great a number of Horsemen, all Archers in the open field, where they should have nothing to lett them to compass him round about: and that this was Phraortes fetch, to offer him so friendly conditions and courteous words, to make him raise his siege, that he might afterwards meete him as he would in the Plaines: howbeit, if he thought good he would guide him another way on the right hand, through woods and mountaines, a far nearer way, and where he should finde great plenty of all things needfull for his Army. Antonius hearing what he said, called his Council together to consult upon it. For after he had made peace with the PARTHIANS, he was loth to give them cause to thinke he mistrusted them: and on the other side also, he would gladly shorten his way, and passe by places well inhabited, where he might be provided of all things necessary: therefore he asked the MARDIAN what pledge he would put in, to performe that he promised. The MARDIAN gave himselfe to be bound hand and foote, till he had brought his Army into the Countrey of ARMENIA. So he guided his Army thus bound, two daies together, without any trouble or sight of enemy. But the third day Antonius thinking the PARTHIANS would no more follow him, and trusting thereto, suffered his Souldiers to march in disorder as every man listed. The MARDIAN perceiving that the dams of a River were newly broken up, which they should have passed over, and that the River had overflowne the bankes, and drowned all the way they should have gone, he guessed straight that the PARTHIANS had done it, and had thus broken it open, to stay the ROMANES for getting too far before them. Therefore he bade Antonius looke to himselfe, and told him that his Enemies were not far off. Antonius having set his men in order, as he was placing of his Archers and Slingmen to resist the Enemies, and to drive them backe, they descried the PARTHIANS that wheeled round about the Army, to compass them in on every side, and to breake their ranks, and their light armed men gave charge upon them. So after they had hurt many of the ROMANES with their Arrows, and that they themselves were also hurt by them with their Darts and Plummets of Lead, they retired a little, and then came againe and gave charge, untill that the Horsemen of the GAULES turned their Horses, and fiercely galloped towards them, that they dispersed them to, as all that day they gathered no more together. Hereby Antonius knew what to do, and did not onely strengthen the Rereward of his Army, but both the Flankes also with Darts and Sling-men, and made his Army march in a square Battell: commanding the Horsemen, that when the Enemies should come to assaile them, they should drive them backe, but not follow them to far. Thus the PARTHIANS foure daies after, seeing they did no more hurt to the ROMANES, then they also received of them, they were not so hot upon them as they were accustomed, but excusing themselves by the Winter that troubled them, they determined to returne backe againe. The fifth day Flavius Gallus, a valiant man of his hands, that had charge in the Army, came unto Antonius to pray him to let him have some moe of his light armed men then were already in the Rereward, and some of the Horsemen that were in the Voward, hoping thereby to do some notable exploit. Antonius granting them unto him, when the Enemies came according to their manner to set upon the taile of the Army, and to skirmish with them, Flavius courageously made them retire, but not as they were wont to do before, to retire and joyne presently with their Army; for he over- rashly thrust in among them: to fight it out at the Sword. The Captaines that had the leading of the Rereward, seeing Flavius stray too far from the Army, sent unto him to will him to retire, but he would not hearken to it. And it is reported also, that Titius himselfe the Treasurer, tooke the Ensignes, and did what he could to make the Ensigne-bearers returne backe, reviving Flavius Gallus, because through his folly and desperatenesse he caused many honest and valiant men to be both hurt and flaine to no purpose. Gallus also fell out with him, and commanded his men to slay. Wherefore Titius returned againe into the Army, and Gallus still overthrowing and driving the Enemies backe whom he met in the Voward, he was not ware that he was compassed in: and seeing himselfe environed on all sides, he sent unto the Army, that they should come and aide him, where the Captaines that led the Legions (among the which Canidius, a man of great estimation about Antonius made one), committed many faults. For where they should have made head with the whole Army upon the PARTHIANS, they sent him aide by small companies: and when they were flaine, they sent him others also. So that by their beastliness and lacke of consideration, they had like to have made all the Army flie, if Antonius himselfe had not come from the Front of the Battell with the third Legion, the which came through the midst of them that fled, untill they came to affront the Enemies, and stayed them from chasing any farther. Howbeit at this last conflict there were flaine no lesse then three thousand men and five thousand besides brought force hurt into the Campe, and amongst them also Flavius Gallus, whose body was shot through in foure places, whereof he died. Antonius went to the Tents to visit and comfort the sicke and wounded, and for pities sake he could not reffraine from weeping: and they also shewing him the best countenance they could, tooke him by the hand, and prayed him to go and be dressed, and not to trouble himselfe for them, most reverently calling him their Emperour and Capitaine: and that for themselves, they were whole and safe, so that he had his health. For indeed to say truly, there was not at that time any Emperour or Capitaine that had so great and puissant an Army as his together, both for lusty youths and courage of Souldiers, as also for their patience to away with so great paines and trouble. Furthermore, the obedience and reverence they shewed unto their Capitaine, with a marvellous earnest love and good will, was so great, and all were indifferently (as well great as small, the Noblemen, as meane men, the Captaines as Souldiers) so earnestly bent to esteeme Antonius good will and favour, above their owne life and safety, that in this point

The Parthians
do set upon
Antonius in his
returne.

The boldnes
of Flavius Gal-
lus.

Canidius faulte,
Antonius Cap-
taine.

Flavius Gallus
slaine.
Antonius care
of them that
were wounded.

The love and
reverence of
the Souldiers
unto Antonius.

The care and singular gifts of Antonius.

The King of Parthia never came to fight in the field.

Antonius charitable prayer to the gods for his Army.

The Romans refused, and covering against shot.

Great famine in Antonius Army.

A deadly herbe incurable with cut wine.

The valiantnesse of ten thousand Grecians, whom Xenophon brought away after the overthrow of Cyrus.

of Martiall Discipline, the ancient ROMANES could not have done any more. But divers things were cause thereof, as we have told you before: Antonius Nobility and ancient Houfe, his eloquence, his plaine nature, his liberality and magnificence, and familiarity to sport and be merry in company: but specially the care he tooke at that time to helpe, visite, and lament those that were sicke and wounded, seeing every man to have that which was meete for him, was of such force and effect, as it made them that were sicke and wounded to love him better, and were more desirous to do him service then those that were whole and sound. This Victory lo encouraged the Enemies (who otherwise were weary to follow Antonius any farther) that all night they kept the Fields, and hovered about the ROMANES Campe, thinking that they would presently flie, and that then they should take the spoile of their Campe. So the next morning by breake of day, there were gathered together a far greater number of the PARTHIANS then they were before. For the rumour was, that there were not much fewer then forty thousand Horse, because their King sent thither even the very Guard about his Person, as unto a most certaine and assured Victory, that they might be partners of the spoile and booty they hoped to have had: for as touching the King himselfe, he was never in any Conflict or Battell. Then Antonius desirous to speake to his Souldiers, called for a blacke Gowne to appeare the more pitifull to them: but his friends did dissuade him from it. Therefore he put on his Coat-armour, and being so apparelled, made an Oration to his Army: in the which he highly commended them that had overcome and driven backe their Enemies, and greatly rebuked them that had cowardly turned their backs. So that those which had overcome, prayed him to be of good cheare: the other also to cleare themselves, willingly offered to take the lot of Decimation if he thought good, or otherwise to receive what kinde of punishment should please him to lay upon them, so that he would forget any more to mislike, or to be offended with them. Antonius seeing that, did lift up his hands to heaven, and made his Prayer to the gods, that if in exchange of his former Victories, they would now send him some bitter adversity, then that all might light on himselfe alone, and that they would give the Victory to the rest of his Army. The next morning, they gave better order on every side of the Army, and so marched forward: so that when the PARTHIANS thought to returne againe to assaile them, they came far short of the reckoning. For where they thought to come, not to fight, but to spoile and make havock of all, when they came neare them, they were fore hurt with their Slings and Darts, and such other Javelins as the ROMANES darted at them, and the PARTHIANS found them as rough and desperate in fight, as if they had beene fresh men they had dealt withall. Whereupon their hearts began againe to faile them. But yet when the ROMANES came to go downe any steepe Hills or Mountaines, they would set on them with their Arrowes, because the ROMANES could go downe but faire and softly. But then againe, the Souldiers of the Legion that carried great Shields, returned backe, and inclosed them that were naked or light armed, in the midst among them, and did kneele on one knee on the ground, and so set downe their Shields before them: and they of the second ranke also covered them of the first ranke, and the third also covered the second, and so from ranke to ranke all were covered. Infomuch that this manner of covering and shading themselves with Shields, was devised after the fashion of laying tiles upon Houses, and to fight was like the degrees of a Theater, and is a most strong defence and Bulwarke against all Arrowes and Shot that falleth upon it. When the PARTHIANS saw this countenance of the ROMANES Souldiers of the Legion which kneeled on the ground in that sort upon one knee, supposing that they had beene wearied with travell, they layed downe their Bowes, and tooke their Speares and Launces, and came to fight with them man for man. Then the ROMANES suddenly rose upon their feete, and with the Darts that they threw from them, they slew the foremost, and put the rest to flight, and so did they the next daies that followed. But by means of these dangers and letts, Antonius Army could win no way in a day, by reason whereof they suffered great famine: for they could have but little Corne, and yet were they driven daily to fight for it; and besides that, they had no instruments to grinde it, to make Bread of it. For the most part of them had beene left behinde, because the Beasts that carried them were either dead, or else employed to carry them that were sore and wounded. For the Famine was so extreame great, that the eighth part of a bushell of Wheate was sold for fifty Drachmaes, and they sold Barley-bread by the weight of Silver. In the end they were compelled to live of Herbes and Rootes, but they found few of them that men do commonly eat of, and were enforced to taste of them that were never eaten before: among the which, there was one that killed them, and made them out of their wits. For he that had once eaten of it, his memory went from him, and he knew no manner of thing, but onely busied himselfe in digging and hurling of stones from one place to another, as though it had beene a matter of great weight, and to be done with all possible speede. All the Campe over, men were busily stooping to the ground, digging and carrying of stones from one place to another: but at the last, they cast up a great deale of choler, and died suddenly, because they lacked Wine, which was the onely Sovereigne remedy to cure that disease. It is reported that Antonius seeing such a number of his men die daily, and that the PARTHIANS left them not, neither would suffer them to be at rest, he oftentimes cried out sighing, and said: O ten thousand! He had the valiantnesse of ten thousand GRECIANS in such admiration, whom Xenophon brought away after the overthrow of Cyrus: because they had come a farther Journey from BABYLON, and had also fought against much more Enemies many times told, then themselves, and yet came home with safety. The PARTHIANS therefore seeing that they could not breake the good order of the Army of the ROMANES, and contrarily, that they themselves were oftentimes put to flight, and wellfavouredly beate, they fell againe to their old crafty subtilties. For when they found any of the ROMANES

ROMANES scattered from the Army to go forrage, to seeke some Corne, or other Victuals, they would come to them as if they had beene their friends; and shew them their Bowes unbent, saying, that themselves also did returne home to their Countrey as they did, and that they would follow them no farther: howbeit that they should yet have certaine MEDES that would follow them a daies journey or two, to keepe them that they should do no hurt to the Villages from the high-waies; and so holding them with this talke, they gently tooke their leave of them, and bade them farewell, so that the ROMANES began againe to thinke themselves safe. Antonius also understanding this, being very glad of it, determined to take his way through the plaine Countrey, because also they should finde no water in the Mountaines, as it was reported unto him. So as he was determined to take his course, there came into his Host one Mithridates, a Gentleman from the Enemies Campe, who was Cousin unto Monefes that fled unto Antonius, and unto whom he had given three Cities. When he came to Antonius Campe, he prayed them to bring him one that could speake the PARTHIAN or SYRIAN Tongue. So one Alexander ANTIOCHIAN, a familiar of Antonius, was brought unto him. Then the Gentleman told him what he was, and said that Monefes had sent him to Antonius, to requite the honour and courtesie he had shewed unto him. After he had used this ceremonious speech, he asked Alexander if he saw those high Mountaines afar off, which he pointed unto with his finger. Alexander answered he did. The PARTHIANS (said he) do lie in ambush at the foote of those Mountaines, under the which lieth a goodly plaine champion Countrey: and they thinke that you being deceived with their crafty subtill words, will leave the way of the Mountaines, and turne into the Plaine. For the other way, it is very hard and painfull, and you shall abide great thirst, the which you are well acquainted withall: but if Antonius take the lower way, let him assure himselfe to run the same fortune that Marcus Crassus did. So Mithridates having said, he departed. Antonius was marvellously troubled in his minde when he heard thus much, and therefore called for his friends, to heare what they would say to it. The MARDIAN also that was their guide, being asked his opinion, answered, that he thought as much as the Gentleman Mithridates had said. For, said he, admit that there were no Ambush of Enemies in the Valley, yet it is a long crooked way, and ill to hit: where taking the Mountain way, though it be stony and painfull, yet there is no other danger, but a whole daies travelling without any water. So Antonius changing his first minde and determination, removed that night, and tooke the Mountain way, commanding every man to provide himselfe of water. But the most part of them lacking Vessels to carry water in, some were driven to fill their Sallets and Murrins with water, and others also filled Goates skins to carry water in. Now they marching forward, word was brought unto the PARTHIANS that they were removed: whereupon, contrary to their manner, they presently followed them the self-same night, so that by breake of day they overtook the Rereward of the ROMANES, who were so lame and wearied with going, and lacke of sleepe, that they were even dead. For beyond expectation, they had gone that night, two hundred and forty furlongs, and further, to see their Enemies so suddenly at their backs, that made them utterly despaire: but most of all, the fighting with them increased their thirst, because they were forced to fight as they marched, to drive their Enemies bakke, yet creeping on still. The Voward of the Army by chance met with a River that was very cleare and cold water; but it was salt and venomous to drinke: for straight it did gnaw the guts of those that had drunke it, and made them marvellous dry, and put them into a terrible ache and pricking. And notwithstanding that the MARDIAN had told them of it before, yet they would not be ruled, but violently thrust them backe that would have kept them from drinking, and so dranke. But Antonius going up and downe amongst them, prayed them to take a little patience for a while, for hard by there was another River that the water was excellent good to drinke, and that from thenceforth the way was stony and ill for Horsemen, that the Enemies could follow them no further. So he caused the Retreat to be sounded to call them backe that fought, and commanded the Tents to be set up, that the Souldiers might yet have shadow to refresh them with. So when the Tents were set up, and the PARTHIANS also retired according to their manner, the Gentleman Mithridates before named, returned againe as before, and Alexander in like manner againe was brought unto him for Interpreter. Then Mithridates advised him, that after the Army had reposed a little, the ROMANES should remove forthwith, and with all speede possible get to the River: because the PARTHIANS would go no further, but yet were cruelly bent to follow them thither. Alexander carried the report thereof unto Antonius, who gave him a great deale of Gold Plate to bestow upon Mithridates. Mithridates tooke as much of him as he could well carry away in his Gowne, and so departed with speede. So Antonius raised his Campe being yet day light, and caused all his Army to march, and the PARTHIANS never troubled any of them by the way: but amongst themselves it was as ill and dreadfull a night as ever they had. For there were villaines of their owne company, who cut their fellows throats for the Money they had; and besides that, robbed the Sumpters and Carriage of such Money as they carried, and at length they set upon Antonius Slaves that drave his owne Sumpters and Carriage, they brake goodly Tables and rich Plate in pieces, and divided it among themselves. Thereupon all the Campe was straight in tumult and uprore: for the residue of them were afraid it had beene the PARTHIANS that had given them this Alarum, and had put all the Army out of order. Infomuch that Antonius called for one Rhamnus, one of his Slaves enfranchised that was of his Guard, and made him give him his faith that he would thrust his Sword through him when he would bid him, and cut off his head, because he might not be taken alive of his Enemies, nor knowne when he were dead. This grieved his friends to the heart; that they burst out a weeping for sorrow. Then

Then Parthians very subtill and crafty People.

Mithridates, a Parthian, bewrayed unto Antonius the conspiracy of his owne Countrey-men against him.

A salt River.

Antonius great liberality unto Mithridates, for the care he had of his safety.

The tumult of Antonius Souldiers through covetousnesse.

Antonius desperate minde.

Accusations
betwixt *Octavia*
Cesar, and
Antonius.

Antonius came
with eight
hundred Saile
against *Octavia*
Cesar.

Antonius carried
with him to
the Wars, a-
gainst *Octavia*
Cesar: and
kept great fea-
sting at the
Isle of *Samos*
together.

Antonius put
his Wife *Octavia*
out of his
House at Rome.

withall he brought out *Alexander* in a long Gowne after the fashion of the *Medes*, with a high cockatke Hat on his head, narrow in the top, as the Kings of the *Medes* and *Armenians* do use to wear them: and *Proton* apparelled in a Cloake after the *Macedonian* manner, with Slippers on his feet, and a broad Hat, with a Royall Band of Diadem. Such was the Apparell and old Attire of the ancient Kings and Successors of *Alexander* the Great. So after his Sons had done their humble duties, and kissed their Father and Mother, presently a company of *Armenian* Souldiers, set there of purpose, compassed the one about, and a like company of *Macedonian*s the other. Now for *Cleopatra*, she did not onely weare at that time (but at all other times) else when she came abroad) the Apparell of the goddesse *Isis*, and so gave audience unto all her Subjects, as a new *Isis*. *Octavius Caesar* reporting all these things unto the Senate, and oftentimes accusing him to the whole People and Assembly in Rome, he thereby stirred up all the *Romans* against him. *Antonius* on the other side sent to Rome likewise to accuse him, and the chiefeft points of his accusations he charged him with, were these. First, that having spoiled *Sextus Pompeius* in *Sicily*, he did not give him his part of the Isle. Secondly, that he did detain in his hands the Ships he lent him to make that Warre. Thirdly, That having put *Lepidus* their companion and Triumverate out of his part of the Empire, and having deprived him of all honours, he retained for himself the Lands and Revenues thereof, which had been alligned unto him for his part. And last of all, That he had in manner divided all *Italy* amongst his owne Souldiers, and had left no part of it for his Souldiers. *Octavius Caesar* answered him againe: That for *Lepidus*, he had indeede depofed him, and taken his part of the Empire from him, because he did over-cruelly use his Authority. And secondly, For the Conquests he had made by force of Armes, he was contented *Antonius* should have his part of them, so that he would likewise let him have his part of *Armenia*. And thirdly, That for his Souldiers, they should seeke for nothing in *Italy*, because they possessed *Media* and *Parthia*, the which Provinces they had added to the Empire of Rome, valiantly fighting with their Emperour and Captaine. *Antonius* hearing these newes, being yet in *Armenia*, commanded *Canidius* to go presently to the Sea side with his sixteene Legions he had: and he himselfe with *Cleopatra*, went unto the City of *Ephesus*, and there gathered together his Gallies and Shippes out of all parts, which came to the number of eight hundred, reckoning the great Shippes of burthen: and of those *Cleopatra* furnished him with two hundred and twenty thousand Talents besides, and Provision of Victuals also to maintaine all the whole Army in this Warre. So *Antonius*, through the perswasion of *Domitius*, commanded *Cleopatra* to returne againe into *Egypt*, and there to understand the successe of this Warre. But *Cleopatra* fearing lest *Antonius* should againe be made friends with *Octavius Caesar*, by the meanes of his Wife *Octavia*, she so plied *Canidius* with Money, and filled his purse, that he became her spokeman unto *Antonius*, and told him, there was no reason to send her from this Warre, who defrayed so great a charge: neither that it was for his profit, because thereby the *Egyptians* would then be utterly discouraged, which were the chiefeft strength of the Army by Sea: considering that he could see no King of all the Kings their Confederates, that *Cleopatra* was inferior unto, either for wisdom or judgement, seeing that long before she had wisely governed so great a Realme as *Egypt*; and besides that, she had bene so long acquainted with him, by whom she had learned to manage great Affaires. These faire perswasions wanne him: for it was predestinated that the Government of all the World should fall into *Octavius Caesar*s hands. Thus, all their Forces being joyned together, they hoisted Saile towards the Isle of *Samos*, and there gave themselves to Feasts and solace. For as all the Kings, Princes, and Commonalties, People, and Cities from *Syria*, unto the Marishes *Mæotides*, and from the *Armenians* to the *Illyrians* were sent unto, to send and bring all Munition and warlike preparation they could: even so all Players, Minstrels, Tumblers, Fooles, and Jestlers, were commanded to assemble in the Isle of *Samos*. So that, wherein manner all the World in every place was full of lamentations, sighs and teares, onely in this Isle of *Samos* there was nothing for many daies space but singing and piping, and all the Theater full of these common Players, Minstrels, and Singing-men. Besides all this, every City sent an Oxe thither to sacrifice, and Kings did strive one with another who should make the noblest Feasts, and give the richest Gifts. So that every man said, What can they do more for joy of Victory, if they winne the Battell, when they make already such sumptuous Feasts at the beginning of the Warre? When this was done, he gave the whole rabble of these Minstrels, and such kinde of People, the City of *Priene* to keepe them withall, during this Warre. Then he went unto the City of *Athens*, and there gave himselfe againe to see Playes and Pastimes, and to keepe the Theaters. *Cleopatra* on the other side, being jealous of the Honours which *Octavia* had received in this City, where indeede she was marvellously honoured and beloved of the *Athenians*: to winne the Peoples good will also at *Athens*, she gave them great Gifts: and they likewise gave her many great Honours, and appointed certaine Ambassadors to carry the Decree to her House, among the which *Antonius* was one, who (as a Citizen of *Athens*) reported the matter unto her, and made an Oration in the behalfe of the City. Afterwards he sent to Rome to put his Wife *Octavia* out of his House, who (as it is reported) went out of his House with all *Antonius* Children, saying the eldest of them he had by *Fulvia*, who was with his Father: bewailing and lamenting her cursed hap, that had brought her to this: that she was accounted one of the chiefeft causes of this Civill Warre. The *Romans* did pity her, but much more *Antonius*, and those specially that had seene *Cleopatra*: who neither excelled *Octavia* in beauty, nor yet in young years. *Octavius Caesar* understanding the sudden and wonderfull great preparation of *Antonius*, he was not a little astonied at it (fearing he should be driven to fight

Octavia vint *Cesar*
exacteth grievous
payments
of the *Romans*

Titius and
Planchus re-
volved from *Antonius*, and do
yeild to *Cesar*.

A famous Li-
brary in the
City of *Perga-
mum*.

Furnius, an e-
loquent Ora-
mour among
the *Romans*.

Geminus sent
from Rome to
Antonius, to
bid him take
heed to him-
selfe.

Many of *Antonius*
friends
do forsake him

Antonius Em-
pire taken
from him.

Signes and
wonders be-
fore the Civill
Wars betwixt
Octavius Caesar.

Pharsa, a City
in *Italy*, sunke
into the
Earthquake.

that Summer) because he wanted many things, and the great and grievous exactions of Money did sore oppress the People. For all manner of men else were driven to pay the fourth part of their Goods and Revenue, but the Libertines (to wit, those whose Fathers or other Predecessors had sometime been Bond-men) were fessed to pay the eighth part of all their Goods at one payment. Hereupon there arose a wonderfull exclamation and great uprore all *Italy* over, so that amongst the greatest faults that ever *Antonius* committed, they blamed him most for that he delayed to give *Cesar* Battell. For he gave *Cesar* leisure to make his preparations, and also to appease the complaints of the People. When such a great summe of Money was demanded of them, they grudget at it, and grew to mutiny upon it: but when they had once payed it, they remembered it no more. Furthermore, *Titius* and *Planchus* (two of *Antonius* chiefeft friends, and that had bene both of them Consul) for the great injuries *Cleopatra* did them, because they hindered all they could that she should not come to this War, they went and yeilded themselves unto *Cesar*, and told him where the Testament was that *Antonius* had made, knowing perfectly what was in it. The Will was in the custody of the Vestall Nunnes: of whom *Cesar* demanded it. They answered him, that they would not give it him: but if he would go and take it, they would not hinder him. Thereupon *Cesar* went thither, and having read it first to himselfe, he noted certaine places worthy of reproach: so assembling all the Senate, he read it before them all. Whereupon divers were marvellously offended, and thought it a strange matter, that he being alive, should be punished for that he had appointed by his Will to be done after his death. *Cesar* chiefly tooke hold of this, that he ordained touching his buriall: for he willed that his body, though he died at Rome, should be brought in Funerall pompe through the midst of the Market-place, and that it should be sent into *Alexandria* unto *Cleopatra*. Furthermore, among divers other faults wherewith *Antonius* was to be charged for *Cleopatra*s sake, *Calpurnius* one of *Cesar*s friends reproved him, because he had frankly given *Cleopatra* all the Libraries of the Royall City of *Pergamum*, in the which she had above two hundred thousand severall Bookes. Againe also, that being on a time set at the Table, he suddenly rose from the Board and trod upon *Cleopatra*s foote, which was a signe given betweene them, that they were agreed of. That he had also suffered the *Ephesians* in his presence to call *Cleopatra* their Sovereigne Lady. That divers times sitting in his Tribunal and Chaire of State, giving audience to all Kings and Princes, he had received Love-Letters from *Cleopatra*, written in Tables of Onyx or Chrystal; and that he had read them, sitting in his Imperiall Seate. That one day when *Furnius* a man of great account, and the eloquentest man of all the *Romans*, pleaded a matter before him, *Cleopatra* by chance coming through the Market-place in her Litter where *Furnius* was a pleading, *Antonius* straight rose out of his Seate, and left his Audience to follow her Litter. This notwithstanding, it was thought *Calpurnius* devised the most part of all these Accusations of his owne head. Nevertheless they that loved *Antonius*, were intercessors to the People for him, and amongst them they sent one *Geminus* unto *Antonius*, to pray him he would take heed that through his negligence his Empire were not taken from him, and that he should be counted an enemy to the People of Rome. This *Geminus* being arrived in *Greece*, made *Cleopatra* jealous straight of his coming, because she surmised that he came not but to speake for *Octavia*. Therefore she spared not to taunt him all supper time; and moreover to spight him the more, she made him to be set lowest of all at the Board: the which he tooke patiently, expecting occasion to speake with *Antonius*. Now *Antonius* commanding him at the Table to tell him what winde brought him thither, he answered, That it was no Table-talk, and that he would tell him to morrow morning sitting: but drunke or fasting, howsoever it were, he was sure of one thing, that all would not go well on his side, unlesse *Cleopatra* were sent backe into *Egypt*. *Antonius* tooke these words in very ill part. *Cleopatra* on the other side answered him, Thou dost well *Geminus*, said she, to tell the truth before thou be compelled by torments: but within few daies after, *Geminus* stole away, and fled to Rome. The Flatterers also to please *Cleopatra*, did make her drive many other of *Antonius* faithfull servants and friends from him, who could not abide the injuries done unto them: among the which these two were chiefe, *Marcius Silius*, and *Dellius* the Historiographer, who wrote that he fled because her Physician *Glaukus* told him, that *Cleopatra* had set some secretly to kill him. Furthermore, he had *Cleopatra*s displeasure, because he said one night at Supper, that they made them drinke fowre Wine, where *Sarmentus* at Rome dranke good Wine of *Falerne*. This *Sarmentus* was a pleasant young Boy, such as the Lords at Rome are wont to have about them to make them pastime, which they call their joyes, and he was *Octavius Caesar*s Boy. Now after that *Cesar* had made sufficient preparation, he proclaimed open Warre against *Cleopatra*, and made the People to abolish the Power and Empire of *Antonius*, because he had before given it up unto a Woman. And *Cesar* said furthermore, that *Antonius* was not Master of himselfe, but that *Cleopatra* had brought him beside himselfe by her charmes and amorous poysons: and that they that should make Warre with them, should be *Mardian* the Eunuch, *Photinus*, and *Iras* (a Woman of *Cleopatra*s Bed-chamber, that frizeled her haire, and dressed her head) and *Charmion*, the which were those that ruled all the Affaires of *Antonius* Empire. Before this Warre, as it is reported, many signes and wonders fell out. First of all, the City of *Pisaurum* which was made a Colony to Rome, and replenished with People by *Antonius*, standing upon the Shore side of the Sea Adriatick, was by a terrible Earth-quake sunke into the ground. One of the Images of Stone which was set up in the honour of *Antonius* in the City of *Alba*, did sweate many daies together: and though some wiped it away, yet it left not sweating still. In the City of *Patras* whilst *Antonius* was there, the Temple

U u u

of

An ill signe
foretold by
Swallows
breeding in
Cleopatra's
Ship.

Antonius Pow-
er against
Octavius Caesar.
Antonius had
eight Kings,
and their Pow-
er, to aide
him.

The Army
and Power of
Octavius Caesar
against Anto-
nius.

Antonius Dom-
inions.
Octavius Caesar's
Dominions.
Antonius too
much ruled by
Cleopatra.

Antonius rode
at Anker
at the head of A-
cium: where
the City of
Nicomolis stand-
eth.

* The grace of
this taunt can
not properly
be exprest in
any other
Tongue, be-
cause of the
equivocation
of this word
Toryne, which
signifieth a
City of Alba-
nia, and also a
ladle to scum
the pot with:
as if he meant
Caesar late by
the fire side
scumming of
the pot.

Domitius for-
sake Antonius,
and goeth un-
to Octavius Ca-
sar.

Amyntas and
Deiotarus, do
both revolt
from Antonius,
and go unto
Caesar.

of Hercules was burnt with lightning. And at the City of ATHENS also, in a place where the War of the Giants against the gods is set out in Imagery, the Statue of Bacchus with a terrible winde was throwne downe in the Theater. It was said, that Antonius came of the race of Hercules (as you have heard before) and in the manner of his life he followed Bacchus, and therefore was called the new Bacchus. Furthermore, the same blustering Storme of winde overthrew the great monstrous Images at ATHENS, that were made in the honour of *Enmenes* and *Attalus*, the which men had named and intitled, The *Antonians*: and yet did they hurt none of the other Images, which were many besides. The Admirall Galley of *Cleopatra* was called *Antoniade*, in the which there chanced a marvellous ill signe: Swallows had bred under the Poop of her Ship, and there came others after them that drave away the first, and plucked downe their nests. Now when all things were ready, and that they drew neare to fight, it was found, that Antonius had no lesse then five hundred good Ships of War, among which there were many Gallies that had eight and ten banks of Oars, the which were sumptuously furnished, not so meete for Fight, as for Triumph: an hundred thousand Footmen, and twelve thousand Horsemen; and had with him to aide him these Kings and Subjects following: *Bocchus* King of LYBIA, *Tarcondemus* King of high CILICIA, *Archelus* King of CAPPADOCIA, *Philadelphus* King of PAPHLAGONIA, *Mitridates* King of COMAGENA, and *Adallus* King of THRACIA. All which were there every man in person. The residue that were absent, sent their Armies: as *Polemon* King of PONT, *Alanchus* King of ARABIA, *Herodes* King of JURY; and furthermore, *Amyntas* King of LYCAONIA and of the GALATIANS: and besides all these, he had all the aide the King of MEDES sent unto him. Now for Caesar, he had two hundred and fifty Ships of War, eighty thousand Footmen, and well neare as many Horsemen as his Enemy Antonius. Antonius for his part, had all under his dominion from ARABIA and the River of Euphrates, unto the Sea IONIAM and ILLYRIUM. *Octavius Caesar* had also for his part, all that which was in our Hemisphere or halfe part of the World, from ILLYRIA unto the Ocean Sea upon the West: then all from the Ocean unto Mare Siculum: and from AFRICKE, all that which is against ITALY, as GAULE and SPAIN. Furthermore, all from the Province of CYRENIA to ETHIOPIA, was subject unto Antonius. Now Antonius was made so subject to a womans will, that though he was a great deale the stronger by Land, yet for *Cleopatra's* sake he would needs have this Battell tried by Sea: though he saw before his eyes, that for lacke of water-men, his Captaines did prest by force all forts of men out of GREECE that they could take up in the Field, as travellers, muletters, reapers, harvest-men, and young boyes; and yet could not sufficiently furnish his Gallies: so that the most part of them were empty, and could scant row, because they lacked water-men enough. But on the contrary side, *Caesar's* Ships were not built for pompe, high and great, onely for a fight and bravery, but they were light of yarge, armed and furnished with water-men as many as they needed, and had them all in readinesse in the Havens of TARENTUM and BRUNDISIUM. So *Octavius Caesar* sent unto Antonius, to will him to delay no more time, but to come on with his Army into ITALY: and that for his owne part he would give him safe harbour to land without any trouble; and that he would withdraw his Army from the Sea, as far as one Horse could run, until he had put his Army ashore, and had lodged his men. Antonius on the other side bravely sent him word againe, and challenged the combat of him, man for man, though he were the elder: and that if he refused him so, he would then fight a Battell with him in the Fields of PHARSALIA, as *Julius Caesar* and *Pompey* had done before. Now whilest Antonius rode at Anker, lying idly in Harbour in the head of ACTIUM, in the place where the City of NICOPOLIS standeth at this present, Caesar had quickly passed the Sea IONIAM, and taken a place called TORYNE, before Antonius understood that he had taken Ship. Then began his men to be afraid, because his Army by Land was left behinde. But *Cleopatra* making light of it; And what danger I pray you, said she, if Caesar keepe at *TORYNE? The next morning by breake of day, his Enemies coming with full force of oares in Battell against him, Antonius was afraid, that if they came to joyne, they would take and carry away his Ships that had no men of Warre in them. So he armed all his water-men, and set them in order of Battell upon the fore-Castle of their Ships, and then lift up all his ranks of oares towards the Element, as well on the one side as on the other, with the Prows against the Enemies, at the entry and mouth of the gulfe, which beginneth at the point of ACTIUM: and so kept them in order of Battell, as if they had bene armed and furnished with water-men and Souldiers. Thus *Octavius Caesar* being finely deceived by this Stratagem, retired presently, and therewithall Antonius very wisely and suddenly did cut him off from fresh water. For understanding that the places where *Octavius Caesar* landed had very little store of water, and yet very bad, he shut them in with strong ditches and trenches he cast, to keepe them from failing out at their pleasure, and so to goe seeke water farther off. Furthermore, he dealt very friendly and courteously with *Domitius*, and against *Cleopatra's* minde. For he being sicke of an ague when he went and tooke a little boate to go unto *Caesar's* Campe, Antonius was very sorry for it, but yet he sent after him all his carriage, traine and men: and the same *Domitius*, as though he gave him to understand that he repented his open trea-son, died immediately after. There were certaine Kings also that forsooke him, and turned on *Caesar's* side, as *Amyntas* and *Deiotarus*. Furthermore, his Fleete and Navie that was unfortunate in all things, and unready for service, compelled him to change his minde, and to hazard Battell by Land. And *Canidius* also, who had charge of his Army by Land, when time came to follow Antonius determination, he turned him cleane contrary, and counselled him to send *Cleopatra* backe againe, and himselfe to retire into MACEDON, to fight there on the maine Land. And furthermore told him, that *Discorus* King of the GETES promised to aide him with a great Power: and that it should be no shame

shame nor dishonour to him to let Caesar have the Sea, because himselfe and his men both had bene well practised and exercised in Battels by Sea, in the Warre of SICILIA against *Sextus Pompeius*: but rather that he should go against all reason (he having so great skill and experience of Battels by Land as he had) if he should not imploy the force and valiantnesse of so many lusty armed Footmen as he had ready, but would weaken his Army by dividing them into Ships. But now, notwithstanding all these good perswasions, *Cleopatra* forced him to put all to the hazard of Battell by Sea: considering with her selfe how the might sic and provide for her safety, not to helpe him to winne the Victory, but to sic more easily after the Battell lost. Betwixt Antonius Campe and his Fleete of Ships, there was a great high point of firme Land that ran a good way into the Sea, the which Antonius used often for a walke, without mistrust of feare or danger. One of *Caesar's* men perceived it, and told his Master that he would laugh if they could take up Antonius in the midst of his walke. Thereupon Caesar sent some of his men to lie in ambush for him, and they missed not much of taking him (for they tooke him that came before him) because they discovered too soone, and so Antonius escaped very hardly. So when Antonius had determined to fight by Sea, he set all the other Ships on fire, but threecore Ships of EGYPT, and reserved onely the best and greatest Gallies, from three bankes unto ten bankes of oares. Into them he put two and twenty thousand fighting men, with two thousand darters and slingers. Now as he was setting his men in order of battell, there was a Capitaine, a valiant man, that had served Antonius in many Battels and Conflicts, and had all his body hacked and cut: who, as Antonius passed by him, cried out unto him, and said: O noble Emperour, how cometh it to passe that you trust to these vile brittle Ships? What, do you mistrust these wounds of mine, and this Sword? let the EGYPTIANS and PHOENICIANS fight by Sea, and set us on the maine Land, where we use to conquer, or to be slaine on our feete. Antonius passed by him and said never a word, but onely beckened to him with his hand and head, as though he willed him to be of good courage, although indeed he had no great courage himselfe. For when the Masters of the Gallies and Pilots would have let their Sailes alone, he made them clap them on; saying to colour the matter withall, that not one of his Enemies should scape. All that day and the three daies following, the Sea rose so high, and was so boisterous, that the Battell was put off. The fifth day the storme ceased, and the Sea calmed againe, and then they rowed with force of oares in Battell one against the other: Antonius leading the right Wing with *Publicola*, and *Calius* the left, and *Marcus Octavius*, and *Marcus Iulius* the midst. *Octavius Caesar* on the other side had placed *Agrippa* in the left Wing of his Army, and had kept the right wing for himselfe. For the Armies by Land, *Canidius* was Generall of Antonius side, and *Taurus* of *Caesar's* side: who kept their men in Battell-ray, the one before the other, upon the Sea side, without stirring one against the other. Further, touching both the Chieftaines: Antonius being in a swift Pinnace, was carried up and downe by force of Oares through his Army, and spake to his People to encourage them to fight valiantly, as if they were on maine Land, because of the steadinesse and heavinesse of their Ships: and commanded the Pilots and Masters of the Gallies, that they should not stir, none otherwise then if they were at Anker, and so to receive the first Charge of their Enemies, and that they should not go out of the Streight of the Gulfe. Caesar betimes in the morning going out of his Tent, to see his Ships throughout, met a man by chance that drave an Ass before him: Caesar asked the man what his name was. The poore man told him his name was *Eutychus*, to say Fortunate: and his Asses name *Nicon*, to say Conquerour. Therefore Caesar, after he had wonne the Battell, setting out the Market-place with the Spurres of the Gallies he had taken, for a signe of his Victory, he caused also the man and his Ass to be set up in brasse. When he had visited the order of his Army throughout, he tooke a little Pinnace, and went to the right Wing, and wondered when he saw his Enemies lie still in the Streight, and stirred not. For discerning them as far off, men would have thought they had bene Ships riding at Anker: and a good while he was so perswaded. So, he kept his Gallies eight furlongs from his Enemies. About noone there arose a little gale of winde from the Sea, and then Antonius men waxing angry with tarrying so long, and trusting to the greatnesse and height of their Ships, as if they had bene invincible, they began to march forward with their left Wing. Caesar seeing that, was a glad man, and began a little to give backe from the right Wing, to allure them to come farther out of the Streight and Gulfe, to the end that he might with his light Ships well manned with Water-men, turne and environ the Gallies of the Enemies, the which were heave of yarge, both for their bignesse, as also for lacke of Water-men to row them. When the Skirmish began, and that they came to joyne, there was no great hurt at the first meeting, neither did the Ships vehemently hit one against the other, as they do commonly in fight by Sea. For on the other side, Antonius Ships for their heavinesse could not have the strength and swiftnesse to make their blowes of any force: and *Caesar's* Ships on the other side tooke great heede not to rush and shooke with the fore-Castles of Antonius Ships, whose Prowes were armed with great brazen Spurrs. Furthermore, they durst not flanke them, because their points were easily broken, which way soever they came to set upon their Ships, that were made of great maine square-pieces of Timber, bound together with great iron pins: so that the Battell was much like unto a Battell by Land, or to speake more properly, to the assault of a City. For there were alwaies three or foure of *Caesar's* Ships about one of Antonius Ships, and the Souldiers fought with their Pikes, Halberds and Darts, and threw Halbarde and Darts with fire. Antonius Ships on the other side bestowed among them, with their Crosbowes and Engines of battery, great store of shot from their high Towers of wood that were set upon their Ships. Now *Publicola* seeing *Agrippa* put forth his left Wing

Antonius darter of taking at Actium.

Antonius regardeth not the good counsell of his Souldiers.

Battell by Sea at Actium, betwixt Antonius and Caesar.

A lucky signe unto Octavius Caesar. Eutychus Nicon, fortunate Conquerour.

of *Cæsars* Army, to compasse in *Antonius* Ships that fought, he was driven also to loofe off to have more roome, and to go a little at one side, to put those farther off that were afraid, and in the midst of the Battell: for they were fore distressed by *Arruntius*. Howbeit the Battell was yet of even hand, and the Victory doubtfull, being indifferent to both: when suddenly they saw the threefore *Cleopatra* flie. Ships of *Cleopatra* busily about their Yard-masts, and hoisting Saile to flie. So they fled through the midst of them that were in fight, for they had bene placed behinde the great Ships, and did marvelously disorder the other Ships. For the Enemies themselves wondered much to see them faile in that fort, with full saile towards *PELOPONNESUS*. There *Antonius* shewed plainly, that he had not onely lost the courage and heart of an Emperour, but also of a valiant man; and that he was not his owne man (proving that true which an old man spake in mirth, That the soule of a lover lived in another body, and not in his owne) he was so carried away with the vaine love of this woman, as if he had bene glued unto her, and that she could not have removed without moving of him also. For when he saw *Cleopatra's* Ship under Saile, he forgot, forooke, and betrayed them that fought for him, and imbarqued upon a Galley with five bankes of oares, to follow her that had already begun to overthrow him, and would in the end be his destruction. When she knew his Galley afar off, she lift up a signe in the Poope of her Ship; and so *Antonius* coming to it, was plucked up where *Cleopatra* was: howbeit he saw her not at his first coming, nor she him, but went and fate downe alone in the Prow of his Ship, and said never a word, clapping his head betweene both his hands. In the meane time came certaine light Brigantines of *Cæsars*, that followed him hard. So *Antonius* straight turned the Prow of his Ship, and presently put the rest to flight, saving one *Eurycles* a *LACEDÆMONIAN*, that followed him neare, and pressed upon him with great courage, shaking a Dart in his hand over the Prow, as though he would have throwne it unto *Antonius*. *Antonius* seeing him, came to the fore-Castle of his Ship, and asked him what he was that durst follow *Antonius* so neare? I am, answered he, *Eurycles* the Sonne of *Lachares*, who through *Cæsars* good fortune seeketh to revenge the death of my Father. This *Lachares* was condemned of felony, and beheaded by *Antonius*. But yet *Eurycles* durst not venture upon *Antonius* Ship, but set upon the other Admirall-Galley (for there were two) and fell upon him with such a blow of his brazen Spurre that was so heave and big, that he turned her round, and tooke her, with another that was loaden with very rich stufte and carriage. After *Eurycles* had left *Antonius*, he turned againe to his place, and fate downe, speaking never a word, as he did before: and so lived three daies alone, without speaking to any man. But when he arrived at the head of *Tænarus*, there *Cleopatra's* women first brought *Antonius* and *Cleopatra* to speake together, and afterwards to sup and lie together. Then began there againe a great number of Merchants Ships to gather about them, and some of their friends that had escaped from this overthrow, who brought newes, that his Army by Sea was overthrowne, but that they thought the Army by Land was yet whole. Then *Antonius* sent unto *Canidius*, to returne with his Army into *ASIA* by *MACEDON*. Now for himselfe, he determined to crosse over into *AFRICK*, and tooke one of his Carecks or Hulkes loaden with Gold and Silver, and other rich carriage, and gave it unto his friends, commanding them to depart, and seeke to save themselves. They answered him weeping, that they would neither do it, nor yet forsake him. Then *Antonius* very courteously and lovingly did comfort them, and prayed them to depart; and wrote unto *Theophilus* Governour of *CORINTH*, that he would see them safe, and helpe to hide them in some secret place, untill they had made their way and peace with *Cæsar*. This *Theophilus* was the Father of *Hiparchus*, who was had in great estimation about *Antonius*. He was the first of all his enfranchised Bondmen that revolted from him, and yielded unto *Cæsar*, and afterwards went and dwelt at *CORINTH*. And thus it stood with *Antonius*. Now for his Army by Sea, that fought before the head or foreland of *ACTIUM*, they held out a long time, and nothing troubled them more then a great boisterous winde that rose full in the Prowes of their Ships; and yet with much ado his Navie was at length overthrowne, five houres within night. There were not slaine above five thousand men: but yet there were three hundred Ships taken, as *Octavius Cæsar* writeth himselfe in his Commentaries. Many plainly saw *Antonius* flie, and yet could very hardly believe it, that he that had nineteene Legions whole by Land, and twelve thousand Horsemen upon the Sea side, would so have forsaken them, and have fled so cowardly, as if he had not oftentimes proved both the one and the other fortune, and that he had not bene thoroughly acquainted with the divers changes and fortunes of Battels. And yet his Souldiers still wished for him, and ever hoped that he would come by some meanes or other unto them. Furthermore, they shewed themselves so valiant and faithfull unto him, that after they certainly knew he was fled, they kept themselves whole together seven daies. In the end *Canidius*, *Antonius* Lieutenant, flying by night, and forsaking his Campe, when they saw themselves thus destitute of their Heads and Leaders, they yielded themselves unto the stronger. This done, *Cæsar* sailed towards *ATHENS*, and there made peace with the *GRECIANS*, and divided the rest of the Corne that was taken up for *Antonius* Army, unto the Townes and Cities of *GREECE*, the which had bene brought to extreme misery and poverty, cleane without Money, Slaves, Horse, and other Beasts of carriage. So that my Grandfather *Nicarchus* told, that all the Citizens of our City of *CHERONEA* (not one excepted) were driven themselves to carry a certaine measure of Corne on their shoulders to the Sea side, that lieth directly over against the Isle of *ANTICYRA*, and yet were they driven thither with whips. They carried it thus: but once: for the second time that they were charged againe to make the like carriage, all the Corne being ready to be carried, newes came that *Antonius* had lost the Battell, and so escaped our poore City. For *Antonius* Souldiers

Cleopatra flie.

The soule of a lover liveth in another body.
Antonius flie after *Cleopatra*.

Antonius licen-
seth his friends
to depart, and
giveth them a
Ship loaden
with Gold and
Silver.

Antonius Navy
overthrowne
by *Cæsar*.

Antonius Legi-
ons do veld
themselves un-
to *Octavius Cæ-
sar*.

and Deputies fled immediately, and the Citizens divided the Corne amongst them. *Antonius* being arrived in *LYBIA*, he sent *Cleopatra* before into *EGYPT* from the City of *PARÆTONUM*; and he himselfe remained very solitary, having onely two of his friends with him, with whom he wandered up and downe, both of them Orators, the one *Aristocrates* a *GRECIAN*, and the other *Lucilius* a *ROMANE*: of whom we have written in another place, that at the Battell where *Brutus* was overthrowne, by the City of *PHILIPPE*s, he came and willingly put himselfe into the hands of those that followed *Brutus*, saying that it was he: because *Brutus* in the meane time might have liberty to save himselfe. And afterwards, because *Antonius* saved his life, he still remained with him, and was very faithfull and friendly unto him till his death. But when *Antonius* heard, that he whom he had truted with the Government of *LYBIA*, and unto whom he had given the charge of his Army there, had yielded unto *Cæsar*, he was so mad withall, that he would have slaine himselfe for anger, had not his friends about him withstood him, and kept him from it. So he went unto *ALEXANDRIA*, and there found *Cleopatra* about a wonderfull enterprize, and of great attempt. Betwixt the red Sea, and the Sea betweene the Lands that point upon the Coast of *EGYPT*, there is a little piece of Land that divideth both the Seas, and separateth *AFRICK* from *ASIA*: the which Straight is so narrow at the end where the two Seas are narrowest, that it is not above three hundred furlongs over. *Cleopatra* went about to lift her Ships out of the one Sea, and to hale them over the banke into the other Sea: that when her Ships were come into the Gulfe of *ARABIA*, she might then carry all her Gold and Silver away, and so with a great company of men go and dwell in some place about the Ocean Sea, far from the Sea Mediterræneum, to scape the danger and bondage of this Warre. But now, because the *ARABIANS* dwelling about the City of *PETRA*, did burne the first Ships that were brought to Land, and that *Antonius* thought, that his Army by Land which he left at *ACTIUM* was yet whole, he left off her enterprize, and determined to keep all the ports and passages of her Realme. *Antonius*, he forooke the City and company of his friends, and built him a house in the Sea, by the Isle of *PHAROS*, upon certaine forced mounts which he caused to be cast into the Sea, and dwelt there, as a man that banished himselfe from all mens company: saying that he would leave *Timon's* life, because he had the like wrong offered him, that was before offered unto *Timon*: and that for the unthankfulness of those he had done good unto, and whom he tooke to be his friends, he was angry with all men, and would trust no man. This *Timon* was a Citizen of *ATHENS*, that lived about the Warre of *PELOPONNESUS*, as appeareth by *Plato* and *Aristophanes* Comedies: in the which they mocked him, calling him a viper and malicious man unto mankind, to shun all other mens companies, but the company of young *Alcibiades*, a bold and insolent youth, whom he would greatly feast and make much of, and kissed him very gladly. *Apemantus* wondering at it, asked him the cause what he meant to make so much of that young man alone, and to hate all others: *Timon* answered him, I do it, said he, because I know that one day he shall do great mischief unto the *ATHENIANS*. This *Timon* sometimes would have *Apemantus* in his company, because he was much like of his nature and conditions, and also followed him in manner of life. On a time when they solemnly celebrated the Feast called *Choræ* at *ATHENS* (to wit, the Feasts of the dead where they make Sprinklings and Sacrifices for the dead) and that they two then feasted together by themselves, *Apemantus* said unto the other: O here is a trim Banquet *Timon*. *Timon* answered againe: Yea, said he, so thou wert not here. It is reported of him also, that this *Timon* on a time (the People being assembled in the Market-place about dispatch of some affaires) got up into the Pulpit for Orations, where the Orators commonly use to speake unto the People: and silence being made, every man listening to heare what he would say, because it was a wonder to see him in that place, at length he began to speake in this manner: My Lords of *ATHENS*, I have a little yard at my house where there groweth a Fig-tree, on the which many Citizens have hanged themselves: and because I meane to make some building on the place, I thought good to let you all understand it, that before the Fig-tree be cut downe, if any of you be desperate, you may there in time go hang your selves. He died in the City of *HALES*, and was buried upon the Sea side. Now it chanced so, that the Sea getting in, it compassed his Tombe round about, that no man could come to it: and upon the same was written this Epitaph:

Here lies a Wretched corse, of Wretched soule bereft:
Seeke not my name: a plague consume you wicked Wretches left.

It is reported that *Timon* himselfe, when he lived, made this Epitaph: for that which is commonly rehearsed, was not this, but made by the Poet *Callimachus*:

Here lie I *Timon*, who alive all living men did hate:
Pass by and curse thy fill: but passe, and stay not here thy gate.

Many other things could we tell you of this *Timon*, but this little shall suffice at this present. But now to returne to *Antonius* againe. *Canidius* himselfe came to bring him newes, that he had lost all his Army by Land at *ACTIUM*: on the other side he was advertised also, that *Herodes* King of *JUDIA*, who had also certaine Legions and Bands with him, was revolted unto *Cæsar*, and all the other Kings in like manner: so that saving those that were about him, he had none left him. All this notwithstanding did nothing trouble him: and it seemed that he was contented to forgo all his hope, and so to be rid of all his cares and troubles. Thereupon he left his solitary house he had built by the Sea which he called *Timoneon*, and *Cleopatra* received him into her Royall Palace. He was no sooner come thither, but he straight set all the City on rioting and banquetting againe, and himselfe to liberality and Gifts. He caused the Sonne of *Julius Cæsar* and *Cleopatra*, to be enrolled (according

Lucilius (so-ben
of in *Brutus*
Lile.

The fidelity of
Lucile unto
Antonius.

The wonder-
full attempt of
Cleopatra.

Antonius fol-
loweth the life
and example of
Timon *Aristophanes*
the *Athenian*.
Plato and *Aristophanes* testi-
mony of *Timon*
Misanthropos,
what he was.

The Epitaph
of *Timon* *Misanthropos*.

Antonius riot-
ing in *Alexan-
dria* after his
great losse and
overthrow.
Toga virilis.

her, that she would seeke to save her life, if she could possible, without reproach and dishonour: and that chiefly she should trust *Proculeius* above any man else about *Cesar*. And as for himselfe, that she should not lament nor sorrow for the miserable change of his fortune at the end of his daies: but rather that she should thinke him the more fortunate, for the former Triumphs and Honours he had received; considering that while he lived, he was the noblest and greatest Prince of the World; and that now he was overcome, not cowardly, but valiantly, a ROMANE by another ROMANE. As *Antonius* gave the last gaspe, *Proculeius* came that was sent from *Cesar*. For after *Antonius* had thrust his Sword in himselfe, as they carried him into the Tombs and Monuments of *Cleopatra*, one of his guard (called *Derictus*) tooke his Sword with the which he had stricken himselfe, and hid it: then he secretly stole away, and brought *Octavius Caesar* the first newes of his death, and shewed him his Sword that was bloudied. *Cesar* hearing this newes, straight withdrew himselfe into a secret place of his Tent, and there burst out with teares, lamenting his hard and miserable fortune, that had been his friend and Brother-in-law, his equall in the Empire, and companion with him in sundry great Exploits and Battels. Then he called for all his friends, and shewed them the Letters *Antonius* had written to him, and his Answers also sent him againe, during their quarrell and strife: and how fiercely and proudly the other answered him, to all just and reasonable matters he wrote unto him. After this, he sent *Proculeius*, and commanded him to do what he could possible to get *Cleopatra* alive, fearing lest otherwise all the Treasure would be lost: and furthermore, he thought that if he could take *Cleopatra*, and bring her alive to ROME, she would marvellously beautifie and set out his Triumph. But *Cleopatra* would never put her selfe into *Proculeius* hands, although they spake together. For *Proculeius* came to the Gates that were thick and strong, and surely barred, but yet there were some cranes, through the which her voice might be heard, and so they without understood, that *Cleopatra* demanded the Kingdome of EGYPT for her Sonnes: and that *Proculeius* answered her: That she should be of good cheare, and not be afraid to refer all unto *Cesar*. After he had viewed the place very well, he came and reported her answer unto *Cesar*: who immediately sent *Gallus* to speake once againe with her, and bade him purposely hold her in talke, whilest *Proculeius* did set up a Ladder against the high window by the which *Antonius* was trised up, and came downe into the Monument with two of his men hard by the gate, where *Cleopatra* stood to heare what *Gallus* said unto her. One of her women which was shut up in her Monuments with her, saw *Proculeius* by chance as he came downe, and skreeked out: O poore *Cleopatra*, thou art taken. Then when she saw *Proculeius* behinde her, as she came from the gate, she thought to have stabbed her selfe in with a short dagger the wore of purpose by her side. But *Proculeius* came suddenly upon her, and taking her by both the hands, said unto her: *Cleopatra*, first, thou shalt do thy selfe great wrong; and secondly, unto *Cesar*, to deprive him of the occasion and opportunity, openly to shew his bounty and mercy, and to give his Enemies cause to accuse the most courteous and noble Prince that ever was, and to appeach him, as though he were a cruell and mercilesse man, that were not to be trusted. So even as he spake the word, he tooke her dagger from her, and shooke her clothes for feare of any poyson hidden about her. Afterwards, *Cesar* sent one of his infranchised men called *Epaphroditus*, whom he straightly charged to looke well unto her, and to beware in any case that she made not her selfe away: and for the rest, to use her with all the courtesie possible. And for himselfe, he in the meane time entred the City of ALEXANDRIA, and (as he went) talked with the Philosopher *Arrius*, and held him by the hand, to the end that his Countreymen should reverence him the more, because they saw *Cesar* so highly esteeme and honour him. Then he went into the Shew-place of Exercises, and so up to his Chaire of State which was prepared for him of a great height: and there according to his commandement, all the People of ALEXANDRIA were assembled, who quaking for feare, fell downe on their knees before him, and craved mercy. *Cesar* bade them all stand up, and told them openly that he forgave the People, and pardoned the felonies and offences they had committed against him in this War. First, for the Founders sake of the same City, which was *Alexander* the Great: secondly, for the beauty of the City, which he much esteemed and wondred at: thirdly, for the love he bare unto his very friend *Arrius*. Thus did *Cesar* honour *Arrius*, who craved pardon for himselfe and many others, and specially for *Philostatus*, the eloquentest man of all the Sophisters and Orators of his time, for present and sudden speech: howbeit, he falsly named himselfe an Academick Philosopher. Therefore *Cesar* that hated his nature and conditions, would not heare his suite. Thereupon he let his gray beard grow long, and followed *Arrius* step by step in a long morning gowne, still buzzing in his eares this Greeke Verse:

*A wise man, if thou be wise indeede,
May by a wise man have the better speed.*

Cesar understanding this, not for the desire he had to deliver *Philostatus* of his feare, but to rid *Arrius* of malice and envie that might have fallen out against him, he pardoned him. Now touching *Antonius* Sonnes, *Antyllus*, his eldest Sonne by *Fulvia* was slaine, because his Schoolmaster *Theodorus* did betray him unto the Souldiers, who strake off his head. And the Villaine tooke a precious Stone of great value from his neck, the which he did sowe in his girdle, and afterwards denied that he had it: but it was found about him, and so *Cesar* trusted him up for it. For *Cleopatra*'s Children, they were very honourably kept, with their Governours and Traine that waited on them. But for *Cesarion*, who was said to be *Julius Cæsars* Sonne, his Mother *Cleopatra* had sent him unto the INDIANS through ETHIOPIA, with a great summe of Money. But one of his Governours also called *Rhodon*, even such another as *Theodorus*, perswaded him to returne into his Countrey, and told him that *Cesar* sent for him to give him his Mothers Kingdome. So, as *Cesar* was determining with himselfe what he should do, *Arrius* said unto him:

Too

*Too many Cæsars is not good.
Alluding unto a certaine Verse of Homer, that saith:
Too many Lords do not well.*

Therefore *Cesar* did put *Cesarion* to death, after the death of his Mother *Cleopatra*. Many Princes, great Kings and Captaines did crave *Antonius* body of *Octavius Caesar*, to give him honourable buriall: but *Cesar* would never take it from *Cleopatra*, who did sumptuously and royally bury him with her owne hands, whom *Cesar* suffered to take as much as she would to bestow upon his Funerals. Now was she altogether overcome with sorrow and passion of minde, for she had knocked her breast so pitifully, that she had martyred it, and in divers places had raised ulcers and inflammations, so that she fell into a feaver withall: whereof she was very glad, hoping thereby to have good colour to abtaine from meate, and that so she might have died easily without any trouble. She had a Physician called *Olympus*, whom she made privie to her intent, to the end he should helpe to rid her out of her life: as *Olympus* writeth himselfe, who wrote a Booke of all these things. But *Cesar* mistrusted the matter, by many conjectures he had, and therefore did put her in feare, and threatened her to put her children to shamefull death. With these threats, *Cleopatra* for feare yielded straight, as she would have yielded unto strokes: and afterwards suffered her selfe to be cured and dieted as they listed. Shortly after, *Cesar* came himselfe in person to see her, and to comfort her. *Cleopatra* being layed upon a little low bed in poore estate (when she saw *Cesar* come into her Chamber) suddenly rose up, naked in her smock, and fell downe at his feete marvellously disfigured: both for that she had plucked her haire from her head, as also for that she had martyred all her face with her nailes; and besides, her voice was small and trembling, her eyes sunke into her head with continuall blubbering; and moreover, they might see the most part of her stomach torne in sunder. To be short, her body was not much better then her minde: yet her good grace and comelinesse, and the force of her beauty was not altogether defaced. But notwithstanding this ugly and pitifull state of hers, yet she shewed her selfe within, by her outward lookes and countenance. When *Cesar* had made her lye downe againe, and sat by her beds side: *Cleopatra* began to cleare and excuse her selfe for that she had done, laying all to the feare she had of *Antonius*. *Cesar* in contrary manner, reprovew her in every point. Then she suddenly altered her speech, and prayed him to pardon her, as though she were afraid to die, and desirous to live. At length, she gave him a brieft and memoriall of all the ready money and treasure she had. But by chance there stood one *Selenus* by, one of her Treasurers, who to seeke a good Servant, came straight to *Cesar* to disprove *Cleopatra*, that she had not set in all, but kept many things backe of purpose. *Cleopatra* was in such a rage with him, that she flew upon him, and tooke him by the haire of the head, and boxed him well-favouredly. *Cesar* fell a laughing and parted the fray. Alas, said she, O *Cesar*: is not this a great shame and reproach, that thou having vouchsafed to take the paines to come unto me, and done me this honour, poore wretch, and cattife creature, brought into this pitifull and miserable state: and that mine owne Servants should come now to accuse me? though it may be I have reserved some Jewels and trifles meete for women, but not for me (poore soule) to set out my selfe withall, but meaning to give some pretty Presents and Gifts unto *Octavius* and *Livia*, that they making meanes and intercession for me to thee, thou mightest yet extend thy favour and mercy upon me. *Cesar* was glad to heare her say so, perswading himselfe thereby that she had yet a desire to save her life. So he made her answer, that he did not onely give her that to dispose of at her pleasure, which she had kept backe, but further promised to use her more honourably and bountifully, then she would thinke for: and so he tooke his leave of her, supposing he had deceived her, but indeed he was deceived himselfe. There was a young Gentleman, *Cornelius Dolabella*, that was one of *Cæsars* very great familiars, and besides did beare no ill will unto *Cleopatra*. He sent her word secretly (as she had requested him) that *Cesar* determined to take his journey through SYRIA, and that within three daies he would send her away before with her Children. When this was told *Cleopatra*, she requested *Cesar* that it would please him to suffer her to offer the last Oblations of the dead, unto the soule of *Antonius*. This being granted her, she was carried to the place where his Tombe was, and there falling downe on her knees, embracing the Tombe with her women, the teares running downe her cheekes, she began to speake in this sort: "O my deare Lord *Antonius*, it is not long sithence I buried thee here, being a free woman: and now I offer unthankfull to thee the funerall sprinklings and oblations, being a captive and prisoner: and yet I am forbidden and kept from tearing and murdering this captive body of mine with blowes, which they carefully guard and keepe, onely to triumph of thee: looke therefore henceforth for no other honours, offerings, nor sacrifices from me: for these are the last which *Cleopatra* can give thee, sith now they carry her away. Whilest we lived together, nothing could sever our companies; but now at our death, I feare me they will make as change our Countreys. For as thou being a ROMANE, hast been buried in EGYPT: even so wretched creature I an EGYPTIAN, shall be buried in ITALY, which shall be all the good that I have received by thy Countrey. If therefore the gods where thou art now have any power and authority, sith our gods here have forsaken us, suffer not thy true friend and lover to be carried away alive, that in me they triumph of thee: but receive me with thee, and let me be buried in one selfe Tombe. For though my griefes and miseries be infinite, yet none hath grieved me more, nor that I could lesse beare withall, then this small time that I have been driven to live alone without thee. Then having ended these dolefull plaints, and crowned the Tombe with Garlandes and sundry Nolegays, and marvellous lovingly embraced the same, she commanded they should prepare her Bath; and when she had bathed and washed her selfe, she fell to her meate, and was

The saying of
Arrius the Philo-
sopher.

Cesarion, *Cleo-
patra*'s Sonne,
put to death.
Cleopatra burie-
th *Antonius*.

Olympus, *Cleo-
patra*'s Physician.

Cesar came to
see *Cleopatra*.

Cleopatra, a
martyred crea-
ture through
her owne passi-
on and fury.

Selenus, one of
Cleopatra's
Treasurers.
Cleopatra beate
her Treasurer
before *Octavius
Cesar*.
Cleopatra's
words unto
Cesar.

Cleopatra finely
deceiveth *Octa-
vius Caesar*, as
though she de-
sired to live.

Cleopatra's la-
mentation over
Antonius
Tombe.

The death of
Antonius.

Octavius Caesar
lamenteth *Anto-
nius* death.

Proculeius sent
by *Octavius Cæ-
sar* to bring
Cleopatra alive.

Cleopatra taken.

Cesar tooke the
City of *Alex-
andria*.
Cesar greatly
honoured *Ar-
rius* the Philo-
sopher.

Philostatus the
eloquentest Or-
ator: in his
time, for pre-
sent speech up-
on a sudden.

Antyllus, *Anto-
nius* eldest Son
by *Fulvia*,
slaine.

The death of Cleopatra.

Cleopatraes two waiting-women dead with her:

Cleopatra killed with the biting of an Aspick.

The Images of Cleopatra, carried in Triumph at Rome with an Aspick biting of her arme.
The age of Cleopatra and Antonius.

Of Antonius Issue came Emperours.

was sumptuously served. Now whilst she was at dinner, there came a Countreyman and brought her a basket. The Souldiers that warded at the gates, asked him straight what he had in his Basket. He opened his basket, and tooke out the leaves that covered the figs, and shewed them that they were figs he brought. They all of them marvelled to see so goodly figs. The Countreyman laughed to heare them, and bade them take some if they would. They believed he told them truly, and so bade him carry them in. After Cleopatra had dined, she sent a certaine Table written and sealed unto Caesar, and commanded them all to go out of the Tombes where she was, but the two women; then she shut the doores to her. Caesar when he received this Table, and began to reade her lamentation and petition, requesting him that he would let her be buried with Antonius, found straight what she meant, and thought to have gone thither himselfe: howbeit, he sent one before in all haste that might be, to see what it was. Her death was very sudden: for those whom Caesar sent unto her, ran thither in all haste possible, and found the Souldiers standing at the gate, mistrusting nothing, nor understanding of her death. But when they had opened the doores, they found Cleopatra starke dead, laid upon a bed of Gold, attired and arrayed in her Royall Robes, and one of her two women, which was called Iras, dead at her feete: and her other woman (called Charmion) halfe dead, and trembling, trimming the Diademe which Cleopatra wore upon her head. One of the Souldiers seeing her, angrily said unto her: Is that well done Charmion? Very well, said she, and meete for a Princesse descended from the race of so many noble Kings: she said no more, but fell downe dead hard by the bed. Some report, that this Aspick was brought unto her in the basket with figs, and that she had commanded them to hide it under the fig-leaves, that when she should thinke to take out the figs, the Aspick should bite her before she should see her: howbeit, that when she would have taken away the leaves for the figs, she perceived it, and said, Art thou here then? And so her arme being naked, she put it to the Aspick to be bitten. Other say againe, she kept it in a boxe, and that she did prick and thrust it with a spindle of gold, so that the Aspick being angered withall, leapt out with great fury, and bit her in the arme. Howbeit few can tell the troth. For they report also, that she had hidden poyson in a hollow razor which she carried in the haire of her head: and yet was there no marke seene on her body, or any signe discerned that she was poysoned, neither also did they finde this Serpent in her Tombe: but it was reported onely, that there was seene certaine fresh steps or tracks where it had gone, on the Tombe side toward the Sea, and specially by the doore side. Some say also, that they found two little pretty bitings in her arme, scant to be discerned: the which it seemeth Caesar himselfe gave credit unto, because in his Triumph he carried Cleopatra's Image, with an Aspick biting of her arme. And thus goeth the report of her death. Now Caesar, though he was marvellous sorry for the death of Cleopatra, yet he wondered at her noble minde and courage, and therefore commanded the should be nobly buried, and laid by Antonius: and willed also that her two women should have honourable buriall. Cleopatra died being eight and thirty yeares old, after she had reigned two and twenty yeares, and governed about fourteene of them with Antonius. And for Antonius, some say that he lived three and fifty yeares: and others say, six and fifty. All his Statues, Images, and Mettals, were plucked downe and overthrowne, saving those of Cleopatra, which stood still in their places, by meanes of Archibius one of her friends, who gave Caesar a thousand Talents that they should not be handled as those of Antonius were. Antonius left seven children by three wives, of the which, Caesar did put Antyllus (the eldest Son he had by Fulvia) to death. Octavia his wife tooke all the rest, and brought them up with hers, and married Cleopatra, Antonius Daughter, unto King Iuba, a marvellous courteous and goodly Prince. And Antonius (the Sonne of Fulvia) came to be so great, that next unto Agrippa, who was in greatest estimation about Caesar, and next unto the children of Livia, which were the second in estimation: he had the third place. Furthermore, Octavia having had two Daughters by her first husband Marcellus, and a Sonne also called Marcellus, Caesar married his Daughter unto that Marcellus, and so did adopt him for his Son. And Octavia also married one of her Daughters unto Agrippa. But when Marcellus was dead, after he had been married a while, Octavia perceiving that her Brother Caesar was very busie to choose some one among his friends, whom he trusted best, to make his Sonne-in-law, she perswaded him, that Agrippa should marry his Daughter (Marcellus widow) and leave her owne Daughter. Caesar first was contented withall, and then Agrippa: and so the afterwards tooke away her Daughter and married her unto Antonius; and Agrippa married Julia, Caesars Daughter. Now there remained two Daughters more of Octavia and Antonius: Domitius Enobarbus married the one; and the other, which was Antonia, so faire and vertuous a young Lady, was married unto Drusus the Sonne of Livia, and Sonne-in-law of Caesar. Of this marriage came Germanicus and Clodius: of the which, Clodius afterwards came to be Emperour. And of the Sonnes of Germanicus, the one whose name was Caius, came also to be Emperour: who after he had licentiously reigned a time, was slaine, with his Wife and Daughter. Agrippina also (having a Son by her first Husband Enobarbus, called Lucius Domitius) was afterwards married unto Clodius, who adopted her Sonne, and called him Nero Germanicus. This Nero was Emperour in our time, who slew his owne Mother, and had almost destroyed the Empire of Rome, through his madnesse and wicked life, being the fifth Emperour of Rome after Antonius.

The end of the Life of Antonius.

THE

THE COMPARISON OF DEMETRIUS with ANTONIVS.



Now, sihence it falleth out, that Demetrius and Antonius were one of them much like to the other, having fortune alike diverse and variable unto them; let us therefore come to consider their Power and Authority, and how they came to be so great. First of all, it is certaine that Demetrius Power and Greatnesse fell unto him by inheritance from his Father Antigonus: who became the greatest and mightiest Prince of all the Successors of Alexander, and had won the most part of Asia, before Demetrius came of full age. Antonius in contrary manner, borne of an honest man, who otherwise was no man of Warre, and had not left him any meanes to arise to such greatnesse, durst take upon him to contend for the Empire with Caesar, that had no right unto it by inheritance, but yet made himselfe Successor of the Power, the which the other by great paine and travell had obtained, and by his owne industry became so great, without the helpe of any other, that the Empire of the whole World being divided into two parts, he had the one halfe, and tooke that of the greatest countenance and power. Antonius being absent, oftentimes overcame the PARTIANS in Battell by his Lieutenants, and chased away the barbarous People dwelling about Mount Caucasus, unto the Sea Hyrcanium, inso much as the thing they most reprove him for, did most witness his greatnesse. For Demetrius Father made him gladly marry Phila, Antipaters Daughter, although she was too old for him: because she was of a nobler House then himselfe. Antonius on the other side was blamed for marrying of Cleopatra, a Queene that for her Power and Nobility of Blood, excelled all other Kings in her time, but Asfaxes: and moreover, made himselfe so great, that others thought him worthy of greater things, then he himselfe required. Now for the desire that moved the one and the other to conquer Realmes, the desire of Demetrius was unblameable and just, desiring to reigne over People which had beene governed at all times, and desired to be governed by Kings. But Antonius desire was altogether wicked and tyrannicall, who sought to keepe the People of Rome in bondage and subjection; but lately before rid of Caesars reigne and government. For the greatest and most famous Exploit Antonius ever did in Warres (to wit, the Warre in the which he overthrowne Cassius and Brutus) was begun to no other end, but to deprive his Countrey men of their Liberty and Freedome. Demetrius in contrary manner, before Fortune had overthrowne him, never left to set Greece at liberty, and to drive the Garisons away, which kept the Cities in bondage; and not like Antonius, that boasted he had slaine them that had set Rome at liberty. The chieftest thing they commended in Antonius was his liberality and bounty, in the which Demetrius excelled him so far, that he gave more to his Enemies, then Antonius did to his friends: although he was marvellously well thought of, for the honourable and sumptuous Funerall he gave unto Brutus body. Howbeit Demetrius caused all his Enemies to be buried that were slaine in Battell, and returned unto Ptolemy the Prisoners he had taken, with great Gifts and Presents he gave them. They were both in their prosperity, very riotously and licentiously given: but yet no man can ever say, that Demetrius did at any time ever let slip any opportunity or occasion to follow great matters, but onely gave himselfe indeed to pleasure, when he had nothing else to do. And further, to say truly, he tooke pleasure of Lamia, as a man would have a delight to heare one tell tales, when he had nothing else to do, or is desirous to sleepe: but indeed when he was to make any preparation for Warre, he had not then Ivie at his Darts end, nor had his Helmet perfumed, nor came out of the Ladies Closets picked and prynced to go to Battell: but he let all dancing and sporting alone, and became as the Poet Euripides saith:

The Souldier of Mars, cruel and bloody.

The Power of Demetrius and Antonius.

Demetrius and Antonius ambition to govern.

The liberality and bounty of Demetrius and Antonius.

Demetrius and Antonius riots.

But

Canobus and
Taphosiris.

Demetrius and
Antonius
Wives.

Antonius the
first Roman
that ever mar-
ried two wives
together.

Demetrius la-
civiousness.

Dogs not suf-
fered in Athens
Cattle, because
of bitchery.

The love and
impiety, the
faith and fal-
shood of De-
metrius and An-
tonius.

Demetrius and
Antonius acts
in Wars.

But to conclude, he never had overthrow or misfortune through negligence, not by delaying time to follow his owne pleasure; as we see in painted Tables, where *Omphale* secretly stealeth away *Hercules* Club, and tooke his Lions skin from him: even so *Cleopatra* oftentimes unarmed *Antonius*, and enticed him to her, making him lose matters of great importance, and very needfull Journeys, to come and be dandled with her, about the Rivers of *Canobus*, and *Taphosiris*. In the end, as *Parrus* fled from the Battell, and went to hide himselfe in *Helens* armes: even so did he in *Cleopatra's* armes; or to speake more properly, *Paris* hid himselfe in *Helens* Closet, but *Antonius* (to follow *Cleopatra*) fled and lost the Victory. Furthermore, *Demetrius* had many Wives that he had married, and all at one time: the which was not disallowable or not forbidden by the Kings of *MACEDON*, but had beene used from *Philip* and *Alexander's* time; as also King *Lyfimachus* and *Proton* had; and did honour all them that he married. But *Antonius* first of all married two Wives together, the which never *ROMAN* durst do before, but himselfe. Secondly, he put away his first *ROMAN* Wife, which he had lawfully married, for the love of a strange woman, he fondly fell in fancy withall, and contrary to the Lawes and Ordinances of *ROME*. And therefore *Demetrius* Marriages never hurt him, for any wrong he had done to his Wives: but *Antonius* contrarily, was undone by his Wives. Of all the lascivious parts *Antonius* played, none were so abominable, as this onely fact of *Demetrius*. For the Historiographers write, that they would not suffer dogs to come into the Castle of *ATHENS*, because of all Beasts he is too busie with bitchery: and *Demetrius*, in *Minerva's* Temple it selfe lay with Curtizans, and there defiled many Citizens Wives. And besides all this, the horrible vice of cruelty, which a man would thinke were least mingled with these wanton delights, is joyned with *Demetrius* contumelience: who suffered (or more properly, compelled) the goodliest young Boy of *ATHENS*, to die a most pitifull death, to save himselfe from violence, being taken. And to conclude, *Antonius* by his incontinency, did no hurt but to himselfe, and *Demetrius* did hurt unto all others. *Demetrius* never hurt any of his friends: but *Antonius* suffered his Uncle by his Mothers side to be slaine, that he might have his will of *Cicero* to kill him: a thing so damnable, wicked, and cruell of it selfe, that he hardly deserved to have beene pardoned, though he had killed *Cicero*, to have saved his Uncles life. Now where they falsified and brake their oaths, the one making *Artabazus* prisoner, and the other killing of *Alexander*, *Antonius* out of doubt had best cause, and justest colour: for *Artabazus* had betrayed him, and forsaken him in *MEDIA*. But *Demetrius* (as divers do report) devised a false matter to accuse *Alexander*, to cloake the murder he had committed: and some thinke he did accuse him, to whom he himselfe had done injury unto: and was not revenged of him, that would do him injury. Furthermore, *Demetrius* himselfe did noble feats of Warre, as we have recited of him before: and contrarily, *Antonius* when he was not there in person, wan many famous and great Victories by his Lieutenants: and were both overthrowne being personally in Battell, but yet not both after one sort. For the one was forsaken of his men, being *MACEDONIANS*, and the other contrarily forooke his that were *ROMANS*: for he fled, and left them that ventured their lives for his honour. So that the fault the one did, was, that he made them his Enemies that fought for him: and the fault in the other, that he so beastly left them that loved him best, and were most faithfull to him. And for their deaths, a man cannot praise the one or the other, but yet *Demetrius* death was the more reproachfull: for he suffered himselfe to be taken Prisoner, and when he was sent away to be kept in a strange place, he had the heart to live yet three yeares longer, to serve his mouth and belly, as brute Beasts do. *Antonius* on the other side, slew himselfe (to confesse a troth) cowardly, and miserably, to his great paine and griefe: and yet was it before his body came into his Enemies hands.



THE

THE LIFE OF ARTAXERXES.



Ann. Mund.
3545

Ant. Christ.
403



Artaxerxes, the first of this Name of all the Kings of *PERSIA*, a Noble and courteous Prince as any of all his House, was firnamed Long-hand, because his right hand was longer then his left; and he was the Sonne of King *Xerxes*. But the second, whose Life we presently intend to Write, was firnamed *Mnemon*, as much to say, Great memory: and he was the Son of the Daughter of the first *Artaxerxes*. For King *Darius*, and his Wife *Parysatis*, had four Sons, of the which, the eldest was this *Artaxerxes*, the second *Cyrus*, and two other younger, *Ostanes* and *Oxathres*. *Cyrus* from the beginning bare the Name of the former Ancient *Cyrus*, which in the *PERSIAN* Tongue signifieth the Sun. But *Artaxerxes* was called before *Arscus*, although *Dion* writeth, that he was called *Oarses*. Howbeit it is unlikely, that *Ctesias* (although his Bookes otherwise be full of Fables, and as untrue as they are fond) should forget the Name of the Prince with whom he dwelt, whom he served, and continually followed, both him, his Wife and Children. *Cyrus* from his cradle was of a hot stirring minde, and *Artaxerxes* in contrary manner, more milde and gentle in all his actions and doings. He was married to a very faire Lady, by his Father and Mothers commandement: and afterwards kept her against their wils, being forbidden by them. For King *Darius* his Father, having put his Sons Wives Brother to death, he would also have put her to death: but her Husband with teares made such humble suite to his Mother for her, that with much ado, he did not onely get pardon for her life, but grant also that she should not be put from him. This notwithstanding, his Mother alwaies loved *Cyrus* better then him, and prayed that he might be King after his Fathers death. Wherefore *Cyrus* being in his Provinces of *ASIA* by the Sea side, when he was sent for to come to the Court, at what time his Father lay sick of the Disease he died: he went thither in good hope his Mother had prevailed with his Father, that in his Will he would make him his Heire of the Realme of *PERSIA*. For his Mother *Parysatis* alledged a matter very probable, and the which in old time did help King *Xerxes* in the like case, through *Demaratus* counsell. She said that *Arscus* was borne before her Husband *Darius* was King, and *Cyrus* after he was crowned King. All this could not prevail: for her eldest Son *Arscus*, firnamed *Artaxerxes*, was assigned King of *PERSIA*, and *Cyrus* Governour of *LYDIA*, and the Kings Lieutenant-Generall of all the low Countries of *ASIA* toward the Sea side. Shortly after King *Darius* death, the new King *Artaxerxes* went unto *Pasargades*, there to be consecrated and anointed King by the Priests of the Countrey of *PERSIA*. The place of this *Pasargades*, is a Temple dedicated unto *Minerva* the goddesse of Battels, as I take it, where the new King must be consecrated; and when he cometh

The Parenage
of Artaxerxes
Mnemon.

The diverſity
of natures be-
twixt Cyrus and
Artaxerxes.

Arſcus ſirna-
med Artaxer-
xes, assigned to
be King of
Perſia.

X x x

cometh

Safety in a
Generally, re-
quisite in Bat-
telle.
Clearchus co-
wardliness re-
proved.

himself into great danger. *Clearchus* selfe also committed as a great fault (if it were not worse,) when he would not set his men in order directly against the Battell of the Enemies, where the Kings Person stood, but went and penn'd them up by the Rivers side, being afraid lest they should have been compass'd in behinde. For if he would have looked so straightly to himselfe, and have provided every way for his safety, that no man might come to hurt him, he should have kept himselfe at home, and not have stirred one foot out of the doores. But sith he had come so farre, as from the low Countries of ASIA, unto the place where the Field was fought, and uncompell'd, only to put *Cyrus* in his Fathers Seat and Imperiall Crown; to go chuse a place in the Battell, not where he might do his Lord best service that had hired him, but rather where he might fight more at his ease, and at lesse danger, it was even as much, as if through cowardinesse his wits had been taken from him when he should have fought, or that through treason he had forsaken his Enterprise. For, to prove that the Troopes which were about the Kings person, had never been able to have received the charge of the GRECIANS, and that those being overthrowne, the King had been slaine in the Field, or else forced to flie, and that *Cyrus* had wonne the Field, and by this Victory had been King, the successe of this Battell doth plainly shew it. And therefore *Clearchus* over-curious respect, deserved more blame for the losse of this Battell, then *Cyrus* over hardinesse. For if King *Artaxerxes* would have chosen or wished a place where the GRECIANS might have done him lesse hurt, he could not have devised a fitter place that was so farre from him, and from whence the GRECIANS could neither see nor heare what was done where he was, as it fell out in sequelle. For *Cyrus* was slaine before he could prevail by *Clearchus* Victory, he was so farre from him: and furthermore, *Cyrus* therein knew before what was meetest to be done. For he commanded *Clearchus* to place himselfe with his company in the midst of the Battell: who answered him, he should take no thought for any thing, for he would see all things well ordered. And when he had said so, he marred all afterwards: for where the GRECIANS were, they overthrow the barbarous People that made head against them, and had them in chafe while they were weary of following them. *Cyrus* being mounted upon a hot stirring Horse, that had a hard head, and was very fierce and dogged, called *Pasacas*, as *Ctesias* writeth, *Artagerfes*, the Governour of the Province of the CADUSIANS, spied him a farre off, and when he had found him, clapped spurres to his Horse, and came with full carriere unto him, and cryed out: O Traytour, and most unfaithfull and desperate man, thou now dishonourest the name of *Cyrus* (which is the goodliest and most honourable name of all the PERSIANS,) for that thou hast brought so valiant GRECIANS hither to so wicked an enterprise, to spoile the PERSIANS goods, in hope to destroy thy soveraigne Lord and onely Brother, who hath an infinite number of slaves and Servants farre honeste men then thou wilt be while thou livest; and that thou shalt presently know by proof, for thou shalt die before thou see the King thy Brothers face: and therewithall he threw his Dart at him with all the force he had. But *Cyrus* Armour was so good, that it pierced him not: yet the blow came with such good will, that it made him stagger on his Horse backe. When *Artagerfes* had given him that blow, he presently turned his Horse. But *Cyrus* therewithall threw a Dart at him so happily, that he slew him right in the place above the bone that joyneth the two shoulders together: so that the head of his Dart, ran quite through his neck. Now, that *Cyrus* slew *Artagerfes* with his own hands in the Field, all the Historiographers do agree upon it: but for the death of *Cyrus*, because *Xenophon* toucheth it but a little by the way, for that he was not present in the very place where he was slaine, it shall not be hurtfull particularly to set down the manner thereof, both according to the report of *Dion*, and also of *Ctesias*. First, *Dion* writeth, that after *Cyrus* had slaine *Artagerfes*, he went with great fury, and flew in amongst the Troope of them which were nearest unto the Kings Person, and that he came so neare the King, that he slew his Horse flatke dead under him, and the King fell to the ground withall. But *Tiribazus* that was hard by him, straight mounted the King againe upon another Horse, and said unto him: Your Grace will remember this Battell another day, for it is not to be forgotten. And *Cyrus* clapping spurres againe to his Horse, threw another Dart at *Artaxerxes*, and hit him. But at the third charge, the King told them that were about him, he could not abide this, and that he had rather die then suffer it: so therewithall he spurring his Horse to charge *Cyrus* (who came fiercely and desperately, having an infinite number of blowes with Darts thrown at him on every side) threw his Dart at him also. So did all those that were about his Person: and so was *Cyrus* slaine in this Conflict. Some say, that he was slaine with the wound his Brother the King gave him. Others say, that it was a man at armes of the Countrey of CARIA, unto whom the King gave reward of his good service, gave the honour in all Battels to carry before the first Ranke, a Cock of Gold on the top of a Speare: for the PERSIANS do call the CARIANS Cockes, because in the Warres they use to wear crests in the top of their Head-pieces. And this is *Dion*s report. But *Ctesias*, to couch in few words that which *Dion* reporteth at large, saith: that *Cyrus* after he had slaine *Artagerfes*, galloped on the spurre against the King himselfe, and the King against him, and not a word between them both. *Artanus* one of *Cyrus* flatterers, threw the first Dart at the King, but killed him not: and the King with all his force againe threw his Dart, thinking to have hit *Cyrus* but he missed him, and slew *Tisaphernes*, one of the valiantest and stoutest men *Cyrus* had about him, who fell down dead. Then *Cyrus* hit *Artaxerxes* so fore a blow on his Breast, that he pierced his Armour, and entred into his flesh two fingers deepe. The King with this blow fell downe to the ground: therewithall the most part of his men about him were so afraid, that they forooke him and fled. Howbeit he got up againe, with the helpe of others that were about him, amongst

Pasacas, *Cyrus* Horse.
Artagerfes the Governour of the Province of *Cadusia*, giveth charge upon *Cyrus*.

Cyrus slew *Artagerfes*.

*Dion*s report of *Cyrus* death.

The Carians be called Cockes, because they wear crests on their Head-pieces.
Ctesias report of *Cyrus* death.
Artaxerxes hurt by *Cyrus*.

amongst whom *Ctesias* said he was one, and so recovered a little Hill as farre off, to take a little breath. In the meane time, *Cyrus* Horse that was hot in the mouth, and hard headed, as we have told you, carried his Master in spite of his heart farre from his men, among his Enemies, and no man knew him, because it was night, and his men were very buisie in seeking for him. But *Cyrus* hoping he had won the Victory, being of a hot stirring nature, and valiant, he went up and down in the thickest of his Enemies, crying out in the PERSIAN Tongue: Save your selves poor men, save your selves. When they heard him say so, some made a lane for him to passe by them, and did him reverence: but by evil fortune his Tiara (which is the high Royall Hat after the PERSIAN manner) fell off from his head. Then a young PERSIAN called *Mithridates*, passing by him, hit him a blow with his Dart upon one of his Temples, hard by his Eye, not knowing what he was. His wound straight fell on a marvellous bleeding. Whereupon, *Cyrus* staggering at it, fell on the ground in a wound, and his Horse ran away from him: but the Caparillon he had upon him fell to the ground all bloudied, and his Page that had hurt him, tooke it up. Shortly after *Cyrus* being come to himselfe againe, some of his Eunuches (which were men gelt, and Groomes of his Chamber) that were about him, did lift him up, thinking to set him upon another Horse, and to get him out of the presse: but he was not able to sit on his Horse. Thereupon he proved if he could better go on foot, and the Eunuches held him up by the armes, and led him amazed as he was, not able to stand on his feete; although he thought he had won the Battell, because he heard his Enemies flying about him cry, The gods save King *Cyrus*, and they prayed him to pardon them, and to receive them to mercy. But in the meane time, there came certain poor men of the City of CAUNUS, who followed the Kings Campe, getting their living as drudges and slaves, to do most vile Service. They joyned with the Troope where *Cyrus* was, supposing they had been the Kings men: but when they perceived in the end, by the red Coates they wore upon their Armours, that they were Enemies, for that the Kings men wore white Coates, there was one among the rest that valiantly strake at *Cyrus* behind with his Partizan, not knowing indeed that it was *Cyrus*. The blow lighted full on the ham of his Legge, and cut his sinewes so, that *Cyrus* fell withall; and falling, by misfortune fell upon a great stone with his brow, where he had been hurt before, that he died forthwith. Thus doth *Ctesias* report it, where me thinketh he cutteth his Throate with a dull edged Knife, he hath such ado to bring *Cyrus* to his end. Now after *Cyrus* was dead, *Artasyras*, one of King *Artaxerxes* Eunuches (whom they called the Kings Eye in the Court) passing by on horse-back, knew *Cyrus* Eunuches that mourned very pitifully, lamenting the death of their Master. So he asked the Eunuch whom *Cyrus* loved best: Who is that that is dead. O *Parisacas*, that thou weepest so bitterly? *Parisacas* answered him againe, Seest thou not *Artasyras* that it is *Cyrus* but newly dead? *Artasyras* wondered much when he saw him. So he comforted the Eunuch, and willed him in no case to go from the body, and in the meane time he galloped apace to the King, who thought he had lost all, and was very ill besides, both for the great thirst he suffered, as also for the wound he had on his breast. Now when the Eunuch came unto the King, and told him with a smiling countenance the newes, how he had seene *Cyrus* dead: the King was so joyfull at the newes, that he was desirous himselfe forthwith to go unto the place where he lay to see him, and commanded *Artasyras* to bring him thither. But after he had considered better of it, he was counselled not to go thither himselfe for feare of the GRECIANS, who they said wonne all, and were yet chafing and killing them in the Field, that fled: but rather that he should send a good company of men thither, to bring him just report, whether the newes were true of his death, or not. Upon this advice he stayed, and sent thither thirty men, every man with Torches in their hands. In the meane time, one of the Eunuches called *Strabazanes*, ranne up and down to see if he could get any water for the King, that was almost dead for thirst: for there was no water near unto him where he was, and besides, his Campe was farre from him. His Eunuch having runne up and down a great way to seeke it, met by chance with these poore Slaves and Porters the CAUNIANS, among the which one of them carried in an old ragged Goates Skinne, about eight glasse full of naughty stinking water. So he presently carried the same to the King, who dranke it up every whit. When the King had dranke it, The Eunuch asked him, if that naughty water did him no hurt. The King sware by the gods unto him, that he never dranke better Wine, nor sweeter water then that was, nor that pleased him better then that did: and therefore, said he, I beseech the gods, if it be not my hap to finde him that gave thee this water to reward him, yet that it will please them to send him good fortune. As the King was talking thus with the Eunuch, the thirty men with their Torches returned unto him, who altogether with joyfull countenance, confirmed the good newes he looked for: and then there were come together againe a greater number of Souldiers about him, and still came more one after another, that he began againe to be courageous. Then he came down into the Plainte, with a world of Lights and Torches about him, and went straight to the place where his Brother *Cyrus* Body lay. There following the ancient manner of the PERSIANS against Traytours to the King, he caused his head and right hand to be stricken off, and then made his head be brought unto him, the which he tooke by the haire of his head (for *Cyrus* wore them long and thicke) and did himselfe shew it unto them that fled still and were afraid, to encourage them againe. They wondering to see it, did him humble reverence, and so gathered by companies about the King, that in a small time there were gathered together about him, threescore and ten thousand fighting men, with the which he tooke his way againe towards the Campe. Indeed *Ctesias* saith, that he had but foure hundred thousand fighting men in all: but *Dion* and *Xenophon* say more. And

Cyrus hurt.

Cyrus miserable destiny.

King *Artaxerxes* being a thirst, dranke stinking puddle water, and said he never tasted sweeter.

The manner of the Persians in Warre, against a Traytour to the King.

Flourish & provech Ctesias for a Lyar.

How Artaxerxes rewarded the good, and also punished the evill.

The punishment of him that slew Cyrus.

Parysatis strange cruelty in putting the Carian to death.

See the perill of hastynesse of rash answer.

for the number of them that were slaine, *Ctesias* saith, that word was brought to the King, that there were not above nine thousand slaine, howbeit that to fight they seemed to be no lesse then twenty thousand: but for that point, he might be talked withall, in either of both. And furthermore, where he saith that the King did send him with *Phayllus* *ZACYNTHIAN* unto the *GRECIANS*, and others with him, that is a flat lie. For *Xenophon* knew right well, that this *Ctesias* waited upon the King, because he speaketh of him in divers places of his History: if he had been appointed by the King to carry report unto the *GRECIANS* of so weighty a matter, it is like enough *Xenophon* would not have concealed it, when he nameth *Phayllus* *ZACYNTHIAN*. But *Ctesias* (as it appeareth by his Writings) was a very ambitious man, and partiall unto the *LACEDÆMONIANS*, but specially unto *Charchum*: and is glad when he can get any occasion to speake of himselfe for his glory, of *LACEDÆMON*, and of *Clearchus*. Now after this Battell, King *Artaxerxes* sent goodly rich Gifts unto *Artageris* Son, whose Father *Cyrus* had slaine with his own hands: and (as it is reported) did also greatly honour *Ctesias*, and many others: and did not forget also to cause the poore *CAUNIAN* slave to be sought out, that had given him the water to be carried to him, which saved his life: and when he had found him out, of a poor wretch unknown before, he made him a rich Nobleman. He severely punished those also that had offended the Martiall Law, as amongst others *Arbaces*, one of the *MEDES*: who (when the Battell was joyned) fled first to *Cyrus* side, and then, when he understood he was slaine, he returned againe to the Kings side. For, supposing that it was rather timorousnesse and cowardly nature, then for treason or ill will he bare him, he compelled him to carry a Whore on his backe stark naked, all day long about the Market-place. And to another (who besides he had yielded himself to his Enemies, falsely boasting that he had slaine two) he made his Tongue to be boared through in three severall places with a Cordwainers Awle. Now the King being of opinion that it was himselfe that had slaine his Brother *Cyrus* with his own hand, and being desirous that every man should so thinke and say, he sent Presents unto *Mithridates*, that had hurt him first in the forehead, and commanded him that carried the Gifts unto him, to tell him from the King: The King doth send thee these Presents, because thou finding first the Caparison of *Cyrus* Horse, diddest bring it unto the King. The *CARIAN* also, that had cut the ham of his Legge wherewith *Cyrus* fell down, asked his Gift likewise: which the King gave him, and had the Messenger tell him, The King doth give thee this, because thou wast the second person that brought him the good newes: for *Artasyras* was the first, and thou the second, that brought him newes of the death of *Cyrus*. Now *Mithridates*, albeit he was not well pleased in his minde with these words, he went his way, and said nothing then, nor made any thing ado: but the unfortunate *CARIAN* fondly fell into a foolish veine, common unto men. For, the suddain joy he felt (as it seemeth) to see such a goodly rich Present before him, as the King sent him, made him so forget himselfe, that he began to aspire, and to pretend greater things then became his Estate and Calling. And therefore he would not take the Kings Gift, as in respect that he had brought him word of *Cyrus* death: but began to storme, and to rage, calling the gods to witnesse, that it was he onely, and none other, that slew *Cyrus*; and that they did him great wrong, to take this honour from him. The King being told of it, took it so angrily, that he presently commanded them to strike off his head. But *Parysatis* (the Queene Mother) being present when the King gave this commandement, she prayed him not to put him to death in this sort: for the villaine (said she) let me alone, I will chastise him well enough for his presumption and rash speech. The King was contented she should have him. Thereupon she sent the Sergeant to take this cursed *CARIAN*, and made him be hanged upon a Gibbet ten daies together, and at the ten daies end caused his eyes to be pulled out of his head: and last of all, poured molten Meer tall into his eares, and so killed the Villaine with this kinde of torment. *Mithridates* also shortly after, died miserably by a like folly: He was bidden to supper at a Feast, whither came also the King and Queene Mothers Eunuches: and when they came, *Mithridates* sat down at the Board in the Kings golden Gown he gave him. When they had supped, and that they began to drinke one to another, one of *Parysatis* Eunuches said unto *Mithridates*: The King hath indeed given thee a goodly rich Gown *Mithridates*, and goodly Chaires and Cartanets of Gold, and so is the sword very rich and good he gave thee, so that when thou hast that by thy side, there is no man (I warrant thee) but will thinke thee a happy man: *Mithridates* then, the Wine fuming into his braine, answered straight: What meanest thou by that? *Sparamixes*: I deserved better then this when the Battell was fought. Then *Sparamixes* laughing on him, answered, I do not speake it for any hurt or evill will I bare thee, *Mithridates*: but to speake frankly among our selves, because the *GRECIANS* have a common Proverb, that Wine telleth true, I pray thee tell me, what valiant Act was it to take up a Caparison of a Horse that fell on the ground, and to carry it to the King: which the Eunuch spitefully put forth unto him, not that he was ignorant who did it, but to provoke him to speake, and to put him in a rage, knowing that he was a hasty man of nature, and could not keepe his tongue: and least of all when he had drunke so well as he had done, and so it fell out indeed. For *Mithridates* could not bite it in, but replied straight: You may talke as long as you list of the Caparison of a Horse, and such trash, but I tell you plainly, that *Cyrus* was slaine with mine own hands, and with no mans else. For I hit him not in vaine as *Artageris* did, but full in the forehead hard by the eyes, and strake him through and through his head againe, and so overthrew him, of which blow he died: He had no sooner spoken these words, but the rest that were at the Board, cast down their eyes, foreseeing the death of this poor and unfortunate *Mithridates*. But then the Master of the Feast began to speake, and said unto him: Friend *Mithridates*, I pray thee let us drinke and be merry, and reverence

verence and thanke the good fortune of our King; and for the rest, let this talke go, it is too high for us. When the Eunuch went from thence, he told *Parysatis* (the Queene Mother) what *Mithridates* had said before them all: and she went and told the King of it. Who was marvellously offended withall to be so belied, and to lose the thing that was most honourable, and best pleased him in his Victory. For it was his minde, that all the World (both *GRECIANS* and barbarous People) should certainly believe, that in the Battell betwixt him and his Brother he was hurt, but yet that he slew *Cyrus* with his own hand. So the King commanded that *Mithridates* should suffer the paines of death in Boates, the which is after this manner. They take two Boates made of purpose to even, that the one is neither broader nor longer then the other, and then lay the offender in one of them upon his backe, and to cover him with the other, and do so both Boates together: so that the teete, hands, and head do come out at holes made of purpose for him, the rest of his body is all hidden within. Now they give him Meate as much as he will eate, and if he will not eate, they force him to it, by thrusting Awles in his eyes: then when he hath earen, they give him Honey to drinke mingled with Milke, and they do not onely poure it into his mouth, but also all his face over, turning him full unto the Sun, so that his face is all covered with Flies: and furthermore, being driven to do his needs in that Trough, of his Excrements there ingender Worms that eate his body to the very Privities. Then, when they see the man is dead, they take off the uppermost Boate, and finde all his flesh devoured with Vermine ingendred of him, even to his very entrails. So, when *Mithridates* had miserably languished in this manner, seventeen daies together, at length he died in extreame torments. Now *Parysatis* (the Queene Mother) lacked no more to accomplish her wicked desire, but *Mesabates*, one of the Kings Eunuches that had cut off *Cyrus* head and hand: and seeing that he was very wary and circumspect in his behaviour, that he could not take him at any advantage, in the end she devised a fine way to intrap him. She had a marvellous wit, and among other things could play pallingly well at all Games at Dice, and did many times play with the King her Son before the Warres: and after the Warres also, when he had made peace, she did play at Dice with him as she had done before, in such a way as she knew all his secret love, and suffered him to enjoy it. To be short, she would never be out of his sight but as little as she could, and would let his Wife *Statira* have as little time with him as might be, that she might governe and rule him as she would: both because she hated her of all creatures living, and also for that she would beare the greatest way and credit about him. When she saw the King one day at leisure, not knowing how to passe the time away, she induced him to play a thousand Dareckes at Dice, and was contented to lose them willingly, and played the thousand Dareckes down, seeming notwithstanding to be angry with her losse. He prayed him also to play one of his Eunuches with her: and the King was well contented with it. But before they would play, the agreed between them that they should both name and except five of the truest and chieftest Eunuches they had: and then, which of them lost, should presently deliver unto the Winner his choice of all the other Eunuches he would demand. Thus they fell to play, and she employing all the cunning she had, and playing as warily as she could possible, besides that the Dice ran on her side her lucke served her so, that she wan: and then she required *Mesabates* for her Winnings, because none of those the King had excepted. When she had him delivered her, she gave him to the Hangman, and willed him to flea him alive, and then that they should crucifie him, and naile him to a Crosse, and hang his Skin upon another piece of Timber by him: the which was done accordingly. The King was marvellous angry withall when he knew it, and grievously offended with his Mother. Howbeit she sported it out, and laughing, told him: Indeed it becomes thee well to be angry for losing an old gelded Villaine, where I lost a thousand Dareckes quietly, and did never a word. So there came no other thing of it, saying that the King was a little angry, and repented him that he had played so fondly, and was so finely mocked. But Queene *Statira* on the other side (besides that she was against her in all other things) spared not to tell the Queene Mother plainly, that it was wickedly done of her, to put the Kings good and faithfull Servant so cruelly to death, for *Cyrus* sake. But now, after that *Tisaphernes* (King *Artaxerxes* Lieutenant) had deceived *Clearchus*, and other Captaines of *GREECE*, deceitfully falsifying his word he had given them, and that he had sent them bound unto the King, *Ctesias* saith, that *Clearchus* prayed him to helpe him to a Gombe, and that having had one by his means, and so combed his head, it pleased him so well, that to requite his good will, he gave him his Seale of Armes from his finger wherewith he Sealed his Letters, for a witnesse of the great friendship that was between them two. He saith also, that in the stone of this Ring there was graven the Dance of the *CARYATIDES*. And furthermore, that the other Souldiers which were prisoners with *Clearchus*, did take away the most part of the Victuals that were sent to him, and left him little or nothing; and that he did remedy all this procuring a greater quantity to be sent unto them, and that they should put *Clearchus* Portion apart, and all the others Souldiers parts by themselves. This he did, as he saith, by *Parysatis* consent and commandement, who knowing that amongst other Victuals they daily sent *Clearchus* a gammon of Bacon, she told him one day he should do well to hide a little Knife in this gammon of Bacon, and to send it him, to the end that the life of so noble and valiant a man as he was, should not fall to the cruelty of the King. Howbeit, that he was afraid to meddle withall, and durst not do it: and that the King sware, and promised his Mother (who was an earnest suiter to him for *Clearchus*) that he would not put him to death. This notwithstanding, the King being afterwards procured, and perswaded to the contrary, by Queene *Statira* his Wife, he put them all to death, but *Menon*. Therefore *Parysatis* (Queene Mother) after that time (saith *Ctesias*) devised all the waies she could to poyson Queene

The terrible death of offenders, in Boates or Troughes, among the Persians.

The miserable death of Mithridates.

The devilish craft of Parysatis, and her great skill and cunning at Dice.

Parysatis craft and cruelty.

Tisaphernes betrayed the Captaines of Greece.

Clearchus and other Captains of Greece put to death by King Artaxerxes, Ctesias vanity.

Statira,

The cause of
Parysatis hate
unto her
Daughter-in-
law Statira:
Parysatis pra-
cised to
poison Queen
Statira.

Ryntaces a
Bird of Persia,
that hath no
excrements,
How Statira
was poisoned.

The punish-
ment for poi-
soners in
Persia.

Agelanus
King of Lace-
demon, maketh
War with the
Persians.

Statira, and to make her out of the way. But me thinketh this smelleth like a lie, that Parysatis should intend so wicked and dangerous an Act, as to put the Kings lawfull Wife to death, by whom he had Sonnes that were to inherit the Crown, onely for the love and respect of Clearchus: and it is too plaine that he coynd that to honour and magnifie Clearchus memory the more. But to prove it, a man may easily finde it by the lies he addeth afterward unto it: saying, that after the Captaines were slaine, all the bodies of the reit were torne in pieces by Dogs and Fowles: and also that there came a boisterous winde, and covered all Clearchus body with a great Hill of dust; and that out of this Hill of dust, shortly after there sprung up many Palme Trees, which made a pretty thick Grove, that it shadowed all that place. Insomuch that the King himself did afterwards marvellously repent him for putting him to death, for that he was an honest man, and beloved of the gods. This was not for Clearchus sake, but for an old cankered malice Parysatis had long borne in her heart against Queene Statira: because she saw well enough, that the credit and authority her selfe had with the King, was in respect of a Sonnes duty and obedience to his Mother; and in contrary manner, Statiraes credit and authority had a better ground and foundation, because it came of the love and good-will the King did beare her. And this is the onely cause that made her to practise the death of Queen Statira, having determined that her selfe, or Daughter-in-law, must needs die. Now the Queene-Mother had one of the Women of her Chamber called Giga, that was of great credit about her, and whom she onely trusted. Dinon writeth, that this Giga did helpe Parysatis to make the poyson: but Ctesius writeth contrarily, and saith, that she onely knew it, but otherwise that it was against her will: and that he that made the Poyson, was one Belitaras, but Dinon called him Melantus. Now, though in outward semblance and shew Queene-Mother and Statira seemed to have forgotten all malice between them, and that they began againe one of them to keepe company with the other, and did eate and drinke together: yet one of them mistrusted the other, and tooke great heed to themselves, both of them eating one selfe Meate, and in one dish together, and were both served with one selfe Officers and men. In Persia there is a little Bird, of the which all the Parts are excellent good to eate, and are full of fat within; so that it is thought it liveth by Ayre and Dew, and in the Persian Tongue they call it Ryntaces. Parysatis, as Ctesius saith, tooke one of these Birds, and cut it in the midst with a little Knife, the which was poysoned onely on one of the sides, and gave that halfe which was poysoned unto Statira. Yet Dinon writeth, that it was not Parysatis her selfe that gave it her, but her Carver Melantus that carved her Meate, and still gave Queen Statira of that Meate which the side of his poysoned Knife had touched. So Queene Statira presently fell sicke of the Disease whereof she died, with grievous pangs and gripings in her bowels, and found plainly that she was poysoned by Parysatis meanes: whereupon she told the King as much; who was of the same opinion, and thought it was his Mother, because he knew her cruell revenging minde, that never pardoned any, against whom she conceived any grudge. The King therefore to know the truth, when his Wife Statira was dead, apprehended all his Mothers household Servants and Officers, and did put them to torments, to make them confesse the truth, saving Giga whom the Queene-Mother kept close in her Chamber a long time, and would never suffer the King to have her: who earnestly requested her to deliver her unto him. Notwithstanding, Giga her selfe at length prayed the Queene-Mother to give her leave one night to go home to her house. The King understanding it, laid waite for her, and intercepted her by the way: and when she was taken, he condemned her to suffer the paines of death ordained for Poysoners, the which in Persia is executed in this manner. They make them put their head upon a great plaine stone, and with another stone they presse and strike it so long, till they have dashed the braines of the Malefactours out of their heads. After this sort was Giga put to death. Now for Parysatis his Mother, the King did her no other hurt, nor said any more unto her, but confined her to BABYLON according to her desire; and sware, that whilest she lived, he would never see BABYLON. In this state stood the Affaires of the King. But now, Artaxerxes having done the utmost he could to have overcome the GRECIANS which came to make Warre with him in the heart of his Realme, and would have been as glad of that, as he was to have overcome Cyrus, and to keepe his Crown and Realme: he could never prevaile against them. For, though they had lost Cyrus that gave them entertainment, and all their private Captaines that led them, they saved themselves notwithstanding, being in the heart of his Realme, and shewed the PERSIANS by experience, that their doings was nothing but Gold and Silver, curiosity, and faire Women, or otherwise, nothing but pompe and vanity. Hereupon all the GRECIANS became couragious, and despised the barbarous People: insomuch that the LACEDÆMONIANS thought it a great shame and dishonour unto them, if they did not deliver the GRECIANS that dwelt in ASIA, from the slavery and bondage of the PERSIANS, and keep them from the open violence and cruelty of the barbarous People. For they having at other times attempted to do it by their Captaine Timbron, and afterwards also by Dercilidas, whom they sent thither with an Army, and having done nothing worthy memory, at length they determined to send their King Agelanus thither in person, who passing through ASIA with his Ships, began presently to make hot Warre against the PERSIANS as soone as ever he had landed his Army. For, at the first Conflict he overthrew Tisaphernes (the King of PERSIAs Lieutenant) in Battell, and made the most part of the Cities of GREECE that are in ASIA, to rebell against him. Artaxerxes looking into this Warre, and wisely considering what way and meanes he was to take, to make Warre with the GRECIANS, he sent into GREECE one Hermocrates a RHODIAN (of great credit about him) with a marvellous summe of Gold and Silver, bountifully

fully to bestow in Gifts among the Nobility and chiefe Kulers of the Cities of GREECE, to make all the other GRECIANS to rise against the LACEDÆMONIANS. Hermocrates wisely executed his Commission, for he made the chiefe Cities of GREECE to rebell against LACEDÆMON: so that all PELOPONNESUS being up in armes, and in great garboile, the Ephori at LACEDÆMON were enforced to send for Agelanus home againe. Agelanus being forry to depart out of ASIA, said unto his friends, that the King of PERSIA had driven him out of his Realme with thirty thousand Archers: because that the PERSIAN Coyne is stamped with an Archer, having a Bow in his hand. Artaxerxes also drave the LACEDÆMONIANS out of all their jurisdiction by Sea, by the meanes of Conon Generall of the ATHENIANS, whom Pharnabazus (one of his Lieutenants) had wont to take his part: For Conon, after he was overthrowne in Battell at a place called the Goates River, kept ever after in the Isle of CYPRUS, not so much for the safety of his Person, as also for that it was a meet place to stay in, untill the Warres of GREECE were appeased. He, knowing that the device he had in his head, lacked power to put in execution; and on the contrary side, that the power of the King lacked a man of deepe judgement to be employed: wrote Letters unto him of his advice what he thought to do, straightly charging him whom he delivered his Letters unto that if he could possibly, he should cause the same to be delivered unto the King by Xenon the CRETAN, one of the Kings Dancers, or by one Polycritus his Physician, borne in the City of MENDE: and in both their absences, then to give it unto Ctesias, to deliver it unto the King. It chanced so, that this Letter came to the hands of Ctesias who (as it is reported) added moreover unto the contents of the Letter, that the King should send him to Conon, because he was a necessary man to be employed in his service, but specially by Sea. Ctesias saith not so: but writeth that the King of his owne voluntary motion gave him this charge. Now, after Artaxerxes had through the leading of Conon and Pharnabazus, won the Battell by Sea neare to the Isle of GNIDUS, and that thereby he had driven all the LACEDÆMONIANS from their jurisdiction by Sea, all GREECE had him in marvellous great estimation: so that he gave unto the GRECIANS with such conditions as he would, that so famous Peace, called Antalcidas Peace. This Antalcidas was a Citizen of SPARTA, the Son of one Leon, who favouring King Artaxerxes Affaires, procured by the treaty of this Peace, that the LACEDÆMONIANS left unto Artaxerxes all the Cities of GREECE in ASIA and all the Isles contained in the same, to enjoy quietly, making them pay Tribute at his pleasure. This Peace being concluded with the GRECIANS (if so shamefull a treason, reproach and common infamy to all GREECE may be called Peace, as never Warre fell out more dishonourable and infamous for the vanquished) King Artaxerxes, that otherwise hated the LACEDÆMONIANS to the death, and that esteemed them (as Dinon writeth) the impudentest men living, did notwithstanding love Antalcidas passing well, and entertained him very honourably when he came into PERSIA unto him. It is reported, that the King one day took a Garland of Flowers, and did wet it with the most precious and sweetest Oyle of Perfume that was prepared for the Feast, and sent the same unto Antalcidas: insomuch as every man marvelled to see the King set so much by him. Indeed he was a meet man to follow the vanity and curiosity of the PERSIANS, and had well deserved such a Garland to be sent him: who was so bold to dance a Dance before the PERSIANS, mocking and counterfeiting Leonidas and Callicratidas, two of the valiantest men that ever were in GREECE. Therefore one said at that time in the presence of King Agelanus: O how unhappy is poore GREECE at this day, when the LACEDÆMONIANS come to follow the PERSIANS? But Agelanus presently answered him againe, Not so, said he: but rather the PERSIANS follow the LACEDÆMONIANS. Notwithstanding, this wise answer Agelanus made, did not take away the shame of the Fact: and shortly after, the LACEDÆMONIANS lost the Battell of LEUCTRES, and therewith also the signority and Principality they had kept of long time over all GREECE, although they had lost their estimation before, for consenting to so shamefull and dishonourable peace. When SPARTA flourished most, and was chiefe of all the other Cities of GREECE, so long did Artaxerxes continue still to make much of Antalcidas, and called him, his friend. But after that the LACEDÆMONIANS had lost the Battell of LEUCTRES, having received so great an overthrow, and wanting Money, they sent Agelanus into EGYPT, and Antalcidas into PERSIA unto King Artaxerxes, to pray him to aide and helpe the LACEDÆMONIANS. Howbeit, the King made so small account of him, and disdained him so much, denying him and his requests, that he returned backe to SPARTA, as a man knocked on the head, without any thing done with the King. And there also seeing that his Enemies mocked him; and fearing that the Ephori would commit him to Prison, he killed himselfe with famine. About that time also, the TABBANS after they had won the Battell of LEUCTRES, sent Ismenias and Pelopidas into PERSIA, unto King Artaxerxes, where Pelopidas did nothing unworthy of himselfe. Howbeit, Ismenias being commanded to kneele to the King, he let fall his Ring at his feet, and stooped to take it up, whereby he was thought of some, that he did it to kneele to the King. Another time Artaxerxes liking a secret advertisement very well sent him from Timagoras the ATHENIAN, he gave him ten thousand Dariackes by his Secretary called Belluris. And because he had a sickly body, and was driven to drinke Cowes Milke to restore him, the King therefore sent foure score milch Kine with him, to give Milke to the Paile, to have fresh Milke every day. Furthermore, he sent him a Bed thoroughly furnished with all things necessary, and Groomes of the Chamber to make his bed, saying, that the GRECIANS could not tell how to make it: and did also let him have men to carry him upon their armes to the Sea side, because he was sicke; and whilest he was at the Court, he entertained him very honourably and bountifully. So Ofsanes the Kings Brother, said one

The Persian
Coyne how it
is stamped.
Artaxerxes
drave the La-
cedæmonians
from all their
Dominion by
Sea.

Gnidus Inf.

Antalcidas
Peace.

Antalcidas La-
cedæmonian
greatly este-
emed of Arta-
xerxes.

The Persians
full of vanity
and curiosity.

The death of
Antalcidas La-
cedæmonian.

Timagoras A-
thenian, bribed
by King Arta-
xerxes.

Timagrus was put to death for taking bribes and Gifts of the King of Persia. King *Artaxerxes* killed *Tisaphernes*. *Artaxerxes* fell in againe with his Mother *Parysatis*, and sent for her to come to the Court.

Artaxerxes married his eldest Daughter *Atossa*.

King *Artaxerxes* journeyed against the *Cadusians*. The Country of the *Cadusians* very barren.

Great famine in *Artaxerxes* Army.

Tiribazus stratageme saved *Artaxerxes* and all his Army.

Note, that soft Apparell and Riches, make not a man cowardly and effeminate, but a vile base minde, that followeth evil advice and counsell.

one day unto him: *Timagrus*, remember how honourably thou art served at thy Board, for it is for no small matter thou art thus made of. This word was rather to cut him for his Treason, then for any remembrance of the benefit received. So the *ATHENIANS* afterwards condemned the same *Timagrus* to die, because he had taken bribes and money of the King of *PERSIA*. But *Artaxerxes* in recompence of so many other things that he had done to despite the *GRECIANS* with, did one thing that pleased them marvellously, when he did put *Tisaphernes* to death, who was the dreadfulllest Enemy the *GRECIANS* had. *Parysatis* the Queen Mother did help to bring this to passe, aggravating the accusations brought in against him: for the King kept not his anger long against his Mother, but fell in againe with her, and sent for her, knowing that she had an excellent wit and noble courage to governe a great Kingdome: and besides, that there was nothing now to let them to come together as much as they would, to give any occasion of jealousie or malice to any person. So ever after, his Mother *Parysatis* endeavoured her selfe to feed the King her Sonnes humour every manner of way, seeming to mislike nothing that he did: whereby she grew in so great credit with him, that he denied her nothing whatsoever she asked him. So she perceived that the King was extremely in love with one of his own Daughters, that was called *Atossa*: howbeit that he dissembled his love the best he could, and kept it secret, chiefly for feare of her, although some write, that indeed he had already had her Maiden-head. Now *Parysatis* having found his love, she began to make more of his Daughter then she did before, and talking with her Father, sometime she praised her beauty, another time her grace and good countenance, saying that she was like a Queen and noble Princeesse: so that at length by little and little she perswaded him to marry her openly, not passing for the Laws and Opinions of the *GRECIANS*, considering that God had given him unto the *PERSIANS*, to stablish Lawes unto them, to decide right from wrong, and the good from the bad. Some Historiographers do write, and amongst them *Heracles* of *CUMES*, that *Artaxerxes* did not onely marry the eldest of his Daughters, but the second also called *Amestris*, of whom we will speake hereafter. Now when he had married the eldest, *Atossa*, he loved her so entirely well, that though she fell sick of the disease commonly called *Vitiligo*, that ran over all her body, he loved her not the worse for it, but prayed continually for her unto the goddesse *Juno*, honouring no other goddesse but her openly, and fell down on his knees before her Image, and sent by his friends and Lieutenants so many offerings, that all the way from his Court Gates unto the Temple of *Juno* (which was sixteen Furlongs off) was full of Gold, Silver, Rich Purple, Silkes, and Horfe that were sent thither. He began to make Warre also with the *EGYPTIANS*, and made *Pharnabazus* and *Sphicrates* *ATHENIAN*, his Lieutenants, who did no good, because they fell at variance the one with the other. But afterwards, *Artaxerxes* himself went in person to conquer the *CADUSIANS* with three hundred thousand Footmen, and ten thousand Horfemen. So he invaded their Country, which was a very rude Country, alway darke and cloudy: the earth bringeth forth nothing that man soweth, but doth onely feed the Inhabitants with Peares, Apples, and such like Fruit, and yet the men be very strong and valiant notwithstanding. So when he was entred farre into the Country before he was ware, he fell into great want of Victuals, and was also in great danger. For his Souldiers found nothing in all the Country that was good to eate; and worst of all, no Victuals could come unto them from any place, because of the hardnesse and naughty waies of the Country: so that his Campe lived onely with the Fleish of their Beasts of Carriage, and yet they sold it dearely; for an Asses head was sold for threefore Silver Drachmaes. To conclude, the famine was so great, that provision failed for the Kings owne mouth, and there were but few Horfes left, for all the rest were eaten. Then *Tiribazus*, that had oftentimes been chiefe about the King, because he was a valiant man, and that through his folly was many times also out of favour, as at that present time, when he had no authority nor estimation, he devised a Stratageme, whereby he saved the King and all his Campe. In this Country of the *CADUSIANS*, there were two Kings in the Field with their Armies, both of them camped asunder, one from the other. *Tiribazus*, after he had spoken with King *Artaxerxes*, and had told him what he meant to do, he went unto one of the Kings, and at the selfe same time also secretly sent his Sonne unto the other King, and told either of them, that the other King had sent Ambassadors unto *Artaxerxes* to make peace with him, unwitting to his Companion; and therefore he counseled them, if they were wise, one of them to seeke to prevent another with all the possible speed he could; and promised them both, one after another, to helpe them they best he could. Both the one and the other of the Kings gave credit to his words, either of them both mistrusting one another: so that the one speedily sent his Ambassadors unto King *Artaxerxes*, with *Tiribazus*; and the other also his Ambassadors with his Sonne. But *Tiribazus* tarrying long in his journey, King *Artaxerxes* began somewhat to suspect him: his Enemies also did accuse him in his absence, and the King grew very cholericke, and repented him that he had trusted him so farre, and was willing to heare every man that spake against him. Howbeit, *Tiribazus* at length returned, and his Sonne also, and either of them brought with them the Ambassadors of the *CADUSIANS*, and so Peace was taken with them both. Then was *Tiribazus* aloft againe, and in greater credit then ever he was, and so departed with the King. The King then shewed plainly, that cowardlinesse proceedeth not of Pompe and curiosity, as some take it, beleeving that it doth effeminate mens hearts; but rather of a vile base minde, that commonly followeth evil, and the worst counsell: for neither the Jewels of Gold, the Kingly Robe, nor other sumptuous Ornaments which the King ever wore about him, worth twelve thousand Talents (as it is reported) did not hinder him at that time to travell, and to take as much paines as any man in all his Army. For he himselfe marched on foot the fore-

most

most man, carrying his owne trusse in a Scarfe upon his shoulders, and his Target on his arme, and travelled through high stony Mountaines. So that, his Souldiers seeing the courage and paine the King himselfe tooke, they marched so nimbly, that it seemed they had Wings: for he daily marched about two hundred Furlongs. Now the King at length by sore travell came to one of his own Houses where there were goodly Arbors and Parks, with goodly Trees passingly set forth: but all the Country besides was naked and barren, so that there was not a Tree a great way from thence, and it was marvellous cold. The King suffered his Souldiers to hew down the goodly Pines and Cypress Trees in his Parkes: and because they durst not presume to touch them, he himselfe as he was, tooke an Ax in his hand, and began to hew down the goodliest Tree there. The Souldiers seeing that, fell every man of them also to hewing: so that in a very short time they had provided themselves well with Wood, and made them great Fires in every place, and so past over the night quietly by the Fires side. This notwithstanding, he lost a great number of valiant men in this Voyage, and almost all his Horfes. Therefore, thinking his men would mocke him because he did faile of his purpose, he began to grow mistrustfull, and to suspect the chiefeest Noblemen he had about him, so that in a rage he put many of them to death; but many more of them remained whom he mistrusted. For there is nothing more cruell, nor a greater bloud-sucker, then a cowardly Tyrant: as in contrary manner, nothing is more courtous, and lesse suspicious then a valiant and hardy man. And therefore brute Beasts, that be never made tame nor mastered, are commonly cowardly and timorous: and the other on the contrary, that are Noble and courageous, are bold, and do come straight to know a man, because they have no feare, neither do they flie from their clapping and making much of them as they doe. Afterwards, King *Artaxerxes* being grown very old, heard that there was great stirre and contention between his Sonnes, which of them should be Heire after his death, and that this contention fell out also among his friends and men of great Calling. The wisest of them wished, that as he himselfe came unto the Crown, as his Fathers eldest Sonne: so, that he likewise should after his death leave it unto his eldest Sonne called *Darius*. But the younger, which was called *Ochus*, being a valiant man, and of a hot stirring nature, had some in the Court also thatooke his part, and hoped to attaine to his purpose, by the meanes of his Sister *Atossa*, whom he loved and honoured, promising to marry her, and to make her Queen, if he might come to be King after his Fathers decease. And besides, there went a report abroad, that in their Fathers life time he secretly kept her: howbeit *Artaxerxes* never understood it. Now, because he would beimes put his Sonne *Ochus* out of all hope to succeed him in his Kingdome, left this expectation might make him goe about to practise that which *Cyrus* did, and that by this meanes his Realme should grow into faction and civill Warres: he proclaimed his eldest Son *Darius* (being fifty yeares old) King after his death; and furthermore, gave him leave from thenceforth to wear the point of his Hat right up. In *PERSIA* the custome is, that when any cometh to be proclaimed Successour and Heire apparent to the Crown, he should require a Gift of him that proclaimeth him Successour. The which the other doth grant him, whatsoever it be that he asketh, so it be not impossible. *Darius* then asked his Father a Concubine called *Aspasia*, who was first with *Cyrus*, and in greatest favour with him above all the rest, but then was for the Kings own Body. She was borne in the Country of *IONIA*, of free Parents: and being vertuously brought up, she was brought one night unto *Cyrus* as he was at supper, with other Women, who fate them down without too curious bidding hard by him, and were very glad when *Cyrus* offered to play and be merry with them, giving every one of them some pleasant word, and they made it not coy. But *Aspasia* stood on her feet by the Table, and said never a word: and notwithstanding that *Cyrus* called her, she would not come at him. Moreover, when one of the Grooms of his Chamber would have taken her to have brought her to him: The first, saith she, that layeth hands on me shall repent it. Thereupon all those that were present, said she was a foolish thing, and simply brought up, and could not tell what was comely for her. Howbeit *Cyrus* being glad of it, passed it over with laughing, and told him that had brought her unto him: Dost thou not see, that of all these thou hast brought me, there is not an honest Woman but she? After that, *Cyrus* began to make much of her, and loved her better continually then all the rest, and called her *Aspasia* the wife. This *Aspasia* was taken among the spoiles of *Cyrus* Campe after he was overthrowne; and *Darius* as we have told you, did begge her of his Father, who was very angry with it in his minde. For the barbarous People of all other things are marvellous jealous of their Women, so that not onely he should be put to death, that durst but speake to, or touch any Concubine of the Kings but in sport: but also whosoever came neare them, or neare their Coaches as they travelled. The Kings Daughter *Atossa*, whom he had married against all Law, was yet living, and besides her he had also three hundred and threefore passing faire Concubines: and yet when his Sonne *Darius* asked *Aspasia* of him, the King answered, she was a free Woman borne, and therefore if she would, he was content he should have her: but if she were unwilling to go to him, then he would not have him force her by any meanes. So *Aspasia* was sent for, and she was asked with whom she had rather be. She answered, With *Darius*: contrary to King *Artaxerxes* expectation, who both by the Custome, and also the Law, was compelled to let him have her. But shortly after he tooke her from him againe, saying that he would place her in a Nunrney of *DIANA*, in the Country of *ECBATANA*, where they call her *Anitis*, there to serve the goddesse, and to live chaist all the daies of her life: supposing by this meanes to punish his Sonne, not rigorously, but moderately, with grieve mixt with sport and earnest. Howbeit his Sonne tooke it not so patiently, either because he was deeply

The courage of King *Artaxerxes*, and his great paines in marching.

King *Artaxerxes* courteth to his Souldiers.

Darius and *Ochus*, King *Artaxerxes* Sonnes.

Artaxerxes proclaimeth his Son *Darius* King.

Aspasia Ionian, one of *Artaxerxes* Concubines.

The barbarous People cannot away with rivality in love.

Tiribazus in-
sisteth *Darius*
against his
Father *Artaxerxes*.

Tiribazus man-
ners, and con-
ditions.

in love with *Aspasia*, or else for that he saw his Father mocked him in that point. *Tiribazus* finding this, and perceiving that *Darius* took it very grievously: he aggravated his anger against his Father, knowing the passion of love in *Darius*, by his own upon the like occasion. King *Artaxerxes* had many Daughters, and had promised *Pharnabazus* one of them, called *Apama*: unto *Orentes*, *Rodogune*: and to *Tiribazus*, *Amestris*. The King performed the other two marriages, and did put *Tiribazus* by his Wife. For the King himselfe married his own Daughter *Amestris*; and for her, he promised *Tiribazus* the younger, *Stossa*: with whom also he himselfe fell in love, and married her. *Tiribazus* hereupon was in such a rage with the King, that he hated him to the death: not because he was any Traytour or feditious man in nature, but a mad hare-brain'd fellow. For sometime he was aloft, and in as good credit and authority as the best: suddainly againe he would play some mad part to anger the King, and then he was in as much disgrace, and out of countenance: and could away with neither fortune. For when he was in authority, he made every man hate him for his pride: and being in disgrace, he could not humble himselfe, but lookt bigger then before. Now there was Fire and Brimstone met, when *Tiribazus* took part with *Darius*. For he daily blew into his ears, that it was to no purpose for him to wear his Hat right up, if his affaires also went not rightly forward: and that he deceived himselfe much, if he did not know that his Brother (by meanes of the Women he kept) secretly aspired to the Crown: and that his Father being so unconstant as he was, he must not truit in any fort to succeed his Father in the Kingdome, what Proclamation soever he hath made in his behalf to the contrary. For, said he, he that for a *Grecian* Woman hath broken and violated the holy Law that was in *Persia*: thou must not look that he will performe that he hath promised thee. And furthermore, he perswaded him, that it was not a like repulse unto *Ochus*, to be denied that which he looked for: as it was for him to be turned out of all that ever he had gotten. For said he, If it please *Ochus* to live like a private man, he may safely do it, and no man will trouble him, but for himselfe that was already proclaimed King, he must of necessity make himselfe King, or else he must not live. So, the Poet *Sophocles* his saying most commonly proveth true:

All counsell easily takes place.

For the way is large and plaine for a man to beleieve as he list, and men commonly are given rather to beleieve the evil then the good, because most men know not what goodnesse meaneth. But now beside these perswasions, the greatnesse of the Kingdome, and the feare *Darius* stood in of his Brother *Ochus*, took great force and effect with him: and it may be also, that *Venus* her selfe did somewhat in the matter, for the malice and spire that *Aspasia* was taken from him. But whatsoever the cause was, thus was it handled: that *Darius* flatly conspired against his Father *Artaxerxes*, together with *Tiribazus*. Now, they having gotten many Conspiratours to joyne with them, one of the Kings Eunuchs perceiving it, ran and told the King of it, and how they had suddainly determined to assaile him, knowing certainly that it was agreed among themselves, that they should kill him in his bed in the night. *Artaxerxes* receiving this advertisement, thought it was not good to be carelesse of a matter of so great importance, as his life: and also that it were too great lightnesse in him so suddainly to beleieve his Eunuch, without better proof or knowledge. So he took this way with himselfe. He commanded the Eunuch that had given him this information, to keep company still with the Conspiratours, and to follow them wheresoever they went, to see their doings: and in the meane time he beate down his wall behinde his bed, and made a door through, and set up a hanging of Tapestry before it. When the time was come, as the Eunuch had advertised the King, that the Traytours meant to do their feat: *Artaxerxes* being layed on his bed, rose not up, till he had seen every Traytour of them in the face that came to kill him. Then, when he saw them coming towards him with their Swords drawn, he suddainly lift up the hanging, and got into his inner Chamber, and shut the door after him, making an out-cry, Murder, murder. So, the Traytours being plainly seene and known by the King, fled the same way they came, and failed of their purpose, and bad *Tiribazus* save himselfe, because he was known. So they dispersed themselves, and scaped by flying. But *Tiribazus* was taken tardy, although he had slaine divers of the Kings guard, valiantly defending himselfe: yet they tooke him not, till he was stricken with a Dart a good way off, which slew him. *Darius* was also taken and apprehended, and brought prisoner with his Sons: and the King referred him to be judged by his Peers. For the King himselfe would not be present to give judgment of him, but deputed others in his place to accuse him: howbeit he commanded his Secretaries to set down in writing, the opinion and sentence of every one of the Judges, and to bring it to him. In fine, they all cast him, and condemned him to die. Then the Officers laid hold on him, and brought him into a Chamber of the Prison, where the Hang-man came with a Razor in his hand, with the which he used to cut mens Throates so condemned to die. So the Hang-man coming into the Chamber, when he saw it was *Darius*, he was afraid, and came out of the Chamber againe, his heart failing him, and durst not lay hands upon the person of the King. But the Judges that stood without the Chamber, bad him go and do it, unlesse he would have his own Throate cut. So the Hang man then came in, and tooke *Darius* by the haire of the head, and made him hold down his head, and so cut his necke with his Razor he had in his other hand. Others do write, that this sentence was given in the presence of King *Artaxerxes* selfe, and that *Darius* seeing himselfe convicted by manifest proofes brought in against him, he fell down at his Fathers feete, and besought him to pardon him: and then that his Father being angry, rose up, and drew out his Curtlex and wounded him in so many places withall, that at length he slew him. Then returning into his Court, he worshipped the Sunne, and turning him to his Lords that were about him, he said unto them: My Lords, God be with you, and be merry at

Darius conspi-
rith against
Artaxerxes his
Father.

A device of
Artaxerxes,
how to prevent
the Conspir-
atours, and to
save himselfe.

Tiribazus the
Traytour, slain.

Darius con-
demned to die,
and executed.

at home in your houses, and tell them that were not here, how the great *Oromazes* hath taken revenge of them, that practised treason against me. This was the end of *Darius* treason. Now *Darius* being dead, *Ochus* his brother stood in good hope to be next heir to the Crown, and the rather through the meanes and friendship of his sister *Stossa*: but yet of this legitimate brethren, he feared *Ariaspes*, who was onely left of all the rest that were legitimate: and of his bastard brethren, *Artaxerxes* was not because *Ariaspes* was elder then he, but for that (he being of a soft and plaine nature) the *Persians* therefore desired he might be their King. On the other side, *Artaxerxes* was wise, and valiant: and *Ochus* saw that his father loved him dearly. So he determined to intrap them both. Now *Ochus* being a subtle and malicious natured man, he first shewed his cruelty upon *Artaxerxes*, and his malice upon *Ariaspes* his legitimate brother. For, because he knew he was but simple and plaine, he sent daily some of the Kings Eunuches unto him, who brought him threatning words and meslages, as from the King: telling him, that he had determined to put him to a shameful and cruel death. So, forging these newes continually as things very secret, they did so terrifie poore *Ariaspes*, telling him, that the King was fully bent to put some of his threatnes in execution out of hand; and that he was put in such fear and despaire of his life, that he prepared himselfe a poison, and dranke it, to rid himselfe of his life. King *Artaxerxes* understanding of his death took it very heavily, and began to mistrust the cause that made him to make himselfe away: howbeit, he could not seek the proof of it, for his extreme age. But this chance made him love *Artaxerxes* better then before shewing plainly that he trusted him better then *Ochus*, and did make him privy to all things.

Ochus could no longer abide to deferre his intent, and therefore inticed *Harpaces*, *Tiribazus* son, to kill his bastard *Ariaspes*; the which he did. Now *Artaxerxes* was so extreme old, that he was as good as done with age: but after he heard his son *Artaxerxes* was murdered, he could bear it no longer, but took it so to heart for sorrow, that when he had lived fourscore and fourteen years, and reigned threescore and two, he died. When he was dead they then found that he had been a gracious and courteous Prince, and one that loved his people and subjects, when they saw the proof of his successor *Ochus*, that passed all men living, in cruelty and severity.

King *Artaxerxes* sonnes.

The death of
King *Artaxerxes*.
Artaxerxes was
ninety foure
years old at his
death.

The end of Artaxerxes Life.



Yyy

THE

THE LIFE OF DION.



Ann. Mund.
3557

Ant. Christ.
391



Dion and Brutus both Platonians. Plato de virtute. How mens acts should be famous in the Commonwealth.

A wicked spirit appeared unto Dion and Brutus.

Like as *Simonides* (O *Sossius Senecio*) saith, that the City of *ILLIUM* was not offended with the *CORINTHIANS*. for that they came to make war with them with other *GRECIANS* because *Glaucus* (whose first ancestors came from *CORINTH*) had taken armes, and lovingly fought for the same: even so methinkes, that neither the *GRECIANS*, nor *ROMANS* have cause to complaine of the Academy, sith they be both alike praised of the fame in this present book, in the which are contained the lives of *Dion* and *Brutus*. Of the which, the one of them having been very familiar with *Plato* himselfe, and the other from his childhood brought up in *Platoes* doctrine: they both (as it were) came out of one selfe Schoole houle to attempt the greatest enterprises amongst men. And it is no marvel if they two were much alike in many of their doings, proving that true, which their Schoole-maister *Plato* wrote of vertue: that to do any noble act in the Government of a Commonwealth, which should be famous and of credite, authority, and good fortune, must both meet in one selfe person, joynd with justice and wisdom. For as a certain Fencer (called *Hippomachus*) said, that he knew his scholars far off, if he did but see them coming from the Market with meat in their hands: so it must needs follow, that men having been vertuously brought up, must needs be wise in all their doings; and beside that it bringeth them to civility and honesty, even so it frameth their conditions muchlike one to another: furthermore, their fortunes having also fallen out both alike, more by chance then by any reason, do make their lives very like each other; for they were both of them slain, before they could bring their enterprises to passe which they determined. But the greatest wonder of all is this: that their deaths were foreshewed unto them both, by a wicked spirit that visibly appeared unto either of them: albeit there be some that cannot abide those opinions, and do maintaine, that these sights and evil spirits do never appear to any man that hath his right wits, but that they are fancies of little children, or old women, or of some men whose wits are weakened by sickness, and so have a certain imagination of such strange sights, being of this superstitious mind, that they have a wicked spirit, and an evil angel in them. But if *Dion* and *Brutus*, both of them grave and learned Philosophers, and very constant men, not overcome by any suddaine passion or imagination of wind, have been moved by such sights and spirits, and have also told it unto their friends: I cannot tell whether we shall be enforced, to grant the most strange and old opinion of this, which saith: That there be evil spirits which envying the vertue of good men to withdraw them from their godly minds, to make them afraid with these fearful sights, enticing them to forsake their godlinesse, left that persisting therein, they should be rewarded with better life in the world to come, then theirs is. But let us refer this disputation to some other booke: and now in this twelfth couple of these famous mens lives compared, let us first begin to write the life of him that is the elder of these two men we speak of.

Diony-

Dionysius the elder, after he had the Government of *SICILIA* in his hands, he married the Daughter of *Hermocrates*, a Citizen of *SYRACUSA*. But yet not being thoroughly settled in his Tyranny, the *SYRACUSANS* did Rebell against him, and did so cruelly and abominably handle the Body of his Wife, that she willingly poisoned her selfe. So, after he had established himselfe in his Government with more surety then before, he married againe two other Wives together, the one a stranger of the City of *LOCRES*, called *Doride*: and the other of the Country it selfe, called *Aristomache*, the Daughter of *Hipparchus* the chiefeest man of all *SYRACUSA*, and that had been companion with *Dionysius*, the first time he was chosen Generall. It was said that *Dionysius* married them both in one day, and that they could never tell which of them he knew first: but otherwise, that he made as much of the one, as he did of the other. For they commonly sate together with him at his table, and did either of them lie with him by turnes; though the *SYRACUSANS* would have their owne Countriwoman preferred before the stranger. Howbeit, the strange woman had this good happe, to bring forth *Dionysius* his eldest Sonne, which was a good countenance to defend her being a Forrainer. *Aristomache* in contrary manner, continued a long time with *Dionysius* without Fruit of her Wombe, although he was very desirous to have children by her: so that he put the *LOCRIAN* womans mother to death, accusing her that she had with Sorceries and Witchcraft, kept *Aristomache* from being with childe. *Dion* being the Brother of *Aristomache*, was had in great estimation at the first, for his Sisters sake; but afterwards the Tyrant finding him to be a wife man, he loved him then for his owne sake. Infomuch, that among many sundrie things and pleasures he did for him; he commanded his Treasurers to let him have what money he asked of them, so they made him acquainted withall the selfe same day they gave him any. Now, though *Dion* had ever before a noble minde in him by Nature, yet much more did that magnanimity increafe, when *Plato* (by good fortune) arrived in *SICILE*. For his coming thither surely was no mans device (as I take it) but the providence of some god: who (bringing farre off the first beginning and foundation of the Liberty of the *SYRACUSANS*, and to overthrow the tyrannicall state) sent *Plato* out of *ITALIE* unto the City of *SYRACUSA*, and brought him acquainted with *Dion*, who was but a young man at that time, but yet had an apter wit to learne, and readier good will to follow vertue, then any young man else that followed *Plato*; as *Plato* himselfe writeth, and his owne doings also do witnesse. For *Dion* having from a childe been brought up with humble conditions under a Tyrant, and acquainted with a servile timorous Life, with a proud and insolent raigne, with all vanity and curiosity, as placing chiefe felicity in covetousnesse: neverthelesse, after he had felt the sweete Reasons of Philosophy, reaching the broad way to vertue, his heart was enflamed straight with an earnest desire to follow the same. And because he found that he was so easily perswaded to love Vertue and Honesty, he simply thinking (being of an honest plaine nature) that the selfe same perswasions would move a like affection in *Dionysius*, obtained of *Dionysius*, that being at leisure, he was contented to see *Plato*, and to speake with him. When *Plato* came to *Dionysius*, all their talke in manner was of Vertue, and they chiefly reasoned, what was Fortitude: where *Plato* proved that Tyrants were no Valiant men. From thence passing farther unto Justice, he told him, that the Life of Just men was happy; and contrarily, the Life of unjust men, unfortunate. Thus the Tyrant *Dionysius* perceiving he was overcome, durst no more abide him, and was angry to see the standers by make such estimation of *Plato*, and that they had such delight to heare him speake. At length he angrily asked him, What businesse he had to do there? *Plato* answered him, he came to seeke a good man, *Dionysius* then replied againe; What, in Gods name, by thy speech then it seemeth thou hast found none yet. Now *Dion* thought that *Dionysius* anger would proceed no further, and therefore at *Platoes* earnest request, he sent him away in the Galley with three bankes of Oares, the which *Pollis* a *LACDEMONIAN* Captaine carried backe againe into *GRECE*. Howbeit, *Dionysius* secretly requested *Pollis* to kill *Plato* by the way, as ever he would do him pleasure: if not, yet that he would sell him for a slave, howsoever he did: for, said he, he shall be nothing the worse for that; because, if he be a just man, he shall be as happy to be a slave, as a freeman. Thus (as it is reported) this *Pollis* carried *Plato* into the Isle of *EGINA*, and there sold him. For the *EGINETES* having made warre at that time with the *ATHENIANS*, made a decree, that all the *ATHENIANS* that were taken in their Isle, should be sold. This notwithstanding, *Dionysius* refused not to honour and trust *Dion*, as much as ever he did before, and did also send him Ambassadour in matters of great weight: as when he sent him unto the *CARTHAGINIANS*, where he behaved himselfe so well, that he wanne great reputation by his journey: and the Tyrant could well away with his plaine speech. For no man but he, durst say their mindes so boldly unto him, to speake what he thought good: as on a time he reproved him for *Gelon*. One day when they mocked *Gelon*s Government before the Tyrants face, and that *Dionysius* himself said Tyrans (finely decanting on his name, which signifieth laughter) that he was even the very laughing stocke it selfe of *SICILE*, the Courtiers made as though they liked this encounter and interpretation of laughter passing well: but *Dion* not being well pleased withall, said unto him: For his sake men trusted thee, whereby thou comest to be Tyrant: but for thine owne sake they

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Dionysius married *Hermocrates* daughter.

Dionysius wives *Doride* of *Locres*: *Aristomache* of *Syracusa*, *Hipparchus* daughter and *Dions* sister.

Dion kindred with *Dionysius*.

Plato came out of Italy unto *Syracusa*. *Dion*, *Plato*s scholar.

Plato and *Dionysius* the elder talke together.

Dionysius malicious unto *Plato*.

Plato sold in the Isle of *Aegina*.

*Dion*s boldnes in speaking plainly to the Tyrans. *Gelon* signifieth laughter.

Sophrosyne and *Arete*, the daughters of *Dionysius* by *Arifomache*. *Dion* married his Niece *Arete*, the daughter of *Dionysius*, and of his sister *Arifomache*. The death of *Dionysius* the elder.

Flattering Courtiers do incense *Dionysius* the younger to hate *Lisus*.

The vices of *Dionysius* the younger.

Dion's manners too grave and severe.

Obstinacy, fellow and companion of solitariness.

they will never trust any man: for (to say truly) *Gelon* shewed by his Government, that it was as goodly a thing as could be, to see a City governed by an absolute Prince: but *Dionysius* by his Government on the other side, made it appear as detestable a thing. This *Dionysius* had by his *LOCRIAN* wife, three children: and by *Arifomache*, four: of the which, two were daughters, the one called *Sophrosyne*, and the other *Arete*. Of them, *Dionysius* eldest son married *Sophrosyne*, and *Arete* was married unto his brother *Thearides*: after whose death *Dion* married her, being his Niece. Now when *Dionysius* her father fell sick, not likely to escape, *Dion* would have spoken with him for his children he had by his sister *Arifomache*. Howbeit the Physicians about him, to curry favour with the next heir and successor of the tyranny, would never let him have any time or opportunity to speak with him. For (as *Timaeus* writeth) they gave *Dionysius* the elder (as he had commanded them) a strong Opiat-drinke to cast him in a sleep, and so thereby they took from him all his senses, and joynd death with his sleep. Notwithstanding in the first counsel and assembly holden by his friends, to consult about the state and affairs of the younger *Dionysius*, *Dion* moved matter for necessary and profitable for that present time, that by his wisdom he shewed they were all but children, and by his bold and franke speech made them know, that they were but slaves of the tyranny: because they beastly and cowardly gave such counsel and advice, as might best please and feed the young tyrants humour. But, he made them most to wonder at him, when they fearing above all other things, the danger *Dionysius* state was in, by reason of *CARTHAGE*, he did promise them, that if *Dionysius* would have peace, he would then go forthwith into *AFRICK*, and finde the meanes honourably to quench the warres: or, if otherwise he better liked of warre, that he would furnish him at his owne proper costs and charges, fifty Gallies ready to rowe. *Dionysius* wondred greatly at the noble minde of *Dion*, and thanked him much for the good will he bare unto him, touching his estate. But all men else taking *Dion's* noble offer to be a reproach of their avarice; and his credit and authority, an impeire unto theirs: they presently upon this liberal offer tooke occasion to accuse him, not sparing any reprochful words against him, to move *Dionysius* to be offended with him. For they complained of him, and said, that he cunningly practised to possesse the tyranny, making himselfe stronge by Sea, going about by his Gallies to make the tyranny fall into the hands of the children of *Arifomache* his Sister. But the chiefest cause of all why they did malice and hate him, was his strange manner of life, that he neither would keep company with them, nor live after their manner. For they that from the beginning were crept in favor and friendship with this young ill-brought-up Tyrant, by flattering of him, and feeding him with vaine pleasures, studied for no other thing, but to entertaine him in love matters, and other vaine exercises, as to riot and banquet, to keep light women company, and all such other vile vicious pastimes and recreations: by the which the tyranny became like iron softned by fire; and seemed to be very pleasant unto the subjects, because the over great Majesty and severity thereof was somewhat milder, not so much by the bounty and goodness, as by the folly and retchlesnesse of the Lord. Thus, this little care and regard increasing more and more, still winning way with the young Tyrant, did at length melt and breake asunder those strong Diamond Chaines, with the which *Dionysius* the elder made his boast that he left his Monarchy and tyranny chained to his son. For sometime he would be three dayes together without intermission, still banqueting and being drunke: and all that time his Court Gates were kept shut unto grave and wise men, and for all honest matters; and was then full of drunkards, of common playes, dancing, masks, and mummeries, and full of all such trumpery and dissolute pastimes. And therefore *Dion* undoubtedly was much envied of them, because he gave himselfe to no sport and pleasure: whereupon they accused him, and misnamed his virtues, vices, being somewhat to be resembled unto them; as in calling his gravity, pride; his plainenesse and boldnesse in his oration, obstinacy; if he did perswade them, that he accused them; and because he would not make one in their fond pastimes, that therefore he despised them. For, to say truly, his manners by nature had a certain haughtinesse of mind and severity, and he was a fowre man to be acquainted with: whereby his company was not onely troublesome, but also unpleasant to this younger *Dionysius*, whose eares were so fine, that they could not away to hear any other thing but flattery. And furthermore, divers of his very friends and familiars (that did like and commend his plaine manner of speech and noble mind) did yet reprove his sternenesse, and austere conversation with men: for it seemed unto them, that he spake too roughly, and dealt over hardly with them that had to do with him, and more then became a civill or courteous man. And for prooffe hereof, *Plato* himselfe sometime wrote unto him (as if he had prophesied what should happen) that he should beware of obstinacy, the companion of solitariness, that bringeth a man in the end to be forsaken of every one. This notwithstanding, they did more reverence him at that time, then any man else, because of the state and Government, and for that they thought him the only man that could best provide for the safety and quietnesse of the Tyranny, the which stood then in tickle state. Now *Dion* knew well enough, that he was not so well taken and esteemed through the good will of the Tyrant, as against his will, and for the necessity of the state and time. So *Dion* supposing the ignorance, and want of knowledge in *Dionysius* was the cause, he devised to put him into some honest trade or exercise, and to teach him the liberal Sciences, to frame him to a civil life, that thenceforth he should no more be afraid of vertue, and should also take pleasure and delight in honest things. For *Dionysius* of his owne nature, was none of

of the worst sort of tyrants, but his father fearing that if he came once to have a feeling and conceit of himselfe, or that he companied with wife and learned men, he would go neare to enter into practice, and put him out of his seat; he ever kept him locked up in a Chamber, and would suffer no man to speak with him. Then the younger *Dionysius*, having nothing else to do, gave himselfe to make little Chariots, Candlesticks, Chaires, Stooles, and Tables of wood: for his father *Dionysius* was so fearful and mistrustful of every body, that he would suffer no man with a paire of Barbers Cizers to pole the haire of his head, but caused an image-maker of earth to come unto him, and with a hot burning cole to burne his goodly bush of haire round about. No man came into his Chamber where he was with a Gowne on his backe, nor not his owne brother nor son, but he was driven (before he he could come in) to put off his Gowne, and the Guard of his Chamber to strip him naked, whatsoever he was: and then they gave him another Gown to cast upon him, but not his owne. One day his brother *Leptines* going about to describe unto him the situation of some place, he took a Halbard from one of the Guard, and with the point thereof began to draw out a plot of the same upon the ground. *Dionysius* was terribly offended with him, and did put the souldier to death: gave him his Halbard. He said, he was afraid of his friends, yea and of the wisest of them; because he knew that they desired rather to rule, then to be ruled, and to command, then to obey. He flew one of his Captaines called *Marfius* (whom he had preferred and had given him charge of men) because he dreamed, that he killed him: saying, that he dreamed at this in the night, because that waking in the day he had determined to kill him. Now *Dionysius* that was so timorous, and whose mind through fearfulness was still miserably occupied, was notwithstanding marvellously offended with *Plato*, because he did not judge him to be the noblest and valiantest man alive. *Dion* therefore seeing (as we have said) the younger *Dionysius* clean marred, and in manner cast away for lacke of good education, perswaded him the best he could to give himselfe unto study, and by the greatest intreaty he could possibly make, to pray the Prince of all Philosophers to come into *SICILE*. And then, when through his intreaty he were come, that he would refer himselfe wholly unto him, to the end that reforming his life by vertue and learning, and knowing God thereby (the best example that can be possible, and by whom the whole world is ruled and governed, which otherwise were out of all order and confused) he should first obtain great happinesse to himselfe, and consequently unto all his Citizens; who ever after through the temperance and justice of a father, would with good will do these things, which they then unwillingly did for the fear of a Lord. And in doing this; from a tyrant he should come to be a King: for, the chaines of a Diamond to keep a Realme in safety, were not force and fear, as his father *Dionysius* held opinion: neither the great multitude of young souldiers, nor the guard of ten thousand barbarous people: but in contrary manner, that they were the love and good will of their subjects) which the Prince obtaineth through vertue and justice: the which chaines though they be slacke then the other that are so hard and stiffe, yet are they stronger, and will last longer time, to keep a Realm and Kingdom in safety. And furthermore, the Prince (saith he) is not desirous of honor, neither is a man that deserveth greatly to be praised and commended, but that onely studieth to wear sumptuous apparel, and that glorieth to see his Court richly furnished; and himselfe curiously served: and in the mean time doth not frame himselfe to speak better, to be wiser, and to carry a greater Majesty then any other mean or common person; not esteeming to adorne and beautifie the Princely Pallace of his mind, as becometh the Royal Majesty of a King. *Dion* oftentimes rehearsing these exhortations unto *Dionysius*, and otherwhile enterlacing between, some reasons he had learned of *Plato*, he graffed in him a wonderful and (as it were) a vehement desire to have *Plato* in his company, and to learn of him. So, sundry letters came from *Dionysius* unto *ATHENS*, divers requests from *Dion*, and great intreaty made by certain Pythagorean Philosophers, that prayed and perswaded *Plato* to come into *SICILE*, to bridle the light disposition of this young man, by his grave and wise instructions: who without regard of reason, led a dissolute and licentious life. Therefore *Plato* (as himselfe reporteth) blushing to himselfe, and fearing lest he should give men cause to think; that it was but the opinion men had of him, and that of himselfe he was unwilling to do any worthy act: and further, hoping that doing good but unto one man alone; who was the onely guide of all the rest, he should (as it were) recover all *SICILE* from her corruption and ficklenesse; he performed their requests, that sent unto him. But *Dion's* enemies fearing the change and alteration of *Dionysius*, they perswaded him to call *Phisistus* the Historiographer home againe from banishment, who was a learned man, and had been brought up and acquainted with the tyrants faction: to the end he should serve as a counterpoise, to withstand *Plato* and his Philosophy: for this *Phisistus*, from the first time that the tyranny began to be established, did shew himselfe very willing and conformable to the establishment thereof, and had of long time kept the Castle: and the voice went, that he kept the mother of *Dionysius* the elder, and as it was supposed, not altogether without the tyrants knowledge. But afterwards, *Leptines* having had two daughters by one woman, whom he enticed to folly; being another mans wife, he married one of these his daughters unto *Phisistus*, and made not *Dionysius* privy to it before. The tyrant therewith was so offended, that he put *Leptines* woman in prison, fast locked up; and drive *Phisistus* out of *SICILE*. He being banished thus, repaired unto some of his friends that dwelt about the Adriaticke Sea, where it seemeth, he wrote the most part of all his History: being then at good leisure. For he was not called home againe during the life of *Dionysius* the elder: but after his death, the malice the Courtiers bare unto *Dion*, caused them to procure *Phisistus* calling home againe (as we have told you) as the man they thought would stickle stoutly in defence of the tyranny. So, *Phisistus* no sooner returned, but he stoutly began to defend the tyranny: and others in contrary

Dionysius the elder, a marvellous timorous and suspicious man.

Marfius dream-

Dion perswaded the younger *Dionysius* to fall to study.

The assured guard of Princes, is the love of their subjects.

Plato goeth in to *Sicile*, to teach *Dionysius* the younger.

Phisistus the Historiographer.

Phisistus the Historiographer, banished out of *Sicile* by *Dionysius* the elder.

Democrata the government of the people. *Dion* allowed not popular *Rate*. *Aristocrata*, the government of a few of the nobility. *Plato* came into *Sicilia* unto *Dionysius* the younger. The change of *Dionysius*, upon *Plato* coming

Philistus accusations against *Dion*.

Dion's letters unto *Carthage*.

Dion sent away by *Dionysius* into *Italy*.

Dion's wealth.

manner, devised accusations to the Tyrant against *Dion*, accusing him that he had practised with *Theodorus* and *Heraclides*, to overthrow the tyranny of *Dionysius*. For *Dion* (in my opinion) hoped by *Plato* coming to bridle and lessen a little the over-licentious and imperious tyranny of *Dionysius*, and thereby to frame *Dionysius* a wife and righteous governour. But on the other side, if he saw he would not follow his counsell, & that he yeelded not to his wife instructions, he then determined to put him down, and to bring the Government of the Commonwealth into the hands of the *SYRACUSANS*: not that he allowed of *Democrata* (to wit, where the people govern) but yet certainly thinking that *Democrata* was much better then the tyranny, when they could not come unto *Aristocrata* (to wit, the Government of a few of the Nobility.) Now things being in this state, *Plato* arrived in *SICILE*, where he was marvellously received and honoured by *Dionysius*. For when he landed on the shore, leaving his Galley that brought him, there was ready for him one of the Kings rich and sumptuous Chariots, to convey him to the Castle: and the tyrant made sacrifice to give the gods thanks for his coming, as for some wonderful great good hap chanced unto his feignory. Furthermore, the wonderful modesty and temperance that was begun to be observed in feasts and banquets, the Court cleane changed, and the great goodnaes and clemency of the tyrant in all things, in ministering justice to every man; did put the *SYRACUSANS* in great good hope of change, and every man in the Court was very desirous to give himself to learning and Philosophy: so that (as men reported) the tyrants pallace was full of sand and dust, with the number of students that drew platets and figures of Geometry. Shortly after *Plato* was arrived, by chance the time was come about to do solemn sacrifice within the Castle, at which sacrifice the Herauld (as the manner was) proclaimed aloud the solemn prayer accustomed to be done: That it would please the gods, long to preserve the state of the tyranny. Whereat, *Dionysius* being hard by him, said unto him. What, wilt thou not leave to curse me? This word grieved *Philistus* and his companions to the heart, thinking that with time, by little and little, *Plato* would win such estimation and great authority with *Dionysius*, that afterwards they should not be able to resist him: considering that in so short a time as he had been with *Dionysius*, he had so altered his minde and courage. And therefore they now began, not one by one, nor in hugger mugger, but all of them with open mouth together to accuse *Dion*: and said, that it was eafie to be seen, how he charmed and enchanted *Dionysius* through *Plato*es eloquence, to make him willing to resigne his government, because he would transfer it to the hands of the children of his sister *Aristomache*. Others seemed to be offended, for that the *ATHENIANS* having come before into *SICILE* with a great Army, both by sea and land, they were all loft and cast away, and could not win the City of *SYRACUSA*: and that now by one onely Sophister, they utterly destroyed and overthrew the Empire of *Dionysius*, perswading him to discharge the ten thousand souldiers he had about him for his guard; to forsake the foure hundred Gallies, the ten thousand horsemen, and as many mo footmen, to go to the Academy to seek an unknown happinesse never heard of before, and to make him happy by Geometry, resigning his present happinesse and felicity (to be a great Lord, to have money at will, and to live pleasantly) unto *Dion* and his Nephew. By such like accusations and wicked tongues, *Dionysius* began first to mistrust *Dion*, and afterwards to be openly offended with him, and to frowne upon him. In the mean time they brought letters that *Dion* wrote secretly unto the Governours of the City of *CARTHAGE*, wishing them, that when they would make peace with *Dionysius*, they should not talke with him unlesse he stood by: assuring them that he would helpe them to fet things in quietnesse, and that all should be well again. When *Dionysius* had read these letters with *Philistus*, and had taken his advice and counsell what he should do, as *Timanus* said; he deceived *Dion* under pretence of reconciliation, making as though he meant him no hurt, and saying that he would become friends againe with him. So he brought *Dion* one day to the sea side under his Castle, and shewed him those letters, burdening him to have practised with the *CARTHAGINIANS* against him. And as, *Dion* went about to make him answer to cleare himself, *Dionysius* would not hear him, but caused him to be taken up as he was, and put into a Pinnace, and commanded the Mariners to fet him a land upon the coast of *ITALY*. After this was done, and that it was knowne abroad in the City, every man thought it a cruel part of *Dionysius*, in somuch that the tyrants pallace was in a marvellous pecke of troubles, for the great sorrow the women made for the departure of *Dion*. Moreover, the City self of *SYRACUSA* began to looke about them, looking for some suddain great change and innovation, for the tumult and uproare that would happen by means of *Dion's* banishment: and for the mistrust also that all men would have of *Dionysius*. *Dionysius* considering this, and being afraid of some misfortune, he gave his friends and the women of his pallace comfortable words, telling them that he had not banished him, but was contented that he should absent himselfe for a time: being afraid, that in his suddain angry mood he might peradventure be compelled to do him some worse turne if he remained; because of his obstinacy and selfe-will. Furthermore, he gave unto *Dion's* friends two ships, to carry as much goods, money, and as many of *Dion's* servants as they would, and to convey them unto him into *PELOPONNESUS*. *Dion* was a marvellous rich man, and for the pompe of his service, and sumptuous moveables of his house, they were like unto the person of a tyrant. All these riches *Dion's* friends brought aboard upon those ships, and carried them unto him; besides many other riches which the women and his friends sent unto him: so that by means of his great riches, *Dion* was marvellously esteemed among the *GRECIANS*: who by the riches of a banished Citizen, conjectured what the power of a tyranny might be. But now concerning *Plato*. When *Dion* was exiled, *Dionysius* caused him to be lodged in his Castle, and by this meanes craftily placed (under cloake of friendship) an honourable guard about him, because he should not returne into

into *GREECE* to seek *Dion*, to tell him of the injury he had done unto him. Howbeit, *Dionysius* often frequenting his company (as a wild beast is made tame by company of man) he liked his talke so well, that he became in love with him, but it was a tyrannical love: for he would have *Plato* to love none but him, and that he should esteeme him above all men living, being ready to put the whole Realme into his hands, and all his forces, so that he would think better of him then of *Dion*. Thus was this passionate affection of *Dionysius* grievous unto *Plato*: for he was to drowned with the love of him, as men extremely jealous of the women they love, that in a moment he would suddainly fall out with him, and fraight againe become friends, and pray him to pardon him. And to say truly, he had a marvellous desire to hear *Plato*es Philosophy: but on the other side, he revered them that did disswade him from it, and told him, that he would spoile himself, if he entred over-deeply into it. In the mean time fell out warre, and thereupon he sent *Plato* againe away, promising him, that the next Spring he would send for *Dion* home. But he brake promise therein, and yet sent him his revenues: and prayed *Plato* to pardon him, though he had not kept promise at his time appointed. For he alleadged the warre was the cause; and that so soon as he had ended his war, he would send for *Dion*; whom in the mean time he prayed to have patience, and not to attempt any stir or alteration against him, nor to speak evil of him among the *GRECIANS*. This *Plato* sought to bring to passe, and brought *Dion* to study Philosophy, and kept him in the Academy at *ATHENS*. *Dion* lay in the City of *ATHENS* with one *Calippus*, whom he had known of long time; howbeit, he bought him a house in the Country, to lie there sometime for his pleasure; the which he gave afterwards (at his return into *SICILE*) unto *Speusippus* that kept him company, and was continually with him more then with any other friend he had in *ATHENS*, through *Plato*es counsell: who to soften and recreate *Dion's* manners, gave him the company of some pleasant conceited man, knowing that this *Speusippus* could modestly observe time and place to be pleasant and merry; for which respect, *Timon* in his satyrycal jests, calleth *Speusippus*, A good jester. Now *Plato* himself having undertaken to defray the charges of common playes in the dancing of young children, *Dion* took the paines to teach and exercise them; and moreover, himself was at the whole charge of these playes, *Plato* suffering him to bestow that liberality and courtesie upon the *ATHENIANS*: the which wan for *Dion* a great deal more good will, then *Plato* honour. *Dion* kept not still at *ATHENS*, but went also to see the other good Cities of *GREECE*, passing his time away. He being at common feasts and assemblies with the chiefest men, and best learned in matters of state and government, and never shewing any light parts, nor signe of any tyrannical pride in this manner of life, nor of a man that had been brought up with all pompe and pleasure, but like a grave vertuous man, and well studied in Philosophy, whereby he grew to be generally beloved and esteemed of all men: the City granted him publike honours, and sent him decrees of his glory, made in their counsels and assemblies. Furthermore, the *LACEDÆMONIANS* made him a *SPARTAN* and Burgesse of the City, not passing for *Dionysius* displeasure, though at that time he had given them great aide, in the war they made against the *THEBANS*. Some report, that *Dion* on a time was intreated by *Pseudorus* *MEGARIAN*, to come and see him at his house, and *Dion* went thither. This *Pseudorus* was a marvellous great rich man, and therefore *Dion* seeing a great number of people standing at his gates, and that it was a hard thing to come and speake with him, he had such great businesse: he turned unto his friends that did accompany him, who were angry they made him tarry so long at the gate, and said unto them: What cause have we to think evil of him, sith we did the like when we were at *SYRACUSA*? But *Dionysius* being incensed with envy against him, and fearing the goodwill the *GRECIANS* bare him, he kept backe his revenue, and would no more send it him; and seized all the goods, the which he gave to his receivers to keep. Furthermore, because he would cleare himself of the infamy he had gotten amongst the Philosophers for *Plato*es sake, he sent for divers wise and learned men, and vainly coveting to excell them all in wisdom, he was driven improperly, and out of time, to alledge many wife sayings, he had learned of *Plato*. Thereupon he began againe to wish for him, and to condemne himselfe, for that he had no wit to use him well when he had him at his commandment, and that he had not heard him so much as he should have done: and like a tyrant as he was, madly carried away with light desires, and easily changing mind from time to time, a suddaine vehement desire tooke him in the head, to have *Plato* again. So he sought all the means and wayes he could devise, to pray *Archytas* the *Pythagorean* Philosopher, to tell him that he might boldly come; and to be his surety unto him for that he would promise him: for first of all, they were acquainted together by his means. Therefore *Archytas* sent thither *Archidamus* the Philosopher. *Dionysius* also sent certain Gallies, and some of his friends thither, to pray *Plato* to come to him, and he himself wrote specially and plainly, that it should not go well with *Dion* if *Plato* came not into *SICILE*: but if he would be perswaded to come, that then he would do what he would have him. Many letters and requests came unto *Dion* from his wife and sister, in somuch as *Dion* so used the matter, that *Plato* obeyed *Dionysius* without making any excuse at all. So *Plato* writeth himselfe, that he was driven to come againe the third time into the streight of *SICILE*;

Dionysius tyrannical love to *Plato*.

Dionysius sent *Plato* from him.

Dion's life in *Greece*.

Dion's vertues and honours done unto him by the *Grecians*.

Archytas a *Pythagorean* Philosopher. *Dionysius* sent him againe for *Plato* to come into *Sicile*. *Plato's* third journey into *Sicile*.

To trie, if once he could *Charybdis* dangers passe.

Now *Plato* being arrived in *SICILE*, he made *Dionysius* a great joyful man, and filled all *SICILE*, againe with great good hope: for they were all very desirous, and did what they could, to make *Plato* overcome *Philistus* and the tyranny with his Philosophy. The women of *Dionysius* Court did enter-

Aristippus saying of *Dionysius*

Helicon, a Mathematician.

Aristippus divination.

Archytas requirereth *Plato* of *Dionysius*.

Dionysius married *Themis* wife to another man.

Polyxenus married *Thebes*, his father *Dionysius* sister.

The noble answer of *Thebes* unto her brother *Dionysius* the elder.

Dionysius beginneth to maketh war against *Lycius*.

entertaine *Plato* the best he could : above all, *Dionysius* seemed to have a marvellous trust and affiance in him, and more then in any other of all his friends. For he suffered *Plato* to come to him without searching of him, and oftentimes offered to give him a great sum of money : but *Plato* would take none of it. Therefore *Aristippus* CYRENIAN being at that time in the tyrants Court in SICILE, said, that *Dionysius* bestowed his liberality surely : for, to us that ask much, he giveth little, and much unto *Plato*, that requireth nothing. After *Dionysius* had given *Plato* his welcome, he began to move him again of *Dion*. *Dionysius* on the other side, at the first did use him with fine delays, but afterwards he shewed himself angry indeed, and at length fell out with *Plato*, but yet so covertly that others saw it not : for *Dionysius* dissembled that ; but otherwise in all other things he did him as much honour as he could devise, practising thereby to make him to forsake *Dions* friendship. Now *Plato* found him at the first, that there was no trust to be given to his words, and that all were but lies and devices he either said or did : howbeit, he kept it to himselfe, and ever patiently bare all things, hoping for the best, and made as though he believed him. They two thus finely dissembling with each other, thinking to deceive all men, and that none should understand their secrets : *Helycon* CYZICENIAN, one of *Platos* friends, did Prognosticate the Eclipse of the Sunne. The same falling out as he had Prognosticated, the tyrant esteemed marvellously of him, and gave him a silver talent for his labour. Then *Aristippus* sporting with other Philosophers, said, he could tell them of a stranger thing to happen then that. So when they prayed him to tell them what it was : I do prognosticate (said he) that *Plato* and *Dionysius* will be enemies ere it be long. In the end it came to passe, that *Dionysius* made port-sale of all *Dions* goods, and kept the money to himselfe, and lodged *Plato* (that before lay in the next Court to his Pallace) among the souldiers of his guard, whom he knew maliced him of long time, and sought to kill him, because he did perswade *Dionysius* to leave his tyranny, and to live without his Guard, *Plato* being in this instant danger, *Archytas* sent Ambassadors forthwith unto *Dionysius*, in a Galley of thirty Oares, to demand *Plato* againe : declaring that *Plato* came againe to SYRACUSA upon his word and caution. *Dionysius* to excuse himselfe, and to shew that he was not angry with him, at his departure from him, he made him all the great cheare and feasts he could, and so sent him home with great shewes of good will. One day among the rest, he said unto *Plato* : I am afraid *Plato* (said he) that thou wilt speake evill of me when thou art among thy friends and companions in the Academy. Then *Plato* smiling, answered him againe : The gods forbid, that they should have such scarcity of matter in the Academy, as that they must needs talke of thee. Thus was *Platos* returne (as it is reported) although that which he himselfe writeth, agreeth not much with this report. These things went to *Dions* heart, so that shortly after he shewed himself an open enemy unto *Dionysius*, but specially when he heard how he had handled his wife. *Plato* under covert words sent *Dionysius* word of it by his letters : and thus it was. After *Dion* was exiled, *Dionysius* returning *Plato* backe againe, he willed him secretly to feele *Dions* mind, whether he would not be angry that his wife should be married to another man ; because there ranne a rumour abroad (whether it were true, or invented by *Dions* enemies) that he liked not his marriage, and could not live quietly with his wife. Therefore when *Plato* was at ATHENS, and had told *Dion* of all things, he wrote a letter unto *Dionysius* the tyrant, and did set all other things downe so plainly, that every man might understand him ; but this one thing onely so darkely, that he alone and none other could understand him, but he to whom he had written : declaring unto him, that he had spoken with *Dion* about the matter he woted of, and that he did let him understand he would be marvellous angry if *Dionysius* did it. So at that time, because there was great hope of reconciliation between them, the tyrant did nothing lately touching his sister, but suffered her still to remaine with *Dions* sonne. But when they were so farre out, that there was no more hope to returne into favour againe, and that he had also sent home *Plato* in disgrace and displeasure, then he married his sister *Aretè* (*Dions* wife) against her will, unto one of his friends called *Timocrates*, not following therein his fathers justice and lenity. For *Polyxenus* that had married his fathers sister *Thebes*, being also become his enemy, fled out of SICILE. *Dionysius* the elder sent for his sister *Thebes*, andooke her up very sharply, for that the knowing her husband would flie, did not come and tell him of it. *Thebes* nobly answered him againe, and never was afraid nor abashed : Why, *Dionysius*, dost thou thinke me a woman so faint-hearted and beastly, that if I had knowne my husband would have gone his way and left me, I would not have taken sea with him, and both have runne one fortune together ? Truly, I knew not of his departure till he was gone : for it had been more for mine honour, to have been called the wife of the banished *Polyxenus*, then the sister of thee a tyrant. *Dionysius* marvelled to heare his sister speak thus boldly, and the SYRACUSANS wondred at her noble courage : insomuch, that when the tyranny was utterly destroyed, they did not refuse to do her all the honour they could devise, as unto a Queene. And when she was dead also, all the Citizens of SYRACUSA by a common decree, did accompany her body at her burial. This little digression from our History, is not altogether unprofitable. But now again to our matter. *Dion* from thenceforth disposed himself altogether unto war, against *Platos* counsel and advice : who did his best endeavour to perswade him from it, both for the respect of *Dionysius* good entertainment he had given him, as also for that *Dion* was of great years. Howbeit, on the other side, *Spensippus* and his other friends did provoke him unto it, and perswaded him to deliver SICILE from the slavery and bondage of the tyrant, the which held up her hands unto him, and would receive him with great love and goodwill. For whilst *Plato* lay at SYRACUSA, *Spensippus* keeping the Citizens company more then *Plato* did, he knew their minds better then he. For at the first, they were

were afraid to open themselves unto him, and frankly to speak what they thought, mistrusting he was a spie unto the tyrant, sent amongst them to feel their minds : but within short time they began to trust him, and were all of one mind ; for they prayed and perswaded *Dion* to come, and not to care otherwise for bringing of ships, souldiers, nor horses with him, but onely to hire a ship, and to lend the SICILIANS his body and name against *Dionysius*. *Spensippus* reporting these newes unto *Dion*, did put him in good heart again : whereupon he began secretly to leavy men by other mens meanes to hide his purpose and intent. The Philosophers do set forward *Dions* wars ; many Citizens dealing in the affaires of the Common-wealth, did aide him, and divers of them also that onely gave their minds to the study of Philosophy : and among them, *Eudemus* CYPRIAN (on whose death *Aristotle* wrote his Dialogue of the soul) and *Timonides* LEUCADIAN went with him. Furthermore, there joynd also with him *Miltas* THESSALIAN, a Soothsayer, and that had been his companion in study in the Academy. Now, of all them whom the tyrant had banished (which were no lesse then a thousand persons) there were but onely five and twenty that durst accompany him in this war : for all the other were such dastards, that they forooke him, and durst not go with him. The place where they appointed to meet, was the Isle of ZACINTH, where they leaved all their souldiers, that were not above eight hundred in all ; but all of them brave souldiers and valiant men, and excellently well trained in wars : and to conclude, such lusty men, as would encourage all the Army *Dion* hoped of at his arrival in SICILE, to fight like valiant men with them. These hired souldiers, the first time that they understood it was to go into SICILE, to make war with *Dionysius*, they were amazed at the first, and misliked the journey, because it was undertaken rather of malice and spite than *Dion* had to be revenged, then otherwise of any good cause or quarrel ; who having no better hope, took upon him desperate and impossible enterprises. Therefore the souldiers were offended with their Captains that had pressed them, because they had not told them of this warre before. But, after that *Dion* by a notable Oration had told them, how tyrannies have evil foundations, and are subject unto ruin, and that he led them not into SICILE so much for souldiers, as he did to make them Captaines of the SYRACUSANS and the other SICILIANS, who of long time desired nothing more then occasion to rise : and, when after him also *Alcimenes* (a companion with him in this warre, and the chiefe man of all the ACHAIIANS, both for nobility and estimation) did speak unto them in like manner ; then they were all contented to go whither they would lead them. It was then in the heate of Summer, and the wind blew, called the GRECIAN wind, the Moone being at the full ; and *Dion* having prepared to make a sumptuous sacrifice unto the god *Apollo*, he led all his men armed with white corselets in procession into the temple : and after the sacrifice done, he made them a feast in the Parke or shew-place of the ZACINTHIANS. There the Tables were laid, and the souldiers wondered to see the great state and magnificence of the great number of pots of gold and silver, and such other furniture and preparation, as passed a private mans wealth : then they thought with themselves, that a man being so old, and Lord of so great a good, would not attempt things of such danger, without good ground, and great assurance of his friends aid and help. But after his oblations of wine, and common prayers made to the gods at feasts, suddenly the Moone Eclipse. *Dion* thought it not strange to see an Eclipse, considering the revolutions of the Eclipses, and knowing very well it is a shadow that falleth upon the body of the Moon, because of the direct interposition of the earth betwixt her and the Sun. But because the souldiers that were afraid and astonished withall, stood in need of some comfort and encouragement, *Miltas* the Soothsayer standing up in the midst among them, said unto them : My fellow souldiers, be of good chear, and assure your selves that we shall prosper : for God doth foreshew us by this sight we see, that some one of the chiefe things now in highest place and dignity shall be Eclipse. And at this present time, what thing carrieth greater glory and fame, then the tyranny of *Dionysius* ? Therefore you must think, that so soon as you arrive in SICILE, your selves shall put out his light and glory. This interpretation of the Eclipse of the Moon, did *Miltas* the Soothsayer make, before all the whole company. But touching the swarm of Bees that lighted on the poope of *Dions* ship, he told him and his friends privately : That he was afraid his acts (which should fall out famous and glorious) should be but a while, and flourishing a few dayes, would straight consume away. It is reported also, that *Dionysius* in like manner had many strange signes and wonderful tokens from above. Among others, there came an Eagle, that snatched a Partisan out of a souldiers hand, and carried it quite away with her, and then let it fall into the sea. The sea also bearing against the walls of the Castle, was as sweet to drink a whole day together, as any conduit or running water : as those that tasted of it, found it true. Furthermore, a Sow farrowed Pigges that lacked no part of their body but onely their ears. This the Soothsayers said, did signifie rebellion and disobedience of his subjects : and that the Citizens would no more hear him, nor obey his tyranny. Furthermore, they told also, that the sweetnesse of the salt water prognosticated to the SYRACUSANS change of cruell and evil time, unto good and civil government : and that the Eagle, *Jupiters* Minister, and the Partisan, the marke and token of the Kingdom and Empire, did beroken, that *Jupiter* (the chiefe of all the gods) had determined to destroy and put downe the tyranny. *Theopompus* reporteth this matter thus. So, *Dions* souldiers were embarked into two great ships of burden, and another third ship that was not very great, and two Pinnaces with thirty Oares, followed them. For their armour and weapon, beside those the souldiers had, he carried two thousand targets, a great number of bowes and arrowes, of darts, of pikes, and plenty of victuals : that they should lacke nothing all the time they were upon the sea, considering that their journey stood altogether at the courtesie of the winds and sea ; and for that they were afraid to land, understanding that *Philistus* rode at Anchor in the coast of APULIA, with

The Philosophers advanced *Dions* war.

Aristotles Dialogue, *De animalibus*.

Dions Army.

Dions sumptuous feast in feasting.

The Eclipse of the Moon, and cause of the Eclipse.

Wonders shewed to *Dion*.

Wonders appearing to *Dionysius*.

Dions preparation.

Pachynus the
foreland of *Sic-
ile*.

A tempest on
the sea against
Dion.

Synalus, Cap-
taine of *Mino*
to the *Cariba-
giuans*.
Dion wan *Mi-
no*.

Dion went to
Syracusa.

A strange
chance hap-
pened unto the
messenger sent
to *Dionysius*.

A Wolfe car-
ried away the
messengers
port-manteau.

with a Fleet of ships that lay in waite for their coming. So having a pleasant gale of wind, they sailed the space of twelve dayes together, and the thirteenth day they came to the foreland of *Syracusa* called *Pachynus*. There the Pilot thought it best they should land presently: for if they willingly looffed into the sea, and lost that point, they were sure they should lose also many nights and dayes in vain in the midde of the sea, being then Summer time, and the wind at the South. But *Dion* being afraid to land so near his enemies, he was desirous to go farther, and so past by the foreland of *Pachynus*. Then the North wind rose so bigge and great, that with great violence it drave backe their ships from the coasts of *Syracusa*. Furthermore, lightning and thunder mingled withal (because it was at that time when the Star *Arcturus* begetteth to shew) it made so terrible a tempest, and poured down such a sore shower of rain upon them, that all the Mariners were amazed withall, and knew not whether the wind would drive them, till that suddenly they saw the storm had cast them upon the Iffe of *Cercina* (which is on the coast of *Lybia*) and specially where it is most dangerous to arrive for the Rocks; for their ships were like to have runne upon them, and to have made shipwracke. But with much ado they bare off the ships with their great long poles, and wanded up and down the sea, not knowing whither they went untill the storme ceased. Then they met a ship, whereby they knew that they were in the flat, which the Mariners call, The heads of the great Syrt. Thus they wandering up and down, being marvellous angry that the sea was calme, there rose a little South wind from the land, although they least looked for any such wind at that time, and little thinking it would so have changed: but seeing the wind rife bigger and bigger, they packed on all the sailes they had, and making their prayers unto the gods, they crossed the sea, and sailed from the coast of *Lybia*, directly unto *Syracusa*, and had the wind so lucky, that at the fifth day they were neare unto a little village of *Syracusa*, called *Mino*, the which was subject to the *Carthaginians*. *Synalus* *Carthaginian*, being at that time Capitaine and Governour of the Town of *Mino*, and *Dion* friend, was there by chance at this present, who being ignorant of his enterprife and coming, did what he could to keep *Dion* souldiers from landing. But they notwithstanding suddenly leapt on land armed, but slew no man: for *Dion* had commanded them the contrary, for the friendship he bare the Captain: and they following the Townsmen hard that fled before them, entered the Town hand over head amongst them, and so wan the Market-place. When both the Captains met, and that they had spoken together, *Dion* delivered the Town unto *Synalus* hands again, without any hurt or violence offered him. *Synalus* on the other side, did endeavour himself all he could to make much of the souldiers, and holpe *Dion* to provide him of all things necessary. But this did most of all encourage the souldiers, because *Dionysius* at their arrival, was not then in *Syracusa*: for it chanced so, that not many daies before he went into *Italy* with foure score saile. Therefore when *Dion* willed them to remaine there a few dayes to refresh themselves, because they had been so sore sea-beaten a long time together, they themselves would not, they were so glad to imbrace the occasion offered them, and prayed *Dion* to lead them forthwith to *Syracusa*. *Dion* leaving all his superfluous armour and provision in the hands of *Synalus*, and praying him to fend them to him when time served, he took his way towards *Syracusa*. So by the way, two hundred horsemen of the *Argentines*, which dwell in that part called *Ecnomus*, came first to joyn with him, and after them, the *Geloians*. The rumor of their coming ran straight to *Syracusa*: thereupon *Timocrates* that had married *Aretie*, *Dion* wife, and *Dionysius* the fathers sifter, and to whom *Dionysius* the younger had left the charge and government of all his men and friends in the City: he presently dispatched a post with letters, to advertise *Dionysius* of *Dion* coming. He himself also in the mean time had taken such order, that there rose no tumult nor mutiny in the City, though they all of them lacked no goodwill to rebel: but because they were uncertain whether this rumor were true or false (being afraid) every man was quiet. Now there chanced a strange misfortune unto the messenger, which carried the letters unto *Dionysius*. For after he had passed the straights, and that he was arrived in the City of *Rhegio* of *Italy* side, making hast to come to the City of *Caunonia*, where *Dionysius* was, he met by the way one of his acquaintance that carried a Mutton but newly sacrificed. This good fellow gave him a peece of it, and the messenger spurred away withall the speed he could possibly: but when he had ridden the most part of the night, he was so weary and drowfie for lacke of sleep, that he was driven to lye down: so he lay downe upon the ground in a wood hard by the high way. The favour of this flesh brought a Wolfe to him that carried away the flesh and the Portmanteau it was wrapt in, and in the which also were his letters of advertisement, which he carried unto *Dionysius*. When he awoke out of his sleepe, and saw that his Portmanteau was gone, he enquired for it, and went wandering up and downe a long time to seeke it: howbeit, all in vaine, for he could never finde it. Therefore he thought it was not good for him to go to the Tyrant without his letters, but rather to sleight into some unknowne place, where no body knew him. Thus overlate received *Dionysius* advertisement by others of this war, which *Dion* made in *Syracusa*. In the meane time, the *Camarianians* came and joyned with *Dion* Army, in the high-way towards *Syracusa*: and still there came unto him also a number of the *Syracusans* that were up in Armes, which were gotten into the field. On the other side, certaine *Campanians* and *Leontines*, which were gotten into the Castle of *Epiripolis* with *Timocrates*, of purpose to keep it; upon a false rumor *Dion* gave out (and which came unto them) that he would first go against their Towns: they forsooke *Timocrates*, and went to take order to defend their owne goods. *Dion* understanding that, being lodged with his Army in a place called *Matre*, he presently removed his Campe, being darke night, and marched forward till he came unto the River of *Anapus*, which

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is not from the City above ten furlongs off: and there staying a while, he sacrificed unto the River, and made his prayer and worshipped the rising of the Sun. At the selfe same instant also, the Soothsayers came and told him, that the gods did promise him assured victory. And the souldiers also seeing *Dion* weare a Garland of flowers on his head, which he had taken for the ceremony of the sacrifice, all of them with one selfe goodwill took every man one of them (being no lesse then five thousand men that were gathered together by the way, and but slenderly armed with such things as came first to hand; howbeit, supplying with goodwill their want of better furniture and armor:) and when *Dion* commanded them to march, for joy they ranne, and encouraged one another with great cries, to shew themselves valiant for recovery of their liberty. Now for them that were within the City selfe of *Syracusa*, the Noblemen and chiefe Citizens went to receive them at the Gates, in their best Gownes. The common people on the other side, ranne and set upon them that took part with the Tyrant, and spoiled them that were called the *Protagogides* (as much to say, The common Promoters of men) the detestablest villains, hateful to the gods and men: for they like Sycophants and busie tale-bearers, would jet up and downe the City, and mingle among the Citizens, having an oare in every mans matter, being full of prittle prattle, and busie headed, to know what every man said and did, and then to go carry it to the tyrant. These men were they that had their payment first of all, for they killed them with dry blowes, beating them to death with flaves. When *Timocrates* could not enter into the Castle with them that kept it, he tooke his horse backe, and fled out of the City; and flying, made all men afraid and amazed where he came, enlarging *Dion* power by his report, because it should not seem, that for fear of a trifle, he had forsaken the City. In the meane time, *Dion* came on towards the City with his men, and was come so neare, that they might see him plainly from the City, marching foremost of all, armed with a faire bright white corselet, having his brother *Megacles* on the right hand of him, and *Calippus* *Athenian* on the left hand crowned with Garlands of flowers: and after him also there followed an hundred souldiers that were strangers, chosen for his guard about him, and the rest came marching after it in good order of battell, being led by their Captaines. The *Syracusans* saw him coming, and went out and received him as a holy and blessed procession, that brought them their liberty and popular state againe, the which they had lost the space of eight and fourty years. When *Dion* was come into the City, by the gate called *Menitide*, he caused his trumpeter to sound, to appease the rumor and tumult of the people. Then he commanded an Herald to proclaim aloud: That *Dion* and *Megacles*, who were come to put down the tyranny, did set all the *Syracusans* at liberty, and all the other *Syracusanians* also from the bondage and subjection of the tyrant. And because *Dion* himselfe was desirous to speake unto the people, he went to the upper part of the Town, called *Arcaadian*. The *Syracusans*, all the streets through as he passed by, had on either hand of him prepared sacrifices, and set up tables and cuppes upon them: and as he passed by their houses, they cast flowers and fruits on him, and made prayers unto him, as if he had been a god. Now, under the Castle there was a place called *Pentapyla* (a clocke, to know by the Sunne how the day went) the which *Dionysius* had caused to be made, and it was of a good pretty height. *Dion* got up upon it, and from thence made his oration to the people that were gathered round about him, exhorting and perswading his Countriemen to do their endeavour to recover their liberty againe, and to maintaine it. They being in a marvellous joy withall, and desirous to please *Dion*, did choose him and his brother *Megacles* their Lieutenants General, with absolute power and authority. Afterwards also, by the consent of *Dion* himselfe and his brother, and at their requests in like mannner, they chose twenty other Captaines, of the which the most part of them had been banished by the tyrant, and were returned againe with *Dion*. The Soothsayers and Prognosticators liked it well, and said it was a good signe for *Dion*, that he trode their sumptuous building and workmanship of the tyrant under his feet, when he made his Oration: but because the hand of the Diall did shew the course of the Sunne, which never leaveth going, upon the which he got up when he was chosen Lieutenant General with absolute power and authority, they were afraid againe, that it was a signe *Dion* affairs should have a suddain change of fortune. After this, *Dion* having taken the castle of *Epiripolis*, he set all the Citizens at liberty, which were kept there as prisoners in captiuitie by the tyrant, and environed the Castle round about with a wall. Within seven dayes after, *Dionysius* returned by sea to the Castle of *Syracusa*, and therewithall also came the Carts loaden with armour and weapons to *Syracusa*, which *Dion* had left with *Synalus*: the which *Dion* caused to be distributed among the Citizens of *Syracusa* that had none. Others did furnish themselves as well as they could, and shewed that they had courage and goodwill to fight for the maintenance and defence of their liberty. In the meane time, *Dionysius* sent Ambassadors, first unto *Dion* privately, to see if he would yeeld to any composition. But *Dion* would not heare them, but bade them tell the *Syracusans* openly what they had to say: being men that were free, and enjoyed liberty. Then the Ambassadors spake in the behalfe of the tyrant, unto the people of *Syracusa*, promising them with mild and gentle words, that they should pay no subsidies and taxes, but very little, and should be no more troubled with warres, other then such as they themselves should like of. The *Syracusans* made a mockery at those offers, and *Dion* also answered the Ambassadors, and willed *Dionysius* to send no more to the *Syracusans*, before he had dispossessed himself of his tyranny: and, so that he would leave it, he would be his mean to obtaine all things just and reasonable of the people. *Dionysius* liked very well of his good offer: and therefore sent his Ambassadors again to pray the *Syracusans*, that they would appoint some amongst them to come to the Castle, to talke with him for the benefit and com-

Dionysius picke-
thanks flaine

Dion received
into *Syracusa*.

Dion restoreth
the *Syracusans*
to liberty.

Dionysius clock

The predicti-
ons of the
Soothsayers.

Dionysius sent
Ambassadors
unto *Dion*.

commodity of the Common-wealth; that he might hear what they would alledge, and they also what answer he would make. *Dion* chose certaine whom he sent unto him. Now there ranne a rumour in the City among the SYRACUSANS, which came from the Castle, that *Dionysius* would willingly of himselfe, rather then by reason of *Dions* coming, depose himself of the tyranny. But this was but a false alarme, and crafty fetch of *Dionysius*, to intrap the SYRACUSANS by. For those that were sent him from the City, he kept them prisoners every man of them, and one morning having made his souldiers drinke wine lustily, which he kept in pay to guard his person, he sent them with great fury to assault the wall the SYRACUSANS had built against the Castle. Now, because the SYRACUSANS looked for nothing lesse, then for the suddaine assault, and for that these barbarous people with a wonderful courage and great tumult overthrew the wall, and others of them also did set upon the SYRACUSANS, there was not a man of them that durst make head to fight with them, saving the souldiers that were strangers, whom *Dion* had brought with him. Who, when they heard the noise, ran straight to repulse them, and yet they themselves could not well tell what they should do upon that suddaine. For they could hear nothing for the great noise and hurly burly of the SYRACUSANS, which fled with great disorder, and came and mingled themselves amongst them. Till at length, *Dion* perceiving he could not be heard; to shew them by deed what they should do, he went first himself against these barbarous people, and about him there was a cruel and bloody fight: for his enemies knew him as well as his own men, and they all ranne upon him with great cries. Now for *Dion* himselfe, indeed because of his age, he was heavier then was requisite for one that should away with the pains of such battels: but he had such a valiant courage in him, that he went through with all lustily, and slew them that did assaile him. Yet he had his hand also thrust through with a pike, and very hardly did his curaces hold out the blowes of the darts and thrusts by hand which he received on them, they were so mangled and hacked with such a number of darts and pikes passed through his shield and broken on him, that in the end he was beaten downe: howbeit his souldiers refused him straight. Then he made *Timonides* their Captaine, and he himself took his horsebacke, and went up and down the City, staying and quieting the flying of the SYRACUSANS. Then he sent for his souldiers the strangers, which he had put in Garrison in that part of the City called the ACRA-DINE to keep it; and brought them being fresh, against the barbarous people of the Castle that were wearied, and almost all of them discouraged to attempt any further enterprise. For they had made this fallly out, in hope to have taken all the City at the first onset, onely running up and down: but when contrary to their expectation, they met these valiant souldiers, and fresh supply, they then began to retire againe into the Castle. And the GRECIAN souldiers on the other side, perceiving they gave backe, they came the faster upon them, so that they were compelled to turne their backs, and were driven within the walls, after they had slaine threescore and fourteen of *Dions* men, and lost a great number of their own. This was a noble victory, and therefore the SYRACUSANS gave the souldiers that were strangers, an hundred silver Minaes, in reward for their good service: and they gave *Dion* their General, a crown of gold. After this, there came letters to *Dion* by a Trumpet from the Castle, written from the women of his house: and among the packet of letters, there was one of them directed, To my father, the which *Hipparinus* wrote unto him. For that was *Dions* sonnes name, though *Timonides* writeth he was called *Areteus*, after his mothers name *Arete*. But in such matters, he thinks *Timonides* is better to be credited, because he was his friend and companion in armes. All the other letters that were sent, were openly read before the assembly of the SYRACUSANS, and did onely concerne requests of these women unto *Dion*. The SYRACUSANS would not have the supposed letter of his sonne to be openly read: but *Dion* against their minds opened it, and found that it was *Dionysius* letter; who by words, made the direction of it unto *Dion*, but in effect, he spake unto the SYRACUSANS. For in sight, it seemed a manner of request and justification of him; but in truth, it was written of purpose to accuse *Dion*. First of all, he remembered him of the things he had done before, for the establishing and preservation of the tyranny: and afterwards, of cruel threats against those whom he should love best, as his wife, his son, and sister: and last of all, full of most humble requests and intreaties, with sorrow and lamentation. But that which most moved *Dion* of all other, was, that he required him not to destroy the tyranny, but rather to take it for himselfe, and not to set them at liberty that hated him, and would alwayes remember the mischief he had done unto them: and that he would himselfe take upon him to be Lord, saving by that means the lives of their parents and friends. When these letters had been read before the whole assembly of the people, the SYRACUSANS thought not how to reverence (as they ought) with admiration, the inflexible clemency and magnanimity of *Dion*, that stood firme and fast for justice and vertue, against such vehement intreaty and perswasion of his kinsfolke and friends: but they contrarily began to be afraid, and to mistrust him, as he that of necessity should be forced to pardon the tyrant, for the great pledges and hostages he had of him. Wherefore, they began to chuse them new governors, and the rather, because they heard that *Heraclides* was coming unto them, whom they loved singularly well. This *Heraclides* was one of them that had been banished, a good souldier and Captaine, and well esteemed of for the charge and office he bare under the tyrants: howbeit, a very unconstant man in every thing, and would not continue long in a mind, and least constant in warres where he had great charge of honour in hand. He had fallen out with *Dion* in PELOPONNESUS; wherefore he determined to come with a power by himself, and with his own Fleet against the tyrant. So he arrived at length in SYRACUSA, with seven Gallies, and three other ships: where he found *Dionysius* againe shut up into his Castle with a wall, and the SYRACUSANS also to have the better hand.

Dion fighteth
with *Dionysius*.
Dion hurt.

Dions victory
of *Dionysius*.

Hipparinus, *Dions*
sonne.

Dionysius craft
unto *Dion*.

Heraclides,
what he was.

Heraclides re-
turneth to Sy-
racusa

hand of him. Then he began to curry favour with the common people all the wayes he could possibly devise, having by nature a certaine pleasing manner to win the common people, which seeke nothing else but to be flattered. Furthermore, he found it the easier for him to win them, because the people did already mislike *Dions* severity, as a man too severe and cruel to governe a Commonwealth. For they had now their will so much, and were grown so strong headed, because they saw themselves the stronger, that they would be flattered (as commonly the people be in free Cities, where they only be Lords, and do rule) before they were fully set at liberty. Therefore first of all, not being called together by the authority of the Governours, they ran in a fury, of their own light heads, unto the place of common assemblies, and there chose *Heraclides* Admiral. Then *Dion* understanding this, came, so complaine of the injury they had done him, declaring unto them, that to give this power now unto *Heraclides*, was to take that away which they had first given unto him: because he should no more be General, if they chose any other Admiral by sea then himself. The SYRACUSANS then, as it were against their wills did revoke the power they had given unto *Heraclides*: but afterwards *Dion* sent for *Heraclides*, to pray him to come home to him. When he came, he rebuked him a little, and told him, it was not honestly, nor profitably done of him, to sue to the people, and to contend for honour against him in so dangerous a time, when the least occasion in the world was enough to have marred all. Afterwards, *Dion* himself called an assembly againe of the City, and established *Heraclides* Admiral: and perswaded the Citizens to give him souldiers, as he had indeed. *Heraclides* outwardly seemed to honour *Dion*, and confessed openly that he was greatly bound unto him, and was at his heels very lowly, being ready at his commandement: but in the mean time; secretly he inticed the common people to rebell, and to stirre up those whom he knew meet men to like of change. Whereby he procured *Dion* such trouble, and brought him into such perplexity, that he knew not well which way to take. For, if he gave them advice to let *Dionysius* quietly come out of the Castle, then they accused, and said, he did it to save his life: if on the contrary side, because he would not trouble them, he continued siege still, and established nothing; then they thought he did it of purpose to draw out the wars in length, because he might the longer time remaine their Chieftain general, and so to keep the Citizens longer in fear. At that time there was one *Sofis* in SYRACUSA, a man of no name, but noted among the SYRACUSANS for his villany and wickednesse, esteeming that full and ample liberty, when he might unchecked licenciously speake what he would, as indeed he did. For he seeking to do *Dion* a displeasure, first of all one day at a common council he stood up on his feet, and called the SYRACUSANS beasts (amongst many other vile words he gave them) if they did not perceive, that being come from a fond and drunken tyranny, they had now received a sober master, and a wise Tyrant. So when he had thus openly shewed himself an enemy unto *Dion*, he came that day day no more into the Market-place: but the next morning he was seen running up and down the City naked, his head and face all of a gore blood, as if he had been followed of men to have slaine him. Thus *Sofis*, coming in this manner into the midst of the Market-place, cried out that *Dions* strangers had lain in wait for him, and had handled him in this sort, shewing his wound on his head. Many of the people tooke this matter very grievously, and cried out upon *Dion*, and said it was vilely and tyrannically done of him, by fear of murther and danger, to take away the liberty from the Citizens to speake. Now, though the whole assembly hereupon fell into an uproare withall; *Dion* notwithstanding came thither to cleare himselfe of these accusations, and made them presently see, that this *Sofis* was brother to one of *Dionysius* guard: who had put into his head, in this sort to put the City of SYRACUSA in an uproare, because *Dionysius* had no other hope nor meane to escape, but by stirring up faction and sedition among them, to make one of them fall out with another. The Surgeons were sent for forthwith to search the wound of this *Sofis*: who found, that it was rather a little scratch, then any violent wound given him. For the wounds or cuts of a sword, are ever deepest in the midst: and *Sofis* cut was but very little, and not deepe, having had many beginnings, and given him (as it seemed) at sundry times, but for very paine, the party that cut him, was driven to leave off, and came to cut him at divers times. Furthermore, there came certain of his friends in the meane time, that brought a razor before the assembly, and reported that as they came, they met *Sofis* by the way all bloodied: who said that he fled from *Dions* souldiers, which had but newly hurt him. Whereupon they presently followed them, but found no man; and onely they saw a razor, which some body had cast upon a hollow stone thereabouts, where they first saw him coming unto them. Thus, *Sofis* device had but evill successe. For besides all these proofes and tokens, *Dions* household servants came to be witness against him, that very early in the morning he went abroad alone with a razor in his hand. Then they that before did burden and accuse *Dion*, knew not what to say to the matter, but shrunke away: whereupon the people condemning *Sofis* to death, they were quiet againe with *Dion*. Yet were they alwayes afraid of these souldiers that were strangers, specially when they saw the greatest conflicts they had with the Tyrant, was by sea, after that *Philistus* was come from the coast of APU-LIA with a great number of Gallies to aide the Tyrant. For then they thought, that these souldiers (the strangers) being armed at all parts to fight by land, they would do him no more service by sea: because the Citizens themselves were they that kept them in safety, for that they were men practised to fight by sea, and were also the stronger by means of their ships. But beside all this the onely thing that made them to be courageous againe, was the good fortune they had at the battel by sea, in the which when they had overcome *Philistus*, they cruelly and barbarously used him. Truly *Ephorus* saith, that *Philistus* slew himselfe, when he

The SYRACUSANS do chuse *Heraclides* Admiral, to speeie *Dion*.

Heraclides, a dissembler, pretending to make the people rebell against *Dion*.

Sofis, a wicked man, moveth sedition against *Dion*.

Dion cleareth *Sofis* accusati-
on against him.

Sofis condemn-
ed to death.

law his Galley taken. Howbeit *Timonides* (who was alway with *Dion* from the first beginning of this warre) writing unto *Speusippus* the Philosopher, saith: that *Philistus* was taken alive, because his Galley ran aland: and that the SYRACUSANS first tooke of his: Curaces; and stripped him naked, and after they had done him all the villany and spite they could, they cut off his head, and gave his body unto boyes, commanding them to drage it into that part of the City called *ACRA DINE*, and then to cast it into the common privy. *Timaeus* also to spite him the more, saith that the boyes tied the dead body by his lame legge, and so dragged him up and down the City, where all the SYRACUSANS did what villany to it they could, being glad to see him dragged by the legge, that had said: *Dionysius* should not flie from the tyranny upon a light horse, but that they should pull him out by the legge against his will. Now *Philistus* reporteth this matter thus: not as spoken to *Dionysius* by himself, but by some other. But *Timaeus* taking a just occasion and colour: to speak evil of the good will, fidelity, and care that *Philistus* had alway seemed to shew in the confirmation and defence of the tyranny, doth liberally bestow injurious words on him in this place. Now for them, whom he had indeed offended, if they of malice and spite to be revenged, did offer him cruelty, peradventure they were not much to be blamed: but for them that since his death have written the guests, who were never offended by him in his life time, and who ought to shew themselves discreet in their writing, methinks that if they had regarded their own credite and estimation, they should not so fondly and outrageously have reproved the adversities and misfortunes, which by fortune may as well chance to the honestest man, as unto him. Thus fondly did *Ephorus* praise *Philistus*, who although he have an excellent fine wit to counterfeit goodly excuses, and cunningly to hide wicked and dishonest parts, and eloquently to devise by honest words to defend an evil cause: yet cannot he with all the fine wit he hath, excuse himselfe, that he hath not been the onely man of the world that hath most favoured tyrants, and that hath ever loved, and specially desired power, wealth, and alliance with tyrants. But he (in my opinion) taketh the right course of an Historiographer, that neither doth commend *Philistus* doings, nor yet casteth his adversities in his teeth to his reproach. After *Philistus* death, *Dionysius* sent unto *Dion*, to make him an offer to deliver him the Castle, armour, munition, and souldiers that were in it, with money also to pay them for five moneths space. For himselfe, he prayed that he might be suffered to go safely into ITALY, and to lie there, to take the pleasure of the fruits of the Country called *GYARTA*, which was within the territory of SYRACUSA, and lieth out from the sea towards the main land. *Dion* refused this offer, and answered the Ambassadors, that they must move the SYRACUSANS in it. They supposing they should easily take *Dionysius* alive, would not hear the Ambassadors speak, but turned them away. *Dionysius* seeing no other remedy, left the Castle in the hands of his eldest sonne *Apollocrates*, and having a lusty gale of wind, he secretly embarked certain of his men he loved best, with the richest things he had, and so hoisted saile, unawares to *Heraclides*, the Admiral of SYRACUSA. The people were marvellously offended with *Heraclides* for it, and began to mutine against him. But *Heraclides*, to pacifie this tumult of the people, suborned one *Hippus* an Orator, who preferred the law Agraria unto the people, for the division of all the Island amongst them: and that the beginning of liberty was equality and of bondage poverty, unto them that had no lands. *Heraclides* giving his consent to this decree, and stirring the common people to sedition against *Dion*, that withstood it: perswaded the SYRACUSANS, not onely to confirme the law *Hippus* had propounded, but also to discharge the hired strangers, to chuse other Captaines and Governors, and rid themselves of *Dions* severe Government. But they supposing straight to have been rid from the tyranny, as from a long and grievous sicknesse, over rashly taking upon them, like people that of long time had been at liberty, they utterly undid themselves, and overthrew *Dions* purpose: who like a good Physician was carefull to see the City well ordered and governed. So when they were assembled to chuse new Officers in the midst of Summer, there fell such horrible thunders, and other terrible stormes, and unfortunate signes in the Element, that for the space of fifteen dayes together, the people were still scattered and dispersed when they were assembled: infomuch, that being afraid of these signes above, they durst not at that time create any new Captaines. Certaine dayes after, as the Orators had chosen a faire time to proceed to the election of Officers, an Oxe drawing in a Cart (being daily acquainted with every fight and noise) suddenly without any occasion offered, fell into a madnesse against the Carter that drave him, and breaking his yoke asunder, ranne straight to the Theater, and there made the people runne into every corner, to flie and save themselves: and then singing, and bearing all downe before him that stood in his way, he ranne through as much of the City, as the enemies afterwards wanne of them. This notwithstanding, the SYRACUSANS making light account of all these signes, they chose five and twenty Captaines, of the which *Heraclides* was one: and secretly they sent to feele the hired souldiers, to see if they could entice them from *Dion*, to cause them to take their part, and made them large promises to make them free men (as themselves) of SYRACUSA. The souldiers would not be enticed from him; but faithfully and lovingly tooke *Dion* amongst them with their armour and weapons: and putting him in the midst of them, led him in this manner out of the City, and did no man hurt, but reproved their unthankfulness and villany unto all those they met by the way. Then the SYRACUSANS despising them for their small number; and because they did not first set upon them, but trusting on the other side to themselves, for that they were the greater number, they came to assaile them, supposing they should easily overcome them in the City, and kill every man of them. *Dion* being thus in a straight, that of necessity he must fight against his owne Countrymen, or else be slaine himself with his souldiers, he held

Timaeus, and *Ephorus* the Historiographers, reproved

Dionysius flyeth from SYRACUSA *Apollocrates* the eldest sonne of *Dionysius* the younger.

Signes appearing to the SYRACUSANS.

Dion departeth out of SYRACUSA.

held up his hands to the SYRACUSANS, and very earnestly prayed them to be contented, pointing them with his finger to the Castle that was full of their enemies, which shewed themselves upon the walls, and saw what they did. In the end, when he saw that he could not pacifie their fury and tumult, and that all the City was in an uproare with the prittle prattle of these seditious people, who were carried like the sea with the winde, he did yet forbid his souldiers to give any charge upon them; who notwithstanding made a countenance with great cries, and railing of their harnesse, as if they had meant to have runne on them. Then the SYRACUSANS durst not abide by it, but ran away like sheep through the streets no man chasing them. So *Dion* called backe againe his men, and led them directly into the Country of the LEONTINES. Then the new officers and governors of SYRACUSA, perceiving the women laughed them to scorne: because they would recover the fame they had lost, they armed their men anew, and marched after *Dion* to fight with him; whom they overtook at a River, as he was ready to passe over. Then began their horsemen a little to skirmish with *Dions* company: but when they saw he did no more bear with their faults for Countries sake but frowned indeed upon them, and set his men in battel ray against them: they turned their backs againe, with more shame and reproach then before, and so fled unto the City of SYRACUSA, and had not many of their men slain. The LEONTINES received *Dion* very honorably, took the strangers his souldiers, gave them pay, and made them free Citizens with them: and sent Ambassadors also unto the SYRACUSANS, to will them to let the strangers have their pay. The SYRACUSANS on their side also, sent Ambassadors unto the LEONTINES to accuse *Dion*. So all their confederates were assembled in the City of the LEONTINES; and in that assembly, after both parties had been heard, to hear what they would say, it was judged: that the SYRACUSANS were to blame. Howbeit, they would not stand to the judgement of their confederates, for they were now grown proud and carelesse, because they were governed by no man, but had Capitaines that studied to please them, and were afraid also to displease them. After that, there arrived certain Gallies of *Dionysius* at SYRACUSA, of the which *Nysius* Neapolitan was Capitaine: which brought victuals and mony, to help them that were besiged within the Castle. These Gallies were fought with, and the SYRACUSANS obtained victory, and took four of the Tyrants Gallies with three banks of Oars a peece: howbeit they fondly abused their victory. For they having no body to command or rule them, employed all their joy in rioting and banqueting, and in fond and dissolute meetings, taking so little care and regard to their businesse, that now when they thought the Castle was sure their owne, they almost lost their City. For *Nysius* perceiving that every part of the City was out of order, and that the common people did nothing all day long unto darke night, but bib and drinke drunke, dancing after their Pipes and Howboyes; and that the Governors themselves were very glad also to see such feasting, or else for that they dissembled it, and durst not command and compell them that were drunke: he wisely took the occasion offered him, and scaled the wall which had shut up the Castle, and wanne it, and overthrew it. Then he sent the barbarous souldiers into the City, and commanded them to do with them they met, what they would or could. The SYRACUSANS then too late found their fault, and hardly gave present remedy, they were so amazed and suddainly set on: for indeed they made a right lacke of the City. Here men were killed, there they overthrew the wall; in another place they carried away women and little children prisoners into the Castle, weeping and crying out: and lastly, they made the Capitaines at their wits end, who could give no present order, nor have their men to serve them against their enemies, that came hand over head on every side amongst them. The City being thus miserably in garboile, and the ACRA DINE also in great hazard of taking, in the which they put all their hope and confidence to rise againe: every man thought then with himselfe, that *Dion* must be sent for, but yet no man moved it notwithstanding, being ashamed of their unthankfulness and over great folly they had committed, in driving him away. Yet necessity enforcing them unto it, there were certaine of the horsemen and of their confederates that cried, that they must send for *Dion* and the PELOPONNESIANS his souldiers, which were with him in the territory of the LEONTINES. As soon as the word was heard, and that one had the heart to tell it to the people, all the SYRACUSANS cried out. There was the point: and they were so glad of it, that the water stood in their eyes for joy, and besought the gods it would please them to bring him unto them, they were so desirous to have him againe. For they called to mind how valiant and resolute he was in danger, and how that he was never afraid, but did encourage them with his manhood, in such sort, that being led by him, they were not afraid to set upon their enemies. So the confederates of them, sent presently *Archeboides* and *Telestes* unto him: and the noblemen that served on horsebacke, they sent him also five amongst them, beside *Hellanicus*. Who tooke their hofes, and poasted for life, so that they came unto the City of the LEONTINES about Sunne-set: and lightning off from their hofes, they went first of all and kneeled downe at *Dions* feet, and weeping, told him the miserable state of the SYRACUSANS. Straight there came diverse of the LEONTINES, and many of the PELOPONNESIAN souldiers unto *Dion* (mistrusting then that were some news in hand) to see the earnest and humble suite the Ambassadors of SYRACUSA made unto him. Wherefore *Dion* tooke them presently with him, and brought them himselfe into the Theater, where the common counsels and assemblies of the City were holden: thither ranne every man to hear what the matter was. Then *Archeboides* and *Hellanicus* brought in by *Dion*, told openly before the whole assembly, the greatnesse of their misery, and requested the hired souldiers to come and aide the SYRACUSANS, forgetting the injury they had received: considering, that they had more dearly payed for their folly, then they themselves (whom they had so injured) would have made them to have suffered. When they

The cowardliness of the SYRACUSANS.

The Leontines do receive *Dion*.

The negligence and troubles of the SYRACUSANS.

The SYRACUSANS do send for *Dion* againe.

Dions Oration unto his souldiers, perswading them to aide the SYRACUSANS.

Gelytus Lacedæmonian cometh to Syracuse, to be General of the Syracusans.

Gelytus maketh Dion and Heracles friends againe.

The Castle of Syracuse is repaired unto Dion.

The words of Aristomache unto Dion, at his entry into the Castle of Syracuse.

Dion taketh his wife Arete againe which had forcibly been married to another man

Dions temperance and thriftinesse.

near unto the City of NAPLES, in the marches of the AGRIGENTINES, *Dion* did bring the Army of the SYRACUSANS into the field, being yet determined not to fight with him till another time. But through *Heracles*, and the sea mens crying out, that said, he would not try this war by battle, but would draw it out in length, because he would be still General, he was forced to give battle, and lost it. Howbeit, the overthrow was not great, and happened rather because his men were at a jar among themselves by reason of their faction and division, then otherwise. *Dion* therefore prepared to fight another battle, and gathered his men together again, encouraging them, when even at twilight word was brought him, that *Heracles* with all his Fleet was under saile, towards SYRACUSA, meaning to take the City, and to shut *Dion* and his Army out of it. Wherefore, he presently tooke with him the chiefe men of authority in the City, and the most willingest men, and rode all night with them in such haste, that they were at the gates of SYRACUSA the next morning by nine of the clocke, having ridden seven hundred furlongs. *Heracles* that had failed with all the possible speed he could, to prevent him with his ships, perceiving that he came short, he turned saile, and taking seas at all adventure, by chance he met with *Gelytus* LACEDÆMONIAN, who told him he was sent from LACEDÆMON, to be General to the SYRACUSANS in this war, as *Gelytus* was sent at other times before. He was glad he had met with him to have such a remedy and defence against *Dion*, and boasted of it unto the friends and confederates of SYRACUSA, and sent an Herald before unto the SYRACUSANS, summoning them to receive *Gelytus* LACEDÆMONIAN, who was sent to be their General. *Dion* made answer: That the SYRACUSANS had Goyngers enough; and though that their affairs did of necessity require a LACEDÆMONIAN Captain, yet that himself was he; for that he was made free in SPARTAN. Then *Gelytus* perceiving he could not obtain to be General, he went unto SYRACUSA, and came to *Dion*, and there made *Heracles* and him friends again by the great and solemne oaths he made, and because *Gelytus* also did swear, that he himself would be revenged of him for *Dions* sake, and punish *Heracles* if ever after he he did once more conspire against him. After that, the SYRACUSANS brake up their Army by sea, because it did them no service, and was beside chargeable keeping of it, and further did also breed sedition and trouble amongst their Governours: and so went to lay a straighter siege to the Castle then ever they did; and built up the wall again, which the enemies had overthrowen. Then *Dionysius* son seeing no aide to come to him from any part, and that victuals failed them; and further, that the souldiers began to mutine being unable to keepe them, he fell to a composition with *Dion*, and delivered up the Castle into his hands, with all the armor and munition in it, and so took his mother and his sisters of *Dion*, and put them aboard upon five Gallies, with the which he went unto his father, through the safe conduct of *Dion*. There was not a man at that time in all SYRACUSA, but was there to see this fight; or if by chance there were any absent, the other that were there called them thither as loud as they could cry, saying: That they did meet the goodliest day and Sunshyne, which the City of SYRACUSA might see then at her rising, the same being now restored again to her former liberty. If untill this present day they do reckon the flying of *Dionysius* son, one of the rarest examples of fortunes change, as one of the greatest and notablest things that ever was: what joy (think we) had they that drave him out, and what pleasure had they with themselves, that with the least mean that could be possible, did destroy the greatest tyranny in the world? So when *Apollotrates* (*Dionysius* son) was imbarcked, and that *Dion* was entred into the Castle, the women within the Castle would not tarry till he came into the house, but went to meet him at the gates, *Aristomache* leading *Dions* son in her hand, and *Arete* following her weeping, but very fearful how she should call and salute her husband, having lain with another man, *Dion* first spake to his sister, and afterwards to his son, and then *Aristomache* offering him *Arete*, said unto him: "Since thy banishment O *Dion*, we have led a miserable and captive life, but now that thou art returned home with victory, thou hast rid us out of care and thraldome, and hast also made us again bold to lift up our heads, saving her here, whom I (wretched creature) have by force (thy selfe alive) seen married unto another man. Now then, fith fortune hath made thee Lord of us all, what judgement givest thou of this compulsion? How wilt thou have her to salute thee? as her Uncle or husband? As *Aristomache* spake these words, the water stood in *Dions* eyes: so he gently and lovingly taking his wife *Arete* by the hand, he gave her his son, and willed her to go home to his house where he then remained, and so delivered the Castle unto the SYRACUSANS. He having this prosperous successe and victory, would not reap any present benefit or pleasure thereby, before he had shewed himselfe thankful to his friends, given great gifts also unto the confederates of SYRACUSA, and specially before he had given every one of his friends in the City, and his mercenary souldiers the strangers, some honorable reward according to their deserts, exceeding his ability with magnanimity of mind: when he himself lived soberly, and kept a moderate diet, contenting him with any thing that came first to hand. Every man that heard of it, wondered at him, considering that not onely all SICILE and CARTHAGE, but generally all GREECE looked upon his great prosperity and good fortune, thinking no man living greater then he, nor that any Captain ever attained unto such fame and wonderful fortune as he was come unto. This notwithstanding, *Dion* lived as temperately and modestly in his apparel, and also in his number of servants, and service at his board, as if he had lived with *Plato* in the Academy at ATHENS, and had not been convertant among souldiers and Captains, which have no other comfort nor pleasure for all the pains and danger they suffer continually, but to eat and drink their fill, and to take their pleasure all day long. *Plato* wrote unto him, that all the world had him in admiration. But *Dion*, in my opinion, had no respect but to one place, and to one City, to wit, the Academy, and would have no other Judges nor lookers into his doings, but the scholars of the same: who

neither wondered at his great exploits, valiantnesse, nor victory, but onely considering if he did wisely and modestly use the fortune he had, and could so keepe himself within modest bounds, having done so great things. Furthermore, touching the gravity he had when he spake to any body, and his inflexible severity which he used towards the people, he determined never to alter or change it: notwithstanding that his affairs required him to shew courttesie and lenity, and that *Plato* also reproved him for it, and wrote, that severity and obstinacy (as we said before) was the companion of solitari-nesse. But it seemed to me that *Dion* did use it for two respects. The first, because nature had not framed him courteous and affable to winne men: secondly, he did what he could to draw the SYRACUSANS to the contrary: who were overlicentious, and spoiled with too much flattery. For *Heracles* began againe to be busy with him: First of all, *Dion* sending for him to come to counsell, he sent him word, he would not come: and that being a private Citizen, he would be at the common counsell amongst others when any was kept. Afterwards he accused him, for that he had not overthrowen and razed the Castle: and also because he would not suffer the people to break open the tombe of *Dionysius* the elder, to cast out his body: and also because he sent for counsellors to CORINTH, and disdained to make the Citizens his companions in the government of the Commonwealth. Indeed to confesse a troth, *Dion* had sent for certain CORINTHIANS, hoping the better to stablish the forme of a Commonwealth, which he had in his mind when they were come. For his mind was utterly to break the government of Democracy (to wit, the absolute government and authority of the people in a City, not being as it were a Commonwealth, but rather a Faire and Market where things are sold, as *Plato* saith) and to establish the LACONIAN or CRETAN Commonwealth, mingled with a Princely and popular Government: and that should be *Aristocrasia*, to wit, the number of a few noblemen that should governe, and direct the chiefeest and weightiest matters of state: And for that purpose, he thought the CORINTHIANS the meetest men to helpe him to frame this Commonwealth, considering that they governed their affairs more by chusing a few number of the nobility, then otherwise; and that they did not refer many things to the voice of the people. And because he was assured that *Heracles* would be against him in all that he could, and that otherwise he knew he was a seditious, a troublesome, and a light headed fellow: he then suffered them to kill him, who had long before done it, if he had not kept them from it; and so they went home to his house, and slew him there. The murder of *Heracles* was much misliked of the SYRACUSANS, howbeit *Dion* caused him to be honourably buried, and brought his body to the ground, followed with all his Army. Then he made an Oration himself to the people, and told them that it was impossible to avoid sedition and trouble in the City, so long as *Dion* and *Heracles* did both govern together. At that time there was one *Callippus* an ATHENIAN, a familiar of *Dions*, who (as *Plato* saith) came not acquainted with *Dion* through the occasion of his study in Philosophy, but because he had been his guide to bring him to see the secret mysteries and ceremonies of the sacrifices, and for such other like common talke and company. This notwithstanding, *Callippus* did accompany him in all this war, and was very much honored of him, and was one of the first of all his friends that entred into SYRACUSA with him, and did valiantly behave himself in all the battels and conflicts that were fought. This *Callippus* seeing that *Dion* best and chiefeest friends were slain in this war, and that *Heracles* also was dead, that the people of SYRACUSA had no more any head, and besides, that the souldiers which were with *Dion* did love him better then any other man: he became the unfaithfullest man, and the veriest villain of all other, hoping that for reward to kill his friend *Dion*, he should undoubtedly come to have the whole government of all SICILE; and as some do report, for that he had taken a bribe of his enemies, of twenty talents, for his labor to commit this murder. So he began to practise, to bribe and to suborn certain of the mercenary souldiers against *Dion*, and that by a marvellous crafty and subtil fetch. For, using commonly to report unto *Dion* certain seditious words spoken peradventure by the souldiers indeed, or else devised of his own head; he wan such a liberty and boldnesse by the trust *Dion* had in him, that he might safely say what he would to any of the souldiers; and boldly speak evil of *Dion* by his owne commandement: to the end he might thereby understand the better, whether any of his souldiers were angry with him, or wished his death. By this policy, *Callippus* straight found out those that bare *Dion* grudge; and that were already corrupted, whom he drew to his conspiracy. And if any man unwilling to give ear unto him, went and told *Dion*, that *Callippus* would have inticed him to conspire against him, *Dion* was not angry with him for it, thinking that he did but as he had commanded him to do. Now as this treason was practising against *Dion*, there appeared a great and monstrous Ghost or spirit unto him. By chance sitting late one evening all alone in a Gallery he had, and being in a deep thought with himself, suddenly he heard a noise: and therewith casting his eye to the end of his Gallery (being yet day light he saw a monstrous great woman, like one of the furies shewed in plays, and saw her sweeping of the house with a broome. This vision so amazed and affrighted him, that he sent for his friends, and told them what a sight he had seen: and prayed them to tarry with him all night, being at it were a man beside himself, fearing lest the spirit would come to him againe if they left him alone, of the which notwithstanding he never heard more afterwards. Howbeit shortly after, his son being grown to mans state, for a certain light anger he had taken when he was but a boy, he cast himself headlong down from the top of the house, and so was slain. *Dion* being in this state, *Callippus* went on fill with his treason, and spread a rumor abroad among the SYRACUSANS, that *Dion* seeing himself now destitute of children, was determined to send for *Apollotrates*, *Dionysius* son, to make him his heir and successor, being Cozen Germane to his wife, and his sisters daughters son. Then began *Dion* his wife, and sisters to mistrust *Callippus* practises, and they were told it by diverse

Heracles conspireth againe against Dion.

Dion sent to the Corinbians to stablish a Commonwealth to the Syracusans, Dion meant to abolish Democracy, and to advance Aristocrasia. The authority of the people resembled by Plato to a faire or market. The Commonwealth of the Corinbians. The murder of Heracles. Callippus Athenian, conspireth against Dion.

Note the subtilty of Callibeaters.

A spirit appeared unto Dion.

The lamentable death of Dions son. Apollotrates Dionysius son.

diverse and manifest proofes. But *Dion* being sorry (as I suppose) for *Heraclides* death; and inwardly taking that murder in very ill part, as a foul blot to his life and doings, he said, he had rather die a thousand deaths, and to offer his throat to be cut to any that would, rather than he would live in that misery, to be compelled to take heed as well of his friends, as of his enemies. *Callippus* then seeing the woman so busie and inquisitive of his doings, and fearing lest he should be bewrayed, he came weeping unto them, and told them, it was nothing, and that he was ready to assure them of it by any manner of way they would devise: The women then willed him to swear by the great Oath, which was in this manner. He that must take this Oath, cometh into the temple of the goddesses *Thestophores*, which are, *Ceres* and *Proserpina*: and after certain sacrifices done, he putteth on the purple chaplet of the goddess *Proserpina*, holding a burning torch in his hand, and sweareth in this manner. *Callippus* having done all these ceremonies, and made the Oath in forme as I have told you, he made so light account of the goddesses, that he tarried no longer to do the murder he had determined, but till the very feast day of the goddess *Proserpina* should come, by whom he had sworn: and slew him on the day of the feast of *Proserpina*. Now, I do not think that he chose that day of set purpose, knowing right well that he did alwayes sin against her, what time soever he had killed his brother, being by his means specially admitted to the society and brotherhood with him, of the fraternity and mysteries of *Ceres* and *Proserpina*. Of this conspiracy there were divers For, as *Dion* was set in his chamber talking with his friends, where there were many beds to sit on, some compassed the house round about, others came to the doors and windowes of his Chamber; and they that should do the deed to dispatch him, which were the *ZACYNTHIAN* souldiers came into his chamber in their coates without any sword. But when they were come in, they that were without did shut the doors after them, and locked them in, lest any man should come out, and they that were within, fell upon *Dion*, and thought to have strangled him. But when they saw they could not, they called for a sword. Never a man that was within, durst open the doors, though there were many with *Dion*. For they thought every man to save their own lives, by suffering him to be killed, and therefore durst not come to helpe him. So the murderers tarried a long time within, and did nothing. At length there was one *Lycon* a *SYRACUSAN*, that gave one of the *ZACYNTHIAN* souldiers a dagger in at the window, with the which they cut *Dions* throat, as a weather they had holden a long time in their hands, even dead for fear. The murder being executed, they cast his sister, and wife great with child, into prison, and there the poor lady was pitifully brought to bed of a goodly boy: the which they rather determined to bring up, then otherwise to do any thing with the child. Their keepers that had the charge of them, were contented to let them do it, because *Callippus* began then a little to grow to some trouble: for at the first, after he had slain *Dion*, he bare all the whole sway for a time, and kept the City of *SYRACUSA* in his hands: and wrote unto *ATHENS*, the which next unto the immortal gods he was most afraid of, having defiled his hands in so damnable a treason. And therefore (in my opinion) it was not evil spoken, that *ATHENS* is a City, of all other, that bringeth forth the best, when they give themselves to goodness; and the wickedest people also, when they dispose themselves to evil: as their Country also bringeth forth the best Hony that is, and Hemlocke in like manner that quickly dispatcheth a man of his life. Howbeit, the gods and fortune did not suffer this treason and wicked man to reigne long, having come to the government of a Realme by so damnable a murder: but shortly after they gave him his payment he had deserved. For *Callippus* going to take a little Town called * *CATANA*, he lost the City of *SYRACUSA*: whereupon he said, That he had lost a City and got a Cheefe-knife. Afterwards he went to assaile the *MESSINIANS*, and there he lost a great number of his men and amongst them were slain those that killed *Dion*. Now *Callippus* finding no City in all *SICILE* that would receive him, but that they all did hate and abhorre him, he went to take the City of *RHEGIO* in *ITALIE*. There being in great distresse and need of all things, and not able to maintain his souldiers; he was slaine by *Lepides* and *Polysperchon*, with the self same dagger wherewith *Dion* before was slain: the which was known by the fashion, being short like the *LAECONIAN* daggers; and also by the workmanship upon it, that was very excellently wrought. And thus was the end and death of *Callippus*. Now for *Aristomache* and *Arete*, they were taken out of prison: and *Ietes* *SYRACUSAN*, that sometimes had been one of *Dions* friends, took them home to his own house, and used them very well and faithfully for a certain time, but afterwards was won and corrupted by *Dions* enemies. So he caused a ship to be provided for them, and bare them in hand that he would fend them into *PELOPONNESUS*: but he gave them charge that carried them away, to kill them as they went, and to throw them over board into the sea. Some say that the two women, and the little young boy, were cast alive into the sea. But this reward of the sinful act that he committed, returned againe upon himself, as it had done before unto others. For he was taken by *Timoleon* that put him to death: and besides, the *SYRACUSANS* did also kill two of his daughters in revenge of the unfaithfulness he had shewed unto *Dion*.

Here endeth the Life of *Dion*.

THE

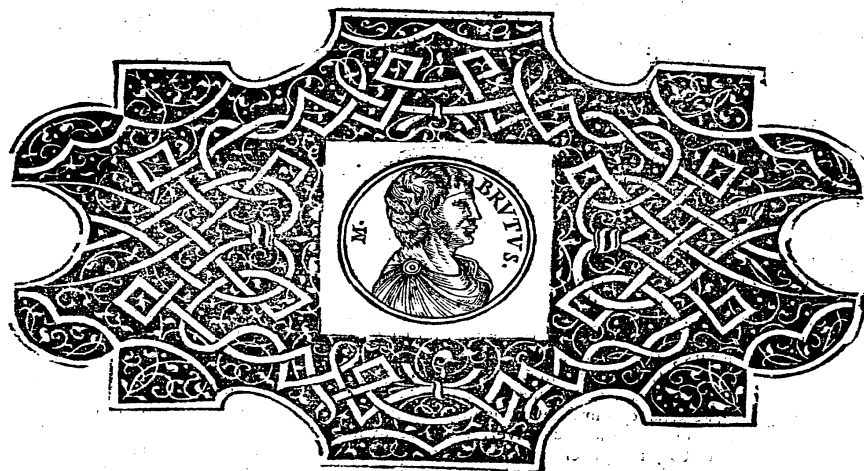
The great oath of the *SYRACUSANS*. *Dion* slaine by *Callippus* *ATHENIAN*.

Dions wife brought to bed of a son in prison.

The punishment of *Callippus*. * *Κατὰ* in corrupt speech signifies a knife to scrape or cut cheefe, which is truly called *κατὰν*, *Julius Pollux* lib. 10 cap. 24. *Callippus* slaine with the same dagger that slew *Dion*.

The cruelty of the *SYRACUSANS* unto *Dion* and his posterity.

THE LIFE OF MARCUS BRUTUS.



Ann. Mund.
3901.

Ant. Christ.
47.



*M*arcus Brutus came of that *Julius Brutus*, for whom the ancient *ROMANS* made his statue of Brass to be set up in the Capitol, with the images of the Kings, holding a naked sword in his hand: because he had valiantly put down the *TARQUINES* from the Kingdome of *ROME*. But that *Julius Brutus* being of a fowre sterpe nature, not softened by reason, being like unto sword blades of too hard a temper, was so subject to his choller and malice he bare unto the Tyrants, that for their sakes he caused his owne sonnes to be executed. But this *Marcus Brutus* in contrary manner, whose life we presently write, having framed his manners of life by the rules of vertue, and study of Philosophy, and having employed his wit, which was gentle and constant, in attempting of great things; methinks he was rightly made and framed unto vertue. So that his very enemies which with him most hurt; because of his conspiracy against *Julius Caesar*, if there were any noble attempt done in all this conspiracy, they referred wholly unto Brutus; and all the cruell and violent acts unto *Cassius*, who was Brutus familiar friend, but not so well given, and conditioned as he. His mother *Servilia*, it is thought, came of the blood of *Servilius Hala*, who, when *Spurius Melius* went about to make himself King, and to bring it to passe had enticed the common people to rebell, took a dagger, and hid it close under his arme, and went into the Market place. When he was come thither, he made as though he had somewhat to say unto him; and pressed as near him as he could: wherefore *Melius* stooping downe with his head, to hear what he would say, *Servilius* stabbed him in with his dagger and slew him. Thus much all writers agree for his mother. Now touching his father some for the evil will and malice they bare unto Brutus, because of the death of *Julius Caesar*, do maintaine, that he came not of *Julius Brutus* that drove out the *TARQUINES*: for there were none left of his race, considering that his two sonnes were executed for conspiracy with the *TARQUINES*, and that *Marcus Brutus* came of a meane house, the which was raised to honour and office in the Common-wealth but of late time. *Possidonius* the Philosopher writeth the contrary; that *Julius Brutus* indeed slew two of his sonnes which were men growne; as the histories do declare; howbeit that there was a third sonne, being but a little childe at that time, from whom the house and family afterwards was derived: and furthermore, that there were in his time certaine famous men of that family, whose stature and countenance resembled much the intage of *Julius Brutus*. And thus much for this matter. *Marcus Caro* the Philosopher was brother unto *Servilia*, *Marcus Brutus* mother: whom Brutus studied most to follow of all the other *ROMANS*, because he was his Uncle; and afterwards he married

The parentage of Brutus.

Brutus manners.

Servilia, *M. Brutus* mother.

Servilia, *Caro's* sister.

Brutus studies.

Brutus followed the old Academics.

Emilius an Orator, wrote a booke of *Cæsars* death, and intituled it *Brutus*. Brutus manner of writing his Epistles in Greek. A brief letter to the *Samians*.Brutus followed *Cato* into *Cyprus*. * *On Canidius*.Brutus took part with *Pompey*.Brutus studied in *Pompeys* campe.Julius *Cæsar* careful of Brutus safety.Julius *Cæsar* loved *Servilia* Brutus mother.

married his daughter. Now touching the *Grecian* Philosophers, there was no sect nor Philosopher of them, but he heard and liked it: but above all the rest, he loved *Platoes* sect best, and did not much give himself to the new or mean Academy (as they call it) but altogether to the old Academy. Therefore he did ever greatly esteeme the Philosopher *Antiochus*, of the City of *Ascalon*: but he was more familiar with his brother *Ariston*, who for learning and knowledge was inferior to many other Philosophers, but for wisdom and courtesie, equal with the best and chiefest. Touching *Emilius*, whom *M. Brutus* himself doth mention in his Epistles, and his friends also in many places, he was an Orator, and left an excellent booke he wrote of the death of *Julius Cæsar*, and intituled it, *Brutus*. He was properly learned in the Latine tongue, and was able to make long discourse in it: beside that he could also plead very well in Latine. But for the Greek tongue, they do note in some of his Epistles, that he counterfeited that brief compendious manner of speech of the *Lacedæmonians*. As when the war was begun, he wrote unto the *Pergamenians* in this sort: I understand you have given *Dolabella* money: if you have done it willingly, you confesse you have offended me; if against your wills, shew it then by giving me willingly. Another time againe unto the *Samians*: Your counsels be long, your doings be slow, consider the end. And in another Epistle he wrote unto the *Patareians*: The *Xanthians* despising my good will, have made their Country a grave of despair, and the *Patareians* that put themselves into my protection, have lost no jot of their liberty: and therefore whilest you have liberty, either chuse the judgement of the *Patareians*, or the fortune of the *Xanthians*. These were *Brutus* manner of letters, which were honoured for their briefnesse. So *Brutus* being but a young stripling, went into *Cyprus* with his Uncle *Cato*, who was sent against *Ptolomy* King of *Egypt*; who having slain himselfe, *Cato* staying for certain necessary business he had in the Isle of *Rhodes*, had already sent *Caninius*, one of his friends before to keep his treasure and goods. But *Cato* fearing he would be light-fingered, wrote unto *Brutus* forthwith to come out *Pamphilia* (where he was but newly recoverd of a sickness) into *Cyprus*; the which he did. The which journey he was fory to take upon him, both for respect of *Caninius* shame, whom *Cato* (as he thought) wrongfully slandered: as also because he thought this office too meane and unmeet for him, being a young man, and given to his book. This notwithstanding, he behaved himselfe so honestly and carefully, that *Cato* did greatly commend him: and after all the goods were sold and converted into ready money, he tooke the most part of it, and returned withall to *Rome*. Afterwards, when the Empire of *Rome* was divided into factions, and that *Cæsar* and *Pompey* both were in Armes one against the other, and that all the Empire of *Rome* was in garboile and uproare: it was thought then that *Brutus* would take part with *Cæsar*, because *Pompey* not long before had put his father to death. But *Brutus* preferring the respect of his Country and Commonwealth before private affection, and perswading himselfe that *Pompey* had juster cause to enter into Armes, then *Cæsar*, he then tooke part with *Pompey*; though oftentimes meeting him before, he thought scorne to speake to him, thinking it a great sinne and offence in him, to speake to the murderer of his father. But then submitting himselfe unto *Pompey*, as unto the head of Commonwealth, he sailed into *Sicily*: Lieutenant under *Sestius* that was Governor of that Province. But when he saw that there was no way to rise, nor to do any noble exploits, and that *Cæsar* and *Pompey* were both camped together, and fought for victory: he went of himselfe unsent for, into *Macedon*: to be partaker of the danger. It is reported, that *Pompey* being glad, and wondering at his coming, when he saw him come to him, he rose out of his chaire, and went and embraced him before them all, and used him as honorably, as he could have done the noblest man that tooke his part. *Brutus* being in *Pompeys* Campe, did nothing but study all day long, except he were with *Pompey*; and not onely the dayes before but the selfe same day also before the great battell was fought in the fields of *Pharsalaa*, where *Pompey* was overcome. It was in the middelt of Summer, and the Sunne was very hote, besides that the Campe was lodged neare unto Marishes, and they that carried his tent, tarried long before they came: whereupon being very weary with travell, scant any meat came into his mouth at dinner time. Furthermore, when others slept, or thought what would happen the morrow after, he fell to his booke, and wrote all day long till night, writing a brevity of *Polybius*. It is reported that *Cæsar* did not forget him, and that he gave his Captaines charge before the battell, that they should beware they killed not *Brutus* in fight; and if he yeelded willingly unto them, that then they should bring him unto him: but if he resisted, and would not be taken, then that they should let him go, and do him no hurt. Some say he did this for *Servilia* sake, *Brutus* mother. For when was a young man, he had been acquainted with *Servilia*, who was extremely in love with him. And because *Brutus* was borne in that time when their love was hottest, he perswaded himselfe that he begat him. For proofe hereof the report goeth, that when the weightiest matters were in hand in the Senate, about the conspiracy of *Calpurnius*, which was likely to have undone the City of *Rome*, *Cæsar* and *Cato* sate neare together, and were both of contrary minds to each other: and then, that in the meane time one delivered *Cæsar* a letter. *Cæsar* tooke it, and read it softly to himselfe: but *Cato* cried out upon *Cæsar*, and said he did not well to receive advertisements from enemies: whereupon the whole Senate beganne to murmur at it. Then *Cæsar* gave *Cato* the letter as it was sent him, who read it, and found that it was a love letter sent from his sister *Servilia*: thereupon he cast it againe to *Cæsar*, and said unto him; Hold, drunken soppe. When he had done so, he went on with his tale, and maintained his opinion as he did before: so commonly was the love of *Servilia* knowne, which she bare unto *Cæsar*. So, after *Pompeys* overthrow at the battell of *Pharsalia*, and that he fled to the sea, when

when *Cæsar* came to besiege his Campe, *Brutus* went out of the Campe. Gates unseene of any man and leapt into a Marsh full of water and Reeds. Then when night was come, he crept out, and went unto the City of *Larissa*: from whence he wrote unto *Cæsar*, who was very glad that he had escaped, and sent for him to come unto him. When *Brutus* was come, he did not onely pardon him, but also kept him alwayes about him, and did as much honour and esteeme him, as any man he had in his company. Now, no man could tell whether *Pompey* was fled, and all were insatiable desirous to know it: Wherefore *Cæsar* walking a good way alone with *Brutus*, he did aske him which way he thought *Pompey* tooke. *Cæsar* perceiving by his talke that *Brutus* guessed certainly whether *Pompey* should be fled, he left all other wayes, and tooke his journey directly towards *Egypt*. *Pompey* (as *Brutus* had conjectured) was indeed fled into *Egypt*; but there he was villanously slaine. Furthermore, *Brutus* obtained pardon of *Cæsar* for *Cassius* and defending also the King* of *Lybians* cause, he was overlaid with a world of accusations against him; howbeit, intreating for him, he saved him the best part of his Realme and Kingdom. They say also, that *Cæsar* said, when he heard *Brutus* plead: I know not (said he) what this young man would; but what he would, he willeth it vehemently. For as *Brutus* gravity and constant minde would not grant all men their requests that sued unto him, but being moved with reason and discretion, did always encline to that which was good and honest: even so when it was moved to follow any matter, he used a kind of forcible and vehement perswasion, that calmed not till he had obtained his desire. For by flattering of him, a man could never obtaine any thing at his hands, nor make him to do that which was unjust. Further, he thought it not meet for a man of calling and estimation, to yeeld unto the requests and intreaties of a shamelesse and importunate suter, requesting things unmeet: the which notwithstanding some men do for shame, because they dare deny nothing, and therefore he was wont to say, That he thought them evill brought up in their youth *Scipio*, he left *Brutus* Governour of *Gaul* in *Italy* on this side of the Alpes, which was a great good happe for that Province. For where others were spoiled and polled by the insolency and covetousnesse of the Governours, as if it had been a Country conquered, *Brutus* was a comfort and rest unto their former troubles and miseries they sustained. But he referred it wholly unto *Cæsars* grace and goodnesse. For when *Cæsar* returned out of *Africa*, and progressed charge and Government, and *Brutus* himselfe, who honoured *Cæsar* in person, and whose company also *Cæsar* greatly esteemed. Now there were divers sorts of Prætorships in *Rome*, and it was looked for, that *Brutus* or *Cassius* would make suite for the chiefest Prætorship, which they called, The Prætorship of the City: because he that had that office, was as a Judge to minister Justice, unto the Citizens. Therefore they strove one against another, though some say, that there was some little grudge betwixt them for other matters before, and that this contention did set them further out, though they were allied together: for *Cassius* had married *Junia*, *Brutus* Sister. Others say, that this contention betwixt them came by *Cæsar* himselfe, who secretly gave either of them both hope of his favour. So their suite for the Prætorship was so followed and laboured of either party, that one of them put another into suite of Law. *Brutus* with his vertue and good name contended against many noble exploits in Armes, which *Cassius* had done against the *Parthians*. So *Cæsar* after he had heard both their objections, told his friends, with whom he consulted about this matter: *Cassius* cause is the juster (said he) but *Brutus* must be first preferred. Thus *Brutus* had the first Prætorship, and *Cassius* the second: who thanked not *Cæsar* so much for the Prætorship he had, as he was angry with him for that he had lost. But *Brutus* in many other things tasted of the benefit of *Cæsars* favour in any thing he requested. For if he had lifted, he might have been one of *Cæsars* chiefest friends, and of greatest authority and credite about him. Howbeit, *Cassius* friends did dissuade him from it (for *Cassius* and he were not yet reconciled together since their first contention and strife for the Prætorship) and prayed him to beware of *Cæsars* sweet enticements, and to flie his tyrannicall favours: the which they said *Cæsar* gave him, not to honour his vertue, but to weaken his constant minde, framing it to the bent of his bow. Now *Cæsar* on the other side did not trust him overmuch, nor was without tales brought unto him against him: howbeit he feared his great minde, authority and friends. Yet on the other side also, he trusted his good nature, and faire conditions. For, intelligence being brought him one day, that *Antonius* and *Dolabella* did conspire against him: he answered, That these far long haired men made him not afraide, but the leane and whitely faced fellows, meaning that by *Brutus* and *Cassius*. At another time also when one accused *Brutus* unto him, and bad him beware of him: What (said he againe, clapping his hands on his breast) thinke ye that *Brutus* will not tarry till this body die? meaning that none but *Brutus* after him was meete to have such power as he had. And surely (in my opinion) I am perswaded that *Brutus*, might indeed have come to have been the chiefest man of *Rome*, if he could have contented himselfe for a time to have been next unto *Cæsar*, and to have suffered his glory and authority, which he had gotten by his great victories, to consume with time. But *Cassius* being a cholericke man, and hating *Cæsar* privately, more *Brutus* could evill away with the tyranny, and that *Cassius* hated the tyrant: making many complaints for the injuries he had done him; and amongst others, for that he had taken away his Lions from him. *Cassius* had provided them for his sports, when he should be *Edilis*, and they were found

* This King was *Juba*, howbeit it is true also, that *Brutus* made intercession for *Deiotarus* King of *Galatia*: who was deprived notwithstanding of the most part of his Country by *Cæsar*, and therefore this place were best to be understood by *Deiotarus*. *Cæsar* made *Brutus* governour of *Gaul* on this side the mountains. *Brutus* and *Cassius* contend for the Prætorship of the City. *Cassius* married *Junia* *Brutus* sister.The first cause of *Cassius* malice against *Cæsar*.*Cæsar* suspected *Brutus*.*Cæsar* laying of *Brutus*.*Cassius* incensed *Brutus* against *Cæsar*.

Cassius Lions
in *Megara*.

Cassius enemy
of Tyrants.

How *Brutus*
was incited
against *Cæsar*.

Cassius prayeth
Brutus first to
help him to
put down the
Tyrant.

* In another
place they call
him *Quintus*.

Brutus maketh
Ligarius one of
the conspiracy.

They do hide
the conspiracy
against *Cæsar*
from *Cicero*.

found in the City of *MEGARA*, when it was wonne by *Calpurnius*; and *Cæsar* kept them. The rumor went, that these Lions did marvellous great hurt to the *MEGARANS*: for when the City was taken, they brake their cages where they were tied up, and turned them loose, thinking they would have done great mischief to the enemies; and have kept them from setting upon them: but the Lions (contrary to expectation) turned upon themselves that fled unarmed, and did so cruelly tear some in peeces, that it pitied their enemies to see them. And this was the cause (as some do report) that made *Cassius* conspire against *Cæsar*. But this holdeth no water: For *Cassius* even from his cradle could not abide any manner of tyrants, as it appeared when he was but a boy, and went unto the same schoole that *Faustulus* the son of *Sylla* did. And *Faustulus* bragging among other boyes, highly boasted of his fathers Kingdom: *Cassius* rose up on his feet, and gave him two good wirts on the ear. *Faustulus* Governors would have put this matter in suite against *Cassius*: but *Pompey* would not suffer them, but caused the two boyes to be brought before him, and asked them, how the matter came to passe. Then *Cassius* (as it is written of him) said unto the other: Go too *Faustulus*, speake againe and thou darrest, before this Nobleman here, the same words that made me angry with thee, that my fits may walke once againe about thine eares. Such was *Cassius* hot stirring nature. But for *Brutus*, his friends and Countriemen, both by divers procurements, and sundry rumors of the City, and by many bils also, did openly call and procure him to do that he did. For under the image of his Ancestor *Junius Brutus* (that drave the Kings out of *ROME*) they wrote: O, that it pleased the gods thou wert now alive, *Brutus*! and againe, That thou wert here among us now! His tribunal or chaire, where he gave audience during the time he was Prætor, was full of such bills: *Brutus* thou art asleepe, and art not *Brutus* indeed. And of all this, *Cæsar* flatterers were the cause: who besides many other exceeding and unspeakable honours they daily devised for him, in the night time they put Diademes upon the heads of his images, supposing thereby to allure the common people to call him King, in stead of Dictator. Howbeit it turned to the contrary (as we have written more at large in *Julius Cæsar* life.) Now when *Cassius* felt his friends, and did stirre them up against *Cæsar*; they all agreed, and promised to take part with him, so *Brutus* were the chiefe of their conspiracy. For they told him, that so high an enterprise and attempt as that, did not so much require men of manhood and courage to draw their swords, as it flood them upon to have a man of such estimation as *Brutus*, to make every man boldly thinke, that by his onely presence the fact were holy and iust. If he tooke not this course, then that they should go to it with faint hearts; and when they had done it, they should be more fearfull because every man would thinke that *Brutus* would not have refused to have made one with them, if the cause had been good and honest. Therefore *Cassius* considering this matter with himselfe, did first of all speake to *Brutus*, since they grew strange together for the suite they had for the Prætorship. So when he was reconciled to him againe, and that they had embraced one another, *Cassius* asked him if he were determined to be in the Senate house the first day of the moneth of *March*, because he heard say that *Cæsar*es friends should move the councill that day, that *Cæsar* should be called King by the Senate. *Brutus* answered him, he would not be there. But if we be sent for (said *Cassius*) how then? For my selfe then (said *Brutus*) I meane not to hold my peace, but to withstand it, and rather die then lose my liberty. *Cassius* being bold, and taking hold of this word: Why (quoth he) what *ROMANE* is he alive that will suffer thee to die for thy liberty? What? knowest thou not that thou art *Brutus*? Thinkest thou that they be Coblers, Tapsters, or such like base mechanickall people, that write these billes and seroles which are found daily in thy Prætors Chaire, and not the noblest men and best Citizens that do it? No be thou well assured, that of other Prætors they looke for gifts, common distributions among the people, and for common Playes, and to see the Fencers fight at the sharpe, to shew the people pastime: but at thy hands, they specially require (as a due debt unto them) the taking away of the tyranny, being fully bent to suffer any extremity for thy sake, so that thou wilt shew thy selfe to be the man thou art taken for, and that they hope thou art. Thereupon he kissed *Brutus*, and embraced him: and so each taking leave of other, they went both to speake with their friends about it. Now amongst *Pompeys* friends, there was one called * *Caius Ligarius*, who had been accused unto *Cæsar* for taking part with *Pompey*, and *Cæsar* discharged him. But *Ligarius* thanked not *Cæsar* so much for his discharge, as he was offended with him, for that he was brought in danger by his tyrannickall power. And therefore in his heart he was always his mortall enemy, and was besides very familiar with *Brutus*, who went to see him being sicke in his bed, and said unto him: *Ligarius* in what a time art thou? *Ligarius* rising up in his bed? and taking him by the right hand, said unto him: *Brutus* (said he) if thou hast any great enterprise in hand worthy of thy selfe, I am whole. After that time they began to feel all their acquaintance whom they trusted, and laid their heads together consulting upon it, and did not onely picke out their friends, but all those also whom they thought stout enough to attempt any desperate matter, and that were not afraid to lose their lives. For this cause they durst not acquaint *Cicero* with their conspiracy, although he was a man whom they loved dearly, and trusted best: for they were afraid that he being a coward by nature, and age also having increased his feare, he would quite turne and alter all their purpose, and quench the heate of their enterprise, the which specially required hote and earnest execution; seeking by perswasion to bring all things to such safety, as there should be no perill. *Brutus* also did let other of his friends alone, as *Statilius Epicurius*, and *Faonius*, that made profession to follow *Marcus Cato*: because that having cast out words a farre off, disputing together in Philosophy to feeble their mindes, *Faonius* answered, That

That

That civill Warre was worse then tyrannickall Government usurped against the Law. And *Statilius* told him also. That it were an unwise part for him to put his life in danger, for a sort of ignorant fooles and asses. *Labo* was present at this talke, and maintained the contrary against them both. But *Brutus* held his peace, as though it had been a doubtfull matter, and a hard thing to have been decided. But afterwards, being out of their company, he made *Labo* privy to his intent; who very readily offered himselfe to make one. And they thought good also to bring in another *Brutus* to joyne with him, surnamed *Albinus*: who was no man of his hands himselfe, but because he was able to bring good force of a great number of slaves, and Fencers at the Sharpe, whom he kept to shew the People pastime with their fighting, besides also that *Cæsar* had some trust in him. *Cassius* and *Labo*, told *Brutus Albinus* of it at the first, but he made them no answer. But when he had spoken with *Brutus* himselfe alone, and that *Brutus* had told him he was the chiefe Ring-leader of all this conspiracy, then he willingly promised him the best aide he could. Furthermore, the onely Name and great Calling of *Brutus*, did bring on the most of them to give consent to this conspiracy: who having nevver taken Oathes together, nor taken nor given any caution or assurance, nor binding themselves one to another by any religious Oathes, they all kept the matter so secret to themselves, and could so cunningly handle it, that notwithstanding, the gods did reveale it by manifest signes and tokens from above, and by Predictions of Sacrifices, yet all this would not be beleevied. Now *Brutus*, who knew very well, that for his sake all the noblest, valiantest, and most courageous men of *ROME* did venture their lives, weighing with himselfe the greatnesse of the danger: when he was out of his house, he did so frame and fashion his countenance and looks that no man could discern he had any thing to trouble his minde. But when night came that he was in his owne house, then he was cleane changed: for, either care did wake him against his will when he would have slept, or else oftentimes of himselfe he fell into such deepe thoughts of this enterprise, casting in his minde all the dangers that might happen: that his Wife lying by him, found that there was some marvellous great matter that troubled his minde, not being wont to be in that taking, and that he could not well determine with himselfe. His Wife *Porcia* (as we have told you before) was the Daughter of *Cato*, whom *Brutus* married being his cousin, not a Maiden, but a young Widow after the death of her first Husband *Bibulus*, by whom she had also a young Sonne called *Bibulus*, who afterwards wrote a Booke of the acts and gestes of *Brutus*, extant at this present day. This young Lady being excellently well seene in Philology, loving her Husband well, and being of a noble courage, as she was also wife: because she would not aske her Husband what he ayled before she had made some proofe by her selfe: she tooke a little Razor, such as Barbers occupy to pare mens nailes, and causing her Maides and Women to go out of her Chamber gave her selfe a great gash withall in her thigh, that she was straight all of a gore blood: and incontinently after, a vehement Feaver tooke her, by reason of the paine of her wound. Then perceiving her Husband was marvellously out of quiet, and that he could take no rest, even in her greatest paine of all, she spake in this sort unto him: "I being, O *Brutus*, (said she) the Daughter of *Cato*, was married unto thee; not to be thy bed-fellow and Companion in bed and at board onely, like a Harlot, but to be partaker also with thee of thy good and "evil Fortune. Now for thy selfe, I can finde no cause of fault in thee touching our match: but "for my part, how may I shew my duty towards thee, and how much I would do for thy sake, if I "cannot constantly beare a secret mischance or griefe with thee, which requireth secrecy and fidelity? I confesse, that a Womans wit commonly is too weake to keepe a secret safely: but yee " (*Brutus*) good education, and the company of vertuous men, have some power to reforme " the defect of nature. And for my selfe, I have this benefit moreover, that I am the Daughter of " *Cato*, and Wife of *Brutus*. This notwithstanding, I did not trust to any of these things before, " untill that now I have found by experience, that no paine or griefe whatsoever can overcome me. With those words she shewed him her wound on her thigh, and told him what she had done to prove her selfe. *Brutus* was amazed to heare what she said unto him, and lifting up his hands to Heaven, he besought the goddesses to give him the grace he might bring his enterprise to so good passe, that he might be found a Husband, worthy of so noble a Wife as *Porcia*: so he then did comfort her the best he could. Now, a day being appointed for the meeting of the Senate, at what time they hoped *Cæsar* would not faile to come, the Conspiratours determined then to put their enterprise in execution, because they might meet safely at that time without suspicion and the rather, for that all the noblest and chiefeest men of the City would be there: who when they should see such a great matter executed, would every man set to their hands, for the defence of their liberty. Furthermore, they thought also that the appointment of the place where the Councill should be kept, was chosen of purpose by divine Providence, and made all for them. For it was one of the Porches about the Theater, in the which there was a certaine place full of Seates for men to sit in; where also was set up the Image of *Pompey*, which the City had made and consecrated in honour of him, when he did beautifie that part of the City with the Theater he built, with divers Porches about it. In this place was the assembly of the Senate appointed to be, just on the fifteenth day of the Moneth *March*, which the *ROMANS* call, *Idus Martias*: so that it seemed some god of purpose had brought *Cæsar* thither to be slaine, for revenge of *Pompeys* death. So when the day was come, *Brutus* went out of his house with a Dagger by his side under his long Gowne, that no body saw nor knew, but his Wife onely. The other Conspiratours were all assembled at *Cassius* house, to bring his Son into

A a a a

Civill Warre
worse then ty-
rannickall Go-
vernment.

The wonder-
full faith and
secrecy of the
Conspirators
of *Cæsar*
death.

Porcia, *Cato*
Daughter,
Wife unto
Brutus.
Bibulus Booke
of *Brutus* acts.
Porcia studied
in Philology.
The courage
of *Porcia*.

Great differ-
ence betwixt
a Wife and a
Harlot.
Porcia words
unto her Hus-
band *Brutus*.

The wonderfull constancy of the Conspirators in killing of Caesar.

Sundry misfortunes to have broken off the enterprise.

The weakness of Porcia, notwithstanding her former courage.

Brutus with his countenance encouraged his fearful Conforts.

* In Caesars Life it is said, it was Decius Brutus Albinus that kept Antonius with a talke without.
* In Caesars Life he is called Metellus Cimber
The murder of Caesar.
Caesar, the first that wounded him.

the Market-place, who on that day did put on the mans Gown, called *Toga Virilis*; and from thence they came all in a Troope together unto *Pompeys* Porch, looking that *Caesar* would straight come thither. But here is to be noted, the wonderfull assured constancy of these Conspirators, in so dangerous and weighty an enterprise as they had undertaken. For many of them being Prætors, by reason of their Office, whose duty is to minister justice to every body; did not onely with great quietnesse and courtesie heare them that spake unto them, or that pleaded matters before them, and gave them attentive care, as if they had no other matter in their heads: but moreover, they gave just sentence, and carefully dispatched the Causes before them. So there was one among them, who being condemned in a certaine summe of Money, refused to pay it, and cried out, that he did appeale unto *Caesar*. Then *Brutus* calling his eyes upon the Conspirators, said: *Caesar* shall not let me to see the Law executed. Notwithstanding this, by chance there fell out many misfortunes unto them, which was enough to have marred the enterprise. The first and chiefeft, was *Caesars* long tarrying, who came very late to the Senate: for, because the signes of the Sacrifices appeared unluckily, his Wife *Calpurnia* kept him at home, and the Sooth-sayers bade him beware he went not abroad. The second cause was, when one came unto *Caesar* being a Conspirator, and taking him by the hand, said unto him: O *Caesar*, thou keepst it close from me, but *Brutus* hath told me all. *Caesar* being amazed at it, the other went on with his tale, and said: Why, how now, how comest it to passe thou art thus rich, that thou dost sue to be *Ædilis*? Thus *Caesar* being deceived by the others doubtfull words, he told them it was a thousand to one, he blabbed not out all the conspiracy. Another Senatour called *Popilius Lena*, after he had saluted *Brutus* and *Cassius* more friendly then he was wont to doe, he rounded softly in their eares, and told them: I pray the goddesse you may go through with that you have taken in hand; but withall, dispatch I reade you, for your enterprise is bewrayed. When he had said, he presently departed from them, and left them both afraid that their conspiracy would out. Now in the meane time, there came one of *Brutus* men post haste unto him, and told him his Wife was a dying. For *Porcia* being very carefull and pensive for that which was to come, and being too weake to away with so great and inward griefe of minde she could hardly keepe within, but was frighted with every little noise and cry she heard, as those that are taken and posselt with the fury of the *BACCHANTES*; asking every man that came from the Market-place, what *Brutus* did, and still sent Messenger after Messenger, to know what newes. At length *Caesars* coming being prolonged (as you have heard,) *Porcias* weaknesse was not able to hold out any longer, and thereupon she suddainly swounded, that she had no leasure to go to her Chamber, but was taken in the midst of her house, where her speech and senses failed her. Howbeit the soone came to her selfe againe, and so was laid in her bed, and attended by her Women. When *Brutus* heard these newes, it grieved him, as it is to be presupposed: yet he left not off the care of his Countrey and Common wealth, neither went home to his house for any newes he heard. Now, it was reported that *Caesar* was coming in his Litter: for he determined not to stay in the Senate all that day (because he was afraid of the unlucky signes of the sacrifices) but to adjourne matters of importance unto the next Session and Councell holden, sayning himselfe not to be well at ease. When *Caesar* came out of his Litter, *Popilius Lena* (that had talked before with *Brutus* and *Cassius*, and had prayed the goddesse they might bring this enterprise to passe) went unto *Caesar*, and kept him a long time with a talke. *Caesar* gave good eare unto him, wherefore the Conspirators (if so they should be called) not hearing what he said to *Caesar*, but conjecturing by that he had told them a little before, that his talke was none other but the very discovery of their conspiracy, they were afraid every man of them; and one looking in anothers face, it was easie to see that they all were of a minde, that it was no tarrying for them till they were apprehended, but rather that they should kill themselves with their own hands. And when *Cassius* and certaine other clapped their hands on their Swords under their Gownes to draw them; *Brutus* marking the countenance and gesture of *Lena*, and considering that he did use himselfe rather like an humble and earnest suiter, then like an accuser: he said nothing to his Companion (because there were many amongst them that were not of the conspiracy,) but with a pleasant countenance encouraged *Cassius*. And immediately after, *Lena* went from *Caesar*, and kissed his hand: which shewed plainly that it was for some matter concerning himselfe, that he had held him so long in talke. Now all the Senatours being entred first into this place or Chapter-house where the Councell should be kept, all the other Conspirators straight stood about *Caesars* Chaire, as if they had had something to say unto him. And some say, that *Cassius* calling his eyes upon *Pompeys* Image, made his prayer unto it, as if it had been alive. * *Trebonius* on the other side, drew *Antonius* aside, as he came into the house where the Senate sate, and held him with a long talke without. When *Caesar* was come into the house, all the Senate rose to honour him at his coming in. So when he was set, the Conspirators flocked about him, and amongst them they presented one * *Tullius Cimber*, who made humble suite for the calling home againe of his Brother that was banished. They all made as though they were intercessours for him, and tooke *Caesar* by the hands, and kissed his head and brest. *Caesar* at the first, simply refused their kindnesse and intreaties: but afterwards, perceiving they still pressed on him, he violently thrust them from him. Then *Cimber* with both his hands plucked *Caesars* Gowne over his shoulders, and *Caesar* that stood behinde him, drew his Dagger first and strake *Caesar* upon the shoulder, but gave him no great wound. *Caesar* feeling himselfe hurt, tooke him straight

straight by the hand he held his Dagger in, and cried out in Latine: O Traytor *Caesar*, what dost thou? *Caesar* on the other side cried in Greeke, and called his Brother to helpe him. So divers running on a heape together to flie upon *Caesar*, he looking about him to have fled, saw *Brutus* with a Sword drawne in his hand ready to strike at him: then he let *Caesars* hand goe, and calling his Gown over his face, suffered every man to strike at him that would. Then the Conspirators thronging one upon another, because every man was desirous to have a cut at him, so many Swords and Daggers lighting upon one body, one of them hurt another, and amongst them *Brutus* caught a blow on his hand, because he would make one in murdering of him, and all the rest also were every man of them bloudied. *Caesar* being slaine in this manner, *Brutus* standing in the midst of the house, would have spoken, and staied the other Senatours that were not of the conspiracy, to have told them the reason why they had done this fact. But they as men both afraid and amazed, fled one upon anothers necke in haste to get out at the door, and no man followed them. For it was set down, and agreed between them, that they should kill no man but *Caesar* onely, and should intreat all the rest to looke to defend their liberty. All the Conspirators; but *Brutus*, determining upon this matter, thought it good also to kill *Antonius*, because he was a wicked man, and that in nature favoured tyranny: besides also, for that he was in great estimation with Souldiers, having been conversant of long time amongst them: and especially having a minde bent to great enterprises, he was also of great authority at that time, being Confull with *Caesar*. But *Brutus* would not agree to it. First, for that he said it was not honest: secondly, because he told them there was hope of change in him. For he did not mistrust, but that *Antonius* being a noble-minded and courageous man (when he should know that *Caesar* was dead) would willingly helpe his Countrey to recover her liberty, having them an example unto him, to follow their courage and Vertue. So *Brutus* by this meanes saved *Antonius* life, who at that present time disguised himselfe, and stole away: but *Brutus* and his Conforts, having their Swords bloudy in their hands, went straight to the Capitoll, perswading the ROMANES as they went, to take their liberty againe. Now, at the first time when the murder was newly done there were suddain out-cries of People that ranne up and down the City, the which indeed did the more increafe the feare and tumult. But when they saw they flew no man, neither did spoile nor make havock of any thing, then certaine of the Senatours, and many of the People emboldening themselves, went to the Capitoll unto them. There a great number of men being assebled together one after another, *Brutus* made an Oration unto them to win the favour of the People, and to justifie that they had done. All those that were by, said they had done well, and cried unto them, that they should boldly come down from the Capitoll: whereupon *Brutus* and his Companions came boldly down into the Market-place. The rest followed in Troope, but *Brutus* went foremost, very honourably compassed in round about with the noblest men of the City, which brought him from the Capitoll, through the Market-place, to the Pulpit for Orations. When the People saw him in the Pulpit, although they were a multitude of rake-hels of all sorts, and had a good will to make some stirre: yet being ashamed to do it, for the reverence they bare unto *Brutus*, they kept silence to heare what he would say: when *Brutus* began to speake, they gave him quiet audience: howbeit immediately after, they shew that they were not all contented with the murder. For when another called *Cinna* would have spoken, and began to accuse *Caesar*, they fell into a great uproare among them, and marvellously reviled him. Insomuch that the Conspirators returned againe into the Capitoll. There *Brutus* being afraid to be besieged, sent backe againe the Noblemen that came thither with him, thinking it no reason, that they which were no partakers of the murder, should be partakers of the danger. Then the next morning the Senate being assembled, and holden within the Temple of the goddesse *Tellus*, to wit, the Earth: and *Antonius*, *Plancius*, and *Cicero*, having made a motion to the Senate in that Assembly, that they should take an order to pardon and forget all that was past, and to establish friendship and peace againe: it was decreed, that they should not onely be pardoned, but also that the Consuls should referre it to the Senate what honours should be appointed unto them. This being agreed upon, the Senate brake up, and *Antonius* the Confull, to put them in heart that were in the Capitoll, sent them his Sonne for a pledge. Upon this assurance, *Brutus* and his Companions came down from the Capitoll, where every man saluted and embraced each other, among the which, *Antonius* himselfe did bid *Cassius* to supper to him: and *Lepidus* also bade *Brutus*, and so one bade another, as they had friendship and acquaintance together. The next day following, the Senate being called againe to counsell, did first of all commend *Antonius*, for that he had wisely stayed and quenched the beginning of a civil Warre: then they also gave *Brutus* and his Conforts great praises; and lastly they appointed them severall governments of Provinces. For unto *Brutus* they appointed *GRECIA*; *AFRICA* unto *Cassius*; *ASIA* unto *Trebonius*; *BITHYNIA* unto *Cimber*; and unto the other *Decius Brutus Albinus*, *Cassars* Will and Testament and of his Funerals and Tombe. Then *Antonius*, thinking good his Testament should be read openly, and also that his body should be honourably buried, and not in haggard manner, left the People might thereby take occasion to be worse offended if they did otherwise: *Cassius* stoutly spake against it. But *Brutus* went with the motion, and agreed unto it: wherein it seemeth he committed a second fault. For the first fault he did, was when he would not confesse to his fellow Conspirators, that *Antonius* should be slaine: and therefore he was justly accused, that thereby

Why *Antonius* was not slaine with *Caesar*.

Brutus with his Conforts went unto the Capitoll.

Honours decreed for the Murderers of *Caesar*.

Cassars Will, and Funerals.

Brutus committed two great faults after Caesar's death.

Antoniuss Funeral Oration for Caesar.

The strange Drame of Cinna the Poet.

The murder of Cinna the Poet, being mistaken for another of that Name. Brutus and his Consorts do flee from Rome.

Brutus Plaies and Sports at Rome in his absence.

Octavius Caesar coming to Rome.

Julius Caesar reproved Cicero, for taking part with Octavius Caesar.

he had saved and strengthened a strong and grievous Enemy of their conspiracy. The second fault was, when he agreed that *Caesars* Funerals should be as *Antonius* would have them, the which indeed marred all. For first of all, when *Caesars* Testament was openly read among them, whereby it appeared that he bequeathed unto every Citizen of *ROME*, seventy five Drachmaes a man; and that he left his Gardens and Arbors unto the People, which he had on this side of the River *Tyber*, in the place where now the Temple of Fortune is built: the People then loved him, and were marvellous sorry for him. Afterwards, when *Caesars* body was brought into the Market-place, *Antonius* making his Funerall Oration in praise of the dead, according to the ancient Custome of *ROME*, and perceiving that his words moved the common People to compassion, he framed his Eloquence to make their hearts yearne the more; and taking *Caesars* Gown all bloody in his hand, he layed it open to the sight of them all, shewing what a number of cuts and holes it had upon it. Therewithall the People fell presently into such a rage and mutiny, that there was no more order kept amongst the common People. For some of them cried out, Kill the Murderers: others plucked up Formes, Tables, and Stalles about the Market-place, as they had done before at the Funerals of *Clodius*, and having laid them all on a heape together, they set them on fire, and thereupon did put the Body of *Caesar*, and burnt it in the middell of the most holy places. And Furthermore, when the fire was thoroughly kindled, some there, tooke burning Fire-brands, and ranne with them to the Murderers houses that killed him, to set them on fire. Howbeit, the Conspiratours foreseeing the danger, before had wisely provided for themselves, and fled. But there was a Poet called *Cinna*, who had been no partaker of the conspiracy, but was always one of *Caesars* chiefest friends: he dreamed the night before, that *Caesar* bad him to supper with him, and that he refusing to goe, *Caesar* was very importunate with him, and compelled him, so that at length he led him by the hand into a great darke place, where being marvellously afraid, he was driven to follow him in spite of his heart. This dreame put him all night into a Feaver, and yet notwithstanding, the next morning when he heard that they carried *Caesars* body to buriall, being afhamed not to accompany his Funerals, he went out of his house, and thrust himselfe into the presse of the common People that were in a great uproare. And because some one called him by his Name, *Cinna*: the People thinking he had been that *Cinna*, who in an Oration he made, had spoken very ill of *Caesar*, they falling upon him in their rage, slew him outright in the Market-place. This made *Brutus* and his Companions more afraid then any other thing, next unto the change of *Antonius*. Wherefore they got them out of *ROME*, and kept at the first in the City of *ANTIUM*, hoping to returne againe to *ROME*, when the fury of the People was a little asswaged. The which they hoped would be quickly, considering that they had to deal with a fickle and unconstant multitude, easie to be carried, and that the Senate stood for them: who notwithstanding made no enquire for them that had torne poor *Cinna* the Poet in pieces, but caused them to be sought for and apprehended that went with Fire-brands to set fire on the Conspiratours houses. The People growing weary now of *Antonius* pride and infolency, who ruled all things in a manner with absolute power, they desired that *Brutus* might returne againe; and it was also looked for, that *Brutus* would come himselfe in Person to play the Plaies which were due to the People, by reason of his Office of Pratorship. But *Brutus* understanding that many of *Caesars* Souldiers which served under him in the Warres, and that also had Lands and Houses given them in the Cities where they lay, did lie in waite for him to kill him, and that they daily by small Companies came by one and by one into *ROME*, he durst no more returne thither: but yet the People had the pleasure and pastime in his absence, to see the Games and Sports he made them, which were sumptuously set forth and furnished with all things necessary, sparing for no cost. For he had brought a great number of strange Beasts, of the which he would not give one of them to any friend he had; but that they should all be employed in his Games: and went himselfe as farre as *BYZANTIUM*, to speak to some Players of Comedies and Musicians that were there. And further he wrote unto his friends for one *Caninius* an excellent Player, that whatsoever they did, they should intreate him to play these Plaies. For (said he) it is no reason to compell any *GRECIAN*, unless he will come of his own good will. Moreover, he wrote also unto *Cicero*, and earnestly prayed him in any case to be at these Plaies. Now the state of *ROME* standing in these termes, there fell out another change and alteration; when the young man *Octavius Caesar* came to *ROME*. He was the Sonne of *Julius Caesar* Neeces, whom he had adopted for his Sonne, and made his Heire, by his last Will and Testament. But when *Julius Caesar* his adopted Father was slaine, he was in the City of *APOLLONIA*, (where he studied), carrying for him, because he was determined to make Warre with the *PARTHIANS*: but when he heard the newes of his death, he returned againe to *ROME*, where to begin to curry favour with the common People, he first of all tooke upon him his adopted Fathers Name, and made distribution among them of the Money which his Father had bequeathed unto them. By this means he troubled *Antonius* sorely, and by force of Money, got a great number of his Fathers Souldiers together, that had served in the Warres with him. And *Cicero* himselfe, for the great malice he bare unto *Antonius*, did favour his Proceedings: but *Brutus* marvellously reproved him for it, and wrote unto him, that he seemed by his doings not to be sorry to have a Master, but only to be afraid to have one that should hate him: and that all his doings in the Common wealth, did witness, that he chose to be subject to a mild and courteous bondage, sith by his words and writings he did commend this young man *Octavius Caesar*, to be a good and gentle Lord. For our Prede-

Predecessours (said he) would never abide to be subject to any Masters, how gentle or mild soever they were: and for his own part, that he had never resolutely determined with himselfe to make War, or Peace; but otherwise, that he was certainly minded never to be slave nor subject. And therefore he wondered much at him, how *Cicero* could be afraid of the danger of civill Warres, and would not be afraid of a shamefull Peace: and that to thrust *Antonius* out of the usurped tyranny, in recompence he went about to stablish young *Octavius Caesar* Tyrant. These were the Contents of *Brutus* first Letters he wrote unto *Cicero*. Now the City of *ROME* being divided into two Factions, some taking part with *Antonius*, other also leaning unto *Octavius Caesar*, and the Souldiers making port-fale of their Serviceto him that would give most: *Brutus* seeing the state of *ROME* would be utterly overthrowne, he determined to go out of *ITALY*, and went on foot through the Countrey of *LUKE*, unto the City of *ELEA*, standing by the Sea. There *Porcia* being ready to depart from her Husband *Brutus*, and to returne to *ROME*, did what she could to dissemble the griefe and sorrow she felt at her heart: but a certaine painted Table bewrayed her in the end, although untill that time she shewed alwaies a constant and patient minde. The device of the Table was taken out of the Greeke Stories, how *Andromache* accompanied her Husband *Hector*, when he went out of the City of *TROY* to go to the Warres, and how *Hector* delivered her his little Sonne, and how her eyes were never off him. *Porcia* seeing this Picture, and likening her selfe to be in the same case she fell a weeping: and coming thither oftentimes in a day to see it, she wept still. *Acilius* one of *Brutus* friends perceiving that, rehearsed the Verses *Andromache* speaketh to this purpose in Homer:

*Thou Hector art my Father, and my Mother, and my Brother,
And Husbande too, and all in all: I minde not any other.*

Then *Brutus* smiling, answered againe: But yet (said he) I cannot for my part say unto *Porcia*, as *Hector* answered *Andromache* in the same place of the Poet:

*Tush, meddle thou with duty weighing out,
Thy Maides their task, and pricking on a clout,*

For indeed the weake constitution of her Body, doth not suffer her to performe in shew, the valiant Acts that we are able to do: but for courage and constant minde, she shewed her selfe as stout in the defence of her Countrey, as any of us. *Bibulus* the Sonne of *Porcia*, reporteth this Story thus. Now *Brutus* embarking at *ELEA* in *LUKE*, he sailed directly towards *ATHENS*. When he arrived there the People of *ATHENS* received him with common joyes of rejoycing, and honourable decrees made for him. He lay with a friend of his, with whom he went daily to heare the Lectures, of *Themistocles* the Academicke Philosopher, and of *Cratippus* the Peripateticke, and so would talke with them in Philosophy, that it seemed he left all other matters, and gave himselfe onely to study: howbeit, secretly notwithstanding, he made preparation for War. For he sent *Herostatus* into *MACEDON*, to win the Captaines and Souldiers that were upon those marches, and he did also entertaine all the young Gentlemen of the *ROMANS*, whom he found in *ATHENS* studying Philosophy: amongst them he found *Ciceros* Son, whom he highly praised and commended, saying: That whether he waked or slept, he found him of a noble minde and disposition, he did in nature so much hate Tyrants. Shortly after, he began to enter openly into armes: and being advertised that there came out of *ASIA* a certaine Fleet of *ROMANE* Ships that had good store of Money in them, and that the Captaine of those Ships (who was an honest man, and his familiar friend) came towards *ATHENS*: he went to meet him as far as the Isle of *CARYSTOS*, and having spoken with him there, he handled him so, that he was contented to leave his Ships in his hands: whereupon he made him a notable banquet at his house, because it was on his Birth-day. When the Feast day came, and that they began to drinke lustily one to another, the Guests dranke to the Victory of *Brutus*, and the liberty of the *ROMANES*. *Brutus* therefore to encourage them further, called for a bigger Cup, and holding it in his hand, before he dranke spake this aloud:

*My destiny and Phœbus are agreed,
To bring me to my fittall end with speed.*

And for prooffe hereof, it is reported, that the same day he fought his last Battell by the City of *PHILIPPES*, as he came out of his Tent, he gave them for the word and signall of Battell, *Phœbus*: so that it was thought ever since, that this his suddain crying out at the Feast, was a Prognostication of his misfortune that should happen. After this, *Antistius* gave him of the Money, he carried into *ITALY*, fifty Myriades. Furthermore, all *Pompeys* Souldiers that straggled up and down *THESSALY*, came with very good will unto him. He tooke from *Cinna* also, five hundred Horsemen, which he carried into *ASIA*, unto *Dolabella*. After that, he went by Sea, unto the City of *DEMETRIADE*, and theretooke a great deale of Armour and Munition which was going to *Antonius*: and the which had been made and forged there by *Julius Caesar* commandement, for the Warres against the *PARTHIANS*. Furthermore, *Hortensius* Governour of *MACEDON*, did resigne the Government thereof unto him. Besides, all the Princes, Kings, and Noble-men thereabouts, came and joyined with him, when it was told him, and that *Caius* (*Antonius* Brother) coming out of *ITALY*, had passed the Sea, and came with great speed towards the City of *DYRRACHIUM*, and *APOLLONIA*, to get the Souldiers into his hands, which *Gabinus* had there. *Brutus* therefore to

Porcias sorrowfull returne to *Rome* for the absence of her Husband *Brutus*. The Story of *Hector* and *Andromache* let forth in painted Tables.

How *Brutus* bestowed his time at *Athens*. *Brutus* prepared himselfe to War. *Brutus* commended *Ciceros* Son.

A strange disease took Brutus at Dyrrachium. Why by Snow this hungry disease take men that are wearied with travel.

Brutus thankfullnesse and clemency.

C. Antonius yielded unto Brutus.

Octavius Caesar joyneth with Antonius.

Brutus accused and condemned, by Octavius Caesar, means, for the death of Julius Caesar.

The Triumvirate

C. Antonius murdered.

prevent him, went presently with a few of his men in the midst of Winter when it did snow hard, and tooke his way through hard and fowle Countries, and made such speed indeed, that he was there long before Antonius sumpters, that carried the Victuals. So that when he came neare to Dyrachium, a disease tooke him, which the Physicians call *Brahma*, to say, A cormorant and unsatiabie appetite to eate: by reason of the cold and paines he had taken. This sicknesse chanceth often, both to men and beasts, that travell wherewith hath snowne: either because the naturall heate being retired into the inward parts of the Body, by the coldnesse of the Ayre hardning the Skinne, doth straight digest and consume the Meate: or else because a sharpe subtile winde coming by reason of the Snow when it is molten, doth pierce into the Body, and driveth out the naturall heate which was cast outward. For it seemeth, that the heate being quenched with the cold, which it meeteth withall coming out of the Skinne of the Body, causeth the sweates that follow the Disease. But hereof we have spoken at large in other places. Brutus being very faint, and having nothing in his Campe to eate, his Souldiers were compelled to go to their Enemies; and coming to the Gates of the City, they praised the Warders to helpe them to Bread. When they heard in what case Brutus was, they brought him both meate and drinke: in requittall whereof, afterwards, when he wan the City, he did not onely intreate and use the Citizens thereof courteously, but all the Inhabitants of the City also for their sakes. Now when Caius Antonius was arrived in the City of Apollonia, he sent unto the Souldiers thereabouts to come unto him. But when he understood that they went all to Brutus: and furthermore, that the Citizens of Apollonia did favour him much: he then forsooke that City, and went unto the City of Butthrotus; but yet he lost three of his Ensignes by the way, that were slaine every man of them. Then he fought by force to winne certaine places of strength about Byllis, and to drive Brutus men from thence, that had taken it before: and therefore to obtaine his purpose, he fought a Battell with Cicero, the Sonne of Marcus Tullius Cicero, by whom he was overcome. For Brutus made the younger Cicero a Captaine, and did many notable exploits by his service. Shortly after, having stolen upon Caius Antonius in certaine Marishes far from the place from whence he fled, he would not set on him with fury but onely rode round about him, commanding his Souldiers to spare him and his men, as reckoning them all his own without stroke striking: and so indeed it happened: for they yeelded themselves and their Captaine Antonius, unto Brutus; so that Brutus had now a great Army about him. Now Brutus kept this Caius Antonius long time in his Office, and never tooke from him the markes and signes of his Consulship, although many of his friends, and Cicero among others, wrote unto him to put him to death. But when he saw Antonius secretly practised with his Captaine to make some alteration, then he sent him into a Ship, and made him to be kept there. When the Souldiers whom Caius Antonius had corrupted, were gotten into the City of Apollonia, and sent from thence unto Brutus to come unto them, he made them answer, That it was not the manner of ROMANE Captaines to come to the Souldiers, but the Souldiers to come to the Captaine, and to crave pardon for their offences committed. Thereupon they came to him, and he pardoned them. So Brutus preparing to go into ASIA, newes came unto him of the great change at Rome: for Octavius Caesar was in armes, by commandement and authority from the Senate, against Marcus Antonius. But after that he had driven Antonius out of ITALY, the Senate began then to be afraid of him, because he sued to be Confull, which was contrary to the Law; and kept a great Army about him when the Empire of Rome had no need of them. On the other side, Octavius Caesar perceiving the Senate stayed not there, but turned to Brutus that was out of ITALY, and that they appointed him the Government of certaine Provinces: then he began to be afraid for his part, and sent unto Antonius to offer him his friendship. Then coming on with his Army neare to Rome, he made himselfe to be chosen Confull, whether the Senate would or not, when he was yet but a stripling or springall of twenty yeares old, as himselfe reporteth in his owne Commentaries. So when he was Confull, he presently appointed Judges to accuse Brutus and his Companions, for killing of the noblest person in Rome, and chiefe Magistrate, without Law or Judgement: and made L. Cornelius accuse Brutus, and M. Agrippa, Cassius. So the parties accused were condemned, because the Judges were compelled to give such sentence. The voice went, that when the Herauld (according to the Custome after sentence given) went up to the Chaire or Pulpit for Orations, and proclaimed Brutus with a loud voice, summoning him to appeare in person before the Judges, the People that stood by sighed openly, and the Noblemen that were present hung down their heads, and durst not speake a word. Among them the teares fell from Publius Silius Eyes: who shortly after, was one of the Proscriptors or Outlawes appointed to be slaine. After that, these three Octavius Caesar, Antonius and Lepidus made an agreement between themselves, and by those Articles divided the Provinces belonging to the Empire of Rome among themselves, and did set up Bills of Proscription and Outlawry condemning two hundred of the noblest men of Rome to suffer death, and amongst that number, Cicero was one. Newes being brought thereof into MACEDON, Brutus being then enforced to do it, wrote unto Hortensius that he should put Caius Antonius to death, to be revenged of the death of Cicero, and of the other Brutus, of the which the one was his friend, and the other a Kinsman. For this cause therefore, Antonius afterwards taking Hortensius at the Battell of PHILIPPES, he made him to be slaine upon his Brothers Tombe. But when Brutus said, that he was more ashamed of the cause for the which Cicero was slaine, then he was otherwise sorry for his death, and that he could not but greatly reprove his friends he had at Rome, who were Slaves more through their own fault, then through their

their valiantnesse or man-hood which usurped the tyranny: considering that they were so cowardly and faint-hearted, as to suffer the sight of those things before their eyes, the report whereof should onely have grieved them to the heart. Now when Brutus had passed over his Army (that was very great) into ASIA, he gave order for the gathering of a great number of Ships together, as well in the Coast of BITHYNIA, as also in the City of CYZICUM, because he would have an Army by Sea; and himselfe in the meane time went unto the Cities, taking order for all things, and giving audience to Princes and Noblemen of the Countrey that had to do with him. Afterwards he sent unto Cassius in SYRIA, to turne him from his Journey into EGYPT, telling him that it was not for the Conquest of any Kingdome for themselves, that they wandered up and down in that sort, but contrarily, that it was to restore their Countrey againe to her liberty: and that the multitude of Souldiers they gathered together, was to subdue the Tyrants that would keepe them in slavery and subjection. Wherefore regarding their chief purpose and intent, they should not be farre from ITALY, as neare as they could possible, but should rather make all the haste they could, to keepe their Countrey men. Cassius beleeveth him, and returned. Brutus went to meete him, and they both met at the City of SMYRNA, which was the first time that they saw together since they tooke leave each of other, at the Haven of PIRÆA in ATHENS, the one going into SYRIA, and the other into MACEDON. So they were marvellous joyfull, and no lesse courageous, when they saw the great Armies together which they had both leaved: considering that they departed out of ITALY like naked and poor banished men, without armour and money, nor having any Ship ready, nor Souldier about them, nor any one Town at their commandement; yet notwithstanding, in a short time after they were now met together, having Ships, Money, and Souldiers enough, both Footmen and Horsemen, to fight for the Empire of Rome. Now Cassius would have done Brutus much honour, as Brutus did unto him, but Brutus most commonly prevented him, and went first unto him, both because he was the elder man, as also for that he was sickly of Body. And men reputed him commonly to be very skillfull in Warres, but otherwise marvellous cholerick and cruell, who fought to rule men by feare, rather then with lenity: and on the other side he was too familiar with his friends, and would jest too broadly with them. But Brutus in contrary manner, for his Vertue and Valiantnesse, was wel-beloved of the People and his owne, esteemed of Noblemen, and hated of no man, not so much as of his Enemies; because he was a marvellous lowly and gentle person, Noble-minded, and would never be in any rage, nor carried away with pleasure and covetousnesse, but had ever an upright minde with him, and would never yeeld to any wrong or injustice; the which was the chiefe cause of his fame, of his rising, and of the good will that every man bare him: for they were all persuaded that his intent was good. For they did not certainly beleieve, that if Pompey himselfe had overcome Caesar, he would have resigned his authority to the law, but rather they were of opinion, that he would still keepe the sovereignty and absolute Government in his hands, taking onely, to please the People, the Title of Confull, or Dictator, or of some other more civill Office. And as for Cassius, a hot, cholerick, and cruell man, that would oftentimes be carried away from justice for gain, it was certainly thought that he made Warre, and put himselfe into fundry dangers, more to have absolute power and authority, then to defend the liberty of his Countrey. For, they that will also consider others, that were elder men then they, as Cinna, Marcius, and Carbo, it is out of doubt that the end and hope of their Victory, was to be the Lords of their Countrey, and in manner they did all confesse, that they fought themselves did never reprove Brutus for any such change or desire. For, it was said that Antonius spake it openly divers times, that he thought, that of all them that had slaine Caesar, there was none but Brutus onely that was moved to do it, as thinking the act commendable of it selfe: but that all the other Conspirators did conspire his death for some private malice or envie, that they otherwise did beare unto him. Hereby it appeareth, that Brutus did not trust so much to the power of his Army, as he did to his own vertue, as it is to be seene by his Writings. For approaching neare to the instant danger he wrote unto Pomponius Atticus, that his affaires had the best hap that could be. For, said he, either I will set my Countrey at liberty by Battell, or by honourable death rid me of this bondage. And furthermore, that they being certaine and assured of all things else, this one thing onely was doubtfull to them: whether they should live or die with liberty. He wrote also that Antonius had his due payment for his folly. For where he might have been a partner equally of the glory of Brutus, Cassius, and Cato, and have made one with them, he liked better to chuse to be joyned with Octavius Caesar alone: with whom, though now he be not overcome by us, yet shall he shortly after, also have Warre with him. And truly he proved a true Prophet, for so Brutus a true came it indeed to passe. Now whilst Brutus and Cassius were together in the City of SMYRNA, Prophet of Brutus, prayed Cassius to let him have some part of his Money whereof he had great store; because all that he could rap and rend of his side he bestowed it in making so great a number of Ships, that by means of them they should keepe all the Sea at their commandement. Cassius friends hindered this request, and earnestly dissuaded him from it: persuading him, that it was no reason Brutus should have the Money which Cassius hath gotten together by sparing, and leaved with great evil will of the People their subjects, for him to bestow liberally upon his Souldiers, and by this means to winne their good wils, by Cassius charge. This notwithstanding, Cassius gave him the third part of this totall summe. So Cassius and Brutus then departing from each other, Cassius went to the City of RHODUS, where he too dishonestly and cruelly used himselfe: although when Rhodus

Brutus and Cassius do joyne Armies together.

The sharpe and cruell conditions of Cassius: Brutus gentle and faire conditions.

Brutus intent good if he had overcome.

Antonius telling money of Brutus.

Brutus noble minde to his Countrey.

Brutus a true Prophet of Antonius.

he

Brutus gets
in Lycia.

The City of
Xanthus set on
fire.

The desperate
end of the
Xanthians.

The Patari-
ans do yeeld
themselves un-
to Brutus.

The extreme
cruelty and
cruelty of
Cassius to the
Rhodians.

Brutus com-
mency unto
the Lycians.

he came into the City, he answered some of the Inhabitants who called him Lord and King, that he was neither Lord nor King, but he only that had slain him, that would have been Lord and King. *Brutus* departing from thence, sent unto the *LYCIANS* to require Money, and men of Warre. But there was a certaine Orator called *Naukrates*, that made the Cities to rebell against him, inso much that the Countrey men of that Countrey kept the Straights and little Mountains, thinking by that meanes to stop *Brutus* passage. Wherefore *Brutus* sent his Horsemen against them, who stole upon them as they were at dinner, and slew six hundred of them: and taking all the small Towns and Villages, he did let all the Prisoners he tooke, go without payment of Ransome, hoping by this his great courtesie to win them, to draw all the rest of the Countrey unto him. But they were so fierce and obdurate, that they would mutinie for every small hurt they received as he passed by their Countrey, and despite his courtesie and good nature: untill that at length he went to besiege the City of the *XANTHIANS*, within the which were shut up the cruellest and most warlike men of *LYCIA*. There was a River that ranne by the Walls of the City, in the which many men saved themselves, swimming betwene two Waters, and fled: howbeit they laid nets overthwart the River, and tied little Bels on the top of them, to sound when any man was taken in the nets. The *XANTHIANS* made a fallie out by night, and came to fire certaine Engines of the battery that beat down their Walls: but they were presently driven in againe by the *ROMANES*, so soone as they were discovered. The winde by chance was marvellous bigge, and increased the flame so fore, that it violently carried it into the cranes of the Wall of the City, that the next houses unto them were straight set on fire thereby. Wherefore *Brutus* being afraid that all the City would take on fire, he presently commanded his men to quench the fire, and to save the Town if it might be. But the *LYCIANS* at that instant fell into such a frenzy, and strange and horrible despair, that no man can well expresse it: and a man cannot more rightly compare or liken it, then to a franticke and most desperate desire to die. For all of them together, with their Wives and Children, Masters and Servants, and of all sorts of age whatsoever, fought upon the Rampiers of their Walls and did cast down Stones and Fire-works on the *ROMANES*, which were very busie in quenching the flame of the fire, to save the City. And in contrary manner also, they brought Faggots, drie Wood, and Reeds, to bring the Fire further into the City as much as might be, increasing it by such things as they brought. Now when the Fire had gotten into all parts of the City, and that the flame burnt bright in every place: *Brutus* being sorry to see it, got upon his Horse, and rode round about the Walls of the City, to see if it were possible for to save it, and held up his hands to the Inhabitants, praying them to pardon their City, and to save themselves. Howbeit they would not be perswaded, but did all that they could possible to cast themselves away, nor onely men and Women, but also little Children. For some of them weeping and crying out, did cast themselves into the Fire: others headlong throwing themselves down from the Walls, brake their neckes: others also made their backs bare, to the naked Swords of their Fathers, and undid their cloathes, praying them to kill them with their own hands. After the City was burnt, they found a Woman hanged up by the necke, holding one of her Children in her hand dead by her, hanged up also: and in the other hand a burning Torch letting fire on her house. Some would have had *Brutus* to have seene her, but he would not see so horrible and tragically a sight: but when he heard it, he fell a weeping, and caused an Herald to make proclamation by sound of Trumpet, that he would give a certaine summe of Money to every Souldier that could save a *XANTHIAN*. So there were not (as it is reported) above fifty of them saved, and yet they were saved against their wils. Thus the *XANTHIANS* having ended the revolution of their fatal destiny after a long continuance of time, they did through their desperation, renew the memory of the lamentable calamities of their Ancestors, who in like manner, in the Wars of the *PERSIANS*, did burne their City, and destroyed themselves. Therefore *Brutus* likewise besieging the City of the *PATARIANS*, perceiving that they stoutly resisted him, he was also afraid of that, and could not well tell whether he should give assault to it, or not, least they would fall into the despair and desperation of the *XANTHIANS*. Howbeit having taken certaine of their Women Prisoners, he sent them backe againe, without payment of Ransome. Now they that were the Wives and Daughters of the noblest men of the City, reporting unto their Parents, that they had found *Brutus* a mercifull, just, and courteous man, they perswaded them to yeeld themselves and their City unto him; the which they did. So after they had thus yeelded themselves, divers other Cities also followed them, and did the like: and found *Brutus* more mercifull and courteous, then they thought they should have done, but specially farre above *Cassius*. For *Cassius*, about the selfe same time, after he had compelled the *RHODIANS* every man to deliver all the ready Money they had in Gold and Silver in their Houses, the which being brought together, amounted to the summe of eight thousand Talents: yet he condemned the City besides, to pay the summe of five hundred Talents more. Where *Brutus* in contrary manner, after he had leaved of all the Countrey of *LYCIA* but an hundred and fifty Talents onely, he departed thence into the Countrey of *IONIA*, and did them no more hurt. Now *Brutus* in all this journey, did many notable acts and worthy of memory, both for rewarding, as also in punishing those that had deserved it: wherefore among the rest, I will tell you of one thing, of the which he himselfe, and all the Noblemen of the *ROMANES* were, marvellous glad. When *Pompey* the Great (having lost the Battell against *Julius Caesar*, in the Fields of *PHARSALIA*) came and fell upon the Coast of *EGYPT*, hard by the City of *PELUSIUM*, those that were Protectors to the young King *Ptolemy* being then but a Child, sate in Councell with his Servants and Friends, what they should determine in that case.

case. They were not all of one minde in this consultation: for some thought it good to receive *Pompey*: others also, that they should drive him out of *EGYPT*. But there was a certaine Rhetorician called *Theodotus*, that was borne in the Isle of *CHIO*, who was the Kings Schoole-master to teach him Rhetoricke. He being called to the Councell for lacke of sufficient men, said, That both the one and the other side went awry, as well those that were of opinion to receive *Pompey*, as the other that would have had him driven away: and that the best way was (considering the present time) that they should lay hold on him, and kill him, adding withall this sentence, That a dead man biteth not. The whole Councell stucke to this opinion: So, for a notable example of incredible misfortune, and unlooked for unto *Pompey*, *Pompey* the Great was slain, by the motion and counsell of this wicked Rhetorician *Theodotus*, as *Theodotus* afterwards did himselfe booke of it. But when *Julius Caesar* came afterwards into *EGYPT*, the wicked men that consented to this counsell, had their payment according to their deserts: for they died every man of them a wicked death, saving this *Theodotus*, whom fortune respited a little while longer, and yet in that time he lived a poore and miserable life, never tarrying long in any one place. So *Brutus* going up and downe *ASIA*, *Theodotus* could hide himselfe no longer, but was brought unto *Brutus*, where he suffered paines of death: so that he wanne more fame by his death, then ever he did in his life. About that time, *Brutus* sent to pray *Cassius* to come to the City of *SARDIS*, and so he did. *Brutus* understanding of his coming, went to meet him with all his friends. There both their Armies being armed, they called them both Emperours. Now as it commonly happeneth in great affaires between two persons, both of them having many friends, and so many Captaines under them, there ranne tales and complaints betwixt them. Therefore, before they fell in hand with any other matter, they went into a little Chamber together, and bade every man avoid, and did shut the doores to them. Then they began to poure out their complaints one to the other, and grew hot and loud, earnestly accusing one another, and at length fell both a weeping. Their friends that were without the Chamber, hearing them loud within, and angry between themselves, they were both amazed and afraid also, lest it would grow to further matter: but yet they were commanded, that no man should come to them. Notwithstanding one *Marcus Phoenius*, that had been a friend and follower of *Caio* while he lived, and tooke upon him to counterfeite a Philosopher, not with wisdome and discretion, but with a certaine bedlam and franticke motion: he would needs come into the Chamber, though the men offered to keepe him out. But it was no boote to let *Phoenius*, when a mad moode or toy tooke him in the head: for he was a hot hafty man, and suddain in all his doings, and cared for never a Senator of them all. Now, though he used it in bold manner of speech after the profession of the Cynicke Philosophers (as who would say, Dogs) yet his boldnesse did no hurt many times, because they did but laugh at him to see him so mad. This *Phoenius* at that time, in despite of the Door-keepers, came into the Chamber, and with a certaine scoffing and mocking gesture, which he counterfeited of purpose, he rehearsed the Verses which old *Nestor* said in *Homer*:

My Lords, I pray you hearken both to me,
For I have seen more yeares then suchie three.

Cassius fell a laughing at him: but *Brutus* thrust him out of the Chamber, and called him Dogge, and counterfeited Cynicke. Howbeit his coming in brake their strife at that time, and so they left each other. The selfe same night *Cassius* prepared his supper in his Chamber, and *Brutus* brought his friends with him. So when they were set at supper, *Phoenius* came to sit down after he had washed. *Brutus* told him aloud, no man sent for him, and bade them set him at the upper end: meaning indeed at the lower end of the bed. *Phoenius* made no ceremony, but thrust in amongst the middle of them, and made all the company laugh at him. So they were merry all Supper-time, and full of their Philosophy. The next day after, *Brutus*, upon complaint of the *SARDIANS*, did condemne and rote *Lucius Pella* for a defamed Person, that had been a Prator of the *ROMANES*, and whom *Brutus* had given charge unto: for that he was accused and convicted of robbery, and pilfering in his Office. This judgement much disliked *Cassius*, because he himselfe had secretly (not many daies before) warned two of his friends, attainted and convicted of the like offences, and openly had cleared them: but yet he did not therefore leave to employ them in any manner of service as he did before. And therefore he greatly reproveth *Brutus*, for that he would shew himselfe so straight and severe, in such a time as was meetest to beare a little, then to take things at the worst. *Brutus* in contrary manner answered, that he should remember the Id's of *March*, at which time they slew *Julius Caesar*, who neither pilled nor polled the Countrey, but onely was a favourer and suborner of all them that did rob and spoile, by his countenance and Authority. And if there were any occasion whereby they might honestly see aside justice and equity, they should have had more reason to have suffered *Caesar's* friends to have robbed and done what wrong and injury they would, then to beare with their owne men. For then said he, they could but have said they had been cowards, but now they may accuse us of injustice, beside the paines we take, and the danger we put our selves into. And thus may we see what *Brutus* intent and purpose was. But as they both prepared to passe over againe, out of *ASIA* into *EUROPE*, there went a rumour that there appeared a wonderfull signe unto him. *Brutus* was a careful man, and slept very little, both for that his Diet was moderate, as also because he was continually occupied. He never slept in the day time, and in the night no longer, then

Theodotus borne in *Chio*, a Rhetorician Schoole-master to *Ptolemy* the young King of *EGYPT*. *Theodotus* saving: A dead man biteth not.

Theodotus (Whom, the Rhetorician that gave counsell to kill *Pompey*, was put to death by *Brutus*). *Brutus* and *Cassius* do meet at the City of *Sardis*. *Brutus* and *Cassius* complaints one unto the other. *Phoenius* a follower of *Caio*.

Cynicke Philosophers counterfeited Dogs.

Julius Caesar slain at the Id's of *March*.

The wonderfull constancy of *Brutus*, in matters of justice and equity.

Brutus care, because he was continually occupied. He never slept in the day time, and in the night no longer, then

then the time he was driven to be alone, and when every body else tooke their rest. But now whilst he was in Warre, and his head over-busily occupied to thinke of his affaires, and what would happen, after he had slumbered a little after supper, he spent all the rest of the night in dispatching of his weightiest Causes; and after he had taken order for them, if he had any leisure left him, he would read some Booke till the third Watch of the night, at what time the Capitaines, petty Capitaines and Colonels, did use to come to him. So, being ready to go into EUROPE, one night very late (when all the Campe took quiet rest) as he was in his Tent with a little light, thinking of weighty matters, he thought he heard one come in to him, and casting his eye towards the door of his Tent, that he saw a wonderful strange and monstrous shape of a body coming towards him, and said never a word. So *Brutus* boldly asked what he was, a God or a man, and what cause brought him thither. The Spirit answered him, I am thy evil Spirit, *Brutus*: and thou shalt see me by the City of PHILIPPES. *Brutus* being no otherwise afraid, replied againe unto it: Well, then I shall see thee againe. The Spirit presently vanished away: and *Brutus* called his men unto him, who told him that they heard no noise, nor saw any thing at all. Thereupon *Brutus* returned againe to thinke on his matters as he did before: and when the day brake, he went unto *Cassius*, to tell him what Vision had appeared unto him in the night. *Cassius* being in opinion an EPICURIAN, and reasoning thereon with *Brutus*, spake to him touching the Vision, thus. In our sect, *Brutus*, we have an opinion, that we do not alwaies seele, or see, that which we suppose we do both see and seele, but that our senses being credulous and therefore easily abused (when they are idle and unoccupied in their own objects) are induced to imagine they see and conjecture that, which in truth they do not. For, our minde is quicke and cunning to work (without either cause or matter) any thing in the imagination whatsoever. And therefore the imagination is resembled to clay, and the minde to the Potter: who without any other cause then his fancy and pleasure, changeth it into what fashion and forme he will. And this doth the diversity of our Dreames shew unto us. For our imagination doth upon a small fancy grow from conceit to conceit, altering both in passions and formes of things imagined. For the minde of man is ever occupied, and that continually moving is nothing but an imagination. But yet there is a further cause of this in you. For you being by nature given to melancholike discouraging, and of late continually occupied, your wits and senses having been over-laboured, do easilier yeeld to such imaginations. For, to say that there are Spirits or Angels; and if there were, that they had the shape of men, or such voices, or any power at all to come unto us, it is a mockery. And for mine own part, I would there were such, because that we should not only have Souldiers, Horses, and Ships, but also the aide of the gods, to guide and further our honest and honourable attempts. With these words *Cassius* did somewhat comfort and quiet *Brutus*. When they raised their Campe, there came two Eagles that flying with a marvellous force, lighted upon two of the foremost Ensignes, and alwaies followed the Souldiers, which gave them Meate, and fed them, untill they came neare to the City of PHILIPPES: and there one day only before the Battell, they both flew away. Now *Brutus* had conquered the most part of all the People and Nations of that Country: but if there were any other City or Capitaine to overcome, then they made all cleare before them, and so drew towards the Coasts of THASSOS. There *Norbanus* lying in Campe in a certaine place called the straights, by another place called CYMBOLON (which is a port in the Sea,) *Cassius* and *Brutus* compassed him in in such sort, that he as driven to forsake the place which was of great strength for him, and he was also in danger beside to have lost all his Army. For, *Octavius Caesar* could not follow him because of his sicknesse, and therefore stayed behinde: whereupon they had taken his Army, had not *Antonius* aide been, which made such wonderfull speed, that *Brutus* could scant beleieve it. So *Caesar* came not thither of ten daies after: and *Antonius* camped against *Cassius*, and *Brutus* on the other side against *Caesar*. The ROMANES called the Valley between both Campes, the PHILIPPIAN Fields: and there were never seen two so great Armies of the ROMANES, one before the other, ready to Fight. In truth, *Brutus* Army was inferior to *Octavius Caesar*, in number of men: but for bravery and rich Furniture, *Brutus* Army far excelled *Caesar*. For the most part of their Armors were Silver and gilt, which *Brutus* had bountifully given them: although in all other things he taught his Capitaines to live in order without exesse. But for the bravery of armour and Weapon, which Souldiers should carry in their hands, or otherwise wear upon their backs, he thought that it was an encouragement unto them that by nature are greedy of honour, and that it maketh them also fight like Devils that love to get, and to be afraid to lose: because they fight to keepe their armour and Weapon, as also their Goods and Lands. Now when they came to muster their Armies, *Octavius Caesar* took the muster of his Army within the Trenches of his Campe, and gave his men only a little Corne, and five silver Drachmaes to every man to sacrifice to the gods, and to pray for Victory. But *Brutus* scorning his misery, and nigardinesse, first of all mustred his Army, and did purifie it in the Fields, according to the manner of the ROMANES: and then he gave unto every Band a number of Weathers to sacrifice, and fifty silver Drachmaes to every Souldier. So that *Brutus* and *Cassius* Souldiers were better pleased, and more courageously bent to fight at the day of Battell, then their Enemies Souldiers were. Notwithstanding, being busily occupied about the Ceremonies of this purification, it is reported that there chanced certaine unlucky signes unto *Cassius*. For one of his Sergeants that carried the Rods before him, brought him the Garland of Flowers turned backward, the which he should have worne on his head in the time of sacrificing. Moreover it is reported also, that another time before, in certaine Sports and Triumph,

A Spirit appeared unto *Brutus* in the City of Sardis.

Cassius opinion of Spirits after the Epicurian sect.

The cause of Dreames.

A wonderful signe by two Eagles.

Brutus and *Cassius* Camps before the City of Philippes, against *Octavius Caesar* and *Antonius*. *Brutus* Souldiers bravely armed. *Brutus* opinion for the bravery of Souldiers, in their Armour and Weapons.

Unlucky signes unto *Cassius*.

where they carried an Image of *Cassius* Victory, of cleane Gold, it fell by chance, the man stumbling that carried it. And yet further there was seene a marvellous number of Fowles of prey, that feed upon dead Carcasses: and Bee-hives also were found where Bees were gathered together in a certaine place within the Trenches of the Campe: the which place the Soothsayers thought good to shut out of the Precinct of the Campe, for to take away the superstitious feare and mistrust men would have of it. The which began somewhat to alter *Cassius* minde from *Epicurus* opinions; and had put the Souldiers also in a marvellous feare. Thereupon *Cassius* was of opinion not to try this Warre at one Battell, but rather to delay time, and to draw it out in length, considering that they were the stronger in Money, and the weaker in men and Armour. But *Brutus* in contrary manner, did alway before and at that time also, desire nothing more, then to put all to the hazard of Battell, as soone as might be possible: to the end he might either quickly restore his Countrey to her former liberty, or rid him forthwith of this miserable world, being still troubled in following and maintaining of such great Armies together. But perceiving that in the daily Skirmishes and bickerings they made, his men were alwaies the stronger and ever had the better, that yet quickned his spirits againe, and did put him in better heart. And furthermore, because that some of their own men had already yielded themselves to their Enemies, and that it was suspected moreover divers others would do the like, that made many of *Cassius* friends which were of his minde before (when it came to be debated in Councell, whether the Battell should be fought or not) that they were then of *Brutus* minde. But yet was there one of *Brutus* friends called *Atellius*, that was against it, and was of opinion that they should tarry to the next Winter. *Brutus* asked him what he should get by tarrying a year longer? If I get nothing else, quoth *Atellius* againe, yet have I lived so much longer. *Cassius* was very angry with this answer: and *Atellius* was maliced and esteemed the worse for it of all men. Thereupon it was presently determined they should fight Battell the next day. So *Brutus* all Supper time looked with a cheerefull countenance, like a man that had good hope, and talked very wisely of Philosophy, and after Supper went to bed. But touching *Cassius*, *Messala* reporteth that he supped by himselfe in his Tent with a few of his friends, and that all supper-time he looked very sadly, and was full of thoughts, although it was against his nature: and that after supper he tooke him by the hand, and holding him fast (in token of kindnesse, as his manner was) told him in Greek: *Messala*, I protest unto thee, and make thee my Witnesse, that I am compelled against my minde and will (as *Pompey* the Great was) to jeopard the liberty of our Countrey to the hazard of a Battell. And yet we must be lively, and of good courage, considering our good fortune, whom we should wrong too much to mistrust her, although we follow evill counsell. *Messala* writeth, that *Cassius* having spoken these last words unto him, he bade him farewell, and willed him to come to supper to him the next night following, because it was his Birth-day. The next morning by breake of day, the Signall of Battell was set out in *Brutus* and *Cassius* Campe, which was an arming Scarlet Coate: and both the Chieftaines spake together in the midst of their Armies. There *Cassius* began to speak first, and said: The gods grant us O *Brutus*, that this day we may win the Field, and ever after to live all the rest of our life quietly one with another. But sith the gods have so ordained it, that the greatest and chiefest things amongst men are most uncertaine, and that if the Battell fall out otherwise to day then we wish or look for, we shall hardly meet againe, what art thou then determined to do, to flie, or die? *Brutus* answered him, being yet but a young man, and not over greatly experienced in the world: I trust (I know not how) a certain rule of Philosophy, by the which I did greatly blame and reprove *Cato* for killing himselfe, as being no lawfull nor godly act, touching the gods: nor concerning men, valiant; not to give place and yeeld to divine Providence, and not constantly and patiently to take whatsoever it please him to send us, but to draw back and flie: but being now in the midst of the danger, I am of a contrary minde. For if it be not the will of God that this Battell fall out fortunate for us, I will look no more for hope, neither seek to make any new supply for War againe, but will rid me of this miserable world, and content me with my fortune. For, I give up my life for my Countrey in the Isles of *March*, for the which I shall live in another more glorious world. *Cassius* fell a laughing to hear what he said, and embracing him, Come on then (said he) let us go and charge our Enemies with this minde. For either we shall conquer, or we shall not need to feare the Conquerours. After this talke, they fell to consultation among their friends for the ordering of the Battell. Then *Brutus* prayed *Cassius* he might have the leading of the right Wing, the which men thought was far meerer for *Cassius*, both because he was the elder man, and also for that he had the better experience. But yet *Cassius* gave it him, and willed that *Messala* (who had charge of one of the warlike Legions they had) should be also in that Wing with *Brutus*. So *Brutus* presently sent out his Horsemen, who were excellently well appointed, and his Footmen also were as willing and ready to give chase. Now *Antonius* men did cast a Trench form the Marriish by the which they lay, to cut off *Cassius* way to come to the Sea: and *Caesar*, at the least his Army stirred not. As for *Octavius Caesar* himselfe, he was not in his Camp, because he was sicke. And for his People, they little thought the Enemies would have given them Battell, but only have made some light Skirmishes to hinder them that wrought in the Trench, and with their Darts and Slings to have kept them from finishing of their work: but they taking no heed to them that came full upon them to give them Battell, marvelled much at the great noise they heard, that came from the place where they were casting their Trench. In the meane time *Brutus* that led the right Wing, sent little Bills to the Colonels and Capitaines of private Bands, in the which he wrote the word of the Battell; and he himselfe riding a horse-backe by all the Troopes, did speake to them, and encouraged them to stick to it like men. So by this meanes very few of them under-

Cassius and *Brutus* opinions about the Battell.

Atellius opinion for the Battell.

Cassius words unto *Messala*: the night before the Battell.

Brutus and *Cassius* talke before the Battell.

Brutus answer to *Cassius*.

The Battell at Philippes against *Octavius Caesar* and *Antonius*.

stood what was the word of the Battell, and besides, the most part of them never tarried to have it told them, but ranne with great fury to assault the Enemies; whereby through this disorder, the Legions were marvellously scattered and dispersed one from the other. For, first of all *Messala* Legion, and then the next unto them, went beyond the left Wing of the Enemies, and did nothing, but glancing by them, overthrew some as they went; and so going on further, fell right upon *Cassius* Campe, out of the which (as himselfe writeth in his Commentaries) he had been conveyed away a little before through the counsell and advice of one of his friends called *Marcus Antonius*: who dreaming in the night, had a Vision appeared unto him, that commanded *Octavius Caesar* should be carried out of his Campe. Inasmuch as it was thought he was slaine, because his Litter (which had nothing in it) was thrust through and through with Pikes and Darts. There was great slaughter in this Campe. For amongst others, there were slaine two thousand *Lacedaemonians*, who were arrived but even a little before, coming to aide *Cesar*. The other also that had not glanced by, but had given a charge full upon *Cassius* Battell, they easily made them flee; because they were greatly troubled for the losse of their Campe, and of them there were slaine by hand three Legions. Then being very earnest to follow the chafe of them that fled, they ran in amongst them hand over head into their Campe, and *Brutus* among them. But that which the Conquerours thought not of, occasion shewed it unto them that were overcome: and that was, the left Wing of their Enemies left naked and unguarded of them of the right Wing, who were strait too farre off, in following all of them that were overthrowne. So they gave a hot charge upon them. But, notwithstanding all the force they made, they could not breake into the midst of their Battell, where they found them that received them, and valiantly made head against them. Howbeit they brake and overthrew the left Wing where *Cassius* was, by reason of the great disorder among them, and also because they had no intelligence how the right Wing had sped. So they chafed them, beating them into their Campe, the which they spoiled, none of both the Chieftaines being present there. For *Antonius* as it is reported, to flee the fury of the first charge, was gotten into the next Marish: and no man could tell what became of *Octavius Caesar*, after he was carried out of his Campe. Inasmuch that there were certaine Souldiers that shewed their Swords bloudied, and said that they had slaine him, and did describe his face, and shewed what age he was of. Furthermore, the Voward and the midst of *Brutus* Battell had already put all their Enemies to flight that withstood them, with great slaughter: so that *Brutus* had conquered all on his side, and *Cassius* had lost all on the other side. For nothing undid them, but that *Brutus* went not to helpe *Cassius*, thinking he had overcome them, as himself had done; and *Cassius* on the other side tarried not for *Brutus*, thinking he had been overthrowne as himselfe was. And to prove that the Victory fell on *Brutus* side, *Messala* confirmeth, that they wan three Eagles, and divers other Ensignes of the Enemies, and their Enemies wan never a one of theirs. Now *Brutus* returning from the chafe, after he had slaine and sacked *Cassius* men, he wondered much that he could not see *Cassius* Tent standing up high as it was wont, neither the other Tents of his Campe standing as they were before, because all the whole Campe had been spoiled, and the Tents thrown down, at the first coming of their Enemies. But they that were about *Brutus*, whose sight served them better, told him that they saw a great glittering of harness, and a number of silvered Targets, that went and came into *Cassius* Campe, and were not (as they tooke it) the Armors, nor the number of men that they had left there to guard the Camp: and yet that they saw not such a number of dead bodies, and great overthrow as there should have been, if so many Egions had been slaine. This made *Brutus* at the first mistrust that which had hapned. So he appointed a number of men to keepe the Campe of his Enemy which he had taken, and caused his men to be sent for that yet followed the chafe, and gathered them together, thinking to leade them to aide *Cassius*, who was in this state as you shall hear. First of all he was marvellous angry to see how *Brutus* men ran to give charge upon their Enemies, and tarried not for the word of the Battell, nor commandement to give charge: and it grieved him beside, that after he had overcome them, his men fell straight to spoile, and were not carefull to compasse in the rest of the Enemies behinde: but with him tarrying too long also, more then through the valiantnesse and foresight of the Captaines his Enemies, *Cassius* found himselfe compassed in with the right Wing of his Enemies Army. Whereupon his Horsemen brake immediately, and fled for life towards the Sea. Furthermore perceiving his Footmen to give ground, he did what he could to keepe them from flying, and took an Ensigne from one of the Ensigne-Bearers that fled, and stucke it fast at his feet: although with much ado he could scant keepe his owne Guard together. So *Cassius* himselfe was at length compelled to flee, with a few about him, unto a little Hill, from whence they might easily see what was done in all the plaine: howbeit *Cassius* himselfe saw nothing, for his sight was very bad, saving that he saw (and yet with much ado) how the Enemies spoiled his Campe before his eyes. He saw also a great Troope of Horsemen, whom *Brutus* sent to aide him, and thought that they were his Enemies that followed him: but yet he sent *Titinius*, one of them that was with him, to go and know what they were. *Brutus* Horsemen saw him coming afar off, whom when they knew that he was one of *Cassius* chieft friends, they shouted out for joy, and they that were familiarly acquainted with him, lighted from their Horses, and went and embraced him. The rest compassed him in round about on horse-backe, with Songs of Victory and great rushing of their Harness, so that they made all the Field ring againe for joy. But this marred all. For *Cassius* thinking indeed that *Titinius* was taken of the Enemies, he then spake these words: Desiring too much to live, I have lived to see one of my best friends taken, for my sake, before my face. After that, he got into a Tent where no body was, and tooke *Pindarus* with him, one of his Bondmen whom he

Octavius Caesar falsely reported to be slaine at the Battell of *Philippes*. *Cassius* mistrustful.

Cassius offended with the sundry errors *Brutus* and his men committed in Battell.

Cassius valiantnesse in Wars.

The importance of error and mistaking in Warres.

he reserved ever for such a pinch, since the cursed battell of the *PARTHIANS*, where *Cassius* was slaine, though he notwithstanding escaped from that overthrow: but then casting his cloake over his head, and holding out his bare neck unto *Pindarus*, he gave him his head to be stricken off. So the head was found severed from the body: but after that time *Pindarus* was never seen more. Whereupon, some tooke occasion to say that he had slaine his master without his commandement. By and by they knew the horsemen that came towards them, and might see *Titinius* crowned with a Garland of triumph, who came before with great speed unto *Cassius*. But when he perceived by the cries and tears of his friends which tormented themselves, the misfortune that had chanced to his Captaine *Cassius*, by mistaking, he drew out his sword, cursing himself a thousand times that he had tarried so long, and slew himself presently in the field. *Brutus* in the mean time came forward still, and understood also that *Cassius* had been overthrowne: but he knew nothing of his death, till he came very neare to his Campe. So when he was come thither, after he had lamented the death of *Cassius*, calling him the last of all the *ROMANES*; being impossible that *Rome* should ever breed againe so noble and so valiant a man as he: he caused his body to be buried, and sent it to the City of *THASOS*, fearing lest his funerals within his Campe should cause great disorder. Then he called his souldiers together, and did encourage them againe. And when he saw that they had lost all their carriage, which they could not brooke well, he promised every man of them two thousand Drachmaes in recompence. After his souldiers had heard his Oration, they were all of them prettily cheered againe, wondering much at his great liberality, and waited upon him with great cries when he went his way, praising him, for that he onely of the foure Chieftaines was not overcome in battell. And to speak the truth, his deeds shewed that he hoped not in vaine to be conqueror. For with few Legions he had slaine and driven all them away that made head against him: and if all his people had fought, and that the most of them had not out gone their enemies to runne to spoile their goods, surely it was like enough he had slaine them all, and had left never a man of them alive. There were slaine of *Brutus* side about eight thousand men, counting the souldiers slaves, whom *Brutus* called Brigas: and of the enemies side, as *Messala* writeth, there were slaine as he suppoeth, more then twice as many more. Wherefore they were more discouraged then *Brutus*, untill that very late at night, there was one of *Cassius* men called *Demetrius*, who went unto *Antonius*, and carried his masters clothes, whereof he was stripped not long before, and his sword also. This encouraged *Brutus* enemies, and made them so brave, that the next morning betimes they stood in battell ray againe before *Brutus*. But on *Brutus* side, both his Campes stood wavering, and in that great danger. For his owne Campe being full of prisoners, required a good guard to looke unto them: and *Cassius* Campe on the other side tooke the death of their Captaine very heavily; and beside, there was some vile grudge between them that were overcome, and those that did overcome. For this cause therefore *Brutus* did set them in battell ray, but yet kept himself from giving battell. Now for the slaves that were prisoners, which were a great number of them, and went and came to, and fro amongst the armed men, not without suspicion: he commanded they should kill them. But for the free men, he sent them freely home, and said, that they were better prisoners with his enemies, then with him. For with them they were slaves and servants: and with him, they were free men and Citizens. So when he saw that divers Captaines and his friends did so cruelly hate some, that they would by no means save their lives: *Brutus* himself hid them, and secretly sent them away. Among these prisoners, there was one *Volumnius* a jester, and *Saccullio* a common player, of whom *Brutus* made no account at all. Howbeit his friends brought them unto him, and did accuse them, that though they were prisoners, they did not let to laugh them to scorne, and to jest broadly with them. *Brutus* made no answer to it, because his head was occupied otherways. Whereupon *Messala Corvinus* said, that it were good to whip them on a scaffold, and then to send them naked, well whipped, unto the Captaines of their enemies, to shew them their shame, to keepe such mates as those in their Campe, to play the fools, to make them sport. Some that stood by, laughed at his device. But *Publius Cassia*, that gave *Julius Caesar* the first wound when he was slaine, said then: It doth not become us to be thus merry at *Cassius* funerals: and for thee *Brutus*, thou shalt shew what estimation thou makest of such a Captaine thy compeer, by putting to death, or saving the lives of these bloods, who hereafter will mocke him and defame his memory. *Brutus* answered againe in choller: Why then do ye come to tell me of it, *Cassia*, and do not your selves what you thinke good? When they heard him say so, they tooke his answer for a consent against these poore unfortunate men, to suffer them to do what they thought good: and therefore they carried them away, and slew them. Afterwards *Brutus* performed the promise he had made to the souldiers, and gave them the two thousand Drachmaes a peece, but yet he first reproved them, because they went and gave charge upon the enemies at the first battell, before they had the word of battell given them: and made them a new promise also, that if in the second battell they fought like men, he would give them the sacke and spoile of two Cities, to wit, *THESSALONICA* and *LACEDAMON*. In all *Brutus* life there is but this onely fault to be found, and that is not to be gaine-said: though *Antonius* and *Octavius Caesar* did reward their souldiers far worse for their victory. For when they had driven all the naturall *ITALIANS* out of *ITALY*, they gave their souldiers their lands and Townes, to the which they had no right: and moreover, the only marke they shot at in all this war they made, was but to overcome and raigne. Where in contrary manner they had so great an opinion of *Brutus* vertue, that the common voice and opinion of the world would not suffer him, neither to overcome, nor to save himself, otherwise then justly and honestly, and specially after *Cassius* death; whom men burdened, that oftentimes he moved *Brutus* to great cruelty. But now,

Cassius slaine by his man *Pindarus*.

The death of *Titinius*.

The number of men slaine at the battell of *Philippes*.

Brutus clemency and cunctie.

Brutus faulte wisely excused by *Plutarch*.

now, like as the Mariners on the sea after the rudder of their ships is broken by tempest, do seek to naile on some other peece of wood in lieu thereof, and do helpe themselves to keep them from hurt, as much as may be upon that instant danger: even so *Brutus*, having such a great Army to govern, and his affairs very standing tickle, and having no other Captain co-equal with him in dignity and authority; he was forced to employ them he had, and likewise to be ruled by them in many things, and was of mind himself also to grant them any thing, that he thought might make them serve like noble souldiers at time of need. For *Cassius* souldiers were very evil to be ruled, and diddrew themselves very stubborn and lusty in the Campe, because they had no Chieftaine that did command them: but yet ranke towards their enemies, because they had once overcome them. On the other side, *Octavius Caesar* and *Antonius* were not in much better state: for first of all they lacked victuals. And because they were lodged in low places, they looked to abide a hard and sharpe Winter, being camped as they were by the Marish side, and also for that after the battell there had fallen plenty of Rain about the Autumne, where through, all their Tents were full of mire and dirt, the which by reason of the cold did freeze incontinently. But beside all these discomforts, there came newes unto them of the great losse they had of their men by sea. For *Brutus* ships met with a great aide and supply of men, which were sent them out of *Italy*, and they overthrew them in such sort, that there escaped but few of them: and yet they were so famished, that they were compelled to eat the tackle and sailes of their ships. Thereupon they were very desirous to fight a battell again, before *Brutus* should have intelligence of this good newes for him: for it chanced so, that the battell was fought by sea, on the selfe same day it was fought by land. But by ill fortune, rather than through the malice or negligence of the Capitaines, this victory came not to *Brutus* ear till twenty dayes after. For had he known of it before, he would not have been brought to have fought a second battell, considering that he had excellent good provision for his Army for a long time; and besides, lay in a place of great strength, so as his Campe could not be greatly hurt by the Winter, nor also distressed by his enemies: and further, he had been a quiet Lord, being a conqueror by sea, as he was also by land. This would have marvelously encouraged him. Howbeit the state of *Rome* (in my opinion) being now brought to that passe, that it could no more abide to be governed by many Lords, but required one only absolute Governour: God, to prevent *Brutus* that it should not come to his Government, kept this victory from his knowledge, though indeed it came but a little too late. For the day before the last battell was given, very late in the night came *Clodius*, one of his enemies into his Campe, who told that *Caesar* hearing of the overthrow of his Army by sea, desired nothing more then to fight a battell before *Brutus* understood it. Howbeit they gave no credit to his words, but despised him so much, that they would not vouchsafe to bring him unto *Brutus*, because they thought it was but a lie devised, to be the better welcome for this good newes. The selfe same night, it is reported that the monstrous spirit which had appeared before unto *Brutus* in the City of *SARDIS*, did now appear again unto him in the selfe same shape and forme, and so vanished away, and said never a word. Now *Publius Volumnius*, a grave Philosopher, that had been with *Brutus* from the beginning of this war, he doth make no mention of this spirit, but saith: that the greatest Eagle and Ensigne was covered over with a swarm of Bees, and that there was one of the Capitaines, whose Arme suddainly fell a sweating, that it dropped oile of Roses from him, and that they oftentimes went about to dry him, but all would do no good. And that before the battell was fought, there were two Eagles fought between both Armies, and all the time they fought, there was a marvellous great silence all the valley over, both Armies being one before the other, marking this fight between them; and that in the end, the Eagle towards *Brutus* gave over and flew away. But this is certain, and a true tale, that when the gate of the Campe was open, the first man the Standard-bearer met that carried the Eagle, was an *ETHIOPIAN*, whom the souldiers for ill lucke mangled with their swords. Now after that *Brutus* had brought his Army into the field, and had set them in battell ray, directly against the vaward of his enemy, he paused a long time before he gave the signal of battell. For *Brutus* riding up and downe to view the bands and companies, it came in his head to mistrust some of them; besides, that some came to tell him so much as he thought. Moreover, he saw his horsemen set forward but faintly, and did not go lustily to give charge, but still slaid to see what the footmen would do. Then suddainly, one of the chieftest Knights he had in all his Army called *Camulatinus*, and that was alway marvellously esteemed of for his valiantnesse, until that time: he came hard by *Brutus* on horsebacke, and rode before his face to yeeld himself unto his enemies. *Brutus* was marvellously sorry for it; wherefore partly for anger, and partly for fear of greater treason and rebellion, he suddainly caused his Army to march, being past three of the clock in the after noone. So in that place where he himself fought in person, he had the better: and brake into the left wing of his enemies, which gave him way, through the help of his horsemen that gave charge with his footmen, when they saw the enemies in amaze and affraid. Howbeit, the other also on the right wing, when the Captains would have had them to have marched; they were afraid to have been compassed in behind, because they were fewer in number then their enemies, and therefore did spread themselves, and leave the middest of their battell. Whereby they having weakened themselves, they could not withstand the force of their enemies, but turned taile straight and fled. And those that had put them to flight, came in straight upon it to compass *Brutus* behind, who in the middest of the confict, did all that was possible for a skilful Captain and valiant souldier; both in the middest of the confict, as also his hardnesse, for the obtaining of victory. But that which wanne him the victory at the first battell, did now lose it him at the second. For at the first time the enemies that were broken and fled, were straight cut in peeces: but at the second battell, of *Cassius* men that were

Brutus victory by sea. Wonderful fame among *Caesars* souldiers by sea.

The ignorance of *Brutus* victory by sea, was his utter destruction.

The evil spirit appeared again unto *Brutus*.

Strange fights before *Brutus* second battell.

Brutus second battell.

Brutus valiantnesse and great skill in warre.

were put to flight, there were few slain: and they that saved themselves by speed, being afraid because they had been overcome, did discourage the rest of the Army when they came to joyne with them, and filled all the Army with fear and disorder. There was the sonne of *Marcus Cato* slaine, valiantly fighting among the lusty youths. For, notwithstanding that he was very weary and over-harried, yet would he not therefore flie, but manfully fighting and laying about him, telling aloud his name, and also his fathers name, at length he was beaten down amongst many other dead bodies of his enemies, which he had slaine round about him. So there were slaine in the field, all the chieftest Gentlemen and Nobility that were in his Army, who valiantly ranne into any danger to save *Brutus* life: amongst whom there was one of *Brutus* friends called *Lucilius*, who seeing a troope of barbarous men, making no reckoning of all men else they met in their way, but going altogether right against *Brutus*, he determined to stay them with the hazard of life, and being left behind, told them that he was *Brutus*: and because they should believe him, he prayed them to bring him to *Antonius*, for he said he was afraid of *Caesar*, and that he did trust *Antonius* better. These barbarous men being very glad of this good hap, and thinking themselves happy men, they carried him in the night, and sent some before unto *Antonius*, to tell him of their coming. He was marvellous glad of it, and went out to meet them that brought him. Others also understanding that they brought *Brutus* prisoner, they came from all parts of the Campe to see him, some pitying his hard fortune, and others saying, that it was not done like himselfe, so cowardly to be taken alive of the barbarous people for fear of death. When they came neare together, *Antonius* staid a while bethinking himselfe how he should use *Brutus*. In the meane time *Lucilius* was brought to him, who with a bold countenance said: *Antonius*, I dare assure thee, that no enemy hath taken of he be found, alive or dead, he will be found like himself: and touching my selfe, I am come unto thee, having deceived these men of Armes, making them believe that I was *Brutus*, and doe not refuse to suffer any torment thou wilt put me to. *Lucilius* words made them all amazed that heard him. *Antonius* on the other side, looking upon all them that had brought him, said unto them: My friends, I thinke ye are sorry you have failed of your purpose, and that you thinke this man hath done you great wrong: but I assure you, you have taken a better booty then that you followed. For, in stead of an enemy, you have brought me a friend: and for my part, if you had brought me *Brutus* alive, truly I cannot tell what I should have done to him. For I rather have such men as this my friends then mine enemies. Then he embraced *Lucilius*, and at that time delivered him to one of his friends in custody; and *Lucilius* ever after served him faithfully, even to his death. Now *Brutus* having passed a little River, environed on either side with high Rocks, and shadowed with great trees, being then darke night, he went no further, but staid at the foote of a Rocke with certaine of his Capitaines and friends that followed him, and looking up to the firmament that was full of starres, sighing, he rehearsed two verses, of the which *Volumnius* wrote the one, to this effect:

Let not the wight from whom this mischief went
(O Jove) escape without due punishment.

And saith, that he had forgotten the other. Within a little while after, naming his friends that he had seene slaine in battell before his eyes, he fetched a greater sigh then before, specially when he came to name *Labio* and *Flavius*, of whom the one was his Lieutenant, and the other Capitaine of the Pioners of his Camp. In the meane time one of the company being thirsty, and seeing *Brutus* thirsty also, he ranne to the River for water, and brought it in his Sallet. At the same time they heard a noise on the other side of the River: whereupon *Volumnius* tooke *Dardanus*, *Brutus* servant with him, to see what it was: and returning straight againe, and asked if there were any water left. *Brutus* smiling, gently told him, All is drunke, but they shall bring you some more. Thereupon he sent him againe that went for water before, who was in great danger of being taken by the enemies, and hardly escaped, being forewarned. Furthermore, *Brutus* thought there were not many of his men slaine in battell: and to know the truth of it, there was one called *Statilius*, that promised to go through his enemies, for otherwise it was impossible to go to see their Campe: and thereupon if all were well, he would lift up a torch-light in the Aire, and then returne againe with speed to him. The torch-light was lift up as he had promised, for *Statilius* went thither: and a good while after *Brutus* seeing that *Statilius* came not againe, he said: If *Statilius* be alive, he will come againe. But his evill fortune was such, that as he came backe, he fell into his enemies hands and was slaine. Now the night being far spent, *Brutus* as he fate bowed towards *Clitus* one of his men, and told somewhat in his eare: the other answered him not, but fell a weeping. Thereupon he proved *Dardanus*, and said somewhat also to him: and at the last he came to *Volumnius* himselfe, and speaking to him in Greeke, prayed him for the studies sake which brought them acquainted together, that he would helpe him to put his hand to his sword, to thrust it in him to kill him. *Volumnius* denied his request, and so did many others: and amongst the rest, one of them said, there was no tarrying for them there, but they must needs flie. Then *Brutus* rising up, said, We must flie indeed, but it must be with our hands, not with our feet. Then taking every man by the hand, he said these words unto them with a cheerful countenance: It requieth my heart, that not one of my friends hath failed me at my need, and I do not complaine of my fortune, but onely for my Countries sake: for as for me, I thinke my selfe happier then they that have overcome, considering that I leave a perpetuall fame of vertue and honesty, the

B b b b 2

The death of the valiant young man *Cato*, the son of *Marcus Cato*.

The fidelity of *Lucilius* unto *Brutus*.

Brutus dying.

Appian meaneth this by *Antonius*.

The death of *Statilius*.

Brutus saying of flying with hands, and not with feet.

Brutus slew himself.
Strato, Brutus familiar and friend.

Strato received into Caesar's friendship.
Messala Corvinus, Brutus friend.

Porcia, Brutus wife, killeth her self with burning coales.

which our enemies the Conquerours shall never attaine unto by force or money; neither can let their posterity to say, that they being naughty and unjust men, have slaine good men, to usurpe tyrannicall power not pertaining to them. Having so said, he prayed every man to shif for himselfe, and then he went a litle aside with two or three onely, among the which Strato was one, with whom he came first acquainted by the study of Rhetoricke. He came as near to him as he could, and taking his sword by the hilt with both his hands, and falling down upon the point of it, ranne himselfe through. Others lay, that not he, but Strato (at his request) held the sword in his hand, and turned his head aside, and that Brutus fell down upon it, and so ranne himselfe through, and died presently. Messala, that had been Brutus great friend, reconciled afterwards to Octavius Caesars friend, and shortly after, Caesar being at good leisure, he brought Strato, Brutus friend unto him, and weeping, said: Caesar, behold, here is he that did the last service to my Brutus. Then Caesar received him, and afterwards he did him as faithfull service in all his affaires, as any GRECIAN else he had about him, untill the battell of ACTIUM. It is reported also that that Messala himselfe answered Caesar one day, when he gave him great praise before his face, that he had fought valiantly, and with great affection for him at the battell of ACTIUM (notwithstanding that he had been his cruell enemy before, at the battell of PHILIPPES, for Brutus sake) I ever loved, said he, to take the best and justest part. Now Antonius having found Brutus body, he caused it to be wrapped up in one of the richest Coate-armours he had. Afterwards also, Antonius understanding that his Coate-armour was stollen, he put the thiefe to death that had stollen it, and sent the ashes of his Body unto Servilia his Mother. And for Porcia, Brutus wife, Nicolaus the Philosopher, and Valerius Maximus do write, that she determining to kill her self (her Parents and friends carefully looking to her to keep her from it) took hot burning coales and cast them into her mouth, and kept her mouth so close, that she choaked her self. There was a letter of Brutus found written to his friends, complaining of their negligence, that his wife being sick, they would not helpe her, but suffered her to kill her self; chusing to die, rather then to languish in paine. Thus it seemeth that Nicolaus knew not well the time, fith the letter (at the least if it were Brutus letter) doth plainly declare the disease and love of this Lady, and also the manner of her death.

Here endeth Marcus Brutus Life.



THE

THE COMPARISON OF DION and BRUTUS.



Come now to compare these two noble personages, it is certain that both of them having great gifts in them, namely this for the first, that by small occasions they made themselves great men: herein Dion of both deserueth the chief praise. For he had no co-helper to bring him unto that greatnes, as Brutus had of Cassius, who doubtlesse was not comparable unto him for vertue and respect of honour, though otherwise in respect of warre, he was no lesse wise and valiant then he. For many do impute unto Cassius, the first beginning and original of all the warre and enterprife: and said it was he that did encourage Brutus to conspire Caesars death: whereas Dion furnisht himselfe with armour, ships, and fouldiers, and wanne those friends and compaigns also that did helpe him to prosecute his war. Nor he did not as Brutus, who rose to greatnesse by his enterprises, and by war got all his strength and riches: but he in contrary manner, spent of his own goods to make war for the liberty of his Conuntry, and disbursed of his owne money that should have kept him in his banishment. Furthermore, Brutus and Cassius were compelled of necessity to make warres, because they could not have lived safely in peace when they were driven out of Rome, for that they were condemned to death, and pursued by their enemies. And for this cause thereby they were driven to hazard themselves in warre, more for their owne safety, then for the liberty of their Conuntry: whereas Dion on the other side, living more merrily and safely in his banishment, then the Tyrant Dionysius himselfe that had banished him, did but put himself to that danger, to deliver SICILE from bondage. Now the matter was not alike unto the ROMANES, to be delivered from the Government of Caesar, as it was for the SYRACUSANS to be rid of Dionysius tyranny. For Dionysius denied not, that he was a Tyrant, having filled SICILE with such misery and calamity. Howbeit, the domination of Caesar when it came to be established, did indeed much hurt at the first beginning thereof unto those that opposed against it: but afterwards, unto them that being overcome had received his Government, it seemed he rather had the name and opinion onely of a Tyrant, then otherwise that he was so indeed. For there never followed any tyrannicall or cruel act, but contrarily, it seemed that he was a mercifull Physician, whom God had ordained of his special Grace to be Governour of the Empire of Rome, and to set all things again at quiet stay, the which required the counsell and authority of an absolute Prince. And therefore the ROMANES mere marvellous sorry for Caesar after he was slaine, and afterwards would never pardon they that had slaine him. On the other side, the cause why the SYRACUSANS did most accuse Dion, was, because he did let Dionysius escape out of the Castle of SYRACUSA, and because he did not overthrow and deface the Tombe of his father. Furthermore, touching the wars, Dion alway shewed himself a Captain unreprouceable, having wisely and skilfully taken order for those things which he had enterprised of his own head and counsel, and did amend the faults others committed, and brought things to better state then he found them: whereas it seemeth that Brutus did not wisely to receive the second battell, considering his rest stood upon it. For after he had lost the battell, it was impossible ever for him to rise againe: and therefore his heart failed him, and so gave up all, and never durst strive with his evil fortune as Pompey did, considering that he had present cause enough in the field to hope of his fouldiers, and being besides a dreadful Lord all the sea over. Furthermore, the greatest reproch they could object against Brutus, was, that Julius Caesar having saved his life, and pardoned so many prisoners taken in battell, according to his request, taking him for his friend, and honouring him above all his other friends, Brutus notwithstanding had imbrued his hands in his blood.

B b b b 3

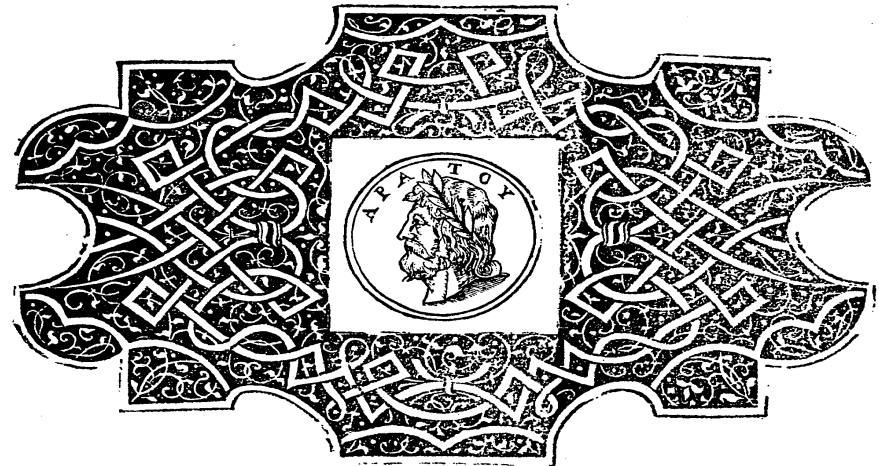
In what things
Dion was in-
feriour unto Br-
utus.

blood, wherewith they could never reprove *Dion*. For on the contrary side, so long as *Dion* was *Dionysius* friend and kinsman, he did alway helpe him to order and governe his affairs. But after he was banished his Country, and that his wife was forcibly married to another man, and his goods also taken from him, then he entred into iust and open wars against *Dionysius* the Tyrant. But in this point they were contrary together. For that wherein there chiefest praise consisted, to wit, the hatred of Tyrants and wicked men, was most true and sincere in *Brutus*. For having no private cause of complaint or grudge against *Cæsar*, he ventured to kill him, only to let his Country again at liberty: whereas if *Dion* had not received private cause of quarrel against *Dionysius*, he would never have made war with him. The which *Plato* proveth in his Epistles, where is plainly seen, that *Dion* being driven out of the Tyrants Court against his will, and not putting himself to voluntary banishment, he drave out *Dionysius*. Furthermore, the respect of the Commonwealth caused *Brutus*, that before was *Pompeys* enemy, to become his friend, and enemy unto *Cæsar* that before was his friend, only referring his friendship and enmity unto the consideration of justice and equity. And *Dion* did many things for *Dionysius* sake and benefit, all the while he trusted him: and when he began to mistrust him, then for anger he made warre with him. Wherefore all his friends believed, that after he had driven out *Dionysius*, he would stablish the government on himself, abusing the people with a more courteous and gentle title then the name of a Tyrant. But for *Brutus*, his very enemies themselves confessed, that of all those that conspired *Cæsars* death, he onely had no other end and intent to attempt his enterprize, but to restore the Empire of *ROME* againe to her former state and government. And furthermore, it was not a like thing to deal with *Dionysius*, as it was to have to do with *Julius Cæsar*. For no man that knew *Dionysius*, but would have despised him, considering that he spent the most part of his time in drinking, dicing, and haunting lewd womens company: but to have undertaken to destroy *Julius Cæsar*, and not to have shrunk back for fear of his great wisdom, power, and fortune, considering that his very name was dreadful unto every man, and suffered not the Kings of *PARTHIA* and *INDIA* to be in rest for him: this could not but come of a marvellous noble mind of him that for fear never fainted, nor let fall any part of his courage. And therefore, so soon as *Dion* came into *SICILE*, many thousands of men came and joyned with him against *Dionysius*. But the same of *Julius Cæsar* did set up his friends againe after his death, and was of such force, that it raised a young stripling *Octavius Cæsar* (that had no meanes nor power of himselfe) to be one of the greatest men of *ROME*: and they used him as a remedy to encounter *Antonius* malice and power. And if men will say, that *Dion* drave out the Tyrant *Dionysius* by force of armes, and sundry battels: and that in contrary manner *Brutus* slew *Cæsar*, being a naked man, and without guard: then do I answer again, that it was a noble part, and of a wife Captain, to chuse so apt a time and place, to come upon a man of so great power, and to find him naked without his guard. For he went not suddainly in a rage and alone, or with a small company to assaile him: but his enterprize was long time before determined of, and that with divers men, of all the which, not a man of them once failed him: but it is rather to be thought, that from the beginning he chose them honest men, or else by that his choise of them he made them good men. Whereas *Dion*, either from the beginning made no wife choise in trusting of evil men, or else because he could not tell how to use them he had cosen, of good men he made them become evil: so that neither the one nor the other could be the part of a wise man. For *Plato* himselfe reproveth him, for that he had chosen such men for his friends, that he was slaine by them: and after he was slaine no man would then revenge his death. And in contrary manner, of the enemies of *Brutus*, the one (who was *Antonius*) gave his body honourable burial: and *Octavius Cæsar* the other, reserved his honours and memories of him. For at *MILLAN* (a City of *GAULE* on *ITALIE* side) there was an image of his in brasse, very like unto him: the which *Cæsar* afterwards passing that way, beheld very advisedly, for that it was made by an excellent-workman, and was very like him, and so went his way. Then he staid suddainly againe, and called for the Governors of the City, and before them all told them that the Citizens were his enemies, and traitors unto him, because they kept an enemy of his among them. The Governours of the City at the first were astonied at it, and stoutly denied it: and none of them knowing what enemy he meant, one of them looked on another. *Octavius Cæsar* then turning him unto *Brutus* statue, bending his browes, said unto them: this man you see standing up here, is he not our enemy? Then the Governors of the City were worse afraid then before, and could not tell what answer to make him. But *Cæsar* laughing and commending the *GAULES* for their faithfulness to their friends, even in their adversities: he was contented *Brutus* image should stand still as it did.

Brutus honored
of his enemies
after his death.

Brutus image
or statue stand-
ing in brasse in
Millan was pre-
served and kept
by *Octavius Cæ-
sar*.

THE LIFE OF ARATUS.



Ann. Mund.
3677.

Ant. Christ.
271.



Hrysippus the Philosopher (my friend *Polycrates*) being afraid, as it seemeth, of the evil sound of an ancient Proverb not rightly as it was spoken, and in use, but as he thought it best, he wrote in this manner:

What children do their ancestors commend,
But those whom fortune favours to the end?

But *Dionysodorus* *TROEZENIAN* reproving him, doth rehearse the proverb rightly as indeed it is:

What children do their ancestors commend,
But those whose life is vertuous to the end?

Saying, that this proverb stoppeth their mouthes, who of themselves are unworthy of praise, and yet are still boasting of the vertues of their ancestors, whose praise they highly extoll. But before those that (as *Pindarus* saith)

Do match their noble ancestors in promesse of their owne,

And by their fruites commend the stocke whence they themselves are growne,

(As thy selfe that conformest thy life unto the examples and manners of thy vertuous ancestors:) it is no small good hap for them, often to remember the noble Deeds of their parents in hearing them spoken of, or otherwise for themselves oftentimes to remember some notable doings of their parents. For in them, it is not for lacke of commendable vertues, that they report others praise and glory: but in joyning their own vertues, to the vertues of their ancestors, they do increase their glory, as inheriting their vertuous life, as challenging their descent by blood. Therefore, having written the life of *Aratus* thy Countreiman, and one of thy ancestors whose glory and greatnesse thou doest not blemish, I do send it unto thee, not that I thinke but that thou hast more diligently then any man else searched out all his deeds and sayings: but yet, because that thy two sonnes, *Polycrates* and *Pythocles*, reading and still hearing something reported, might be brought up at home by the example of their ancestors, whose deeds shall lie before them to follow. For he loveth himself more, then he regardeth perfect vertue, or his credite: that thinketh himself so perfect, as he need not follow any others example.

The City of *SICYONE*, after it fell from her first government of the Optimacy and Nobilitie, which is proper to the City of the *DORIANS*: like an instrument out of tune, it fell into civil wars and seditious practises, through the Orators of the people: and never ceased to be plagued with those troubles and miseries, alway changing new tyrants, untill that *Cleon* being slain, they chose *Timocleidas* and *Clinias* their Governours, two of the noblest men and of greatest authority in all the City.

The example
of our ances-
tors, wherein
profitable to
posterity.

The Com-
mon-weale of
the *Sicyonians*
converted into
Tyranny.

THE

Abantidas Tyrant of *Sicyone*.

Aratus the son of *Clinias*, escaped the hands of the Tyrant *Abantidas*.

Aratus malice against tyrants.

Aratus favours.

Aratus wrote a book of Commentaries.

Abantidas the Tyrant slaine, *Aristotle* the Logician.

Aratus goeth about to deliver his Country from the tyranny.

In another place he calleth him *Ecdemus*, *Aristomachus* and *Ecdelus*, do joyne with *Aratus*.

City. Now when the common-wealth began to grow to a certaine state of Government, *Timoclidus* died: and *Abantidas* the sonne of *Pasias*, pretending to make himselfe Lord of the City, he slew *Clinias*, and put to death some of his parents and friends, drave away others, and fought also to put his son *Aratus* to death, that was but then seven years old. But in this hurly burly and tumult, *Aratus* flying out of his fathers house, among them that ranne away, and wandering up and downe the City, being scared and afraid, finding no man to helpe him: by good fortune he got into a womans house, called *Soso*, which was *Abantidas* sister, and wife unto *Periphanus*, his father *Clinias* brother. She being of a noble minde, and judging that the child *Aratus* by Gods providence fled unto her; hid him in her house, and in the night secretly sent him unto the City of *Argos*. Now after that *Aratus* had escaped, and was safe from this danger: from that time there bred in him a vehement malice against Tyrants, the which still increased in him as he grew in yeares. So he was veruouly brought up in the City of *Argos*, with his fathers friends: and perceiving with himself that he waxed bigge and stronge, he disposed his body to divers exercises, and became so excellent in them, that he contented in five manner of exercises, and oftentimes bare the best away. And in his images and statues, he appeared in face full and well liking, as one that fed well, and the majesty of his countenance argueth that he used such exercise: and such commonly are large eaters. From whence it came, that he did not give himselfe so much to pleading, as peradventure was requisite for a Governour of a Common-wealth. Howbeit, some do judge by his Commentaries he wrote, that he had an eloquent tongue then seemed unto some: because he wrote them in haste, having other businesse in hand, and even as things came first into his mind. But afterwards, *Dinias* and *Aristotle* Logician slew *Abantidas*, who did commonly use to sit in the Market-place, to hear their matters, and to talke with them. And this gave them good meanes and opportunity to worke their feate they did. After *Abantidas* death, his father *Pasias* possessed the Tyranny: whom *Nicoles* afterwards slew also by treason, and made himselfe Tyrant in his place. It is reported that this *Nicoles* did lively resemble the countenance of *Periander*, the sonne of *Cypselus*, as *Orontes* *PERSIAN* was very like unto *Alcmaon*, the sonne of *Amphiaraus*: and another young *LACEDEMONIAN*, unto *Hellor* of *TROY*, whom *Myrsillus* writeth, was troden under mens feet, through the over-great presse of people that came to see him, when they heard of it. This *Nicoles* was Tyrant four moneths together, in the which he did wonderful great hurt to the City, and had almost lost it; the *ATOLIANS* coming on a suddaine, who were like to have taken it. Now *Aratus* was come to the state of a stripling, and was greatly esteemed for the noble house he came of, and also for the great courage they found in him, which was no such matter: and besides that, he had a majestie in his countenance, being wiser then was looked for in a young man of his yeares: therefore the banished men from the City of *SICYONE*, repaired unto him before any other man. *Nicoles* for his part also was not carelesse of his doings, but had an eye ever to see what *Aratus* intended, although he little mistrusted any such bold enterprife, nor so dangerous an exploit of him: but did onely conjecture that he did stirre up the Kings which had been his dead fathers friends. And so indeed *Aratus* tooke that course. But when he saw that *Antigonus* still delayed his promises, and did alwayes tract time, and that the hope of aid from King *Ptolomy* of *EGYPT* was so far off, at length he determined to undertake to destroy the Tyrant himself. So he first consulted with *Aristomachus* and *Ecdelus*; of the which the one was banished from *SICYONE*, and the other an *ARCADIAN*, from the City of *MEGALIPOLIS*, a Philosopher, and a valiant man of his hands and had been Scholar unto *Arcesilanus* the Academicke, in the City of *ATHENS*. These two men being contented to joyne with *Aratus*, he practised with other of the banished men also: of the which there were some that were ashamed, not to be partakers of his hope and noble attempt, and so did also joyne with him. Howbeit the most part of them did not onely refuse to enter into that practise, but further, went about to dissuade *Aratus* from his enterprife, saying: that for lacke of knowledge and experience, he understood not the danger in undertaking such a matter, altogether so unlikely. Now as *Aratus* was thinking in his mind to keep a certaine place in the territory of *SICYONE*, from whence they might make warre with the Tyrant, there came a prisoner unto them out of the City of *Argos*, that had broken prison from the Tyrant of *SICYONE* and was brother unto *Xenocles*, one of the banished men. He being brought by the same *Xenocles* unto *Aratus*, told that in the place whereby he saved himself, the ground within was almost as high as the top of the wall, the which in that part joyned into high stony places: and that without the wall the height was not so great, but that it was easily scalable with ladders. When *Aratus* heard that, he sent two of his men, *Seuthas* and *Technon*, with *Xenocles* to view the wall, being determined if it were true, rather to prove secretly to execute his pretended enterprife, and quickly to put it to a venture, then to be begin a long warre, and to prepare an open Army, he being a private man, to go against the power of a Tyrant. *Xenocles* being returned again to *Aratus*, after he had measured the height of the wall, he reported that the place was not unscalable, but yet very hard to come to it undiscovered, because of certain little curst curs a Gardiner kept hard by the wall, which would never leave barking. Howbeit *Aratus* would not leave off his enterprife so. Now it was not strange to see every man prepare themselves of Armor and weapon, because at that time there were great robberies and cruel murders committed by highways, and one would assault another: but for the ladders, *Enphranor* that was a Carpenter and maker of Engines, did not stick to make them openly, because his common occupation did take away all suspition why they were made. For this Carpenter was himselfe also a banished man from *SICYONE*, as the residue were. Furthermore, *Aratus* friends he had in *Argos*, of those few men they had, did

did every man of them lend him ten men, and armed thirty of his own men: besides them, *Aratus* himselfe also did hire some pretty number of souldiers, by the practise of *Xenophilus*, whom the Captaines of the thieves did furnish. They were given to understand that they should be led to the territory of *SICYONE*, to take a prey of cattel and colts of the King, and they were sent before some one way, some another, with commandement; all to meet together at the tower of *Polygnotus*, where they should tarry. So he sent *Caphefias* also before, without any weapons, with foure companions with him: who should come to this Gardiners house in the night, like strangers and travellers, to lie in his house, and to locke him up and his dogges, because they had no other device to get in but that way. But in the mean time, there were certaine spies of *Nicoles* the Tyrant discovered, that walked up and down the City (making no countenance of any matter) to see what *Aratus* did. Wherefore, *Aratus* went out of his house early in the morning (as his manner was) and walked to the Market-place with his friends. Then he went to the shew-place (or place of exercises) and there stripped himselfe, anointed him, and wrestled, and in the end took certaine of the young Gentlemen home with him, that were wont to make merry, and to passe the time away with him: and immediately after, one of his servants was seen in the Market-place, carrying Garlands of flowers, another was seen also buying of Links and Torches, and another hiring of these common dancing and singing women, which follow feasts and banquets with their instruments. *Nicoles* spies seeing that, were deceived; for one of them laughing on another said, that they might easily see by that, there was nothing more fearful and timorous then a Tyrant: considering that *Nicoles* being Lord of so great a City, was afraid of a young stripling, that spent all that he could rap and send to keep him in his banishment, upon vaine bankets and feasts at noone dayes. And thus were the Tyrants spies finely mocked. *Aratus* selfe departed immediately after dinner out of *Argos*, and went unto the souldiers, whom he had appointed before to meet him at the tower of *Polygnotus*, and led them straight unto *NEMEA*. There he told them openly his full intent and purpose, having before made an Oration unto them to incourage them, and also made them marvellous faire promises. Then he gave them for their watch-word *Apollo* favourable, and so went directly to the City of *SICYONE*, marching with great speed at the first because of the going down of the Moon, and afterwards slacked his pace a little, so that they had Moone-light all the way as they came, and the Moone went not down, untill they were come to the Gardiners house that was hard by the wall. So *Caphefias*, whom he had sent before unto the Gardiners house, came to meet with *Aratus*, and brought him word that he could not take the dogges, because they ranne away; howbeit that he had made fast the Gardiner in his own house. This discouraged the most part of all the company, who would needs have him in any case to returne backe againe. But *Aratus* then began to comfort them, and promised that he would lead them backe againe, if it chanced that the dogges were too busie with them: and therewithal presently caused the ladder men to go before, whom *Ecdelus* and *Mnasibius* led, and he himselfe came faire and softly after. The dogges made a foule barking, and were baying about *Ecdelus* and his company. This notwithstanding, they came safe to the wall, and did set up their scaling ladders. But even as the first men got upon them, the Captaine of the watch that had given place to him that should ward in the morning, came by chance, and passed hard by them, visting the souldiers with a little bell, and there was a number of torches, and a great noise of men that followed him. They that were upon the ladders hearing them, ducked down, and stirred not; and thereby the souldiers that passed by them, could not see them. But now the new morning watch came toward them also, which did put them in great danger to be discovered: but yet they once againe escaped them, and were not discovered, because the second watch went beyond them, and stayed not. Then *Ecdelus* and *Mnasibius* immediately scaled the wall, and sent *Technon* with all possible speed unto *Aratus*, to will him to make all the haste he could to come to them. Now there was no great distance betwixt the Garden where the dogs were, and the wall, and a little Tower where they kept a great Greyhound to keep watch: but the Greyhound never heard their coming, either because he was a cowardly cur of nature, or else for that he had been over-couried and wearied the day before. But the Gardiners little curres that bawled and barked beneath, had wakened the Greyhound with their barking, who at the first began to answer them with a soft gining; but when they came by the Tower where he lay, he barked out aloud, that all the place thereabouts range of his barking. Infomuch that the Scout which was further off, called aloud to the Hunt that kept the dogge, and asked what he ailed, that he made such a barking, and whether there were any thing stirring or not, that angered him. The Hunt within the Tower answered, that it was nothing, but that his dogge was naked, and fell a barking at the lights of the watch that passed by, and at the noise of the bell. This made *Aratus* souldiers a great deal the bolder: because they thought that the Hunt had been made privy to their enterprife, and that he went about to hide their secret attempt; and hoped also that there were many other within the City that would further their enterprife. When they came to get up upon the wall, it was of a great height and very dangerous, because the ladders shooke and bowed, by reason of the weight of the men, unlesse they did come up faire and softly one after another. Further more, the time did put them in some perill, because the cockes began to crow, and the Country folke that brought things to the Market to sell, began to come apace to the Towne out of every quarter. And therefore *Aratus* made haste to get up, having onely forty men above with him, and looked for some besides to come up, which were yet beneath. Then he marched directly toward the Tyrants Pallace, where his hired souldiers kept watch and ward: and comming suddainly upon them, laid hold of every man of them, and slew not one. Then he sent into

Aratus preparation to deliver his Country from tyranny.

Aratus policie to deceive *Nicoles* spies.

Aratus dangers in delivering of his Country from the tyranny of *Nicoles*.

Aratus won the City of *Sicyone* without bloodshed.

Nicoteles the tyrant flyeth.

Aratus joyneth the City of Sicyone unto the Achaians.

Aratus referred all things to the Commonwealth.

Why Owles be best by night and not by day. Men ignorant of Philosophy be likened unto Owles.

into the City to his friends, to will them to come unto him. Thereupon they ranne out of every corner to *Aratus*. Now the day began to break, and straight the Theater was full of people that gathered together, because of the noise and stir they heard in the City, not knowing what the matter meant, until at length an Herald proclaimed with open voice that it was *Aratus* the son of *Clinias* who called his Countymen and Citizens to the recovery of their liberty. Then they perswading themselves that the thing which they long wished and looked for, was now come to passe, they ranne all in a troope together to the Tyrants house, and set it on fire. But the flame rose so high and great after the fire had taken it in every part, that it was seen to the City of *CORINTH*: insomuch that the *CORINTHIANS* wondering what the matter should be, were in minde to have gone to helpe it. Now for *Nicoteles*, he saved himselfe, and got out of the City by secret vaults he had made under the ground. The souldiers on the other side quenching the fire with the helpe of the Citizens, did sacke all they found in the Tyrants Pallace: which *Aratus* hindred not, but did moreover make all the rest of the Tyrants goods common amongst them. So his enterprise had so good successe, that there was none of his owne company slaine he brought with him, neither any of their enemies that were within the City; fortune kept this exploit so pure and cleane from any bloodshed. Then *Aratus* restored fourefcore men unto their lands and goods againe, whom the Tyrant *Nicoteles* had banished: and others also, that had been banished by former Tyrants, to the number of five hundred men, who had been well-neare fifty yeares-space banished out of their Country. Now the most of them being come home poore and needy, would have entred on their goods and lands they enjoyed before: and so entring againe upon their lands in their Country, and their houses in the City, they amazed *Aratus* withall, seeing *Antigonus* on the one side practise all the meanes he could to winne *SICYONE* being now free, and they all in an uproare and mutiny in the City. Therefore, following the best counsel he could think upon and devise, considering the danger of the present time: he joyned the City in league and friendship with the *ACHAIANS*, and of them all made but one body. And because the Citizens of *SICYONE* were *DORIANS*, they were glad to submit themselves to be governed and protected by the name of the *ACHAIANS*, who were at that time of no great fame nor power. For they dwelt in little Villages, and had no great bounds of lands, neither were they very speciall good, for that they stood upon the sea side, where was no manner of haven nor port, but stones, and Rocks good store: and the sea beating upon them, did ease in to the maine land. This notwithstanding, they made their enemies know, that the power of *GREECE* when it was united and governed by good policy, was of great force and almost invincible. For the *ACHAIANS* being in comparison of the ancient force of *GREECE*, of no regard, and but a part of one City enfeebled with civill and foraigne warre; so long as they could submit themselves to be ruled by the wisdom and vertue of their Capitaine, and not envy nor malice his prosperity and soveraignty: they did not onely maintaine themselves as free men, in the midst of the servitude of so many great Cities, large and mighty, but did also deliver many other people of *GREECE* from their Tyrants. Now, for *Aratus* mainers: he was one that by nature loved civil government, and equity among Citizens in one self City: he was nobly minded, and more painful about the affairs of the Commonwealth, then careful of his own business, and hated Tyrants to the death, & employed his good or evil will wholly for the service of the Commonwealth. And therefore he seemed not to be so found a friend, as he was a gentle and merciful enemy: framing himself in either of both, as time served for the Commonwealth. To be short, it was a general and common voice among all the Cities confederates, in private company, and at open meetings in the Theaters: that *Aratus* loved nothing but vertue, and honesty; that in open wars he was not so valiant and couragions, and he was crafty and subtile to take a City on the suddain. Furthermore, though he was valiant to attempt many great things, the which men thought he would never have brought to passe: yet it seemeth he left many things possible undone the which he might easily have done, for that he durst not venture on them. For as there be beasts whose sight is perfect by night, and by day they can see nothing, because the subtilty of the humor and moisture in their eyes is dried up, and cannot abide the bright light of the day: even so, men that otherwise by nature are very wise, are easily afraid of danger, when they must venture on it at noone days: where contrarily they are bold in secret enterprises, suddainly to attempt any thing. Now this contrariety and difference in men well brought up groweth through ignorance and lacke of instruction in Philosophy, which of it selfe doth nourish vertue, as fruit that springeth up without planting, or helpe of mans hand. But this is best discerned by examples. So *Aratus* having joyned himselfe and his City *SICYONE* unto the *ACHAIANS*, and serving in person as a man of Armes among the rest, he was marvellously beloved of his Generals, that saw him so obedient. For, notwithstanding, that he had made so large a contribution as the estimation of himselfe, and the force of his City unto the Commonwealth of the *ACHAIANS*: yet he was ready to obey and execute the commandments of the Generals, as the poorest and meanest souldier, were he of *DYMA* or of *TRITA*, or of any other small village whatsoever. Furthermore, a great summe of money being sent him from King *Ptolomy* for a gift, amounting to twenty and five talents, he tooke it, but forthwith disposed it amongst his poor Countymen, both to relieve their wants, as also to redeeme prisoners. This notwithstanding the banished men still vexed and troubled them that had their goods and lands, to have them out of their hands, and otherwise would be satisfied by no means. Their Commonwealth therefore being in great danger to fall into civill war, *Aratus* perceiving there was no other way to helpe this mischiefe, but by *Ptolomies* liberality: he determined to go unto him, to pray him to helpe him with money, to pacifie this grudge and tumult. So he embarked at

at the haven of *METHONA*, above the foreland of *MALEA*, to saile from thence into *EGYPT*: howbeit he had such a contrary wind, and the sea rose so high, that the master of the ship, was driven to let her go whither she would to take sea room. So being driven quite from his direct course, with great danger he got to the City of *ADRIA*, which was his enemy: because *Antigonus* kept it, and had a Garrison in it. But *Aratus* did wisely prevent it, going ashore, and wandered far from the sea, with one of his friends called *Timanthes*, and got into a wood, whereby they had an evil nights rest. He had not gone far after he had left his ship, but the Capitaine of the Garrison came, and sought for him. Notwithstanding, his servants had mocked him finely (being before instructed by *Aratus* what answer they should make) saying that he was gone, and fled into the Isle of *EUBOEA*. Howbeit, the Capitaine of the Garrison stayed the ship, his men, and all things else she had in her, and tooke her for a good prize. Within few dayes after, *Aratus* being marvellously troubled, and at a straight with himselfe what he should do, there happily arrived a *ROMANE* ship hard by the place where he kept most, partly to hide himselfe, and partly also to see if he could discover any thing. This ship was bound for *SYRIA*. So he had dealt with the master of the ship in that sort, that he took him aboard, and promised he would deliver him in *CARIA*, and so he did. But he was in as much danger this second journey againe by sea, as he was in the first he made towards *EGYPT*. From *CARIA*, a long time after, *Aratus* went into *EGYPT*, and spake with the King, who made very much of him: for *Aratus* fed him still by sending him passing faire tables, and pictures of *GREECE*, of excellent workmanship. And indeed having a singular good wit, he alwayes got together, and brought the excellentest painted pictures he could get, but specially the pictures of *Pamphilus* and *Melanthus*, to send them unto the King. For learning flourished yet in the City of *SICYONE*, and they esteemed the painting of tables in that City, to be the perfectest for true colours and fine drawing, of all other places. Insomuch as *Apelles* (though he was then of a marvellous fame for painting) went thither, and gave to these two excellent Painters a talent, to remaine a while in their company: not so much to attaine to the perfection of the Art, as thereby to win himselfe fame. And therefore when *Aratus* had restored his City again to liberty, he caused all the Images of the Tyrants to be defaced and plucked down: howbeit he stood doubtful a long time, whether he should deface *Ariftratus* picture, or not, who reigned in the time of *Philip*. For he was painted with the hands of all the Scholars of *Melanthus*, being by a triumphant Chariot, that carried a victory, and as *Ptolomee* the Geographer writeth, *Apelles* hand was to it. This picture was a passing peece of worke to see to, so that *Aratus* at the first yeilded, and was contented to save it for the excellency of the workmanship: yet in the end, overcome with the extreame hate he bare unto Tyrants, he bad it should be defaced. Now it is reported also, that *Neacles* the Painter, being one of *Aratus* friends, prayed him with the teares in his eyes to pardon such a notable peece of work. But when he saw *Aratus* so hard hearted that he would not grant it, he told him, it was good reason to make war with Tyrants, but not with their pictures. Let us then (quoth he) leave the Chariot of triumph and victory, and I will make thee see *Ariftratus*, willingly to come out of the table. *Aratus* was contented to let him have his will. Then *Neacles* defaced the picture of *Ariftratus*, and in place thereof drew onely a Palme-tree, and durst adde nothing else to it of his own device. Some say, that under the Chariot were conveyed *Ariftratus* feet defaced. So *Aratus* by meanes of these tables and pictures, was marvellously well beloved of King *Ptolomee*. But after he was acquainted with him, and knew his conversation, he loved him then better than before. Insomuch that he gave him a hundred and fifty talents to keep his City withall: of the which, he carried fourty away with him unto *PELOPONNESUS*, and the King afterwards sent him the rest at sundry times. Now this was a marvellous matter of him to get such a masse of money together for his Citizens: considering that the Orators, Captaines and Governors of free Cities, for a little sum of money onely which they have taken of Kings and Princes, have been corrupted and betrayed their Towns and Country. But this was a more wonder, that by means of this money he made peace and love betwixt the poor and rich: and furthermore, saved upright all the people of *SICYONE*, where he shewed himselfe marvellous wise and temperate, being of that great power and authority he was. For after they had chosen him arbitrator to judge, compound and absolutely to decide all quarrels and strife between the banished men, he would never undertake it himselfe alone, but tooke fiftene other of the chiefe Citizens with him; and with them, by great paines and trouble, at length he pacified all matters among his Citizens, and made them good friends one with another. Therefore not onely all the inhabitants and Citizens of *SICYONE* together, decreed publike honors meet for him, but also the banished men themselves did privately cast his image in brasse, and set it up, under the which they caused this inscription to be graven:

Thy prowess and thy feates of Armes, thy counsel sage and wise,
Not onely are among the Greekes extolled to the skies,
But also to the utmost straights of Marroke blowne by same.
And we that through thy goodnesse home into our Country came,
Have set this image up to thee Aratus, as a signe
Of our deliverance through thy love, and through the power divine.
For thy good nature furthred by good fortune doth restore
Us Country, Lawes, and Liberty, bereft us quite before.

Aratus having done all these things, he suppressed the envy of the Citizens, through the great good

Aratus taketh sea o King Ptolomey into EGYPT.

The pictures and painted tables made in the City of Sicyone, did passe all the other paintings in Greece.

The excellency of Ariftratus picture the tyrant of Sicyone, painted all by Melantheus scholars and Apelles helpe, and Aratus consultation for the defacing of it. The laying of Neacles the painter, touching Tyrants.

The great liberality of Ptolomey unto Aratus.

Aratus temperance.

good turnes he had done unto them. But then King *Antigonus* being angry with *Aratus* in his mind, and seeking either to make him his friend, or to bring him to be mistrusted of *Ptolomy*, he did him many other great courtesies, *Aratus* never seeking them at his hands. But one day specially above the rest, as he did sacrifice unto the gods at *CORINTH*, he sent *Aratus* part of his weathers he had sacrificed, unto *SICYONE*. And at the feast of his sacrifice in the hearing of many noble men that were bidden guests, he said openly of *Aratus*: I did alway thinke that this young *SICYONIAN* could not but have a liberal mind, loving the liberty of his Country and Countriemen: but I perceive now he is a man that can judge of Princes manners and affairs. For heretofore he made no account of us, because his hope was out of his Country, and he greatly esteemed the riches of *EGYPT*, hearing talke of so many Elephants, of such a great Fleet of ships, and of such a sumptuous Court, as King *Ptolomies* Court. But now that he knoweth by experience, that it is only but a smoke and vaine pompe, he is come to us: and for my part, he is welcome to me, and I will have you all to take him for my friend. These words of King *Antigonus*, were straight taken at bound of certain envious men, and carried for lacke of better matter unto King *Ptolomy*, every man striving who should write all the evil they could against him: so that *Ptolomy* thereupon sent a messenger of purpose unto him, to reprove him for it. Thus fell there out much envy and malice, between the earnest love of these Princes and Kings, that contended with each other who should have *Aratus*. Furthermore, the first time that *Aratus* was chosen Lieutenant General of the tribe of the *ACHAIANS*, he foraged and spoiled the Country of *LOCRIE*, which lieth directly over against *ACHAIA*, and *CALYDONIA* also. Howbeit he came not time enough to aid the *BOEOTIANS*, in the battell which they lost before the City of *CHERONEA*, against the *ETOLIANS*: where *Abacritus*, governor of *BOEOTIA* was slaine in the field, with a thousand other *BOEOTIANS*. Howbeit the next year following, he being the second time chosen Lieutenant General, he attempted to winne the Castle of *CORINTH* againe, being an enterprise which not onely concerned the private benefit of *SICYONE* it selfe, and the tribe of *ACHAIANS*, but also of all *GREECE* besides. For, he was fully bent to drive the Garrison of the *MACEDONIANS* thence, the which seemed even a very yoke that held all the *GRECIANS* noses to the grindstone. For like as *Chares*, Captaine of the *ATHENIANS*, having in a certain conflict discomfited the Kings Lieutenants, wrote unto the *ATHENIANS*, that had won a victory halfe sifter to the victory of *MARATHON*: even so methinks it were no disgrace to say, that this execution was like (as one brother to another) to the killing of the tyrants, which was done by *Pelopidas* the *THEBAN*, and *ThraSybulus* the *ATHENIAN*; saving that this last act was more famous, because it was not against *GRECIANS*, but amongst strangers and foraigne power and government, upon whom it was executed. For the Isthmus or barre of *PELOPONNESUS*, which separateth the sea *Egeum* from the sea *Ionium*, doth come and joyn the firm land of the rest of *GREECE* with the *PRESCHE* and Island of *PELOPONNESUS*. Even so likewise the mountain called *Acrocorinth*, on the which the Castle standeth, rising up in the midst of *GREECE*, when there is any garison of men of war in it, it cutteth off all trafficke and passage by, of any Armies of them which inhabit within the straight, for them that are without the straight, both by sea and by land, and maketh him only Lord of the Country that keepeth the Castle. So that it was not for sport, but for truth, and in good earnest, that *Philip* the young King of *MACEDON* was wont to call the City and Castle of *CORINTH*, the stocks and gyves of *GREECE*. And therefore was this Castle marvellously wished and desired of every man, but specially of Kings and Princes. But the desire *Antigonus* had of it was so vehement, that it differed nothing from the passions of a franticke lover. For he did nothing else continually but study and devise how he might winne it upon the sudden, from them that kept it: because otherwise by open force, it was impossible to be had. Wherefore after the death of *Alexander* that kept that Castle, being poisoned (as it is reported) by *Antigonus* practise, the Castle being left in the hands of his wife *Nicea*, who governed the state of *CORINTH*, and did carefully cause the *Acrocorinth* to be kept, he immediately sent his son *Demetrius* thither, and put *Nicea* in good hope to marry her with this young Prince: a thing that pleased this Lady well, though she was very old. So, for her selfe she was won straight, by meanes of his young son *Demetrius*, whom he used as a stale to intrap her. Howbeit *Nicea* for all this goodly offer, forsooke not her Castle, but alwayes made it straightly to be looked unto. *Antigonus* seemed to make no account of it, but daily gave himself to make sumptuous sacrifices, feasts, and playes to the gods, within the City of *CORINTH* for the marriage: as though he meant no other thing, but banqueting and jollity all that might be. When the houre was come to see these sports, and that the Musician *Amabens*, began to sing, he himself made as though he would accompany *Nicea* unto the Theater, being conveyed thither in a sumptuous rich litter, as it had been for a Queen. She was very glad of this honour, and thought nothing lesse then of that which happened her. But when *Antigonus* came to the end of a street that turned to go up the hill towards the Castle, he bade her keep on still to the Theater: and himselfe in the meane time left *Amabens* there with his singing, and all the feast of the marriage, and went straight up to the Castle, forcing himself above his strength and yeares. When he was at the top of the hill, and found the Gates shut, he knocked with his staffe, and commanded the Garrison to open him the Gates. They wondering to see him there in person, did let him in. When he was gotten into the Castle, he was so exceeding joyfull of it, that he had no reason to moderate his joy; but would banquet in the midst of streets, and in the Market-place, having Minstrels to play upon their instruments at his Table, wearing Garlands of Flowers on their heads for joy; and did so fondly and lightly behave himselfe, as if he had been a light young man (and not as he was) an old man, who had proved

Aratus doing
in his first
captivity.

Presche, an I-
land of *Pelo-*
ponnesus,
Acrocorinthus
mons.

Young King
Philip saying
of the Castle
of *Corinth*.

Antigonus craft
and deceit.

Antigonus craft-
ily taketh the
Castle of
Acrocorinth.

proved such sundry changes of fortune, and yet suffered himself to be thus carried away with pleasure, that he embraced and spake to every man he met. Whereby it is easie to judge, that joy possessing a man without wit or discretion, it maketh him besides himselfe, and doth more trouble his wits, then paine or feare. Now *Antigonus* having won the Castle of the *Acrocorinth*, as you have heard, he put it into the hands of those he trusted best, to be safely kept: and therefore made *Persam* the Philosopher, Captaine of the Castle. But indeed *Aratus* was in minde to have attempted the taking of the Castle in *Alexanders* life time: yet he let it alone, because he joyned himselfe with the *ACHAIANS*. But at that time there was offered him another occasion againe to attempt it, and this it was. At *CORINTH* there were foure Brethren borne in *SYRIA*, of the which, one of them being called *Diocles*, was a Souldier of the Castle: and the rest having robbed the Kings Treasure, went straight unto *SICYONE*, to *Egeus* the Banker, whom *Aratus* employed in his Faculty. These three Brethren immediately sold him part of the Gold they had robbed: and afterwards, one of them (called *Erginus*) coming often to see him, by little and little sold him all the rest. By this meanes *Egeus* fell into familiar acquaintance with him, and talked with him of the Garrison of the Castle of the *Acrocorinth*. *Erginus* told him, that going unto his Brother up those steepe and high Rocks, he found a path as it were cut out of the Rocks, that went to a place of the Wall of the Castle, which was very low. *Egeus* hearing that, answered him smiling: Alas, my friend, what meane you to steale a little piece of Gold to hinder the King, when in one houre space you can sell such a great masse of Money together? For as well shall you die if you be apprehended for this felony, as if you were otherwise attained for Treason. *Erginus* with that fell a laughing, and promised that he would seele his Brother *Diocles* minde in it, for he did not greatly trust his other Brethren. So returning shortly after, he bargained with *Aratus* to bring him to a place of the Wall that was not above fifteene foote high, promising that he would helpe him to execute the rest, with his Brother *Diocles*. *Aratus* promised then to give him fifty Talents, if he brought his Enterprize to passe: and if he failed, that he would then give either of them, a House and a Talent. *Erginus* would have the whole fifty Talents put into *Egeus* the Bankers hands. *Aratus* had not so much ready Money, and besides he would not take it up at usury, for feare of giving cause to suspect his Enterprize. Wherefore he tooke all his Plate of Gold and Silver, and his Wives Jewels, and laid them to gage to *Egeus*, to disburse the said summe. But *Aratus* had so great and noble a minde in him, and was so bent to do notable acts, that knowing how *Phocion* and *Epaminondas* had bene esteemed for the justest and honestest men of *GREECE*, because they had refused great Gifts that were offered them, and would never sell nor staine their Honour for Money: he yet surpassing them, was contented to spend his owne, to bring any good Enterprize to passe, and did put his life in danger for the common benefit of his Countrymen; they themselves knowing nothing of his Enterprize, which turned all to their benefit. What is he then, that will not wonder at the great magnanimity and courage of such a man, and that will not even now as it were, be willing to aide him, considering how dearly he bought so great a danger of his person, and how he laid his Plate and all the Riches he had to gage, to be brought in the night among the midst of his Enemies, where he was to fight for his owne life, having no other gage nor pledge, but the hope of such a noble Enterprize, and nothing else? But now, though the Enterprize of it selfe was dangerous, an error chancing through ignorance at the first, made it yet more dangerous. For *Aratus* had sent *Technon*, one of his men before with *Diocles*, to view the Wall. This *Technon* had never spoken with *Diocles*, howbeit he thought in his minde what manner of man he was, by the markes that *Erginus* had given him of him: that he had a blacke curled haire, that his face was blacke; and that he had no beard. Now *Technon* being come to the place where *Erginus* said he would be with *Diocles*, he stayed before the Towne in a place called *ORNIS*. So whilest he was tarrying there, the elder Brother of *Diocles* (called *Dionysius*, who knew nothing of the Enterprize, nor was made acquainted withall, and looked very like his Brother *Diocles*) came that way by chance. *Technon* being moved by the markes he saw in him, like unto those he was told of, asked him if he were nothing a kin unto *Erginus*. The other answered him, he was his Brother. Then *Technon* perswading himselfe it was certainly *Diocles* that spake to him, without asking him his name, or making other inquiry of him, he tooke him by the hand, and began to talke with him of the practice he had with *Erginus*, and to aske him of it. *Dionysius* taking the matter upon him, and feeding on his error, returned forthwith into the City, holding him on still with talke, *Technon* mistrusting nothing. But even as *Dionysius* was ready to take him fast by the collar, his Brother *Erginus* came. Who, perceiving how *Technon* had mistaken the matter, and the danger he was in, beckoned to him with his head to flie; and so they both ran for life unto *Aratus*, to save themselves. Howbeit *Aratus* was nothing the more discouraged for this, but sent *Erginus* straight to carry his Brother *Dionysius* Money, and to pray him not to be knowne of any thing: who furthermore brought him with him unto *Aratus*. But after they had him once, they made him sure for starting: for they bound him, and locked him up fast in a Chamber, whilest they went about their Enterprize. So when all things were ready, *Aratus* commanded the rest of his Army that they should tarry behinde, armed all night: and he himselfe with foure hundred of the best men he had (not knowing themselves whether they went, nor to what intent) went straight to the Gates of the City, passing by the Temple of *Juno*. This was about the midst of Summer, when the Moone was at the full, and the Element very cleare without clouds: insomuch that they were afraid their Armour would glister by Moone-light, and bewray them. But as the foremost of them came neare unto the City, there arose clouds out of the Sea that darkned all the City and places thereabouts, and shadowed them.

Over great joy
to a simple
man, maketh
him mad.
Persam the
Philosopher,
made Captaine
of the *Acroco-*
rinth.
Aratus determi-
nation for the
taking of the
Acrocorinth.

The error
and danger by
likenesse of
men one to an-
other.

Aratus Government obtained by virtue.

Chares fl. Aratus gave Arisippus the Victory.

Aratus Strategem, to intrap the Tyrant Arisippus.

Aratus Victory of the Tyrant Arisippus.

after supper turned all his men out of the doores, and then shut his Court Gates to him, and locked himselfe alone with his Concubine, in a little high Chamber with a tray-dooer, and set his Bed upon it, and so slept, as one that continually was afraid of himselfe. Then, after he was come up, his Concubines Mother came to take up the Ladder, and locked it in another Chamber: and so did let it downe againe the next morning, and called this trim Tyrant, that went downe out of his Chamber, like a Snake that should have crept out of her hole. Where *Aratus* in contrary manner, not having obtained by force of Armes, but lawfully through vertue, a continuall Government, being simply appaerled with a poore Gowne of small price, and shewing himselfe a mortall Enemy unto all sorts of Tyrants, hath left a Race and noble Off-spring among the *GRECIANS*, which remaine yet untill this present day. Contrarily also, there are few Tyrants that do usurpe the Castles of free Cities, that keepe so many Souldiers in pay, that make such Provision for Armour and Weapon, and have so many Gates and Draw-bridges for the safety of their persons; that in the end can keepe themselves from violent death, no more then Hares: neither do leave also any Posterity, House or Grave, why their memory should be honoured after their death. So *Aratus* having divers waies made sundry attempts, both by open force, and otherwise suddenly to take the City of *ARGOS*, and to thrust out the Tyrant *Arisippus*, he ever failed of his purpose, but specially one night among the rest, when he entred the City very dangerously, with a few Souldiers with him, and slew the Souldiers that came to give supply to them that fought. But after that day was broken, and that the Tyrant with all his Forces came to set upon him, the *ARGIVES* stirred not at all; as if *Aratus* had not fought for their Liberty, but as though they had beene Judges appointed to sit to see the Sports of the Games Nemece, to judge the Game unto the Conquerour without partiality, and with indifferency. *Aratus* in the meane time fighting like a valiant man, was thrust at with a Pike, and run through the thigh. This notwithstanding, at length he wan that part of the City where he fought, and was not thrust out till night, what force soever the Enemies made upon him. And if he could possibly have holden it out all night, he had undoubtedly obtained his purpose: for the Tyrant looked for none other but to flee, and had already sent divers of his Goods to the Sea. Howbeit no man once came to tell *Aratus* any newes of it; besides also, lacking water, and for that he could not helpe himselfe because of his wound, he was driven to leade his men away, and failed of his purpose. So, despairing that he could ever take it by stealth, he went thither with open Wars, and spoiled and destroyed all the Countrey of *ARGOS*: and having fought a great Battell against the Tyrant *Arisippus*, by the River of *Chares*, they blamed *Aratus* much, that he forsooke the Victory, and cowardly retired out of the Battell. For the rest of his Army doubtlesse had the better, and had followed the Enemies far in chase: when he fled being afraid, not compelled by his Enemies, but mistrusting his fortune, and retired to his lodging. So, when they that returned from the chase of their Enemies were offended, for that they having put them to flight, and also slaine a great number more of them then they had lost of theirs; and yet for cowardlinesse should suffer their Enemies (whom they had overcome and put to flight) to set up Markes of triumph in token of victory: *Aratus* being ashamed of it, determined to fight once againe, for the Markes of triumph. Whereupon resting his men but one day, he led them againe into the Field, and setting his Army in Battell-ray, offered to fight once more. This notwithstanding, when he saw a great supply coming to his Enemy, and that the Tyrants men came to fight more lustily, and with better courage then before, *Aratus* durst not abide them, but retired, and sent to demand leave to take away his dead men, to bury them; yet he could speake so courteously, and behave himselfe so wisely, by the experience he had in Government, and also for the good will they bare him, that they forgave the fault he committed, and he wanne the City of *CLEONES* unto the *ACHAIANS*, where he caused the Feasts of the Games of Nemece to be celebrated, as belonging of great antiquity, rather unto the *CLEONIANS*, then unto the *ARGIVES*. This notwithstanding, the *ARGIVES* did keepe it also; and then was the first time that the Sanctuary and Priviledge was broken, which was wont to be granted unto all them that came to play for the Games: because the *ACHAIANS* did make them Prisoners that fought in *ARGOS*, as they returned through their Countrey, and sold them as Enemies. So marvellously did *Aratus* and the *ACHAIANS* hate all sorts of Tyrants, without respect of person. Shortly after he was advertised, that the Tyrant *Arisippus* did lie in waite to spie opportunity, to take the City of *CLEONES* from him: howbeit that he was afraid of it, because he remained at that time in *CORINTH*. So *Aratus* straight sent out commandement into every place, to assemble the Army of the Tribe of the *ACHAIANS*, and that they should bring Victuals with them for many daies: and so craftily came downe to the City of *CENCHREES*, to intice *Arisippus*, by his going away so far off, that in his absence he should attempt to set upon the *CLEONEIANS*, as indeede he did. For he failed not presently to go thither with his Army. But *Aratus* returning from *CENCHREES* unto *CORINTH*, very late in the night, and having layed good Watch every way, he suddenly brought the Army of the *ACHAIANS* unto *CLEONES* with such speede and quietnesse, that they were not seene as they came, but entred into the City of *CLEONES* by night, and were ready to fight with the Tyrant, before he knew they were come. So the Gates of the City were set open by breake of day, and the signall of Battell given by sound of Trumpets; and so setting upon the Tyrants men with great cries, they suspecting nothing, were presently put to flight. And because the place where the overthrow was given, had many turnings, *Aratus*, following the chase, thought the way which he tooke the Tyrant fled in. The chase continued to the City of *MYCENES*: there the Tyrant was overtaken by a *CRETAN* called *Tragiscus* (as *Dionysius* reporteth)

reporteth) who slew him: and there were slaine of his men also above fifteene thousand. But now *Aratus* having won such a famous Victory, and lost never a man, he could not yet win the City of *ARGOS*, nor set it againe at liberty. For one *Egeus*, and another *Aristomachus*, got into the Towne with the Kings Army, and kept it: but notwithstanding, by this noble Victory *Aratus* did race out a great part of the reproach that they gave him, and of the scoffes and slents the flatterers of the Tyrants devised of him: who to please them, reported, that when they should come to fight indeed, the Generall of the *ACHAIANS* had the winde-colicke in his belly, and a dimnesse in his eyes, with a giddinesse in his head, when he heard but the sound of the Trumpets. And furthermore also, when he had set his men in Battell-ray, and given them the Word of Battell, he asked the Generals if he should neede to be there in person, because he was hurt in the heele; and then would get him as far off as he could, to see the end of the Battell. This talke was so common, that the Philosophers themselves disputing of it, to wit, whether to tremble and change colour in present danger and perill, be signes of a faint heart, or of an ill complexion and coldnesse of body: they alway vouched *Aratus*, that had beene a good and valiant Captaine, and yet when he began to fight, he was ever in that taking. So when he had overcome *Arisippus*, he fought meanes also to destroy *Lyfias* *MEGALIPOLITAN*, who as absolute Lord and King of the Countrey, kept the City of *MEGALIPOLIS*. Notwithstanding he had no base minde in him, neither was he carried away with a cruell desire of Tyranny to live at his pleasure, nor through extreme covetousnesse, as most Princes be: but being a young man, and pricked forward with desire of Honour and Fame, and having unadvisedly conceived in his minde (which was great and highly bent) the vaine reasons he heard men talke of Principality, as of a state most blessed, and worthy of admiration: he found the meanes to make himselfe Lord of his Countrey. But afterwards he was soone weary of the dangers and troubles such manner of Government bringeth with it, and desired to follow *Aratus*, whom he saw prosper, and of great honour. Furthermore also, fearing his secret practises against him, he tooke hold of a noble device: first to rid himselfe of the malice and feare of the Prison and Guard of his Souldiers: and lastly, to be a Benefactor to his Countrey. So he sent for *Aratus*, gave up his Government, and delivered up his City to the Tribe of the *ACHAIANS*. They so extolled him for this act, that they chose him their Lieutenant Generall of all the Tribe. Wherefore, *Lyfias* striving at the first to excell *Aratus* in honour, attempted divers things which were not very needfull: as among others, to make Warre with the *LACEDEMONIANS*. But *Aratus* was very much against him in that, though some thinke it was for envie. Thereupon they chose *Lyfias* Generall of the *ACHAIANS* the second time: although *Aratus* openly both spake and made what meanes he could to the contrary, and would have had another to have beene chosen. For he himselfe was every other yeare Generall. So *Lyfias* was chosen againe Generall of the *ACHAIANS* the third time, with every bodies good will: and *Aratus* and he had absolute Power and Government by turnes, one after the other. But when they saw that *Lyfias* became open Enemy unto *Aratus*, and did still accuse him in all their Councils and Assemblies: they fell in such milking with him, that they rejected him. For they thought his but a counterfeite vertue, to contend with the perfectnesse of *Aratus* vertue, much like unto one of *Aesops* Fables, saying, That little Birds did answer the Cuckow on a time, asking them why they did flee from her: Because we are afraid (said they) thou wilt be a Sparrow-hawke one day. Even so it seemeth, that there was a certaine suspicion in mens mindes of *Lyfias* Tyranny, which made them mistrust that he went not from his Tyranny with good will. Now *Aratus* on the other side, wanne as great praise and honour by his doings against the *ETOLIANS*. For when the *ACHAIANS* would needes have fought upon the Confines of the Territory of the *MEGARIANS*, and that *Agis* King of *LACEDÆMON*, being come with his Army to the Campe of the Tribe of the *ACHAIANS*, did perswade them hardly to give Battell: *Aratus* was stoutly against it, and did abide many mocks and taunts they gave him, saying, That it was for cowardlinesse he would not go. This notwithstanding, he would not leave his wife and safe determination, for all that open shame: but suffered the Enemies to passe over the Mountaine *Gerania*, and to invade *PELOPONNESUS*, and would never fight with them. But afterwards, when he saw that at their first coming they had taken the City of *PALENA*, he then changed his minde, and would defer time no longer, to tarry till all his Power were come together, but marched forthwith, with those few he had, against his Enemies; who marvellously weakened themselves by their insolvency and disorder after their Victory, keeping no Watch nor Ward. For after they had entred the City of *PALENA*, the Souldiers ranne into every house, one thrusting in anothers necke, and fighting for the Goods they found. The Captaines also fell to ravishing of Maides, and the *PALENIANS* Wives, and put their Burganets and Morriions upon their heads, that none other should take them: because that by the same the Souldiers should know whose they were, and to whom the Women belonged. So they being in this ruffe and jollity, newes came suddenly that *Aratus* was come. This made them quake for feare, when they saw they were like to be taken out of order. For before they all understood of the danger by their sudden setting on them, the *ACHAIANS* were fighting already within the Suburbs and Gates of the City, against the first that resisted, whom they slew. They being broken and put to flight, made the rest so afraid that were gathered together to aide them, that they wist not what to do. In this tumult and hurly burly, there was one of the Ladies a Prisoner, that was the Daughter of *Epigethes*, one of the noblest men of the City, and she a marvellous goodly woman, and passing faire: who being set in the Temple of *Diana*, whither a Captaine that had chosen her for himselfe had brought her, and had put his Burganet on her head,

Arisippus the Tyrant slaine.

A Philosophicall question, whether trembling and changing of colour in danger, be a signe of cowardlinesse. *Lyfias* Tyrant of *Megalopolis*.

Lyfias Tyrant of *Megalopolis* leaveth the Tyranny, and yielded himselfe and his Dominion unto the *Achaians*.

Diffention betwixt *Aratus* and *Lyfias*. One of *Aesops* Tales of the Cuckowes question to little Birds. *Aratus* noble counsel against the *Etolians*.

Gerania Mountaine.

Aratus setteth upon his lascivious Enemies.

when she heard the noise of them that fought, she suddenly ran to the Gate of the Temple with the Burganet on her head, to see them fight. The Citizens seeing her in that array, found her the goodlier to behold, and of greater majesty, then any worldly creature. The Enemies on the other side were so afraid to see her, thinking she had beene some Spirit, that not a man of them durst once defend themselves. So the PALLONIANS say, that the Image of *Diana* all the rest of the time is kept locked up, and no body touched it; and that when the Nunne that keepeth it, doth carry it elsewhere, no man dare looke on it, but every man turneth his eyes away: because the sight of it is not only fearfull and hurtfull unto men, but it also killeth the fruite of the Trees it passeth by, and maketh them barren. This was the cause that then troubled the *ETOLIANS* mindes so much, because the Nunne removing the Image of the goddesse *Diana*, she turned it towards them. Howbeit, *Aratus* in his Commentaries maketh no mention of this at all, but onely writeth, that when he had defeated the *ETOLIANS*, following them in chase, he entred hand over head with them that fled into the City, out of the which he drave them, and slew seven hundred of them. This noble Victory hath beene esteemed amongst the chiefeft afterwards: and the Painter *Timanthes* hath drawne and set it forth in Table very lively. This notwithstanding, because divers Princes and People did immediately prepare force against the *ACHAIANS*, *Aratus* presently made Peace with the *ETOLIANS* by the practice of *Pantoleon*, who bare great sway and authority amongst them. Furthermore, *Aratus* being desirous to set the *ATHENIANS* at liberty, he suddenly attempted to take the Haven of *PIREAE*: for the which the *ACHAIANS* reproved him, because he had broken the Peace they had made with the *MACEDONIANS*. But *Aratus* in his Commentaries doth stoutly deny that it was he, and layeth the fault upon *Erginus*, by whose meanes he wan the Castle of the *Acrocorinth*: saying, that it was he, that of his owne minde did set a scaling-Ladder to the Wall, and that his Ladder breaking under him, he fled upon it; and perceiving he was followed neare by the Enemies, he still cried out, *Aratus*, as if he had beene there; and by this policy mocked his Enemies, and saved himselfe. Howbeit, methinketh this answer is not true. For it is not credible, that *Erginus* a private Souldier, and a *SYRIAN* borne, should have so great an Enterprize in his head, unlesse it had beene by *Aratus* consent and commandment, who had given him men, time and meanes to undertake it. And this appeared plainly afterwards: for *Aratus* did not attempt it twice or thrice onely, but oftener then so (as those that extremely desire a thing) to take the Haven of *PIREAE* on the sudden, not giving over for once failing, but rather emboldened himselfe againe with good hope, because he missed it but little, and that he came so neare the taking of it. And another time also amongst others, flying through the Plaine of *THIRASIA*, he brake his leg, and was driven to make many incisions to heale it: so that he was a long time together carried in his Litter unto the Warres. After that King *Antigonus* was dead, and that *Demetrius* his Sonne succeeded him in the Kingdome, he attempted then more earnestly then ever before, to set the City of *ATHENS* at liberty, making small account of the *MACEDONIANS*. *Aratus* therefore being overthrowne in Battell neare unto *PHYLACIA*, by King *Demetrius* Lieutenant, called *Bibis*, and the rumour running straight abroad, that *Aratus* was dead, or at the least that he was taken Prisoner: one named *Diogenes*, Captaine of the Haven of *PIREAE*, wrote a Letter unto *CORINTH*, and commanded the Garison of the *ACHAIANS* that kept it, to deliver the Towne, for *Aratus* was dead. But he by chance was at the selfe-same time in *CORINTH*: so that they which brought the Letters went home with a mocke, without their purpose, and made all the company merry. Furthermore, King *Demetrius* himselfe sent a Galley out of *MACEDON*, to bring *Aratus* bound unto him. The *ATHENIANS* themselves also, to please the *MACEDONIANS*, exceeding all lightnesse of flattery, wore Garlands on their heads a whole day together, in token of common joy, when newes was brought them of *Aratus* death. *Aratus* was so mad in his minde to heare this, that he brought his Army presently against them, even to the very Suburbs of the Academy. Notwithstanding at their earnest requests, he did no hurt there. And afterwards the *ATHENIANS* acknowledging his valiantnesse, when King *Demetrius* died, it tooke them in the heads to recover their Liberty againe. So *Aratus*, though that yeare another man was Generall of the *ACHAIANS*, and that he kept his bed lying sicke of a long disease: yet to further this, he was carried unto *ATHENS* in a Litter, and so perswaded *Diogenes* (Captaine of the Garison there) that for the summe of an hundred and fifty Talents (towards the which *Aratus* gave of his owne, twenty Talents, he made him deliver to the *ATHENIANS*, the Haven of *PIREAE*, the Castle of *MUNICHIA*, the Ile of *SALAMINA*, and the Castle of *SUNUM*. After this the *EGINETS*, the *HERMIONIANS*, and the most part of *ARCADIA* it selfe, did presently joyne with the *ACHAIANS*: so that the *MACEDONIANS* being occupied with Warres at that time in other places against their neighbours, the Power of the *ACHAIANS* marvellously increased, having also the *ETOLIANS* their Confederates. Then *Aratus* to performe his old promise, and being angry to see the City of *ARGOS* (being so neare neighbour unto them) yet kept in bondage, he sent unto *Arifomachus*, to perswade him to be contented to set his City againe at liberty, and to joyne it to the Tribe of the *ACHAIANS*, as *Lyfadas* had done his Towne of *MEGALIPOLIS*: and rather to like to be made a Generall with Honour and praise of so great and famous a State as the *ACHAIANS*, then Tyrant of one onely City, hated, and every houre of the night and day in danger of his life. *Arifomachus* gave eare to his perswasions, and sent unto *Aratus*, telling him that he had neede of fifty Talents to discharge the Souldiers he had about him. The Money was straight prepared. And *Lyfadas* that was at that time Generall

Aratus bringing the *ETOLIANS* in league with the *ACHAIANS*, *Aratus* attempted to set *ATHENS* at liberty.

Aratus overthrowne by the *MACEDONIANS*.

Aratus by perswasion delivered *ARGOS* from tyranny.

Generall of the *ACHAIANS*, and that marvellously desired this matter might be brought to passe by his meanes: he secretly sent unto *Arifomachus* to accuse *Aratus*, and shewed how he had beene alwaies a mortall Enemy unto Tyrants, and therefore counselled him rather to put himselfe into his hands, as indeed he did. For *Lyfadas* brought *Arifomachus* unto the Councell of the *ACHAIANS*. There all the Councell plainly shewed their good wills, and the confidence they had in *Aratus*: for when he spake against it, that they should not receive *Arifomachus*, they rejected him with great anger. But afterwards also when *Aratus* was wonne, and that he began to move the contrary to the Councell, they straight agreed to receive the *ARGIVES*, and the *PHILASIANS* in League with them; and also the next yeare following they chose *Arifomachus* Lieutenant-Generall of all their Tribe. *Arifomachus* seeing himselfe in credit now with the *ACHAIANS*, would needes invade the Countrey of *LACONIA* with a maine Army, and sent for *Aratus* being then at *ATHENS*. *Aratus* wrote unto him, and wished him in any wise not to meddle with that Journey, because he would not have the *ACHAIANS* to deal with *Cleomenes* King of *LACEDÆMON*, that was a courageous and stout young Prince, and marvellously growne in short time. Howbeit, *Arifomachus* being selfe-willed in that point, *Aratus* obeyed him, and was there in person all that Journey. So *Cleomenes* being come to them upon the sudden with his Army, neare unto the City of *PALANTIUM*, *Arifomachus* would needes fight with him; but *Aratus* dissuaded him from it. Whereupon *Lyfadas* afterwards accused him to the *ACHAIANS*, and the next yeare following he contended with him, suing to be Generall; howbeit he was rejected by most voices, and *Aratus* chosen Generall the twelfth time. The selfe-same yeare he was overthrowne in Battell by *Cleomenes*, neare unto the Mountaine *Lycæum*, and being fled, wandered up and downe in the night, that every man thought he had beene slaine, and it ran for good payment among all the *GRECIANS*. Howbeit, he saved himselfe, and having gathered his men together againe, nor contenting him that he had escaped with life, but wisely taking the opportunity and occasion offered, no man knowing it, nor mistrusting his coming: he suddenly went to assaile the *MANTINIANS*, which were Confederates of *Cleomenes*, and having taken the City of *MANTINEA*, he left a great Garison in it, and made the strangers that were there, free of the City. Thus *Aratus* was he alone, that being overcome, wanne the *ACHAIANS* that which they themselves could scarcely have wonne if they had beene Conquerors. Afterwards, the *LACEDÆMONIANS* invading the Territories of the *MEGALIPOLITANS* with a great Army, *Aratus* suddenly went thither to aide them, but would hazard Battell no more, nor give *Cleomenes* vantage, who desired onely to fight, and still constantly resisted the *MEGALIPOLITANS*, that provoked him to come into the Field. For besides that in nature he was not meete for a set Battell, at that time also he was the weaker in men; and had to do with a vertuous young man, that was all fire: where his courage and ambition on the other side was coole and quiet enough. Furthermore he considered, that as King *Cleomenes* fought honour by valiant venturing, which he had not before: even so it was his part wisely to keepe that which he had long since gotten, and to stand upon his guard and safety. This notwithstanding, the light armed men being put out into the Field, and having chased the *LACEDÆMONIANS* even into their Campe, and entering in with them hand over head: *Aratus* would never bring out his Citizens, but stayed them in a great Valley that lay betweene them both, and would not let them come on any farther. Where-withall *Lyfadas* being mad with himselfe, and falling out with *Aratus*, he called for the Horsemen, and said, that he would yet helpe them that followed the chase; and prayed them not to lose the Victory so cowardly, of the which they were so sure: nor to forsake him at a pinch, fighting for the defence of their Countrey. So having gotten a great number of choice Horsemen together, he went with a great fury and gave Charge on the right Wing of his Enemies Battell, and having dispersed them, and put them to flight, he unadvisedly followed them with great courage, into evill-favoured crooked waies, among Trees and great broad Ditches. Whereupon *Cleomenes* came, and so lustily set on him, that he slew him dead in the place, valiantly fighting and defending himselfe. The other men of Armes flying also, rushed in againe, into the Battell of the Footmen, and so disordered their ranks, that they made all their Army lie for feare. For this cause they greatly blamed *Aratus*, because he had forsaken *Lyfadas*: and being enforced unto it by the *ACHAIANS* that went without his leave, he followed them at length, and fled himselfe also unto the City of *ÆGIUM*. There the *ACHAIANS* sitting in Councell, they decreed, that they would furnish *Aratus* with no more Money, neither would they pay his strangers any more: and bade him pay them at his owne charge, if he would entertaine them for the Warre. *Aratus* perceiving that they did him great wrong, stood even indifferent to deliver up his Commission of Lieutenantcy, and to discharge himselfe of his Office: but after he had bethought himselfe better, he bare it patiently, and led the *ACHAIANS* directly to the City of *ORCHOMENE*. There he valiantly fought with *Megistonus*, King *Cleomenes* Father-in-law, and had the upper hand of him: for he slew three hundred of his men, and tooke *Megistonus* selfe Prisoner. Furthermore, where before every second yeare they did use to choose him their Lieutenant-Generall, when his turne came about againe, they called him to give him the Office; but he refused it, and *Timaxenus* was chosen in his roome. Now the cause alleadged for his refusal, was said to be, for that he misliked of the common People. But that foundeth like a lye: for the truth of it, to my seeming, was, for that he saw the State of the *ACHAIANS* to decline. For King *Cleomenes* proceeded no more faire and softly as he did at the first, when he was controlled and bridled by the *Ephori*: but having slaine them, and equally divided the Lands through *LACEDÆMONIA*, and made the strangers free Citizens of *SPARTA*, being then absolute Lord of *LACEDÆMON*, he straight

The love and faith of the *Achaians* unto *Aratus*.

Aratus overthrowne in Battell by King *Cleomenes*, hard by the Mountaine *Lycæum*. *Aratus* took the City of *Mantineia*.

The death of *Lyfadas*.

Aratus once againe overthrowne by *Cleomenes*.

Aratus reproach.
A Governour of a Commonwealth ought no more to forsake his Countrey in time of danger, then the Master of a Ship, his Ship in storme and tempest.

The meekest man of Sparta was to be preferred before the greatest Prince of Macedonia.

Polybius Historiographer.

Thibarcus the Historiographer not greatly to be credited.

Cleomenes winneth the City of Megalopolis from the Achaians.

The spitefull Letters that passed betwixt Cleomenes and Aratus.

Aratus putteth the Rebels of Sicyone to death.

Aratus counterfrancy in danger.

straight set upon the ACHAIANS with all the Power he could, and sought to conquer them. And therefore *Aratus* deserveth just reproofe, for that he forsooke his Countrey in such extreame trouble and danger, that being as the Master of a Ship, he gave another the Sterne to steere, when it had been most honourable and meetest for him to have taken it in hand (though they would not have given it him) to have saved his Countrey. Or otherwise, if he had indeed utterly depaired of the good successe of the ACHAIANS, he should then have put it rather into *Cleomenes* hands, and not to have poysoned *PELOPONNESUS* againe with the manners of the barbarous People (bringing in as he did, the Garison of the MACEDONIANS, filling the Castle of the Acrocorinth with GAULES and ILLYRIAN Souldiers, and making them his Lords and Masters, whom he had so often overcome in Wars, and bereaved of their Government, and of whom he also spake so much evil in his Commentaries;) not to have put them into Townes, and calling them friends and Confederates, to thinke thereby to colour and disguise his wicked practice. Admit *Cleomenes* had been a Tyrant, and a cruell man (if I should so tearme him) yet came he of the bloud of *Hercules*, and was borne in SPARTA: from whence they should rather have chosen the meekest man Governour, then the greatest King of MACEDON; and those specially that prefer the honour and glory of GREECE, before strangers. Yet King *Cleomenes* required no more of all the ACHAIANS, but the name onely to be their Lieutenant Generall: and so they would grant him that honour, he promised he would be very good unto the Cities Confederates to ACHAIAS. Where *Antigonus* notwithstanding, when they had chosen him their Lieutenant Generall, with absolute power and authority both by Sea and also by Land, refused the charge, unless they would let him have the Castle of the Acrocorinth for his hire. The which was even like to *Æsops* Hunter, that bridled his Horse: for he would not get upon the ACHAIANS that requested him, and that by their Ambassadors and Decrees of Councell, did refer all unto himselfe, before he had first saddled and bridled them, by the Garison he made them receive, and the Pledges he caused them to give him; and yet he spake as much as might be to clear himselfe of the accusation against him, bearing them in hand that he was forced to it. Howbeit *Polybius* writeth, that long time before he was compelled, being afraid of *Cleomenes* valiantnesse, he had secretly practised that with *Antigonus*, which he was openly seene in afterwards: and that he had enticed the MEGALIPOLITANS (who were the first that moved it to the Councell of the ACHAIANS) to call King *Antigonus* to their aide, because they were nearest neighbours to the fire, and continually harried with *Cleomenes* Warre, that alwaies knocked at their Gates to come and spoile them. Thus much is affirmed by *Philarchus* in his History, who was hardly to be credited notwithstanding, had not *Polybius* confirmed it. For he loved *Cleomenes* so well, that it seemed he was ravished with some spirit as often as he spake of him: and frameth his History, as a common Counsellor that did pleade a Case in Law before the Judges, still accusing the one, and defending the other. The ACHAIANS lost the City of MEGALIPOLIS againe, the which King *Cleomenes* tooke of them, and overcame them in a great Battell by Hecatombæon. Wherewithall they were so amazed, that they sent Ambassadors presently unto him, and prayed him to come to the City of ARGOS, and there they would make him their Lieutenant Generall. But when *Aratus* heard he came indeed, and that he was not far from the City of LERNA with his Army: being afraid, he sent other Ambassadors to tell him that he should safely come with three hundred men onely, as unto his friends and Confederates: and yet if he mistrusted craft and evil dealing, that then they would give him pledges for the safety of his person. *Cleomenes* answered him, That was a plaine mockery, and an injury they offered him. Wherefore he presently departed thence, and sent a Letter before to the Councell of the ACHAIANS, full of foule words and reproaches he gave unto *Aratus*: who likewise replied to him againe, bitterly taunting each other, that they came to talke of their Marriage and Wives. After this Letter, *Cleomenes* sent defiance by an Herald unto the ACHAIANS, and proclaimed open Warre against them: inso-much as he had almost gotten the City of SICYONE by practice of Traytors. Howbeit, failing of his purpose he returned suddenly, and went unto the City of PALLENA, which he tooke, and drove out the Generall of the ACHAIANS thence, and immediately after he wan the Cities also of PHENEIA, and PENTELION. After that, the ARGIVES and PHILASIANS willingly yeelded unto him, so that of all which the ACHAIANS had conquered, and joyned unto their Tribe, they could reckon of nothing of certainty unto them. Then *Aratus* was marvellously troubled in his minde, to see all PELOPONNESUS in tumult and uprore, and that all the Cities fell to open rebellion by those that practised change and alteration. For no man was contented with the State and Government at that time, but divers of the SICYONIANS and CORINTHIANS both were bewrayed which had secretly practised with *Cleomenes*, and that of long time maliced the Government of the ACHAIANS, desiring themselves to be Lords and Governours of their Cities. *Aratus* having full Commission and Authority from the Councell of the ACHAIANS, to make enquiry of them, and to put them to death, without further triall of Law, he did execute them accordingly, whom he found faulty in the City of SICYONE. Furthermore, attempting to do the like at CORINTH, he made inquiry of them, and put them to death: whereby he made the common People very angry with him, who otherwise of themselves were weary of the Government and subjection of the ACHAIANS. The CORINTHIANS therefore gathering together in the Temple of *Apollo*, they sent for *Aratus*, intending to make him Prisoner before they would openly enter into actual rebellion. *Aratus* went thither, to shew that he neither feared nor mistrusted them, but yet he held his Horse in his hand following of him. Then many rose up against him, and did both reprove and injuriously intreate him. But *Aratus* with stayed countenance and gentle words, prayed them to keepe their

their places, and not to cry out in such rage upon their feete, and withall, caused them also to come in, that were at the Temple doore. But as he spake unto them, by little and little he drew backe out of the preale, as though he meant to have given his Horse to some body to hold. So being gotten out of the preale, he gently spake without any feare unto the CORINTHIANS he met, and bade them go to the Temple of *Apollo*. When he was come to the Cattle, he then suddenly tooke his Horse backe, and commanded *Cleopater*, Captaine of the Garison of the ACHAIANS there, to looke well to the safe keeping of the Cattle. Then he set spurs to his Horse, and galloped towards the City of SICYONE for life, being followed onely by thirty of his Souldiers, all the rest having forsaken him, and dispersed themselves here and there. Shortly after, the CORINTHIANS understanding that for King *Cleomenes*, and delivered the City of CORINTH into his hands, the gaine whereof pleased him not so much, as he was sorry for the losse of *Aratus*, whom they had let go. So King *Cleomenes* joyning unto him all the People dwelling along the Sea Coast, commonly called the River of CORINTH, who yeelded up themselves, Holds and Townes into his hands, he then intrenched in the Castle of the Acrocorinth with a great Trench. Furthermore, when *Aratus* came to the City of SICYONE, many of the ACHAIANS gathered about him, and holding a Councell and Assembly, he was chosen their Lieutenant Generall, having absolute Power and Authority to do what he would, and gave him of their owne Citizens to guard his Person. So, having managed the Affaires of the State and Common-wealth of the ACHAIANS the space of three and thirty yeares together, and having all that time bene counted of all men the chiefe man of power and authority in GREECE, he then found himselfe in poore estate, forsaken, and in great misery, as in the Shipwrack of his Countrey beaten with storme, and in great danger of himselfe. For when he sent unto ATHENIANS being very desirous to send aide for *Aratus* sake, were dissuaded from it through the practice of *Enclidas* and *Micion*. *Aratus* also had a House in CORINTH, where all his Money was: the which King *Cleomenes* at the first medled not withall, neither would suffer any other to touch it, but sent for his friends and Officers, and charged them to looke to it, to give *Aratus* a good account of it afterwards. Furthermore, he privily sent *Triplym* unto him, and his Father-in-law *Megisthenes*, and offered him great gifts, and specially an annuall Pension of twelve Talents, which was double as much as King *Ptolomy* gave him, who sent him yearly fixe Talents. Besides, he onely prayed the ACHAIANS, that they would make him their Lieutenant Generall, and also that the Garison in the Castle of Acrocorinth, might be divided in common betwene them. *Aratus* made answer, that he had an absolute power in his hands, and that it was in the ACHAIANS, not in him. *Cleomenes* thinking this but a device and excuse of *Aratus*, he presently invaded the Countrey of the SICYONIANS, and destroyed all as he came, and continued the space of three Moneths. *Aratus* in the meane time stood doubtfull how to determine, whether he should receive King *Antigonus* or not: because *Antigonus* would not aide him before he delivered him the Castle of the Acrocorinth into his hands. So the ACHAIANS meeting at the City of ÆGUM to consult upon it, they sent by the City of SICYONE: besides also that the Citizens kept *Aratus*, and held him by force, saying, That they would not let him venture himselfe in such apparent danger, their Enemies being so neare unto them. Moreover, the women and little children, hung about him, weeping and compassing him about, as their common father and saviour. But *Aratus* comforting them, bade them not be afraid, and so tooke his Horse, with ten of his friends and his Sonne (that was a young stripping growne) and went towards the Sea, and imbarqued in certaine Ships that rode at Anker. Thence he sailed unto ÆGUM, where the Diet or Parliament was kept: and there it was resolved, that they should send for *Antigonus*, and deliver the Castle of Acrocorinth into his hands. And so it was performed: for *Aratus* sent thither his owne Sonne among the other Hostages. The CORINTHIANS were so sore offended withall, that they made havocke of his Goods, and gave his House he had in CORINTH unto King *Cleomenes*. So King *Antigonus* being onwards on his way to come into PELOPONNESUS with his Army, bringing with him twenty thousand Footmen all MACEDONIANS, and four hundred Horsemen: *Aratus* with the greatest States and Officers of the ACHAIANS, unwitting to their Enemies, went to meete him as far as the City of PEGES, having no great trust nor confidence in *Antigonus*, nor the MACEDONIANS. For he remembered very well, that he came first to his greatnesse, by the injuries he had offered them: and how that the chiefe cause of his rising, was the malice he bare unto old *Antigonus*. Howbeit making vertue of necessity, and weighing the instant occasion of their present extremitie (of Governours, to be driven to be Subjects) he put himselfe in adventure. So, when *Antigonus* was told that *Aratus* was come in person to him, having with good countenance after common sort saluted those that came in his company: to *Aratus* himselfe at his first coming he gave an honourable welcome and entertainment. Afterwards also, finding him a good and discreet man, he fell into inward friendship and familiar good order and Government: but moreover, his company and conversation was very pleasant, to entertaine a Princes leisure with. Wherefore though *Antigonus* was but young at that time, yet seeing thoroughly into *Aratus* nature, and that he was a meete man to be well thought of, and esteemed about a Prince, he used his counsell and advice more then any other mans, in all matters, not onely touching the Affaires of the ACHAIANS, but of the MACEDONIANS also. And so all things came

Aratus subtilly when he fled out of Corinth.

The City of Corinth yeelded up unto *Cleomenes*.

Aratus in great danger for his Countrey.

King *Cleomenes* courteisie unto *Aratus*.

The Achaians do send for King *Antigonus*.

Governours obey necessity.

Antigonus honourable entertainment to *Aratus*.

A wonder
showed Aratus.

Antigonus and
Aratus (sworne
Brethren.

The City of
Argos revolted
from Cleome-
nes.

Aristomachus
drowned in the
Sea.
Aratus infamy
for Aristoma-
chus.

came to passe, which the gods had promised in their Sacrifices. For in a Beast that was sacrificed, there were two galls wrapped in one selfe caule: the which the Soothsayers interpreted did prognosticate, that two which before were mortall Enemies, should now become assured friends. But *Aratus* made no account of their prediction, neither did he give any credit to the Sacrifices, but trusted rather to his owne determination. So, the Warres afterwards having good successe, and *Antigonus* making a Feast in the City of *CORINTH*, where he had bidden many Guests, he would needes have *Aratus* lie upon him at the Table, and a little while after, commanded his men to bring him a Coverlet, and turning to him, asked him if he were not a cold. *Aratus* answered him, It freezed. Then *Antigonus* bade him come neare him, and when the Servants brought a Coverlet for the King, they cast it over them both. Then *Aratus* remembering the Sacrifice, fell a laughing, and told the King what a wonder he had seene in the Sacrifice, and what interpretation the Soothsayers made of it. This was long after. So *Antigonus* and *Aratus* being at that time in the City of *PEGES*, they were sworn Brethren together: and then went both with all speede against the Enemies. Thus there fell out hot Skirmishes betweene them, hard by the City of *CORINTH*. For *Cleomenes* was very well fortified, and the *CORINTHIANS* valiantly defended themselves. In the meane time, *Aristoteles* of *ARGOS* (*Aratus* friend) secretly sent him word, that he would make the City rebell, if he came himselfe with any number of Souldiers. *Aratus* told it unto King *Antigonus*, who gave him fiftene hundred men, with the which he imbarqued, and passed over with great speede from the Isthmus (or Barre in the Streight) unto the City of *EPIDAUROM*. Howbeit, the *ARGIVES* tarried not *Aratus* coming, but were all up before he came, and did set upon King *Cleomenes* men, and had driven them into the Castle. *Cleomenes* being advertised of it, and fearing lest his Enemies (keeping the City of *ARGOS*) should cut off his way from returning into his Countrey againe with safety, if he were driven to a streight: he forooke the Castle of the *Acrocorinth*, and went his way by night to helpe his men in the City of *ARGOS*. So he came thither in time, and overthrew certaine of his Enemies. But shortly after, *Aratus* and King *Antigonus* both being come thither with all their aide, *Cleomenes* was driven to flie to the City of *MANTINEA*. After the recovery againe of the City of *ARGOS*, all the residue of the Cities of *PELOPONNESUS* did againe returne to the *ACHAIANS*, and *Antigonus* tooke the Castle of the *Acrocorinth*. So *Aratus* being chosen Generall by the *ARGIVES*, he counselled them to present *Antigonus* with all the Tyrants Goods, and those that had bene Traytors to the Common-wealth. And after they had cruelly tormented the Tyrant *Aristomachus* in the City of *CENCHREES*, in the end they cast him into the Sea, and drowned him. *Aratus* was marvellously reprovod for his death, that would suffer the poore man to be so vilely handled, that was a good man, and one that had done him great pleasure: who through his perswasion willingly resigned up his Tyranny, and delivered the City of *ARGOS* unto the *ACHAIANS*. But besides this, they blamed him for many other things else: for that the *ACHAIANS* through his meanes had put the City of *CORINTH* into *Antigonus* hands, as though it had bene some meane Village: for that when they had sucked the City of *ORCHOMENE*, they suffered him to place a Garison of the *MACEDONIANS* there: for that they had enacted by Parliament, that they should neither write, nor send Ambassadors any whither, without *Antigonus* privy and consent: furthermore, for that they were compelled to give pay to the *MACEDONIANS*: for that they made Sacrifices, Feasts, and Games unto *Antigonus*, as if he had bene a god; following the example of *Aratus* Citizens, who were the first that began, and had received *Antigonus* into the City by the perswasion of *Aratus*, that lodged and feasted him in his owne Houfe. With all these faults they burdened *Aratus*, and considered not, that after they had put the reynes of the Government into *Antigonus* hand, *Aratus* himselfe (whether he would or not) was compelled to follow the swinge of the unbridled Prince, having no other meanes to stay it, but onely the liberty of speech to admonish him: and that also was not to be exercised, without apparent and great danger. For it is most true, that many things were done greatly against *Aratus* minde: as amongst others, that *Antigonus* caused the Tyrants Images of *ARGOS* to be set up, which he had before pulled downe: and also that he made them to be overthrowne, which *Aratus* had set up for those that had taken the Castle of *CORINTH*, and onely left *Aratus* one Statue, notwithstanding all the earnest intreaty *Aratus* made to the contrary, yet he could get no grant of any thing to be requested. Besides also, it appeareth that the *ACHAIANS* dealt not so friendly with the *MANTINEANS*, as became *GRECIANS* one to another. For they having the City in their hands by *Antigonus* meanes, did put all the noblest and chiefeest men of *MANTINEA* to death; others they sold as Slaves, and sent the rest into *MACEDON* with irons on their legs, and brought the poore women and children into bondage, and sold them for Slaves: and of the Money they got by spoile, they divided the third part among themselves, and left the other two parts unto the *MACEDONIANS*. Now surely it cannot be said, but this was done for some cruell revenge. For though it was an over-great cruelty, in rage and passion of minde, to handle People of one selfe-blond and language in this lameable fort: yet *Simonides* saith, When men are driven and forced to it, it is a gentle (no cruell) thing, to ease their great stomacks inflamed with rage and malice. But for that which was done afterwards unto the City, no man can excuse *Aratus*, nor say, that he was either driven to it by necessity, or that he had otherwise any honest occasion to do it. For King *Antigonus* having given the City of *MANTINEA* unto the *ARGIVES*, they determined to make it a Colony, and chose *Aratus* their Generall: who made a Decree, that thenceforth the City should no more be called *MANTINEA*, but *ANTI-GONIA*, as it beareth name unto this day. Thus it seemeth that gentle *MANTINEA* (for so the Poets

Poets called it) was utterly destroyed, and bare the name of another City through *Aratus* meanes, preferring the name of him that destroyed the City, and did put all the Inhabitants of the first to death. After that, King *Cleomenes* being overthrowne in a great Battell by the City of *SELLASIA*, he left the City of *SPARTA*, and fled into *EGYPT*. So *Antigonus* having used *Aratus* with all kinde of honourable courties, he returned againe into *MACEDON*. There falling sicke, he sent *Philip* that should succeed him in the Kingdome (being a young stripling growne) into *PELOPONNESUS*, and straightly charged him specially to follow *Aratus* counsell, and to employ him when he would speake unto the Cities, and become acquainted with the *ACHAIANS*. So *Aratus* having received him in that sort, made him so well affected and loving towards him, that he sent him againe into *MACEDON*, being thoroughly determined to make Wars with *GREECE*. So after the death of *Antigonus*, the *ETOLIANS* began to despise the carelesnesse and cowardlinesse of the *ACHAIANS* (because that they being used to be defended by strangers, and having bene altogether governed by the Armies of the *MACEDONIANS*, they lived very idly and dissolutely) whereupon they tooke upon them to make themselves Lords of *PELOPONNESUS*. So they assembled an Army, and by the way as they went, they onely tooke some prey and spoile upon the Lands of the *PATRIANS*, and the *DYMÆIANS*: but invading the Territory of *MESSINA* with all their Army, they destroyed the whole Countrey before them. *Aratus* being very angry withall, and perceiving that *Timoxenus* (who at that time was Generall of the *ACHAIANS*) did still tract and delay time in vaine, because he was upon going out of his yeare; he being appointed Generall for the yeare following, did anticipate his time five daies before, to go and aide the *MESSINIANS*. Wherefore leaving an Army of the *ACHAIANS*, who persons were now neither exercised in Armes, nor yet had any desire to go to the Wars, he was overthrowne by the City of *CAPHYES*. Now, because it was thought that he went too hotly and courageously to the Wars, he so extremely cooled againe, and left things in such case, that all hope being cast aside, he suffered the *ETOLIANS* in manner to treade *PELOPONNESUS* under their feete before his eyes, with all the infolency and cruelty that might be possible, notwithstanding that they sundry times gave him great advantages of them. Thus were the *ACHAIANS* once againe forced to pray aide out of *MACEDON*, and to send for young *Philip* to him, that he would use them gently, and do as they would have him. But when first of all began *Apelles*, *Megareus*, and a few other Courtiers to accuse *Aratus*: unto whom King *Philip* giving easie eare, he procured that one *Eparatus*, of contrary faction unto *Aratus*, was chosen Generall by the *ACHAIANS*. Howbeit, this new Generall *Eparatus* being extremely hated by the *ACHAIANS*, and *Aratus* also leaving to deale any more with matters of State, no act was done to any purpose. Whereupon King *Philip* finding his fault, returned againe unto *Aratus*, and was ruled altogether by him: and when he found that his Affaires prospered in all things he went about, he then let him alone with all, as from whom came all his honour and greatnesse. Thereupon every man esteemed *Aratus* a wife Governour, not onely to rule a Common-wealth, but also a whole Realme and Kingdome. For his manners, intent, and chiefeest purpose appeared in the deeds of this young King, as a rich colour that did set forth and beautifie them. For the clemency this young Prince used to the *LACEDÆMONIANS* that had offended him, the great courtesie he shewed to the *CRETANS*, whereby in few daies he wan all the Isle of *CRETA*: and the Journey he made against the *ETOLIANS*, which was a wonderfull great Exploit, wan the Prince great Fame, for following good counsell, and *Aratus* to be accounted a wife Governour, and of deepe understanding. Now the Kings Flatterers ennying *Aratus* more then before, and perceiving they got no good by secret back-biting of him, they then began with open mouth very insolently to revile him at the Table, and with great derision: inso much as one night going home to his Tent after Supper, they pelted him with stones all the way as he went. King *Philip* when he knew it, was so offended therewith, that he did condemne them in the summe of twenty Talents: and afterwards also, because they troubled his Affaires, he did put them to death. But King *Philip* in the end being puffed up with the good fortune and successe of this Warre, which prospered as he would have it, he then grew to be covetous, and began to shew his naughty nature, and to bewray his dissimulation wherewith he disguised himselfe, and by little and little to make his vices plainly to appeare. For first of all, he abused young *Aratus* Wife, which was kept secret a long time, because he lay in their Houfe, and began daily to grow more severe and cruell to the Common-wealth; and then the World saw plainly that he cared no more for *Aratus*. For the first suspition and beginning of the mistrust he had of *Aratus*, came for that which was done at *MESSINA*. For the *MESSINIANS* being fallen together by the eares, and in great Civill Warres one with another, *Aratus* went thither to make Peace betweene them. Howbeit, King *Philip* came thither the next day following, and in stead of pacifying the quarrell, he set them further out together then they were before. First, he asked the Governours of the City, whether they had no Lawes to bridle the infolency and stomack of the common People; and privately also talked with the heads of the Faction of the People, and asked them if they had not hands to defend themselves from Tyrants. So both the one and the other Faction trusting to King *Philip*, the Governours would have layed hold on the Orators of the City: but they rising with the common People, slew of their Nobility and Magistrates, well neare two hundred of them. *Aratus* that came soone after this Fact, shewed that he was greatly offended with King *Philip*, and caused his Sonne with open mouth shamefully to reprove him. Now it seemed that this young *Aratus* was in love with King *Philip*

Mantine, called *Antigonis*, by *Aratus* Decree

Aratus overthrowne in Battell, by the City of *Caphyes*.

The *Achaians* sent for King *Philip* *Antigonis* Sonne.

Aratus a wife Counsellor. Envie the companion of Vertue.

The beginning of displeasures betweene *Aratus* and *Philip*. The deepe dissimulation and double dealing of King *Philip*.

Aratus the
Sons words un-
to Philip.

Philip before : but then he told him before all the People, that for this shamefull act he had done, he thought him now no more faire of face, but the foulest creature that could be. Philip made no answer to it, although every man looked he would have answered him in rage, and that oftentimes as the other reproved him, he bit it in with his teeth : but yet as if he had not beene offend- ed at all with the big words his Sonne had spoken against him (for that he was a civill man, and milde of nature) he tooke Aratus the Father by the hand, and carried him out of the Theatre where the Assembly was kept, to the Castle of Ithome, to do Sacrifice there to Jupiter, and to see the Fort. This Fort was of no lesse strength then the Castle of the Acrocorinth : and when any Garrison is in it, it keepeth all the Countrey about it in obedience : and besides it is very hard to drive them out of it. Now Philip being gotten up into that Castle, he did Sacrifice there : and when the Soothsayer had brought him the intrailles of the Oxe which they had sacrificed, he tooke it himselfe with both his hands, and shewed them unto Aratus, and to Demetrius Phalerian, now turning to the one, then to the other, and asked them what they judged of these signes of the Sacrifice : whether he should keepe the Castle to himselfe, or else deliver it to the MESSINIANS. Demetrius smiling, answered him : If thou beest of the Soothsayers minde, then thou shalt deliver it up : but if thou hast a Kings minde in thee, thou shalt then hold the Oxe by both hornes. (By the Oxe, he meant the Countrey of PELOPONNESUS : and moreover, that if he kept both these Castles, of Ithome and the Acrocorinth, all PELOPONNESUS were wholly at his commandement.) Aratus still held his peace, and said not a word. In the end, Philip praying him to speake, he said : In CRETA, and in the Countrey of the BOEOTIANS and PHOCIANS, there are many strong Castles situated on high hills from the Valleys. Moreover, there are also many places of great strength in the Marches of the ACARNANIANS, both within maine Land, as also upon the Sea Coast : of all the which thou hast not taken one of them by force, and yet they all do willingly obey thee notwithstanding. It is for Thieves to hide their heads in high Rocks and Mountaines, but a King can have no stronger Castle, then the love, faith, and good will of men. That is it, that opened the Sea of CRETA. That is it, that hath brought thee into PELOPONNESUS. Those are the meanes which have made thee being so young a man, some of them to choose thee their Cap- taine, and others also to make thee their absolute Lord and Master. Aratus going on with his tale, Philip gave the intrailles againe to the Soothsayer that brought them, and taking Aratus by the hand (as if by force he had cast him out of the Castle, and had also taken the City of MESSINA from him) said unto him : Come on then, let us even take that course. But after that time, Ara- tus came as little to the Court as might be, and so by little and little left Philips company. For when he went to make Warre in the Realme of EPIRUS, he was earnestly in hand with Ara- tus to go that Journey with him. But Aratus prayed him to hold him excused, and so remained at home, being afraid to be brought into an evill name with Philips doings. For Philip afterwards having shamefully lost his Army by Sea against the ROMANES ; and besides, having had also very ill successe in all other his Affaires, he returned againe to PELOPONNESUS, and thought once more to have deceived the MESSINIANS. But when they found his practice, then he began with open force to spoile their Countrey. Aratus then flatly fell out with Philip, and utterly re- fused his friendship, for that he perceived then the injury he had done his Sonnes Wife, the which grieved him to the heart ; but yet he made not his Sonne privie to it, because he could get no other amends, then to know what injury had beene done to him, considering that he had no way nor meanes to be revenged. For King Philip was marvellously changed, and from a courteous and chaste young Prince, became a vicious and cruell Tyrant : the which to speake truly, was not a change or alteration in nature, but a manifest declaration (when he was no more afraid of any man) of his wicked and devillish minde, the which through feare had of long time beene kept se- cret. Now, to prove that Philips first love and good will he bare unto Aratus, was also mingled with feare and reverence, that which he did afterwards unto him did plainly shew it. For he being desirous to put Aratus to death, not thinking himselfe free so long as he lived, neither King, nor Ty- rant : he durst not go about to kill him himselfe, but procured one of his Captaines called Taurion, and commanded him to make him away as secretly as he could possible, and specially with poyson in his absence. This Taurion fell in friendship with Aratus, and poysoned him with no violent poyson, but so tempered and qualified it, as it did by little and little heate the body, and procure a pretty cough which brought him into a consumption. Aratus knew he was poysoned : but because he saw it booted not to bewray it, he bare it patiently, and made no words of it, as if he had had some naturall dis- ease about him. Yet on a time, one of his chiefeft friends being in his Chamber with him, who won- dred to see him spit bloud as he did : he told him, Friend Caphalon mine, this is the reward of a Kings love. So he died of this poyson in the City of EGIRUM, being the seventeenth time chosen Gen- erall of the ACHAIANS, who would have had him buried in the selfe-same place, and have made some honourable Monument for him, worthy of his noble life. But the SICYONIANS thinking themselves dishonoured, if his body were buried any where else but in their owne City, they so per- suaded the Councell of the ACHAIANS, that they suffered them to take Aratus body with them. Yet was there an ancient Law that forbade buriall within the Walls of the City, of any manner of per- son whatsoever : and besides that Law, they had a certaine superstitious feare in them, that made them they durst not. Whereupon they sent to Apollo's Temple at DELPHES, to aske counsell of his Nunne that gave the Oracles ; who made them this answer :

The wife an-
swer of Aratus
unto King
Philip, touch-
ing the safety
of a Prince.

Aratus the Fa-
ther tooke
Philip.

Philip of a co-
verous Prince
became a cruell
Tyrant.

Aratus poyson-
ed by King
Philips meanes.

A Kings
friendship dan-
gerous.
The death of
Aratus.

A Law for bu-
riall among the
Sicyonians.

Thou

Thou happy soile of Sicyon, Aratus native place,
Wher as thou askest counsell in that noble Captaines case,
For keeping of a yeare minde, and for making selfe full waies
In honour of that worthy weight, to last henceforth alwaies :
If any hinder your intent, through fondnesse or through spite,
Both Sea and Land, and Heaven it selfe will punish that same weight.

This Oracle being brought, all the ACHAIANS were marvellous glad of it, but the SICYONIANS specially : who presently changing their mourning into publike joy, they carried the Body from the City of EGIRUM, and brought it home as in manner of procession, in white Robes, and Garlands of Flowers on their heads, singing Hymmes and Songs of joy, and dancing, till they came to the City of SICYONE. And there they chose out the chiefeft place, and buried him as their Founder, Father, and Saviour of their City : and the place is called at this present time, ARATAUM. There they yearly make two solemne Sacrifices, the one the fift of November, a which time he de- livered the City of SICYONE from tyranny ; and they call this Sacrifice Soteria, as much to say, as the Feast of health : and the other on his birth day, as it is reported. For the first Sacrifice, that was done by the Priest of Jupiter the Saviour. The second Sacrifice also was done by Aratus Son, who was girt about with a cloath, not altogether white, but mingled with Purple colour. So du- ring the Sacrifice, they sung Hymmes upon the Harpe in praise of him ; and the Master of the Mulicians made a procession round about, being accompanied with Boyes and young men of the City, after whom followed the Senate crowned with Garlands of flowers, and other Citizens that were disposed to go to a Procession : Howbeit the most part of the honours that were appoint- ed to be done unto him, were left off by processe of time, and change of things that followed afterwards. Thus you see what the Life of Aratus the Father hath been, as we finde in Histories. Now Philip being a wicked man, and cruell of nature, caused his Son Aratus also to be poisoned, not with a deadly Poyson, but with such a Poyson as troubleth a mans wits so, that through their divellish receit, he becometh a starke foole without any wit at all, and maketh him to attempt strange and abominable things, and to have certaine shamefull and detestable desires : inso much as his death (though he died in the prime of his youth) could not be thought miserable, but rather a happy deliverance to him out of all his miseries and mishaps. But Philip afterwards, so long as he lived, paid unto Jupiter (Protectour of all justice and friendship) the punishment his wicked life deserved. For, after he was overcome in Battell by the ROMANES, he was compelled to yeeld himselfe to their mercy : by whom he was deprived from all the rest of his Lands and Dominions he had, and of all his Ships, but five onely, and condemned besides to pay a thousand Talents for fine, and to give his Sonne in hostage : and they onely left him for pitie sake, the Kingdome of MACEDON, with all the Appertenances. And there he daily putting to death the chiefeft of his Nobility, and nearest of bloud unto him, he filled his Realme with cruelty and mortall hate a- gainst him. Furthermore amongst such a heape of evils, having but one onely joy, to have a vertuous Son, he put him to death, for spite and malice that he saw the ROMANES honour him ; and left his other Sonne Perseus Successeur of his Realme : who as it is reported, was not his lawfull begotten Sonne, but taken for his Sonne, and borne of a Tay- lours Wife called Gnathanium. It is that Perseus, whom Paulus Emylius over- came, and led in Triumph in ROME : and at him the Race of the Kings descended from Antigonus, failed ; where the issue and Offspring of Aratus continueth yet untill our time, in the Cities of SICYONE, and PALLENA.

The end of the Life of Aratus.

Aratus.
Yearly sacrific-
ces appointed
to honour Ara-
tus memory.

The miserable
death of Ara-
tus the Son.
Strange kinds
of poysoning.

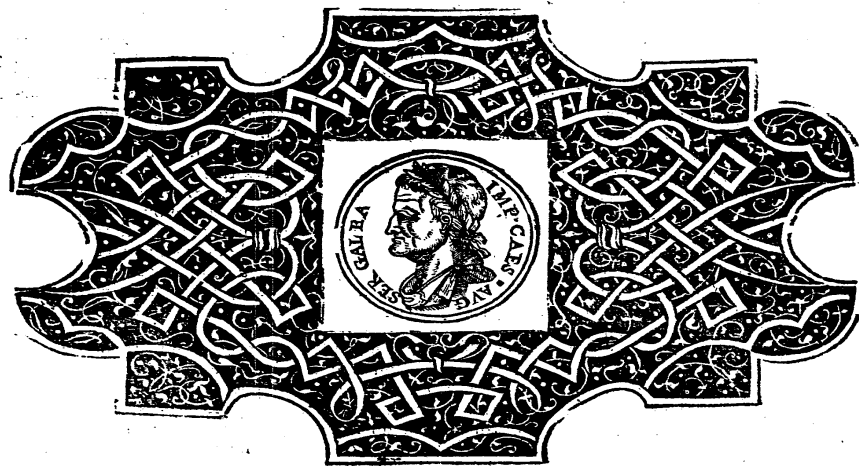
King Philip
punished for
his wicked-
nesse.

Perseus King
Philip's Son,
whom Paulus
Emylius Tri-
umphed for in
Rome.

D d d d

THE

THE LIFE OF G A L B A.



Ann. Mund.

4019.

Post. Christ.

69.

Aphrates saying, what manner of man a mercenary Souldier ought to be.

AEmilius saying of Souldiers.

Plato saying of an Army.

Demades saying of *Alexanders* Army, after his death. The Empire of *Rome*, whereto likened.

In *Aphrates* the *ATHENIAN* Captaine said, that a mercenary Souldier should be covetous, a lover, and voluptuous: that to get wherewith to maintaine his pleasure, he should be the valianter, and readier to put himselfe into any danger. But most men thinke, that Souldiers should be as one entire strong body, that stirreth not of it selfe without the moving of the Generall. And to approve this opinion, it is said that *Paulus Aemilius* arriving in *MACEDON*, and finding the Souldiers full of words and curiosity (every man meddling with the affaires of the Generall) he made open proclamation, No man so hardy to meddle with his Office and affaires; but every man onely to keepe his Sword sharpe, and to be quick of hand against the Enemy: and for the rest, to referre all to him, who would take sufficient order for things of his charge and Government. Therefore *Plato* saith, that it little availeth to have a good and wise Captaine, if the Souldiers also be not wise and obedient; thinking it as requisite for the vertue of obedience, to have men of a noble minde and good education, as otherwise it is meet for a Captaine to know how to direct and command well; considering it is that which with lenity and mildnesse doth mitigate all fury and cholere. He hath divers other examples and sufficient proofes to prove his words true; and namely, the great miseries and calamities which came to the *ROMANES* after the death of *Nero*, do plainly shew, that nothing is more dangerous nor dreadfull in an Empire, then a great Army living licentiously and disorderly. For *Demades* after the death of *Alexander* the Great, compared *Alexanders* Army unto *Cyclops Polyphemus* after his eye was put out: considering how blindly and loofly they were governed. Howbeit the Empire of *ROME* being divided into sundry factions at one selfe time and rising against it selfe in many places, it fell into the like misfortunes and calamities faign-ed by the Poets of the *TITANS*: not so much through the ambitiousnesse of the Emperours, as by means of the covetousnesse and infolency of the Souldiers, who drave the Emperours out of their Imperiall Seates one after another, as one naile driveth out another. And *Dionysius* also the Tyrant of *SICILE*, was wont to call *Phereus* (who had been Tyrant of *THESSALIA* only ten moneths space)

space) a Tyrant in a Play, deriding his so suddain change of State. But the Imperiall House of the *Cæsars* at *ROME*, received foure Emperours, in lesse then ten Moneths space, the Souldiers now putting in one, and then taking out another, as if they had been in a Play on a Scaffold. So that the *ROMANES* being thus grievously oppressed: had yet this comfort: that they needed not to seeke to be revenged of them that did oppresse them. For they saw one of them murder another, and him first and most justly of all other murdered, that had first of all corrupted the Souldiers, in teaching them to make gaine of the change of the Emperours: and so depraving a worthy deed of it selfe, which was their forsaking of *Nero*: and mingling it with bribery, made it plaine treason. For *Nymphidius Sabinus*, being Captaine of the Emperours Guard, which are called the *Prætorian Souldiers*, together with *Tigellinus*, when he saw *Nero* in despaire of himselfe and of his Estate, and that he was ready to flie into *EGYPT*: he perswaded the Guard they should call *Galba* Emperour, as if *Nero* had not been at *ROME*, but fled and gone; and promised every one seven thousand five hundred Drachmaes apiece: and to the rest of the Souldiers that were dispersed up and down in *Garrison* upon the Provinces, twelve hundred and fifty Drachmaes a man. For the leaving of which summe, they could not possibly do it, but they must needs commit ten thousand times more extortion on every body, then *Nero* had done. This large promise made them presently put *Nero* to death, and shortly after him, *Galba* himselfe also. For the Souldiers forooke *Nero*, for the hope they had to receive this promised Gift: and shortly after they slew the second, which was *Galba*, because they received not their Gifts in time to their contentment. Afterwards also, in seeking who should still feed them with like Gifts, before they could obtaine their wished hop, one of them destroyed another by treason and rebellion. But now to set down all things particularly which happed at that time, it were to write one whole entire History: and therefore, I will content my selfe, not to passe over with silence the notable deeds, and lamentable calamities, which happed at that time unto the *Cæsars*.

It is manifestly known to all men, that *Sulpitius Galba* of a private man, was the richest and wealthiest that came to be in the number of the *Cæsars*: who, though he came of a very noble house, deriving himselfe from the Race and Family of the *Servij*, yet he was honoured the more, because he was a kin unto *Quintus Catulus*, who for vertue and estimation, was one of the chiefest men of his time, albeit that otherwise he willingly resigned his authority and power unto others. So *Galba* thereby was somewhat a kin unto *Livia* the Wife of *Augustus Cæsar*, and therefore for her sake he came out of the Emperours Pallace, when he went to take possession of his Consulship. Moreover it is reported, that when he had charge of the Army in *GERMANY*, he did valiantly behave himselfe. And in the Government of *LYBIA* also, where he was Vice Consul, he did as honourably behave himselfe, as any man whatsoever. Howbeit his meane and simple ordinary of diet, voide of all exceffe, was reputed misery and niggardinesse in him; when he was proclaimed Emperour: because the practise of sober and temperate diet which he would have brought in use, was then so raw a thing, that it was taken for a new and strange device. He was sent Governour also into *SPAYNE* by *Nero*, before he had learned to be afraid of the Citizens of great authority: howbeit, besides that he was of a courteous and gentle nature, his age moreover increased the opinion they had of him, that he was timorous and fearefull. For when the wretched Officers of *Nero* did cruelly vex and torment the Provinces, and that it lay not in *Galba* any way to helpe them: yet was it some comfort to them, which were judged and sold as slaves by the Officers, to see that *Galba* did lament the miseries and calamities they endured, as if they had been done unto himselfe. So when any slanderous Rimes were made against *Nero*, which were sung up and downe in every place, he would neither forbid them, nor yet was offended as *Neroes* Officers were. Therefore he was marvellously beloved in the Countrey, of them that were acquainted with him: because he was then in the eight yeare of his Government as Pro-Consull amongst them, at which time *Junius Vindex* being Pro-Prætor of *GAULE*, rebelled against *Nero*, who as it is reported, had written unto *Galba*, before he entred into an open action of rebellion. But *Galba* did neither beleve him, nor also accuse and bewray him, as divers others which were Governours of Armies and Provinces did: who sent *Vindex* Letters unto *Nero* which he himselfe had written unto them, and so did as much as in them lay to hinder the enterprise, who afterwards being of the conspiracy did confesse they were Traitors to themselves, as much as unto him. Howbeit when *Vindex* afterwards had proclaimed open Warre against *Nero*, he wrote againe unto *Galba*, and praised him to take the Imperiall Crown upon him, and to become the head of a strong and mighty body (which were the *GAULES*) that lacked nothing but a head and Governour, being a hundred thousand fighting men ready armed, and might also leave a great number more of them. Then *Galba* consulted thereupon with his friends, and among them some were of opinion that he should stay a while, to see what change and alteration would grow at *ROME* upon this stirre. Howbeit *Titus Junius*, Captaine of the *Prætorian Band*, said unto him: O *Galba*, what meaneth this doubtfull deliberation? Be not we wise men, to call in question, whether we shall allow of *Vindex* friendship; or accuse him; yea, and with armes persecute him, that desired rather to have thee Emperour, then *Nero* Tyrant over the State of *ROME*? Afterwards *Galba* by Bills set up every where, appointed a day certaine, to enfranchise such as would make suite for it. This rumour flying straight abroad, he gathered a great number of Souldiers together, that were very willing to rebel: and he was no sooner gotten up into the Tribunall or Chaire of State, but all the Souldiers did salute him by the Name of Emperour. Howbeit he was not content with this Name at the first, but accusing *Nero*, and lamenting the death of the noblest man whom he had cruelly put to death, he promised

Nymphidius Sabinus, and *Tigellinus*, betrayed *Nero*.

The hope of Gifts destroyed the Empire of *Rome*.

The wealth and nobility of *Galba*

Galbaes manners.

Galbaes courtesy.

Junius Vindex rebelled against *Nero*.

In this place the Greeke is corruptly reade, *καὶ τὸν Νέρωνα* for *καὶ τὸν Νέρωνα*.

Sulpitius Galba, saluted by the Souldiers, as Emperour.

Galba judged an Enemy by the Senate of Rome, and his goods sold by the Crier.

Clodius Macer, Governour of Africke, *Rufius*, Governour of Gaule, *Verginius Rufus* called Emperour.

Colonia a City of Spaine. * Others read *Clunia*.

Nymphidius Sabine taken upon him to be Emperour.

Honours done to *Nymphidius* by the Senate, made him grow too bold and insolent.

mised that he would employ his best wit and discretion to the service and benefit of his Countrey, neither naming himselfe *Caesar*, nor Emperour, but onely Lieutenant to the Senate, and state of Rome. Now, that *Vindex* did wisely to call *Galba* to be Emperour, *Nero* himselfe in his doings doth witness it: who having alwaies made a countenance as though he passed not for *Vindex*, and that he weighed not the rebellion of the GAULES: when it was told him that *Galba* was called Emperour, being then at supper, for spite he overthrew the Table. Moreover, though the Senate had judged *Galba* an Enemy, yet *Nero* to be pleasant with his friends, made as though he was nothing afraid of it, and said, This newes made all for him, because he stood in need of Money, and also that it was a happy occasion offered him to helpe him withall. For said he, we shall soone have all the GAULES goods, as the spoile of a just War, after we have once againe overcome and conquered them: and moreover, *Galbaes* goods also would quickly be in his hands, that he might sell them, considering that he was become his open Enemy. So he presently commanded *Galbaes* goods should be openly sold, to them that would give most. *Galba* understanding that, did also by sound of Trumpet sell all *Neroes* goods he had in all the Province of SPAIN, and did also finde more men readier to buy, then there were goods to sell. Daily men rose against *Nero* in every Countrey, who tooke *Galbaes* part, *Clodius Macer* onely excepted in AFRICKE, and *Verginius Rufus* in GAULE, both of them having charge of Legions appointed for the safe keeping of GERMANY: and both of them did follow severall directions by themselves, varying in minde and intent. For *Clodius Macer* having robbed much, and put divers men also to death through his cruelty and covetousnesse, shewed plainly, that he swam between two waters, as one that could neither let go his charge, nor yet keepe it. *Verginius* also on the other side, being Generall over great and mighty Legions, who had sundry times called him Emperour, and did in manner force him to take upon him the Name and Empire: he notwithstanding did ever answer them, that he neither minded to take the Empire upon him, nor yet to suffer any other to do it, then such as the Senate should choose and call unto the fame. This at the first somewhat amazed *Galba*. But when both the Armies of *Vindex* and *Verginius*, in spite of their Captaines (who could not stay nor keepe them backe, no more then Coach-men can keepe backe the Horse with their bridles) were joynd in a great Battell together, where were slaine twenty thousand GAULES in the Field, and *Vindex* also flew himselfe shortly after: it was given out, that the Conquerors after so great a Victory obtained, would compell *Verginius* to take upon him to be Emperour, or else that they would take *Neroes* part againe. Then *Galba* being not a little perplexed, wrote unto *Verginius*, and perswaded him to joyne with him to hold up the Empire and Liberty of the ROMANS, and thereupon fled straight into a City of SPAIN called *COLONIA, rather repenting him of that he had done, and wishing for his wonted peaceable and quiet life wherein he was brought up, then otherwise occupying himselfe about any necessary or profitable thing for the furtherance of his enterprize. Now it was about the beginning of Sommer, and one day towards evening, there came to *Galba* one of his Slaves enfranchised, a SICILIAN born, that was come from Rome in seven daies: who understanding that *Galba* was alone, went presently to his Chamber door, and opened it, and coming in against the wils of the Grooms of the Chamber, that stood at the door, he told him that *Nero* being yet alive, but seen no more, first the People of Rome, and then the Senate had proclaimed him Emperour, and that immediately after, newes came that *Nero* was dead: the which he hardly believing notwithstanding, went thither himselfe, saw his body laid out upon the ground, and then made towards him with all speed to bring him these newes. The newes marvellously revived *Galba*, and a multitude of men thronged straight about the door, which began to be courageous, seeing him lively againe, although the speed of the Messenger seemed incredible. Howbeit two daies after, *Titus* also arrived, with certaine others of the Campe, who told *Galba* particularly what the Senate had decreed in his behalf. So this *Titus* was called to great honour: and the Slave enfranchised had priviledge given him to wear Rings of Gold, and he was called *Martianus Vicellus*, who afterwards of all the enfranchised bondmen, became the chiefeft man about his Master *Galba*. In the meane time, *Nymphidius* SABINE began at Rome, not covertly, but with open force, to take upon him the absolute Government of the Empire, perswading himselfe that *Galba* was so old, that he could hardly be brought in a Litter unto Rome, being at the least seventy three yeares old: besides also, that the Army of the PRÆTORIANS which were in Rome, did beare him good will of long time, and then acknowledged no other Lord but him onely, for the large promise he had made them, for the which he received the thanks, and *Galba* remained the Debter. So he presently commanded *Tigellinus*, his Companion and Captain with him of the Army of the PRÆTORIANS, to leave off his Sword: and disposing himselfe to banqueting and feasting, he sent for all those that had been Consuls, Prætors, or Pro-consuls of Provinces, and made them all to be invited in the Name of *Galba*. So there were certain Souldiers gave out this rumour in the Camp, that they should do well to send Ambassadors unto *Galba*, to pray him that *Nymphidius* might be their only Captain still, without any Companion joynd with him. Furthermore, the honour and good will the Senate bare him, calling *Nymphidius* their Benefactor, and going daily to visit him in his house, procuring him to be the Author of all their Decrees passed in Senate, and that he should authorize them: this made him high-minded, and the bolder by much; inso much that shortly after, they that came to honour him in this sort, did not onely hate and dislike his doings, but moreover he made them afraid of him. Furthermore, when the Consuls had given to common Pursivants any Commissions under Seale, or Letters Patents signifying the Decrees of the Senate, to carry them to the Emperour (by Vertue of which Letters Patents, when the Officers of the City do see the Seale, they straight provide the Pursivants of Coaches and fresh Horses to further their speed and hasty journey: *Nymphidius*

Nymphidius was very angry with them, because they did not also come to him for his Letters, sealed by him and his Souldiers, to send likewise to the Emperour. But besides all this, it is also reported that he was like to have deposed the Consuls: howbeit they excusing themselves unto him, and craving pardon, did appease his anger. And to please the commons also, he suffered them to put any of *Neroes* friends to death they could meet withall. Among other, they slew a Fencer called *Spicilius*, whom they put under *Neroes* Statues, which they dragged up and down the City. Another also called *Aponius*, one of *Neroes* Accusers, they threw him to the ground, and drave Carts over him laden with Stones. And divers others also, whom they slew in that manner, of the which some had done no manner of offence. Hereupon one *Mauriscus*, one of the noblest men of the City, and so esteemed, said openly in the Senate: I feare me we shall wish for *Nero* againe, before it be long. So *Nymphidius* being come in manner to the fullnesse of his hope, he was very glad to heare that some repined at him, because he was the Soone of *Caius Caesar*, that was the next Emperour after *Tiberius*. For this *Caius Caesar*, when he was a young man, had kept *Nymphidius* Mother, which had been a faire young Woman, and the Daughter of one *Callistus*, one of *Caesars* enfranchised Bondmen, whom he had gotten of a Laundresse he kept. Howbeit it is found contrary, that this *Nymphidius* was borne before *Caius Caesar* could know his Mother: and men thought that he was begotten of a Fencer called *Martianus*, with whom his Mother *Nymphidia* fell in fancy, for that he had a great Name at that time in Rome; and indeed *Nymphidius* was liker to him in favour, then unto any other. So, he confessed that he was the Sonne of this *Nymphidia*, howbeit he did ascribe the glory of the death of *Nero* unto himselfe, and thought himselfe not sufficiently recompenced with the honors they gave him, neither also with the goods he enjoyed, neither for that he lay with *Sporus* whom *Nero* loved so dearly, whom he sent for to *Neroes* Funerals while his body was yet a burning, and kept him with him as if he had been his Wife, and called him *Poppaeus*. Furthermore, all this did not content him, but yet secretly he aspired to be Emperour, partly practising the matter in Rome it selfe, by the meanes of certaine Women and Senators which were secretly his friends: and partly also through one *Gellianus*, whom he sent into SPAIN, to see how all things went there. Howbeit after the death of *Nero*, all things prospered with *Galba*, saving *Verginius Rufus* onely, who stood doubtfull yet, and made him sorely mistrust him; for that he was afraid (besides that he was Generall over a great and puissant Army, having also newly overthrown *Vindex*, and secretly ruling the best part of the Empire of Rome, which was all GAULE, and then in tumult and uproare, ready to rebell,) lest he would hearken unto them that perswaded him to take the Empire to himselfe. For there was no Capitaine of Rome at that time so famous, and of so great estimation as *Verginius*: and that deservedly, for that he had done great service to the Empire of Rome in time of extremity, having delivered Rome at one selfe time from a cruell tyranny, and also from the danger of the Warres of the GAULES. This notwithstanding, *Verginius* persisting still in his first determination, referred the Election of the Emperour unto the Senate: although, that after the death of *Nero* was openly known, the common sort of Souldiers were earnestly in hand with him, and that a Tribune of the Souldiers (otherwise called a Colonel of a thousand men) went into his Tent with a Sword drawn in his hand, and bad *Verginius* either determine to be Emperour, or else to looke to have the Sword thrust into him. Yet after that *Fabius Valens*, Capitaine of a Legion, was sworne unto *Galba*, and that he had received Letters from Rome, advertising him of the Ordinance and Decree of the Senate: in the end, with much ado, he perswaded the Souldiers to proclaim *Galba* Emperour, who sent *Flaccus Ordeonius* to succeed him, unto whom he willingly gave place. So, when *Verginius* had delivered up his Army unto him, he went to meet with *Galba*, on whom he waited, coming on still towards Rome. And *Galba* all that time neither shewed him evill countenance, nor yet greatly esteemed of him, *Galba* himselfe being cause of the one who feared him, and his friends of the other, but specially *Titus Junius*: who for the malice he bare unto *Verginius* thinking to hinder his rising, did unwittingly indeed further his good hap, and delivered him occasion to draw him out of the civill Warres and mischiefs (the which lighted afterwards upon all the other Captaines) and to bring him to a quiet and peaceable life in his age. Furthermore, Ambassadors were sent from the Senate, and met with *Galba* at NARBONA, a City of GAULE: where after they had presented their humble duty, they perswaded him to make all the haste he could possible to shew himselfe to the People of Rome, who were marvellously desirous to see him. *Galba* received them very graciously and courteously, and made them great cheer, howbeit very modestly. For notwithstanding that *Nymphidius* had sent him divers Officers, and store of *Neroes* moveables: yet he would never be served with any of them, at any Feasts or Banquets he made, nor with other then his owne stuffe; wherein he shewed his noble minde, and how he could Master all vanity. But *Titus Junius* shortly after told *Galba*, that this noble minde, and civill moderation, without pride or pompe, was too lowly a manner to flatter the People, and that it was a certaine respect of honesty that knew not it selfe, and became not his greatnesse and majesty. So, he perswaded him to use *Neroes* Money and stuffe, and to be sumptuous and Princely in his Feasts, without niggardinesse. To conclude, the old man *Galba* began plainly to shew, that he would be ruled by *Titus Junius*: who above all other was extreme covetous, and besides too much given to Women. For when he was a young man, the first time he went to the Warres under *The candidus Calvisius* SABINE, he brought his Captaines Wife (which liked good fellowship) disguised one of *Titus* like a Souldier into the Campe, into his Generals Tent (which the ROMANS called *Principia*) *Junius*, and there was somewhat bold with her. Wherefore *Caius Caesar* committed him to Prison, but he escaped

Neroes friends slaine at Rome, by *Nymphidius* commandement.

The Parentage of *Nymphidius*.

Verginius a famous Captain.

Nymphidius
prædict.The Oration
of Antonius
Honorus, Tri-
bune of the
Souldiers, un-
to his mili-
tary Souldiers.Nymphidius as-
pirerh to be
Emperour.Nymphidius
Sabine slaine.

escaped at his death. Another time, when he supped with *Clodius Cesar*, he stole a Silver Pot. *Clodius* hearing of it, bade him againe to supper the next night: but he commanded his men they should give him drinke in a earthen Cruse. Thus this theft (through *Cesar's* pleasancie) seemed rather a matter of sport, then of anger: howbeit the faults which he committed afterwards through extreame covetousnesse of Money (at what time he ruled *Galba*, and bare all the sway about him, gave unto some just cause, and unto others apparent colour of tragical mischiefs, and grievous calamities. For *Nymphidius*, so soone as *Gellianus* was returned out of SPAIN, whom he had sent thither to see what *Galba* did, informing him that *Cornelius Lacon* was Capitaine of the guard and house of the Emperour; and that *Titus Junius* did all in all about him, and that he could never be suffered to come neare *Galba*, nor to speake with him apart, because those which were about *Galba* did mistrust him, and ever had an eye to him to see what he did; he was marvelously perplexed withall. Thereupon he called for all the Centurions, Captaines, and petty Captaines of the Campe of the Pratorian Army, and perswaded them that *Galba* touching his own Person, was a good old and discreet man, howbeit that he did not follow his owne advice and counsell, but was ruled altogether by *Junius* and *Lacon*, who marred all: and therefore, that it were good (before they came to be of greater power, and to have such great authority in managing the affaires of the Empire, as *Tigellinus* had before) to send Ambassadors to the Emperour, in the name of all the Campe, to tell him that in putting those two men from about him, he should be the better welcome to ROME, and to all men else besides. The Captaines utterly misliked this device. For they thought it too strange, and beyond all reason, to seeme to teach an old Emperour, as if he were but a Child that did not know what it was to governe: and to appoint him what Servants and Friends he should keepe, and whom he should trust or mistrust. *Nymphidius* perceiving this, rooke another course, and wrote Letters unto *Galba* o' terrifie him; one time sending him word that he was marvellous evill beloved of many in ROME, and that they were ready to rebell against him: another time also that the Legions of GERMANIE were revolted, and that he understood the like from the Legions of JUDIE and SYRIA: and another time also that *Clodius Macer* in AFRICKE stayed all the Ships fraughted with Corne that were bound for ROME. But in the end finding that *Galba* made no account of him, and that he gave no credit to his words nor writings, he determined first of all to set upon him. Howbeit *Clodius Celsus*, borne in the City of ANTIOCH, a wife man, and his faithfull friend, dissuaded him marvellously not to do it: declaring unto him, that he thought there was no one house nor family in ROME that would call *Nymphidius, Cesar*. Howbeit in contrary manner, divers others mocked *Galba*, and specially one *Mitridates* of the Realme of PONT, that said he was a bald writhen man. For the ROMANS (said he) have him indeed now in some estimation: but when they have once seene him, they will thinke it a perpetual shame and reproach to our time, that he was called *Cesar*. So they thought it good to bring *Nymphidius* about mid-night into the Camp, and there openly to proclaim him Emperour. "Howbeit the chief Tribune of the Souldiers called *Antonius Honoratus* gathered his Souldiers together in the night, and before them all did first openly reprove himselfe, and then them, for that they had so often turned and changed in so short time, without any wit or discretion, having no judgement to choose the best way, but to be pricked forward and carried headlong in that sort by some wicked Spirit, which brought them out of one treason into another. And yet (said he) your first change had some countenance of reason, to wit, the horrible Vices and faults of *Nero*: but now wherein can we accuse *Galba*, to have any countenance to falsifie our faith unto him? hath he slaine his Mother? hath he put her to death? hath he shamefully played the tumbler or common player upon a Scaffold in the Theater? And yet for all these vile parts, we never durst once begin to forsake *Nero*, but gave credit to *Nymphidius* words, who told us that *Nero* had first forsaken us, and that he was fled into ÆGYPT. What shall we do? shall we kill *Galba* after *Nero*? what shall we kill him that is a Kin unto *Livia*, to make the Sonne of *Nymphidia* Emperour, as we have already slain the Son of *Agrippina*? or shall we rather kill him that hath rashly entered into this enterprise, and thereby to revenge the death of *Nero*, and to shew our selves faithfull Souldiers unto *Galba*? All the Souldiers yeelded straight to the Colonels words, and therewith went to their other Companions to perswade them to keepe their faith and promise they avowed unto the Emperour: so that they made many of them revolt againe from *Nymphidius*. Thereupon the noise and crier being great, *Nymphidius* supposing (as some thought) that the Souldiers did call for him, or else hoping betimes to quench this tumult, to stay such as were yet wavering: he went thither himselfe with great store of Torch-light, and carried an Oration in his hand, the which *Ciconius Varro* had made for him, and the which he had learned without booke to speake unto the Souldiers. But when he found the Gates of the Campe shut, and saw divers men armed upon the walls, he began to be afraid: and coming nearer, asked them what they meant by it, and by whose commandement they had armed themselves as they did. Answer was made him by them all, that they acknowledged no other Emperour but *Galba*: the which he seemed to like of, and also commanded them that followed him to do the like, and therewithall drew nearer. Whereupon certaine of the Souldiers that warded at the Gate, did open him the Gate, and suffered him to come in with a few men with him. Howbeit as soone as he was come in, first there was a Dart thrown at him, the which one *Septimius* that went before him received upon his shield: and then others also came with their Swords drawn in their hands to set upon him, and followed him as he fled into a Souldiers Cabine, where they slew him. Then they layed his body in an open place, and railed it about, that every man that would, might the

The cruelty of
Galba.Cornelius Tacitus
callerh him Turpili-
nus.Galba entered
ROME with
murder.The vilenes of
Galba.Hesiodus say-
ing.Galba killeth
Nero's Ser-
vants and Of-
ficers.

the next day see it. So *Nymphidius* being slaine in this sort, *Galba* understanding of his death, commanded that all *Nymphidius* friends and Confederators that had not been slaine at that time, should for his sake be put to death, as indeed they were. Amongst them they slew *Ciconius* that had made the Oration for *Nymphidius*, and *Mitridates* also of PONT. Howbeit, though indeed they had deserved it, yet men thought it a very cruell part to command these men to be put to death in that sort, which were men of such quality and calling as they were, without due forme and order of Law. For every man stood in good hope upon the coming in of this new Emperour, to have seen another manner of Government then they had yet seene: howbeit they were deceived of their hope at the first chop. But yet they misliked this moit of all, when he commanded them to kill *Petronius Tertullianus*, that had been Confull, because he was *Nero's* faithfull friend. But now for the death of *Clodius Macer*, whom *Trebonianus* slew in AFRICKE by his commandement, and for *Ponticus* that was also slaine in GERMANIE by *Valens*, he had some reason to feare them because they were in armes, and commanded great Armies. But for *Tertullianus*, that was an old man, naked and unarmed, truly he should have put him to his Triall by Law, if he would have ministred justice, the which he promised to keepe at his first coming to the Imperiall Crown. Herein they greatly reprov'd *Galba*. Now when he drew neare to ROME within five and twenty Furlongs, he was compassed about with a multitude of Mariners and Sea-faring men, that kept the high-way on every side, wandering up and downe in every place. These were the men whom *Nero* had gathered together into one Legion, and had taken them from the Oare and made them Souldiers. So they were come thither to be Suiters to him, that he would allow them still to be Souldiers; and they pressed so arrogantly upon him, that they would not suffer those which came to the new Emperour, to see him nor speake with him, but they fell to tumult and uproare, crying out to have Ensignes for their Legion, and to be appointed a place to lie in, in Garrison. *Galba* referred them over to another time, and bade them they should then let him understand their demand. They told him againe, that this delay was a kinde of deniall, and thereupon fell to plaine mutiny, and followed him with great cries: inso much that some of them stucke not to draw out their Swords. Then *Galba* commanded the Horsemen he had about him, to set upon them. So there was not a man of them that resisted, but some of them were overthrowne and troden under their Horse feet, and others also slaine as they fled. This was a very evill tigne and presage for him, to enter into ROME with such bloudshed, upon so many poore dead mens bodies as lay slaine on the ground. Howbeit, where some before did despise and mock him for an old feeble man, every man then was afraid of him, and quaked for fear. Furthermore because he would shew a great change and alteration from the unreasonable vaine gifts and expences of *Nero*, it seemeth he did many uncomely things. As when one *Cannus* an excellent Player on the Recorder, had played all supper-time, because it was marvellous sweet Musick to heare, he praised and commended it marvellously, and commanded one to bring him his Casket, out of the which he rooke a few Crowns, and put them into his hand, saying: that it was not Money of the Common-Treasure, but of his own. Furthermore, he gave straight commandement that they should require and call backe againe the Gifts *Nero* had given and bestowed upon common Players, Minstrels, Wrestlers, and People of such kind of faculty and Profession, and to leave them onely the tenth part. But he got little by this device. For the most part of those that had Gifts given them, had spent and consumed it all, as men that lived without any rule or order, and spent at night that which they got in the day: and besides, they were to hunt after them that had either taken or bought any thing of them, and to make them restore it againe. But this was an endlesse worke: for things had been so conveyed from man to man, that in the end it came to an infinit number of mens hands. But of all this, the shame and dishonour returned to *Galba* himself, though the malice and hatred lighted on *Titus Junius*: who onely made the Emperour straight-laced to all others, whilst he himselfe took unreasonably of all men, making port-faile of every thing that came to hand. For *Hesiodus* the Poet saith:

As well when the Vessell is full that it spill,
As when it is empty, thirst craveth drinke still.

But *Junius* perceiving *Galba* to be old and feeble, would wisely take his fortune and time while time served, supposing it almost to be at an end so soone as he began to enter into it. So in the meane time he did much dishonour the poor old man, over-greatly abusing (under cloke of his Authority) the chiefest and weightiest matters, in reproving, or altogether hindring those, the which the Prince himselfe had a good desire to deale uprightly in, as to punish the Officers of *Nero*. For he put some of them to death, among the which *Elius* was one, and certaine other, as *Polyclitus*, *Perennius*, and *Patrobis*: whereat the People marvellously rejoyced, and cried out, as they went to execution through the Marker-place, that it was a goodly and blessed procession, and required *Tigellinus* of the gods and men, that had been chiefe Master and guide of all *Nero's* tyranny. Howbeit the trim man had gotten the vantage, and had largely fed *Junius* before: for afterwards he put poore *Tertullianus* to death, who had neither betrayed nor hated *Nero*, being as he was, and had never offended, nor was partaker of any of the wicked parts he played when he was alive. Whereas he that made *Nero* worthy of death, and that afterwards had also betrayed him, was let alone, and nothing said unto him; being a manifest proove to all others, that they should not doubt to hope to abtaine any thing at *Titus Junius* hands, so they fed him with Gifts. For the common People of ROME never desired any thing so much, as to see *Tigellinus* to be carried to execution: and

and they never left crying out to demand him in all Assemblies of the Theater or shew-place, untill such time as the Emperour *Galba* did forbid them by proclamation, the which declared that *Tigellinus* would not live long, because he was sicke of a consumption of the Lungs, which by little and little did wear him to nothing: and *Galba* prayed the People that they would not make his Empire tyrannicall and bloody. The People were much offended with this, but yet they seemed to laugh at it: and *Tigellinus* did sacrifice to the gods for his health and safety, and prepared a sumptuous Feast. Where *Junius* rising from Supper, being set by the Emperour, went unto *Tigellinus* to be merry with him, and tooke his Daughter being a Widow with him, unto whom *Tigellinus* dranke, and offered her a Gift of five and twentie Myriades of Silver: and commanded one of his chiefeft Concubines to take from her necke a Carcanet she wore, being worth fiftene Myriades, and to give it the other. After he had handled the matter thus, those things that were done uprightly, and with justice, were reproved and taken in evill part: as the thing that was granted to the *GAULES*, because they did rebell with *Vindex*. For men thought that they were not discharged of the Subsidies and Taxes they were wont to pay, nor that they were made free of *ROME*, so much through the bounty and liberality of the Emperour, as it was by *Junius* meanes, of whom they had bought it. For these causes the People hated the Emperour *Galba*. Howbeit the Souldiers still lived in good hope, for the Gift that was promised them at the beginning, thinking that though they had not as much as was promised them, yet they should enjoy as much as *Nero* had given them. But *Galba* understanding that they complained of him, spake a word meet for so noble and worthy a Prince as he was: that he used to choofe Souldiers, not to buy them. This word being reported to the Souldiers, it bred a marvellous mortall hatred in them against him: because they thought it was not onely to take the Gift away from them which they hoped presently to have received, but that it was also a president to teach the Emperours that should come after him, what they should do. Howbeit the rebelling mindes of the Prætorian guard at *ROME* appeared not yet, but was secretly kept in for the reverence they bare unto the Majesty and person of *Galba*, who kept them that were desirous to rebell, because they saw as yet no beginning of any change or alteration. This did somewhat smother and keepe in the shew of their wicked intent. But they which had before served under *Virginius*, and were at that time under *Flaccus* in *GERMANY*, thinking themselves worthy of great reward for the Battell they had wonne against *Vindex*, and having nothing given them in recompence, they would not be pleased with any thing their Captaine said unto them, neither did they make any account of *Flaccus*, because he could not stirre himselfe, he was so plagued with the Gout, and besides that, he had no manner of experience in Warres. So one day when certaine Sports were made, at the bringing in of the which, the Colonels and Captaines (according to the manner of the *ROMANS*) made prayers unto the gods for the health and prosperity of the Emperour *Galba*: there were divers of them that made a noise at the first, and afterwards when the Captaines continued on their Prayers, in the end the Souldiers answered: If they be worthy. The Legions in like manner under *Tigellinus* charge, did oftentimes use such insolent parts: whereof *Galbaes* Officers did advertise him by Letters. Wherefore *Galba* being afraid, and mistrusting that they did not onely despise him for his age, but also because he had no Children, he determined to adopt some young Gentleman for his Sonne, of the noblest house of the City of *ROME*, and to proclaime him his Successour in the Empire. At that time there was one *Marcus Ottho*, of a noble house, but ever given to sensuality and pleasure from his cradle, as much as any *ROMANE* could be. And as *Homer* oftentimes doth call *Paris* the Husband of the faire *Helen*, naming him by the Name of his Wife, because he had no other commendable Vertue in him: even so *Otho* came to be known in *ROME*, by marrying *Poppæa*, whom *Nero* loved when she was *Crispinus* his Wife: howbeit, bearing some respect to his Wife, and being afraid also of his Mother, he had inticed *Otho* to be his baud unto her. *Nero* loved *Otho* dearly, and much delighted in his company, because he was so good a fellow and free of his selfe: and was very glad sometime to hear how he mocked him, calling him niggard. The report went, that as *Nero* on a time was anointing himselfe with precious Oyles and Perfumes, he cast a little upon *Otho* as he went by: who the next day made him a Feast in his house, where suddenly were thrust into the Hall, divers Vessels of Gold and Silver full of this perfumed Oyle, that ran out of them like Conduit-water, and did wet all the Hall. So *Otho* having first possessed *Poppæa*, and abused her under hope of *Neroes* love, he perswaded her to be divorced from her Husband. The which she did, and he received her home to his own house, as his lawfull Wife: no being so well pleased to have part, as he was sorry and angry also to let another enjoy her. Now *Poppæa* her selfe (as it is reported) did not mislike this his jealousy, for sometimes she would shut her door against *Nero*, though *Otho* were not within: either because she would keepe *Nero* in breath, and in love-likeing still, or as some thought, because she would not have *Cæsar* to her Husband: and likewise that she would not refuse him for her friend because he was wantonly given. But so it is, *Otho* was in danger of his life by marrying of *Poppæa*: and so was it also a strange thing, that *Nero* having put his Wife and Sister to death, onely to marry *Poppæa*, he did yet pardon *Otho*, and saved his life. Howbeit it was for *Senecaes* sake that was his friend, through whose perswasion he was sent to the furthest part in *SPAIN* along the Ocean Sea, to be Governour of *LUSITANIA*. And there he governed so wisely, that he was nothing chargeable nor troublesome unto the Countrey: knowing that this honourable charge was given him onely to mitigate and hide his banishment. Afterwards when *Galba* had rebelled, he was the first of all the Governours of the Provinces that joynted with him, and bringing with him all his Plate, both Gold and Silver, unto the Mint-master, he gave it

The noble saying of the Emperour *Galba*.
Galba offended the Souldiers.

Tumult among the Souldiers and Legions of the *Romanes* in *Germany*.

*Otho*es manners.

Poppæa, *Otho*es Wife.

Otho sent *Prætor* into *Lusitania*.

him to put into bullion, and so to be converted into currant Coine. Moreover, he gave of his Officers unto *Galba*, those which he thought the meetest men to serve a Prince: and otherwise when he was tried, he shewed himselfe as faithfull and skillfull in matters of State, as any one that followed the Emperours traine. Inasmuch as all the way he went many daies journey in Coach, with *Galba* himselfe, and did marvellously curry favour with *Titus Junius*, bestowing great Gifts upon him, and also entertaining him with pleasant speeches: but specially, because he willingly gave him the upper-hand, whereby he was assured to be the second person in credit about *Galba*. So in all that he did, he farre excelled *Junius*, for that he granted mens suits frankly and freely without one penny taking, and was besides easie to be spoken with of every man that had any suite to him: but specially of the Souldiers, whom he did greatly helpe and further, and caused divers also to be called to honourable Office, he himselfe partly moving the Emperour for them, without any labour or suite made unto him, and partly also obtaining them at *Junius* hands, and of the two infranchised bondmen of *Galba*, *Isidrus*, and *Asiatius*. For these three men did beare all the sway and credit about the Emperour in the Court. Moreover, alwaies when he invited the Emperour to his house, he bribed the Prætorian Guard that waited upon him, and gave every Souldier a Crown. Now this in fight, seemed chiefly to be done to honour the Emperour with: though indeed it was a fine device to overthrow him, to bribe the Souldiers in that sort as he did. So *Galba* consulting whom he should make his Successour, *Titus Junius* preferred *Otho* unto him: the which he did not simply of himselfe, nor without reward, but onely with promise that *Otho* should marry his Daughter, if *Galba* did adopt him his Sonne, and proclaime him Successour in the Empire. Howbeit, *Galba* did alway specially regard the Common-wealth before his private liking, and sought to adopt such one, as should not so much please himselfe, as otherwise should be profitable and meet for the Empire. But surely in my opinion *Galba* would not make *Otho* Heire of his goods, considering what an unreasonable spender he was, and how sumptuous in all his things, and besides, farre gone in debt: for he ought above fivethousand Myriades. So when he had heard *Junius* counsell about this adoption, he gently without other answer, did put over his determination until another time, and made *Otho* only Confull at that time, and *Titus Junius* Confull with him: whereby it was straight supposed, that at the beginning of the new yeare, he would proclaime him his Successour in the Empire. Which was the thing the Souldiers most desired of all other. But now, delaying still his determination, the Legions of the *ROMANS* in *GERMANY*, did rise and rebell against him all at an instant. For he was generally hated of all his Souldiers, because he paid them not the Gift he had promised them. So they particularly to cloke their malicious intent, alledged for their cause of rising, that he had dishonourably rejected *Verginus Rufus*: and that the *GAULES* which had fought against them, were rewarded with great and rich Priviledges, and they that tooke not part with *Vindex*, had been grievously punished and put to death. Moreover, that *Galba* did onely honour *Vindex* death after he was dead, as acknowledging his good will unto him, offering publique Oblations and funerall Sacrifices for him, as by him onely he had been proclaimed Emperour. Now such such speeches and rumours ran through the Campe amongst them, when the first day of the yeare came, which the *ROMANS* call the Calends of *January*; on which day when *Flaccus* had called the Souldiers together, to sweare them to the Emperour according to the custome, they plucked down *Galbaes* Images, and sware onely in the Name of the People and Senate of *ROME*. The Captaines seeing what course they tooke, were as much afraid of the danger to be without a head, as they stood doubtfull of the mischief of their rebellion. So there slept up one amongst them and said: "My fellows in armes, what do we meane? we neither chuse any other Emperour, nor yet do allow of him that is Emperour at this present: whereby we shew plainly, that we do not onely refuse *Galba*, but also all other to be our head and Emperour that may command us. Now for *Flaccus Ordeonius*, that is but *Galbaes* shadow and Image, I would wish we should let him alone there as he is. And for *Vitellius*, Governour of the lower *GERMANY*, he is not farre from us, but one daies journey onely, whose Father was Censor at *ROME*, and thrice also, Confull, and that was in a manner a Peere and Companion of *Cledius Cæsar* in the Government of the Empire: whose poverty if any man mislike in him, is a manifest proove of his goodnesse and magnanimity. Him therefore let us chuse, and let the world know that we can tell how to chuse an Emperour, better then the *SPANIARDS* or *LUSITANIANS*. Some of the Souldiers that stood by, confirmed these words, but others misliked of them: inasmuch that amongst the rest there was an Ensign-bearer that stole secretly out of the Campe to carry *Vitellius* newes hereof, who that night made a great supper, and had great store of good company with him. These newes running straight through his Campe, *Fabius Valens* Colonell of a Legion, came the next morning with a great number of Horsemen, and was the first man that named *Vitellius* Emperour, who before seemed to refuse that Name, as one that was afraid to take the charge of so great an Empire upon him: but after dinner, being full of Wine and Meate, he came out among them, and accepted the Name of *Germanicus* which they gave him, and refused the Name of *Cæsar*. But therewithall incontinently after, *Flaccus* Souldiers leaving their goodly popular Oath which they had sworne in the Name of the People and Senate, they all then tooke their Oathes faithfully to do what it should please the Emperour *Vitellius* to command them. Thus *Vitellius* was chosen Emperour in *GERMANY*. So *Vitellius* named *Galba* hearing of this new change, thought it not good to deferre time longer for the adoption he had intended: wherefore certainly understanding that those whom he trusted most about him, were parties in this matter, some taking part with *Colabella*, and the most part of them with *Otho*, neither

*Otho*es credit about *Galba*.

*Otho*es practise aspiring to the Empire.

The Legions in *Germany* do rebell against *Galba*.

The Souldiers do rebell against *Galba*.

Vitellius accepted the Name of *Germanicus* but not of *Cæsar*.
Emperour by the Souldiers.

Galba adopted
Piso his Suc-
cessour.
Evil signes
appeared unto
Galba.

liking the one nor the other, suddainly without any word spoken to any man, he sent for *Piso* (that was the younger Sonne of *Crassus* and *Piso*, whom *Nero* had put to death) a young man faire conditioned, and shewed by his grave and modest countenance he had by vertue, that he was endued with many noble vertues. *Galba* came downe presently from his Pallace, and went straight to the Campe to proclaime *Piso*, *Cesar*, and his Successour in the Empire. Howbeit at his setting out of his Pallace, there appeared many great signes in the Firmament which followed him. And moreover when he was also come into his Campe, and that he began to say without booke part of his Oration, and partly also to read it, it lightned all the while he speake, and there fell such a great shower of raine upon it, and a marvellous thicke Mist in the Campe, and over all the City, that men might easily see the gods did not like this adoption, and that it would not prosper. The Souldiers themselves shewed their discontentment by their heavy looks, and the rather, because at that time there was no speech of reward or liberality. And furthermore, they that were present also marvelled much (for that they could gather by the countenance and words of *Piso*) that *Piso* nothing rejoiced at this great favour, although he lacked not wit and understanding otherwise to acknowledge it. And on the other side also, they found easily by *Orb's* looks, many signes and proofes that he was marvellously offended in his minde, to see that he was thus deceived of his hope. For he being the man that was first spoken of, and thought most worthy of all other, and being come also so neare unto it, no to see himselfe thus whipped out of it, he supposed that it was a plaine proofe that *Galba* had no good opinion of him, and that he maliced him in his heart, so that after that time he still stood in feare of his life. For he being afraid of *Piso*, hating also *Galba*, and being grievously offended with *Titus Junius*, he went his way full of divers thoughts in his minde. But the Soothsayers, Astronomers, and Chaldeans, which he ever kept about him, did perswade him not to be discouraged for this, nor to cast all hope aside: and specially one *Ptolomy*, in whom he had great confidence, because he had oftentimes before fore-told and assured him, that *Nero* should not put him to death, but contrarily, that *Nero* should die first, and he himselfe survive him, and should become Emperour of Rome. Whereby *Ptolomy* having proved his first Prediction true unto him, he bade him be bold, and feare not that to come. But now besides him, those that secretly complained unto him, did prick him forward the more, fighting to see him so evil dealt with by *Galba*, and divers of them chiefly, which bare great authority and credit about *Tigellinus* and *Nymphidius*: who being then cast off, and discountenanced, came all unto him, and stirred him up the more. As amongst others, *Veturius* and *Barburius* chiefly, of the which the one had been *Optio*, and the other *Tesserarius*: (for so the Romans call those that be their Messengers, Spials, and Officers to the Captaines) who with an enfranchised bondman of his called *Onomastus*, went unto the Campe, and there corrupted some Souldiers with ready Money, and other some with faire words, being of themselves evil inclined, and expected but occasion to utter their malice. For otherwise had the Souldiers been all of one minde, it had not been an enterprize to have been brought to passe in foure daies space (being no more betwixt the adoption and murther) to make a whole Campe rebell in that fort. For they were slaine the fifteenth day of *January*, on which day *Galba* did sacrifice in the morning within his Pallace, before his friends. But at that time the Soothsayer called *Ombrius*, when he had the Intrails of the Beasts sacrificed in his hands, and had looked upon them, he spake not doubtfully but plainly, that he saw signes of great tumult and rebellion, and that the Emperour was in present danger of great treason. Whereby it plainly appeared, that the gods had put *Galba* into *Orb's* hands: for he stood at that time behinde *Galba*, and both heard and saw all that the Soothsayers did. So he seeming to be grieved withall in his minde, and his colour changing oft for for the feare he was in, his enfranchised bondman *Onomastus* came and told him, that the Masons and chiefe Carpenters were come to speake with him, and tarried for him. This was the watch-word agreed upon between them, at which time *Orb* should then go unto the Souldiers. Then *Orb* said, that he went to looke to an old house he had bought, which was falling downe, and in decay, and that he would shew it unto the Work-men. So he went his way, and came from the Pallace, by the place they call *Tiberius* house, into the Market-place, where the golden Pillar standeth, where also the greatest high-waies of all *Italy* do meet together. There certaine met him that first called him Emperour, which were not in all above three and twenty Persons. Thereupon, though *Orb* was not unconstant, as it appeared (notwithstanding he was so fine and effeminate a man) but rather resolute and stout in instant danger: yet feare so oppressed him at that time, that he would faine have left his enterprize. Howbeit the Souldiers would not suffer him, but compassing his Litter round about with their Armes, and their Swords drawn in their hands, they commanded the Littermen to go forward. So *Orb* as he went hastening on his drivers, he often muttered to himselfe, I am but dead, Some hearing him as they passed by him, rather wondered, then that they were otherwise troubled, to see such a small number of men about him, that they durst venture upon so hard an enterprize. Now as he was carried through the Market-place, he was met withall by certaine others, and afterwards by others, by three and by foure in a company: all which came and joynd with him, and cried *Cesar*, *Cesar*, having their Swords drawn in their hands. Now the Colonell appointed for that day to guard the Field of *Mars*, knew nothing of this conspiracy, but being amazed and afraid with their suddaine coming, he suffered them to come in. So when *Orb* was come in, he found no man that resisted him. For they that knew nothing of the practise, being compassed in with those that were made privy to it, and had knowne it of long time, being found straggling here and there, by one and by two, they followed the rest for feare at the first, and afterwards

I solom's Pre-
dictions of O-
mbrius Emper.

Optio and *Tes-
serarius*, why to
called by the
Romans.
Orb bribed the
Iudeorian
Souldiers.

The preface of
Ombrius the
Soothsayer,
touching the
treason practi-
sed against
Galba.

Orb called
Emperour.

Orb received
of the Pæro-
rian Souldiers.

afterwards for good will. This was brought straight to *Galba* to the Pallace, the Soothsayer being yet busie about this Sacrifice: inasmuch that they which before gave no credit to those Divinations, began then to marvell much at this heavenly signe. Then there ran immediately a great number of People from the Market-place, unto the Pallace. Thereupon *Junius* and *Lacon*, and certain other of *Galba's* enfranchised bondmen, stood to Guard *Galba's* person with their Swords drawne in their hands. *Piso* also went to speake unto the Souldiers that guarded the Emperours person. Moreover, because the *ILLYRIAN* Legion lay out of the Campe in a place called *Vipanna*, they dispatched away *Marinus Celsus* with all speed, a very honest man to get that place. *Galba* in the meane time stood in doubt whether he should come out of the Pallace or not: for *Junius* would not let him go, but *Celsus* and *Lacon* perswaded him to go out: inasmuch as they fell at great words with *Junius* that went about to dissuade him from it. In this stirre there ranne a rumour that *Orb* was slaine in the Field. Immediately after came *Julius Articus*, one of the noblest men of all the Emperours guard, and shewed his Sword drawne, crying that he had slaine *Cæsar's* Enemy: and thrust through the presse, and got to *Galba*, and shewed him his Sword bloudied. *Galba* looking him in the face, asked him who commanded him to do it. The Souldier answered him: the Faith and Oath he had made unto him: Therewithall the People that stood by cried out, it was nobly done of him, and clapped their hands for joy. Then *Galba* taking his Litter, went out of his Pallace to do Sacrifice to *Jupiter*, and also to shew himselfe openly. Howbeit he was no sooner come into the Market-place but he heard contrary newes, that *Orb* was Lord and Master of the whole Campe and Army. Then as it happeneth in so great a presse of People, some cried out to him to returne backe againe, others would have him to go forward: others had him be afraid of nothing, and others willed him to looke to himselfe. So his Litter being thus turmoiled to and fro, as toft upon the Sea, sometime borne backe, other-while carried forward, first of all they saw certain Horsemen, and then Footmen also armed, coming from *Paulus* Pallace, all of them together crying out with loud voice, Hence, hence, private man. Then all the People set upon a running, not flying dispersedly, but in heapes, upon Porches and Stalls in the Market-place, as it had been to have seene some sight or sport. Then one called *Attilius* * *Sarcello*, overthrew one of the Images of *Galba*, which was as it were a beginning of open Warres. Others round about threw Darts on every side of him against his Litter. But when they saw they could not kill him, then they came nearer to his Litter with their Swords drawn in their hands, and never a man of his left with him to offer to defend him, saving one man onely, whom the Sonne saw that day, amongst so many thousands of men, worthy of the Empire of Rome: and he was called * *Sempronius*. He having received privately no manner of pleasure at *Galba's* hand, but onely to discharge his Oath and duty stepped before the Litter, and lifting up a Vine Branch he had in his hand (with the which the Romans Captaines do use to beate their Souldiers that have offended) he fell out with them that did set upon him, and prayed them to hold their hands, and not to hurt their Emperour. But in the end when he saw they would not leave, but that they fell to it in good earnest, he then drew his Sword, and bare off the blowes as well as he could, until they hought him, that he fell to the ground. Then *Galba's* Litter being overthrowne right in the place called *Curtius* Lake, *Galba* lay on the ground armed in his Curaces. The traitorous Souldiers flew upon him, and gave him many a wound: and *Galba* holding out his necke unto them, bad them strike hardly, if it were to do their Country good. So he had many wounds on his Armes and his thighs, as it is reported: howbeit the Souldier that slew him was called *Camurius*, of the fifteenth Legion. Others do report that it was one *Terenius*, other also say *Arcadius*: and some other do call him *Fabius Pabulus*: who having stricken off his head, wrapped it in the lap of his Gown, because he could not otherwise take hold of it, for that he was all bald. Howbeit his fellowes and consorts would not suffer him to hide it, but rather that his notable fact he had done should be seene. Therefore he set it upon the point of his Lance, and so shaking the face of this poor old man, (a wife and temperate Prince, and chiefe Bishop, and Consull) he ran up and down (like mad Women possessed with the spirit and fury of *Bacchus* at the Feasts of *Bacchus*) bowing down his Launce being all of a gore blood. When his head was brought to *Orb*, it is said he cried out aloud: Tush, my fellowes, this is nothing, unless you bring me also *Piso's* head. So not long after, they brought him his head also. For the young man being hurt, fled, and was followed by one called * *Marcus*, who slew him hard by the Temple of *Vesta*. So did they also kill *Titus Junius*: who openly confessed that he was one of the conspiracy against *Galba*, and cried out to them that slew him, that *Orb* did not know that they did kill him. This notwithstanding, the Souldiers strake off his head and *Lacon's* also, and brought them both to *Orb* to receive the reward. Howbeit, as the Poet *Archilochus* saith:

Of seven peradventure slaine dead on the ground,
A thousand will say, that they all gave the wound.

So there was divers men at that time, who being no partakers of this murther, had bloudied all their hands and Swords, and so shewed them bloudied to have reward also: but *Vitellus* notwithstanding made enquiry of them afterwards, and caused them to be put to death. There came into the Field also, one *Marinus Celsus*, whom divers men accused to have perswaded the Souldiers to aide *Galba*, and the common People cried out, and bad he should be put to death. Howbeit *Orb* would not suffer them to kill him: and yet being afraid to contrary the Souldiers minde, he told them they should not kill him so rashly, because he was first to learne some things more of him.

A shamefull
lie of a Soul-
dier.

Tumult for
Galba.

* *Tacitus* doth
call him *Vir-
gilio*.

* *Cornelius Ta-
citus* doth call
him *Desius*.

The valiant-
nesse and fide-
lity of *Sem-
pronius* in dis-
charge of his
Oath to the
Emperour
Galba.
The death of
Sempronius.
The death of
Galba: and his
words at his
death.

* Others do
reade *Marcus*.
The murther
of *Piso*, and
Titus Junius.

The Senate
swear by the
Name of O-
tho.

Citizens heads
fold at Rome.

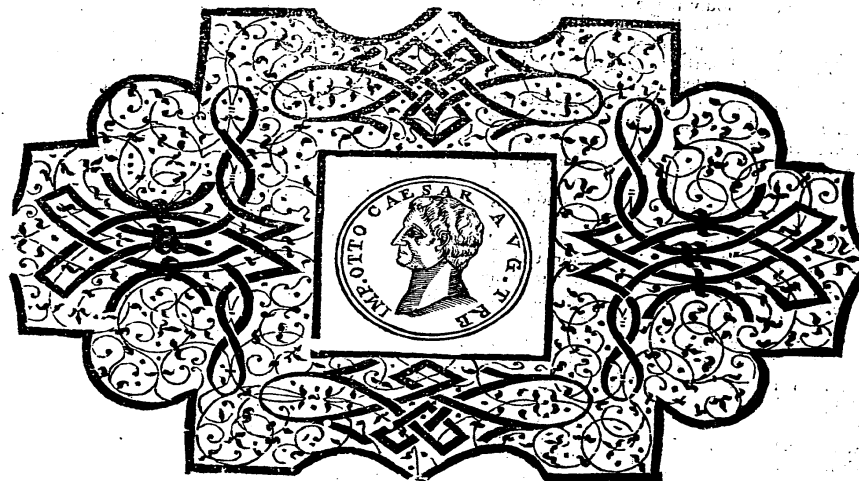
So he commanded them to binde him, and delivered him to be kept of those he trusted most. Afterwards the Senate was presently affrabled: who as if men had been suddainly changed from them they were, or as if there had been new gods, they all sweare by the Name of *Otho*, (the which Oath he himselfe had before sworne unto *Galba*, and did not keepe it) and called him besides, *Augustus* and *Cesar*; the bodies of them that were flaine lying yet headlesse on the ground in the Market-place, all in their Consuls Robes. And as for their heads, the Souldiers after they could tell no more what to do with them, they sold the head of *Titus Junius* unto his Daughter, for the summe of two thousand five hundred Drachmes. And for *Piso's* head, his Wife through intreaty begged it of one *Veranius*. On the other side, for *Galba's* head, they gave it unto *Patrobis* and *Vitellius* Servants: who, after they had used it as vilely as they should devise, they threw it at length in a place where their bodies are cast, whom the *Cesars* put to death, the which they call *Sestertium*. Now for his Body *Helvidius Priscus*, through *Otho's* sufferance, carried it away, and *Argus*, one of his enfranchised bondmen, buried it by night. Thus have you heard the History of *Galba*, a man that in nobility and wealth was inferior to few *ROMANS*, and in them both was the chiefest man of all his time, and had alway lived in honourable fame and estimation, in the Reigne of five Emperours. So that he overcame *Nero* by his good Name, and the good opinion men had of him, and not through his own force and power. For of them that strove to make themselves Emperours at that time, some found no man that thought them worthy of it: others did put forth themselves, as thinking themselves worthy of it. Howbeit *Galba* was called unto it, and obeyed them that called him, using his Name against *Vindex* boldnesse: whereby he procured, that his rising (which before was called innovation and rebellion) was then called civill Warre, after that his faction came to have a man to be their head, thought worthy to be their Emperour. And therefore he did not so much desire to be Emperour for himselfe, as to do good to his Countrey and Common-wealth. But yet he erred, in seeking to command the Souldiers, whom *Tigellinus* and *Nymphidius* had spoiled by their flatteries: even as in old time *Scipio*, *Fabius*, and *Camillus* did command the Souldiers of the Empire of *ROME* at that time. So he being now a very old man, shewed himselfe a good Emperour and after the old sort, in his behaviour towards the Souldiers onely: but in all other things else, being carried away with the covetousnesse of *Titus Junius* and *Laco*, and of other his enfranchised bondmen, he left none desirous to be governed by him, but many that were sorry for his death.

The end of the Life of Galba.



TEH

THE LIFE OF O T H O.



Ann. Mund.
4020

Post. Christ.
70



THE next morning, the new Emperour by breake of day went unto the Capitoll, and sacrificed, and there sent for *Marinus Celsus* to come unto him, whom he courteously saluted, and prayed him rather to forget the cause of his imprisonment, then to remember his delivery. *Marinus Celsus* made him a wife and noble answer againe, and said, that the matter for the which they would have accused him unto him, did witness his behaviour, shewing himselfe faithfull unto *Galba*, who never did him any pleasure. These words of them both did marvellously please the people: and so did they like the souldiers also wonderfully well. Moreover, after he had very favourably and graciously taken order for matters in the Senate, the rest of the time he had to be Consull, he employed partly about *Verginus Rufus*; and did also establish them Consulls in their place and degree, which had been called unto that dignity by *Nero*, or otherwise by *Galba*: and he also honoured the oldest Senators and of greatest estimation, with certaine Priesthoods. Besides all this, he restored unto all those Senatours that were banished by *Nero* and called home againe, all their goods yet unfold. Whereupon the chiefest Magistrates and Noblemen of the City that quaked before for fear, supposing that he was not a man, but rather a divell or fury of hell that was come to be Emperour, they all became glad men, for the good hope of this smiling and gracious reigne they were so lately entred into. Moreover, nothing pleased all the *ROMANS* together more, nor wanne him the good will of all men so much, as that he hid unto *Tigellinus*: for it was punishment enough for him, if he had no more but the feare of the punishment every man threatened him withall, as a thing due to the Common-wealth, and also by reason of the incurable diseases his body was infected withall. Now, though the Noblemen thought his unreasonable insolency and lust of the flesh (following naughty-packs and common Strumpets, burning still in filthy concupiscence) an extreme punishment, comparable to many deaths; and being also no better then a dead man in a manner, still following pleasure and sensuality as long as he could: this notwithstanding, all men were offended with him, that they should see such a wicked creature as he live, that had put so many Noblemen to death. So *Otho* sent for him, who lived very pleasantly at his houses in the Countrey, by the City of *SINUSSEA*, and had ships ever ready upon the Sea Coast, to flee if necessity drave him to it. Thereupon he first sought to bribe him with money which was sent with Commission to apprehend him, and perswaded him to let him escape: but when he saw he could not frame him to his mind, yet he refrained not to give him gifts, and prayed him to give him leave to shave his beard. The other granted him. Then *Tigellinus* tooke a razor, and did cut his

Otho's moderation at the beginning of his reigne.

Eccc

his

Paulinus, Othoes
Captain, accus-
ed for a coward

Bebricum a
Town by re-
mana.
Othoes conful-
tation of giv-
ing battell.

Fresh water
fouldiers la-
ment their
pleasant life at
Rome, not feel-
ing the paines
and smart of a
fouldier.

Secundus the
Orator, secreta-
ry unto Otho
the Emperour.

Vitellius a
drunkard and
glutton.
Otho a wanton
and licentious
liver.

with his choice men of Armes, and did not follow them over rashly, but compassed in the place where the Ambush lay, the which he raised, and in the meane time sent to his Campe with all possible speed to his footmen to make haste thitherward: and it seemeth, that if they had come in time, they had not left one of their enemies alive, but had marched upon the bellies of all *Cecinna's* Army, if they had followed the horsemen in time, as they should have done. But *Paulinus* being come too late to aide them, for that he came so slowly, he was burdened that he did not the duty of a Captaine that bare the name and countenance he carried. Furthermore, the common fouldiers accused him of treason unto *Otho*, and stirred up their Emperour against him, and spake very bigge words of themselves, saying, that they had overcome for their owne parts, had not the cowardlinesse of their owne Captaines been, who put them by the victory. So *Otho* did not trust him so much, that he would not make him beleefe but that he mistrusted somewhat. Therefore he sent his brother *Titianus* to the Campe, and *Proclus* with him, Captaine of the Prætorian Guard, who indeed commanded all; but in fight, *Titianus* had all the honour, as bearing the name of the Emperours Lieutenant. *Marinus Celsus* and *Paulinus* followed after, bearing the name of Counsellors and friends onely: howbeit otherwise they medled with nothing, neither had any authority given them. On the other side, the enemies were in as much trouble as they, and those specially whom *Valens* led. For when newes was brought of the conflict that was betwene them in this Ambush, they were angry with him, because they were not at it, and for that he had not led them thither, to helpe their men that were slaine: inso much that he had much adoe to pacifie and quiet them, they were so ready to have slowne upon him. So *Valens* at length removed his Campe, and went and joyned with *Cecinna*. Howbeit *Otho* being come to his Campe at the Towne of *BEBRICUM*, which is a little Towne hard by *CREMONA*, he consulted with his Captaines whether he should give battell or not. So *Proclus* and *Titianus* gave him counsell to fight, considering that the fouldiers were very willing to it, by reason of the late victory they had wonne, and wished him not to deferre it: for thereby he should but discourage his Army, which was now willing to fight, and also give their enemies leisure to stay for their Chieftaine *Vitellius*, who came himself out of *GAULE*. But *Paulinus* in contrary manner alledged, that the enemies had all their force and power present, with the which they thought to fight with them, and also to overcome them, and that they wanted nothing: whereas *Otho* looked for another Army out of *MYRIA* and *PANNONIA*, as great an Army as his enemies had already, so that he could tarry his time, and not serve his enemies turne: and also, that if the fouldiers being now but a few in number were willing to fight, they should then be much more encouraged, when they should have greater company, and should also fight with better safety. Furthermore he perswaded them, that to delay time was for their avails, considering that they had plenty and store of all manner of provision: where the enemies on the other side, being also in their enemies Countrey, their victuals would quickly faile them. *Marinus Celsus* liked very well of these perswasions; and so did *Annius Gallus*, who was not present at this counsell (but gone from the Campe, to be cured of a fall he had from his horse) but he was written to by *Otho* to have his opinion also. So *Annius Gallus* returned answer, that he thought it not best to make haste, but to stay for the Army that came out of *MYRIA*, considering they were onwards on their way. Howbeit *Otho* would not hearken to this counsell, but followed their minds that concluded of battell: for the which were alledged divers occasions. But the chiefeft and likeliest cause of all was, that the fouldiers which are called the Prætorian Guard (being the daily guard about the Emperours person) finding then in effect what it was to professe to be a fouldier, and to live like a fouldier, they lamented their continuing in *ROME*, where they lived at ease and pleasure, feasting and banqueting, never feeling the commodities and bitter paines of war: and did therefore so earnestly cry out to fight, that there was no staying of them, as if they should at their first cry and setting forward, have overthrowne their enemies. Moreover, it seemed also that *Otho* himselfe could no more away with the feare and doubt of the uncertaine successe to come, neither could any longer abide the grievous thoughts of the danger of his estate, he was so effeminate, and unacquainted with sorrow and paines. This was the cause that carried him on headlong, as a man that shutteth his eyes falling from a high place, and so to put all at adventure. The matter is thus reported by *Secundus* the Orator, and *Othoes* Secretary: Others also do report, that both Armies had divers determinations and minds: as to joyne all together in one Campe, and joyntly to chuse among them, if they could agree, the worstliest man of all the Captaines that were there: if not, then to assemble the whole Senate in a place together, and there to suffer the Senators to chuse such a one Emperour, as they liked best of. And sure it is very likely it was so, considering that neither of them both which were then called Emperours, was thought meet for the place they had: and therefore that these counsells and considerations might easily fall into the *ROMANE* fouldiers heads (who were wise men and expert fouldiers) that indeed it was a thing for them justly to dislike, to bring themselves into the like miserable time and calamity, which their predecessors before them had caused one another to suffer: first for *Sylla* and *Marinus* sakes, and afterwards for *Cæsar* and *Pompey*; and now to bestow the Empire of *ROME* either upon *Vitellius*, to make him the abler to follow his drunkennesse and gluttony: or else upon *Otho*, to maintaine his wanton and licentious life. This was the cause that moved *Celsus* to delay time, hoping to end the wars without trouble and danger: and that caused *Otho* to make the more haste, being afraid of the same. Howbeit *Otho* returning backe againe into *BRESSELLES*, he committed another fault, not onely because he tooke his mens

good-

The Town of
Bressilla is hard
by the River of
Po.

good will from them to fight, the which his presence, and the reverence they bare unto him did put in them: but because also he carried away with him for the Guard of his person, the valiantest fouldiers and most resolute men of all his host. About that time there chanced a skirmish to fall out by the River of *Po*, because *Cecinna* built a bridge over it, and *Othoes* men did what they could to hinder them. Howbeit when they saw they prevailed not, they laid certaine Barges with Faggots and dry wood, and rubbed over with brimstone and pitch, and setting them one fire, they sent them downe the streame. When the Barges were in the midst of the streame; there suddenly arose a winde out of the River, which blew upon this wood-stake they had prepared to cast among the enemies workes of this Bridge, that first made it smoake, and immediately after fell on a flame; which did so trouble the men in their Barges, that they were driven to leape into the River to save themselves: and so they lost their Barges, and became themselves also prisoners to their enemies, to their great shame and mockery. Furthermore, the *GERMANES* under *Vitellius*, fighting with *Othoes* Fencers, which of them should win a little Island in the midst of the River, they had the upper hand, and slew many of the Fencers. Thereupon *Othoes* fouldiers which were in *BEBRICUM*, being in a rage withall, and would needs fight, *Proclus* brought them into the field, and went and Camped about fifty furlongs out of the City; so fondly, and to so little purpose, that being the spring of the yeare, and all the Countrey thereabout full of brookes and rivers, yet they notwithstanding lacked water. The next morning they raised their Campe to meete with their enemies the same day, and were driven to march above an hundred furlongs. Now *Paulinus* perswaded them to go faire and softly, and not to make more hast then needed; and would not so soone as they should come (being wearied with their journey and travell) set upon their enemies that were well armed, and besides had leisure and time enough to set their men in battell ray, whilest they were coming so longa journey with all their carriage. Now the Captaines being of divers opinions about this matter, there came a horseman from *Otho*, one of those they call the Nomades, that brought them letters, in the which *Otho* commanded them to make all the hast they could, and to lose no time, but to march with all speed towards the enemies. So when the letters were reade, the Captaines presently marched forward with their Army. *Cecinna* understanding of their coming, was astonished at the first, and suddenly forooke the worke of his bridge to returne to his Campe, where he found the most part of his fouldiers ready armed, and *Valens* had given them their signal and word of battell. And in the meane time, whilest the Legions were taking their places to set themselves in battell ray, they sent out before, the choice horsemen they had, to skirmish. Now there ranne a rumour (no man knew how, nor upon what cause) that *Vitellius* Captaines would turne on *Othoes* side in battell inso much that when these men of Armes came neare to meete with the vaward of *Othoes* Army, *Othoes* men did speake very gently to them, and called them companions. *Vitellius* men on the other side tooke this salutation in evill part, and answered them again in a rage, as men that were willing to fight: Inso much that those which had spoken to them, were quite discouraged: and the residue also began to suspect their companions which had spoken to them, and mistrusted them to be traytors. And this was the chiefeft cause of all their disorder, being ready to joyne battell. Furthermore, on the enemies side also, all was out of order: for the beatts of carriage ranne in amongst them that fought, and so did put them marvellously out of order. Besides that also, the disadvantage of the place where they fought, did compell them to disperse one from another, because of sundry ditches and trenches that were between them, whereby they were compelled to fight in diverse companies together. So there were but two Legions onely, the one of *Vitellius*, called the Devourer: and the other of *Otho*, called the Helper: which getting out of these holes and ditches apart by themselves, in a good plain even ground, fought it out so a long time together in good order of battell. *Othoes* fouldiers were men of goodly personages, strong and valiant of their hands, howbeit they had never served in the warres, nor had ever foughten battell but that. And *Vitellius* men on the other side, were old beaten fouldiers, and had served all their youth, and knew what wars and battells meant. So when they came to joyne, *Othoes* men gave such a lusty charge upon the first onfet, that they overthrow, and slew all the first ranke, and also wanne the Ensigne of the Eagle. *Vitellius* men were so ashamed of it, and therewith in such a rage, that they tooke heart againe unto them, and ran in so desperately upon their enemies, that at the first they slew the Colonel of all their Legions, and wanne divers Ensignes. And furthermore, against *Othoes* Fencers (which were accounted the valiantest men, and readiest of hand) *Varus Alphenus* brought his men of Armes called the *BATAVIA*, which are *GERMANES* in the lowest part of *GERMANIE*, dwelling in an Island compassed about with the River of *Rhene*. There were few of his Fencers that stucke by it, but the most of them ranne away towards the River, where they found certaine Ensignes of their enef in battell ray, who put them all to the sword, and not a man of them escaped with life. But above all other, none proved more beatts and cowards, then the Prætorian guard. For they would not tarry till the enemies came to give them charge, but cowardly turned their backs, and fled through their owne men that were not overthrow: and so did both disorder them, and also make them afraid. This notwithstanding, there was a great number of *Othoes* men who having overthrowne the vaward of those that made head against them, they forced a lane through their enemies that were conquerours, and so valiantly returned backe into their Campe. But of their Captaines, neither *Proclus* nor *Paulinus* durst returne backe with them, but fled another way, being afraid of the fury of the fouldiers, that they would lay all the fault of their overthrow upon their Captaines. Howbeit

Ecccj

Annius

Battell betwixt
the *Othobians*
and *Vitellians*.
Legions called
by preynames
Devourer, Hel-
per.

The valian-
nesse of the
BATAVIA
warres.

Note the crim
service of Fen-
cers, and what
fouldiers they
be.

The *Othobians*
overcome in
battell by the
Vitellians.

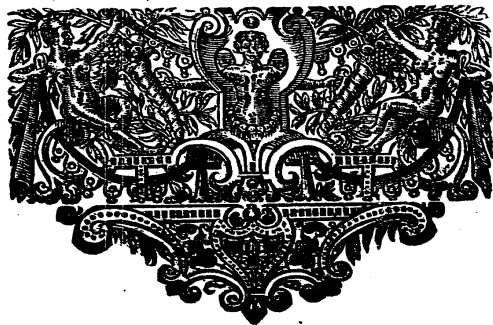
The cowardly
nesse of the
fresh water
fouldiers.

Marinus Celsus
Orator to *Otho*:
these fouldiers
perswading
them to go to
Vitellius.

The Emperor
Othoes tombe in
the City of
Bresselles.
Othoes age and
reigne.

have seene his Tombe in the City of BRESSELLES a meane thing, and the Epitaph upon it translated out of Latine, saith no more but this: This is the Tombe of *Marcus Otho*. He died being but seaven and thirty yeares old, and was Emperour but three moneths: and there were as famous men that commended his death, as they that reproved his life. For though he lived not much more honest than *Nero*, yet he died farre more honourably. Furthermore, when *Pellio* one of the Captaines would have compelled his souldiers presently to have taken their oathes to be true to *Vitellius*, they fell out with him: and understanding that there were yet remaining some Senators, they would not medle with them, but onely troubled *Verginius Rufus*. For they came to his doores armed, and called him by his name, and commanded him to take charge of them, and to go as Ambassador to intreate for them. Howbeit he thought it were but a fond part of him to take charge of them that were already overcome, considering he refused it when they had overcome: and also he was afraid to go Ambassador to the GERMANES, because he had compelled them to do things against their wills. Therefore he went out at his backe doore, and saved himselfe. So when the souldiers heard of it, they were at length contented to be brought to be sworne unto *Vitellius*: and so joynd themselves with *Cecinnaes* souldiers, so they might be pardoned for all that was past.

The end of Othoes Life.

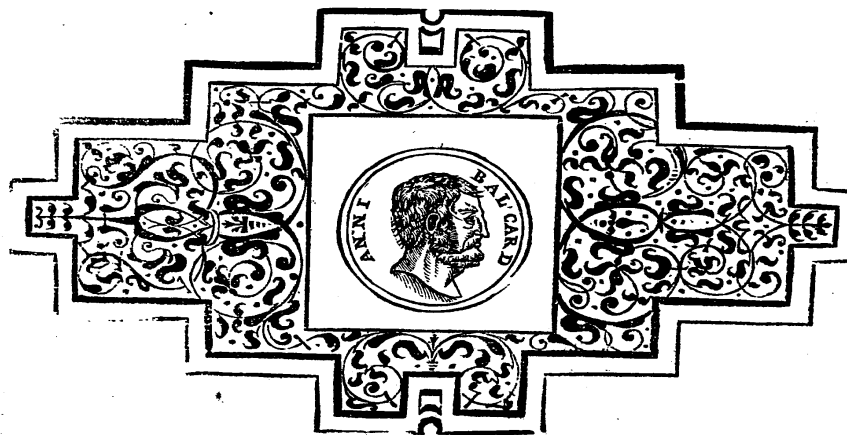


THE



THE LIVES OF HANNIBAL and SCIPIO African.

Translated into French by
CHARLES de la SVOCE,
And Englished by
ST. THOMAS NORTH.



Ann. Mund.
3713

Ant. Christ.
235

Hannibal.

IF we do call to mind the first PUNICK warre the CARTHAGINIANS had with the ROMANES, we shall find many Captaines who by the glory of their noble deeds have left great fame and renown unto their posterity. Howbeit amongst all the Captaines of the CARTHAGINIANS, none are found more worthy of fame, and so commended of all Greeke and Latine Authors, then *Hamilcar*, *Hannibal*'s father, otherwise surnamed *Barcho*, a valiant man doubtlesse, and in his time a skillfull souldier as any was. The same *Hamilcar*, first of all made warre with the ROMANES, a longer time in SICILE then was looked for, who had done great hurt to his Country and Common-wealth. After that also in the warres of AFRICKE (at what time the mercenary souldiers through their rebellion did put the Country of CARTHAGE in great danger) he did so valiantly appease the insurrection, that to every mans judgement, he was reputed the onely preserver of his Country. Then he was sent Governor and Captain into SPAIN, and carried with him at that time (as it is reported) his son *Hannibal*, being but a young boy, where he did noble service. In fine, in the ninth year of his abode there in that Province, he died fighting valiantly against the VATHONS. After his death, *Hannibal* his

The parentage
of *Hannibal*.

for

The sharpe wit and disposition of Hannibal.

Hannibal chosen Lieutenant General after the death of Hasdrubal, being but twenty six yeares old.

Divers causes of Hannibals mortal hate to the Romanes.

The Barcinian faction.

Iberus R.

The conspiracy of the Spaniards against Hannibal.

Tagus R.

Hannibals stratagems.

son in law (whom the CARTHAGINIANS through the aide and friendship of the BARCINIAN faction had made General of all their Army) remained Governour there the space of eight years. This *Hasdrubal* sent for *Hannibal* into SPAIN, after his father *Hamilcar*'s death, against the minds of the chiefe of the contrary faction; to the end that as he had been trained from his youth in the discipline of wars, in his father *Hamilcar*'s life: even so in like manner, that now being come to mans state, he should the better harden his body, to away with the paines and dangers of the warres. Now although at the first, the remembrance of his father was a great helpe unto him to win the love and good will of the souldiers: yet he himself afterwards, through his diligence and industry so handled the matter, that the old souldiers forgetting all other Captaines, they onely desired to choofe him (and none other) for their governour. For they found in him all the perfections that could be wished for in a noble Captaine or General. He had a present and ready wit to give counsell what was to be done, in greatest attempts: and besides, he lacked neither manhood nor industry to put it in execution. He had a valiant and invincible mind, even in greatest dangers and adversities of body: the which are wont to stay others from performing their endeavors and duty. He would watch and ward as any private souldier, and was quick and ready to do any kind of service, either like a valiant souldier, or a good Captaine. In this sort *Hannibal* continued in service in the wars, the space of three yeares, under the conduct of *Hasdrubal*. In that time he won the hearts of all the Army, that immediately after *Hasdrubal*'s death, he was chosen to be Lieutenant General, with the common consent of all the souldiers: and this honour was laid upon him without contradiction of any of the CARTHAGINIANS, through the friendship and good will of the BARCINIAN faction. *Hannibal* was now sixe and twenty yeares old, when the souldiers made him their Lieutenant General. For at what time his father *Hamilcar* brought him into SPAIN, he was then but nine yeares old: and from that time unto *Hasdrubal*'s death (according to *Polybius* declaration) it was seventeen yeares moe. So he was no sooner made Lieutenant General of all the Campe, and his Country, but he bent himselfe to make war with the ROMANES: having long before determined it. For first of all, he chiefly maintained almost a common hate of all the CARTHAGINIANS against the ROMANES, because of the losse of SICILIE and SARDINIA. Besides also, he bare them secret malice in nature, as a thing inheritable from his father *Hamilcar*: who of all the Captaines the CARTHAGINIANS ever had, was the mortallest enemie unto the ROMANES. And it is written also, that at what time *Hamilcar* made his preparation to go into SPAIN, he compelled *Hannibal* (being but a boy) to sweare in a sacrifice he made, that he would be a mortall enemie to the ROMANES, as soon as ever he came to the state of a man. So, the remembrance of these things were still fresh in the young mans mind, as the Idea (or Image) of his fathers hate, and still provoked him to spie out all the meanes he could, how to destroy the Empire of ROME. Besides also, the BARCINIAN faction never left to prick him forward unto it, because by wars he might raise himselfe to greatnesse, and so increase his estate. These causes, as well common as particular, inticed *Hannibal* to attempt war against the ROMANES, and gave the stout young man occasion by these meanes to practise innovation. There was a people at that time called the SAGUNTINES, who confined indifferently betwixt the ROMANES and CARTHAGINIANS: and were left free by the former peace concluded. These SAGUNTINES ever after tooke part with the ROMANES and by meanes of the league that was made betwixt them, the ROMANES always found them very true and faithful to the Empire of ROME. *Hannibal* therefore thought with himself, he could not devise to make a better match to anger the ROMANES withall, and to kindle the fire of his malice also against them, then to make war with the SAGUNTINES their confederates. Howbeit, before he would be openly seen to set upon them, he first determined to lead his Army against the OLCADES, and other people on the other side of the River *Iberus*: and after he had overcome them, then to finde occasion to molest the SAGUNTINES, to make it appear that the war was rather begun by them, then purposely intended by him. So after he had overcome the OLCADES, he did set upon the VACCINIANS, spoiled their Country, besieged many Cities, and took HERMANDICE, and ARBOCOLE, great and rich Cities. Now he had in manner overcome all the whole Country, when divers fugitives from the City of HERMANDICE, encouraging one another, conspired against him, leaved men, and inticed the OLCADES that were fled, to take their part. Then they periwaded the CARTHAGINIANS their neighbours, that they would all agree suddenly to set upon *Hannibal* at his returne. They being a people that desired nothing more then to fight, and considering also that they had received injuries by *Hannibal*, did easily hearken unto that counsel; and thereupon leaving a great number of men, to the number of a hundred thousand, they went to assaile *Hannibal* at his returne from the VACCINIANS, by the River of *Tagus*. When the CARTHAGINIANS discovered their Army, they staid upon it, and were marvellously afraid. And doubtlesse they had had a great overthrow, if they had fought with those so fierce people, being afraid of their suddaine coming, and also laden as they were with so great spoiles: the which *Hannibal* deeply considering, like a wise Captaine as he was, he would not fight, but lodged his Campe in the place where they were. Then the next day following, he passed his Army over the River with as little noise as he could, leaving the passage where the enemies might easiliest come over, unguarded: because under pretence of dissembled fear, he might intice the barbarous people to passe over the River, to take the opportunity and occasion offered them. Now indeed as he was the subtillest Captaine, and had the finest stratagemes of any other Captaine of his time: so his policy was not in vain, and his purpose to good effect, in abusing of the enemy: for the wild barbarous people reposing too great trust in the multitude of their men, supposing the CARTHAGINIANS had been afraid,

afraid, with great fury entred the River to passe over it. So they being greatly troubled, and out of order by this meanes, and specially before they could passe all over the River, they were set upon by the CARTHAGINIANS, first by certain horsemen, and afterwards with the whole Army; so that there was a great number of them slain, and the residue were put to flight. After this victory, all the people inhabiting about the River of *Iberus*, yielded themselves unto him, saving the SAGUNTINES: who, though they say *Hannibal* at hand coming towards them, trusting to the friendship of the ROMANES, they prepared to defend themselves against him: and therewithal sent Ambassadors presently to ROME, to shew the Senate in what great danger they were, and also to pray aid against their so great enemy, that made wars so hotly with them. The Ambassadors that were sent to ROME, were sent out of SPAIN, when *Hannibal* made open war on them with all his Army, and pitched his Campe before the City of SAGUNTUS. When this matter was reported at ROME, and consulted of for the wrongs that had been done to their confederates, the Senators dealt but slackly in it, and by decree onely sent *P. Valerius Flaccus*, and *Quintus Bibulus Pampilius* unto *Hannibal*, to will him to raise his siege from SAGUNTUS: and if they found he would not hearken to them, that then they should thence repair to CARTHAGE, and to pray them to deliver their General *Hannibal* unto them, because he had broken the peace. *Polybius* writeth, that *Hannibal* did hear these Ambassadors, howbeit, that he made them a slender answer. *Livy* writeth in contrary manner, that they were never heard, nor came at any time to his Campe. Howbeit, they both agree thus far, that they came into SPAIN, and afterwards went into AFRICK, and from thence came to CARTHAGE; where after they had delivered their message unto the Councel, the BARCINIAN faction was so much against them, that they dishonourably returned to ROME, and obtained not their desire. Now in the Senate of CARTHAGE there were two contrary parts and factions: of the which, the first took his beginning from the government of *Hamilcar*, surnamed *Barca*, and so descended as it were by succession to his son *Hannibal*, and grew afterwards unto such greatnesse, that that faction (as well abroad as at home) ruled all matters judicial. The second faction came of *Hanno*, a grave man and of great authority in the same Common-wealth: howbeit, a man more given to embrace peace and quietnesse, then otherwise disposed to war and trouble. It is he onely (as it is reported) who at that time when the Ambassadors of the ROMANES came to CARTHAGE, to complain of the injuries done to their confederates, that did then in manner against the will of all the whole Senate, counsell them to keep peace with the ROMANES, and to beware of wars, the which one day might peradventure utterly destroy their Country. Doubtlesse, if the CARTHAGINIANS would have followed the grave counsel of *Hanno*, rather then to have given place to their desires, & had followed the author of peace, and not to have been ruled by them that gave counsell to make warres, they had not tasted of those miseries which their Country afterwards came unto: but giving place to the fury and ambitious mind of a young man, they heaped such mischiefs on their heads, as afterwards fell out upon them. Therefore it is very meet for wise magistrates and governors of Common-wealths, always rather to have an eye to the beginning of any matters, then to the end: and ever to decide all matters by advice and counsel, before they should take any wars in hand. Now the SAGUNTINES seeing themselves besieged by *Hannibal*, and that against all reason and equity he made warres upon them, they notwithstanding valiantly defended the siege many moneths together. Yet in fine, though *Hannibal* had many moe men then they (having a hundred and fifty thousand men in his Campe) and that the most part of their Rampiers were battered and overthrown: they liked rather to abide the sacke of their City, then to yeeld themselves to the mercy of their mortal enemy. So some do report, that SAGUNTUS was taken the eight moneth after siege was laid unto it. But *Livy* seemeth not to agree to that, neither to set down any certaine time of the continuance of the siege. Now the taking of this so wealthy a City, was a great furtherance divers wayes to *Hannibal*'s enterprises. For many Cities taking example of the sacke of SAGUNTUS, who before mistaking to be subject to the CARTHAGINIANS, were ready to rebell, kept themselves quiet, and the souldiers also waxed lively and courageous: seeing the rich spoiles that were divided in the Campe. So *Hannibal* sent great presents of the spoiles of the SAGUNTINES, unto CARTHAGE, whereby he wanne the chiefe men of the City, and made them like the better of warres: whom he determined to lead with him against the ROMANES, not into SPAIN, as many supposed, but into ITALY it selfe. Whilest these matters were in hand, the Ambassadors returned from CARTHAGE to ROME, and declared in open Senate, the slender answer they had received, in manner at the selfe same time when they had intelligence of the sacke of SAGUNTUS. Hereupon the ROMANES greatly repented themselves (though somewhat too late) for that they aided not their friends and confederates in so great danger. Therefore all the Senate and people together, being very sorry for it, and therewith also marvellously offended, they divided the Provinces unto the Consuls, to wit, SPAIN unto *Publius Cornelius*, and AFRICK and SICILIE also unto *Titus Sempronius*. Afterwards, certaine of the noblest men of the City were sent Ambassadors unto CARTHAGE, to make their complaints in open Senate for breach of the peace, and also to denounce unto them the cause of the warre to come, and therewith boldly to proclaime open warre against them, after they had declared the occasion thereof to come of themselves. This was as bravely received of the CARTHAGINIANS, as lustily offered unto them: but therein they were not so well advised, as the successe of that war in the end sufficiently proved it to them. Now *Hannibal* being advertised how things were concluded in the Senate at CARTHAGE, and thinking with himselfe that it was time to go into ITALY, as he had determined from the beginning: he made all the possible speed he could to prepare his ships and things ready, and so required

The Iberians yielded themselves unto Hannibal.

Hannibal laid siege to the City of Saguntus.

Two contrary factions in the Senate of Carthage: the Barcinians, and Hannonians. Hannibal Barca, Hanno, a grave counsellor and governor in peace. A happy thing to follow good counsel.

Wife counsell for Governors to prevent things at the beginning.

Hannibal wanne the City of Saguntus.

P. Cornelius and T. Sempronius Consuls.

Warres proclaimed by the Romanes, with the Carthaginians.

ed aide of the Cities that were his best friends and confederates, and commanded that all the bands should meet him at new CARTHAGE. So when he came to GADES, he appointed good Garrisons in places most convenient, in AFRICA and SPAIN, which he thought above all things else to be most necessary: because that when he should go into ITALY, the ROMANS should not winne it from him. Therefore he sent into AFRICA twelve hundred horsemen, and thirteen thousand footmen, all SPANIARDS: and besides, he brought out of divers parts of AFRICA four thousand souldiers, and placed them in Garrison in CARTHAGE, obtaining both Hostages, and souldiers by this meane. So he left the Government of SPAIN to his brother *Hadrubal*, and gave him an Army of fifty Ships of warre, two thousand horsemen, and twelve thousand footmen. These were the Garrisons he left in both those Provinces. Now he thought them not sufficient to withstand the power of the ROMANS, if they bent their warres into SPAIN or AFRICA: but he thought them strong enough to stay the enemy from over-running of the Country, untill that having brought his Army by land, he had set foot in ITALY. Moreover, he knew that the CARTHAGINIANS were strong enough to leavy a new Army if they listed: and if need so required, to send him aide also into ITALY. For, after that they had driven away this so dangerous a warre, procured against them through the spite of the mercenary souldiers, having ever after obtained victory: first under the conduct of *Hamilcar*: secondly, under *Hadrubal*: and lastly, under *Hannibal*: they were growne to such greatnesse and strength, that at what time *Hannibal* came into ITALY, their Empire and Dominions were marvellously enlarged. For they had all the coast of AFRICA, which lieth over against the sea Mediterraneum, from the Altars of the Philenians, which be not farre from the great Syrtis, unto *Hercules* pillars, and containeth in length * two thousand paces. So after they had passed the strait which divideth AFRICA from EUROPE, they possessed almost all SPAIN, to the mountaines *Pirenei*, which do divide SPAIN from GAULE. Thus order being taken for all things in AFRICA and SPAIN, *Hannibal* returned againe to new CARTHAGE, where his Army was ready for him, and well appointed. So, meaning to delay time no longer, he called his men together, and encouraging them with great and large promises, he greatly commended the commodities of ITALY: and made great account unto them of the friendship of the GAULES, and in the end bad them be of good courage, and set lustily forward. Thereupon, the next day following he depart from CARTHAGE, and brought his Army all along the coast, unto the River of *Iberus*. It is reported, that the next day following, *Hannibal* dreamed he saw a young man, of a marvellous terrible looke and stature, who bad him follow him into ITALY: but afterwards, that he saw a Snake of a wonderful greatnesse, making a marvellous noise: and being desirous to understand what the same might signifie, that it was told him, that it betokened the destruction of ITALIE. It is not to be marvelled at, though the great care and thought he tooke in the day time for the warre of ITALY, made his mind to runne of such fancies in the night, as dreaming of victory or destruction, or such other calamities of war. For they are things that happen often, as *Cicero* the Oratour saith: that our thoughts and words do beget such things in our dreame, as *Ennius* the Poet writeth of *Homer*: to wit, like to those his mind most ranne on, or that he talked of most. Now after *Hannibal* had passed over the mountaines *Pirenei*, and that he had wonne the GAULES hearts with beautiful gifts, in few dayes he came to the River of *Rhone*. The head of the River of *Rhone*, is not farre from the heads of the Rivers of the *Rheis* and *Danuby*, and running eight hundred furlongs, it falleth into *Lacus Lemanus* at GENEVA. Then it runneth from thence towards the West, and divideth the GAULES a pretty way: and then being increased by the River of *Arar* (called in French, *Saone*) and with other Rivers, in the end it falleth into the Sea with divers heads betwixt the VOLSCES and the CAVRIANS. The VOLSCES at that time inhabited both the sides of the River of *Rhone*, and were full of people, and the richest of all other GAULES. They having understanding of *Hannibals* coming, passed over the River, and armed themselves, and prepared on the other side to stoppe the CARTHAGINIANS, that they should not passe over. Now, though *Hannibal* had wonne all the other GAULES, yet those he could never winne neither by gifts nor threats, to cause them rather to prove the friendship of the CARTHAGINIANS, then their force. Therefore *Hannibal* perceiving he was to handle such enemies rather by policy, he commanded *Hanno* the sonne of *Bemilear*, secretly to passe over the River of *Rhone*, with part of the Army, and so to set upon the GAULES on the suddaine. Thereupon *Hanno* (as he was commanded) made a long journey, and having passed over the River at passable fords, he shewed himselfe hard by the enemies Campe before they say him, or that they knew what he was. The GAULES hearing their shouts and cries behind them, and having their hands full of *Hannibal* before them, who had many beates ready to passe over his men: they having no leisure to consult of the matter, neither to arme themselves to stand to defence, left their Campe and fled for life. So they being driven from the oile side of the River, the rest of the Army of the CARTHAGINIANS passed over it with safety. In the meane time, *P. Cornelius Scipio*, that but a little before was come unto MASSILIA, still heard newes of *Hannibals* Army. Wherefore, to be more assured of the matter, he sent a band of choice horsemen to discover what the enemies intent was: who making great speed as they were commanded, met by chance with five hundred horsemen of the NUMIDIANS, whom *Hannibal* had also sent to bring him word of the ROMANS Army. So, they first suddainly gave charge upon the NUMIDIANS, and after a hotte and valiant conflict betwixt both the parties, in the end the ROMANS overcoming them, they made them flee, but with great losse of their men: howbeit the greatest losse and slaughter

The greatnesse of the dominion of AFRICA. * This place is false.

Hannibal determined to invade Italia.

Hannibals dream at the river of *Iberus*.

The head and course of the river of *Rhone*. *Arar*. ff.

The VOLSCES, people that inhabited about the river of *Rhone*.

P. Cornelius Scipio Consull sent sent against *Hannibal*, and arrived at *Massilia*.

slaughter fell upon the Enemies. So *Hannibal* by this meane found where the ROMANS lay, and stood in a great doubt with himselfe, whether he should keepe on his way into ITALY, or else leade his Army against the Consull that then was, and so to prove his hap and successe. At length debating many waies in his minde, and uncertaine which way he should determine, the Ambassadors of the BOIANS perswaded him to leave all other devices, and to go on into ITALY. For before that *Hannibal* had passed over the Mountaines *Pirenei*, the BOIANS having by craft taken the ROMANS Ambassadors, and done great mischief unto *Mannius* the Prætor, and inticed the INSUBRIANS also, they were revolted from the ROMANS, and tooke part with *Hannibal*, and onely because the ROMANS had replenished the Cities of PLACENTIA, and CREMONA with People, and had made them Colonies to ROME. So *Hannibal* being ruled by their counsell, raised his Campe, and keeping the Rivers side, still going against the River in few daies he came to the place which the GAULES do call the Island, the which the River of *Arar* and *Rhodanus*, coming from divers Mountaines, do make there. So at this present, there is the famous City of LIONS in GAULE, which they say was built long time after by *Plancus Munatius*. From thence he came to the Countrey of the ALLOBROGES, and having pacified the variance betwixt two Brethren for the Realme, he came through the Countrey of the CASTINIANS and VOCONTIANS, to the River of DURANCE. The head of this River cometh from the Alpes, and from thence running with a swift streame, falleth into the River of Rhone: and as it oftentimes changeth her course, so hath it in manner no passable ford. Yet *Hannibal* having past it over, he led his Army unto the Alpes, through open and plaine Countries, as far as he could: howbeit, as he passed through them, he had great losses, as it is reported. Infomuch that some that were living at that time, did affirme, that they heard *Hannibal* himselfe say, that he had lost above thirty thousand men, and the most part of his Horsemen. For *Hannibal* made waies through the Straights: so that in certain places of the highest Rocks, he was driven to make passages through, by force of fire and vineger. So when he had passed the Alpes in fifteene daies space, he came downe into the Valley, not far from the City of TURINE. Whereby it seemeth to vime, that he passed over the Mountaines they commonly called Genua, the which on the one side of it hath the River of *Druentia*, and on the other side it goeth downe to the City of TURINE. Now it is hard to say truly, what number of men he had when he was come into ITALY, because of the diversity of mens opinions. For some write, that he had a hundred thousand Footmen, and twenty thousand Horsemen: others also write, that he had twenty thousand Footmen, and sixe thousand Horsemen, all AFRICANS and SPANIARDS. But others reckoning the GAULES and LIGURIANS, do count fourscore thousand Footmen, and ten thousand Horsemen. Yet it is not credible, that his Army was so great, as the first men report, and specially having passed through so many Countreys, and also received such losses as he had: neither also could his number be so small, as the second reporters do make it, if a man will consider the famous Exploits and great Enterprises he did afterwards. So that I like their opinions best, which keepe the meane between them both: considering that he brought into ITALY, the better part of fourscore thousand Footmen, and ten thousand Horsemen, the which he had leaved in SPAIN: as it is manifestly knowne also, that *Hannibal* Armice they bare unto the ROMANS, that gave no place nor ground unto the CARTHAGINIANS. So *Hannibal* being come from TURINE, into the Countrey of the INSUBRIANS, he was met withall by *Publius Cornelius Scipio*, who marching with wonderfull speede from MASSILIA, and having passed the River of Po and Tefin, he camped not far from the Enemy. So shortly after, both the Generals being come into the Field to view each others Campe, the Horsemen of either side grew to skirmish, which continued long, and was not to be discerned which of them had the better. Howbeit, in the end the ROMANS seeing the Consull hurt, and also that the Horsemen of the NUMIDIANS, by little and little came to compass them in, they were driven to give ground: and so prettily retired, defending the Consull the best they could to save him, and so at length recovered their Campe. It is reported, that *Publius Cornelius Scipio* was saved at that time through his Sonnes helpe, who afterwards was called AFRICAN, and at that time was but a young stripling: whose praise, though it was wonderfull in so Greene a Youth, yet it is likely to be true, because of the famous and valiant Acts that he did afterwards. Now *Scipio* having proved how much his Enemy was stronger then himselfe in Horsemen, he determined to place his Campe so, as his Footmen might be in best safety, and also fight with greatest advantage. And therefore the next night following he passed the River of Po, and made as little noise as he could, and went unto PLACENTIA. The like shortly after did *T. Sempronius Longus*, who had beene restored from banishment by the Senate, and sent for out of SICILE: because both the Consuls should governe the Common-wealth by one selfe-Authority. *Hannibal* also followed them both with all his Army, and pitched his Campe neare unto the River of Trebia, hoping that because both Campes lay so neare together, some occasion would be offered to fight: the which he chiefly desired, both because he could not long maintaine Warre for lacke of Victuals, as also that he mistrusted the ficklenesse of the GAULES: who like as they soone fell in League and friendship with him, drawne unto it with the hope of change, and with the Fame also of his Victory obtained: so he mistrusted that upon any light occasion (as if the Warre should continue any long time in their Countrey) they would turne all the hate they bare unto the ROMANS, against him as the onely Author of this Warre. For these respects therefore,

The Boians and Insubrians, revolt from the Romans, and take part with *Hannibal*. *Lugdunum* built by *Plancus Munatius*. *Druentia* ff.

The Valley of *Turinus*. *Hannibals* coming into Italia by *Piemont*, not far from *Turin*.

Hannibals first Conflict with the Romans, and Victory. *P. C. Scipio* Consull hurt, and saved from his Enemies by his Sonne, who was afterwards called *African*. *Padus* ff. *P. Cornelius Scipio* and *T. Sempronius Longus* Consuls, against *Hannibal*. *Trebia* ff.

he devised all the meanes he could to come to Battell. In the meane time *Sempronius*, the other Confull, met with a Troupe of the Enemies, loaden with Spoile, stragling up and downe the Fields, whom he charged and put to flight. So, imagining the like successe of all the Battell, by this good Fortune he had met withall, he had good hope of Victory, if once both the Armies might come to fight. Therefore being marvellously desirous to do some noble Enterprize before *Scipio* were recovered of his hurt, and that the new Confull should be chosen, he determined to joyne Battell against the will of his other Colleague and fellow Confull *Scipio*: who thought nothing could be to lesse purpose, then to put all the State and Common-wealth in jeopardy, specially having all the whole *GAULES* in manner in the Field against him. Now *Hannibal* had secret intelligence of all this variance, by Spials he had sent into the Enemies Campe. Wherefore, he being possitick and subtil as he was, found out a place straight betwene both Campes, covered over with Bushes and Briers, and there he placed his Brother *Mago* to lie in Ambush, with a company of chosen men. Then he commanded the Horsemen of the *NUMIDIANS*, to scurry to the Trenches of the *ROMANES*, to intice them to come to Battell: and thereupon made the residue of his Army to eare, and so put them in very good order of Battell, to be ready upon any occasion offered. Now the Confull *Sempronius*, at the first tumult of the *NUMIDIANS*, suddenly sent his Horsemen to encounter them, and after them put out fixe thousand Footmen, and in the end came himselfe out of his Campe with all his Army. It was then in the midst of Winter, and extreame cold, and specially in the places inclosed about the Alpes, and the Mountaine Appenine. Now the *NUMIDIANS* as they were commanded, inticed the *ROMANES* by little and little on this side the River of Trebia, untill they came to the place where they might discerne their Ensignes: and then they suddenly turned upon the Enemies, which were out of order. For it is the manner of the *NUMIDIANS*, often-times to flie of set purpose, and then to stay upon the sudden when they see time, to charge the Enemy more hotly and fiercely then before. Whereupon *Sempronius* incontinently gathered his Horsemen together, and did set his men in Battell-ray, as time required, to give Charge upon his Enemy, that stayed for him in order of Battell. For *Hannibal* had cast his men into Squadrons, ready upon any occasion. The Skirmish began first by the light Horsemen, and afterwards increased hotter by supply of the men of Armes: howbeit, the *ROMANES* Knights being unable to beare the shooke of the Enemies, they were quickly broken; so that the Legions maintained the Battell with such fury and noble courage, that they had beene able to have resisted, so they had fought but with Footmen onely. But on the one side, the Horsemen and Elephants made them afraid, and on the other side the Footmen followed them very lustily, and fought with great fury against famished and frozen men. Wherefore the *ROMANES* notwithstanding, suffering all the miseries that vexed them on every side, with an unspeakable courage and magnanimity, such as was above their force and strength, they fought still, untill that *Mago* coming out of his Ambush, came and suddenly assailed them with great shoutes and cries; and that the middle Squadron of the *CARTHAGINIANS* also (through *Hannibal's* commandement) flew upon the *CINOMANIANS*. Then the *ROMANES* seeing their Confederates flie, their hearts were done, and utterly discouraged. It is said that there were ten thousand Footmen of the *ROMANES* got to *PLACENTIA*, and came through the Enemies. The rest of the Army that fled, were most part of them slaine by the *CARTHAGINIANS*. The Confull *Sempronius* also scaped very narrowly from the Enemies. The Victory cost *Hannibal* the setting on also: for he lost a great number of his men, and the most part of his Elephants were slaine. After this Battell, *Hannibal* overcame all the Countrey, and did put all to Fire and Sword, and tooke also certaine Townes: and with a few of his men made a great number of the Countrey men flie, that were disorderly gathered together in Battell. Then at the beginning of the Spring, he brought his Army into the Field sooner then time required: and meaning to go into *THUSCAN*, he was driven backe by a great Tempest at the very top of the height of Appenine, and so compelled to bring his Army about *PLACENTIA*: howbeit, shortly after he put himselfe againe into the Fields, for divers urgent and necessary causes. For had he not saved himselfe by that policy, he had almost beene taken tardy by the Ambush of the *GAULES*: who being angry with himself that the Warre was continued so long in their Countrey, they fought to be revenged of him, as the onely author and occasion of the Warre. Therefore perceiving it was time for him to avoid this danger, he made all the haste he could to leade his Army into some other Provinces. Furthermore, he thought it would increase his estimation much among strangers, and also greatly encourage his owne People, if he could make the Power of the *CARTHAGINIANS* to seeme so great, and also their Captaines to be of so noble a courage, as to dare to make Warre so neare to the City of *ROME*. All things therefore set apart, he marched with his Campe by the Mountaine Appenine, and so coming through the Countrey of the *LIGURIANS*, he came into *THUSCAN*, by the way that bringeth them into the champion Countrey, and to the Marishes about the River of Arnus. The River of Arnus at that time was very high, and had overflowne all the Fields thereabouts. *Hannibal* therefore marching with so great an Army as he had, could not avoid it, but that he must needs lose a number of his Men and Horse, before he could get out of those evill-favoured Marishes. Infomuch that he himselfe lost one of his eyes, by reason of the great paines he had taken day and night without sleepe or rest, and also through the evill aire: though he was carried upon a high Elephants backe, which onely was left him of all that he had brought with him. In the meane time, *C. Flaminius* Confull, to whom the charge of *Sempronius* Army was given, he was come unto *ARETIUM* against the Senates minde, who were marvellously offended with him, because he left his Companion *Cn. Servilius* at

Ambush laid by *Hannibal* to intice *Sempronius*.

Hannibal fought with *Sempronius* the Confull, at the River of Trebia. The *Numidians* craft in flying.

Hannibal's Victory of the Confull *Sempronius*.

Arnus fl.

Hannibal lost one of his eyes in the Marishes by the River of Arnus. *C. Flaminius* and *Cn. Servilius*, Confuls.

at *ROME*, and went unto his Province by stealth as it were, without the Furniture of a Confull and his Officers. This was a very haſtie man of nature, and one that the People had brought to that Dignity and Office: so that he was become so proud and insolent, that men might see how he would hazard all things without wit or judgement. *Hannibal* having intelligence thereof, thought it the best way to anger the Confull, and to do what he could possible to allure him into the Field, before his fellow Confull should come to joyne with him. Therefore he marching forward with his Campe through the Countrey of *FESULA ARETIUM*, he burnt and spoiled all the Countrey thereabouts, and filled them all with feare, never leaving to destroy all before him, untill he came to the Mountaines Cortonenſes, and so to the Lake called Thraſimene. When he had viewed the place, he went about to surprize his Enemy by some Ambush: whereupon he conveyed certaine Horsemen under the Hills, hard by the Streight that goeth unto Thraſimene, and behinde the Mountaines also he placed the light Horsemen. Then he himselfe with the rest of his Army came downe into the Field, supposing that the Confull would not be quiet: and so it fell out. For hot stirring heads are easily intrapped withall into the Enemies Ambush, and oftentimes do put all in hazard, because they will follow no counsell nor good advice. *C. Flaminius* therefore seeing their Countrey utterly spoiled, the Corne destroyed and cut downe, and the Houses burnt, he made great haste to leade his Army against the Enemy, contrary to all mens mindes, who would have had him tarried for his Companion *Cn. Servilius* the other Confull. So even at Sun-ſet, when he was come to the Streights of the Lake of Thraſimene, he caused his Campe to stay there, although his men were not weary with the long Journey they had taken by the way. So the next morning by breake of day, making no view of the Countrey, he went over the Mountaines. Then *Hannibal* (who long before was prepared for this) did but stay for the opportunity to worke his Feate: when he saw the *ROMANES* come into the Plaine, he gave a Signall unto all his men to give Charge upon the Enemy. Thereupon the *CARTHAGINIANS* breaking out on every side, came before and behinde, and on the Flanks to assaile the Enemy, being shut in betwene the Lake and the Mountaines. Now in contrary manner, the *ROMANES* beginning to fight out of order, they fought inclosed together, that they could not see one another, as if it had beene darke: so that it is to be wondered at, how, and with what minde they fought it out so long, considering they were compassed in on every side. For they fought it out about three houres space, with such fury and courage, that they heard not the terrible Earthquake that was at that present time, neither did they offer to flie or stir a foote untill they heard that the Confull *C. Flaminius* going from Ranke to Ranke to encourage his men, was slaine by a man of Armes called *Ducarius*. Then when they had lost their Generall, and being voide of all hope, they fled, some towards the Mountaines, and others towards the Lake, of the which divers of them flying, were overtaken and slaine. So there were slaine *fiftene thousand in the Field, and there scaped about ten thousand. Furthermore, the report went, that there were fixe thousand Footmen which forcibly (at the beginning of the Battell) got to the Mountaine, and there stayed on a Hill till the Battell was ended, and at length came downe upon *Hannibal's* promise: but they were betrayed, and slaine every Mothers Sonne of them. After this great Victory, *Hannibal* did let divers *ITALIAN* Prisoners go free without Ransome paying, after he had used them marvellous courteously: because that the Fame of his Clemency and Courtſie should be knowne unto all Nations, whereas indeed his owne nature was contrary to all Vertues. For he was haſtie and cruell of nature, and from his youth was brought up in Warres, and exercized in Murder, Treason, and Ambushes laid for Enemies: and never cared for Law, Order, nor Civill Government. So by this meanes he became one of the cruellſt Captaines, the most subtil and craftieſt to deceive and intrap his Enemy, that ever was. For as he was always prying to beguile the Enemy, so those whom he could not overcome in Warre by plaine force, he went about to intrap by sleight and policy. The which appeareth true by this present Battell, and also by the other he fought against the Confull *Sempronius*, by the River of Trebia. But let us returne to our matter, and leave this talke till another time. Now when the newes of the overthrow and death of the Confull *Flaminius* was reported at *ROME*, having lost the most part of his Army: there was great moane and lamentation made through all the City of *ROME*: some bewailing the common misery of the Common-wealth, others lamenting their private particular losse, and some also forrowning for both together. But indeed it was a wooll fight, to see a world of men and women to runne to the Gates of the City, every one privately asking for their Kin and Friends. Some do write, that there were two women, who being very sorry and pensive, despairing of the safety of their Sonnes, died suddenly for the extreame joy they had, when beyond their expectation and hope they saw their Sonnes alive and safe. At the self-same time, *Cn. Servilius*, the other Confull with *C. Flaminius*, did send him foure thousand Horsemen, not understanding yet of the Battell that was fought by the Lake of Thraſimene. But when they heard of the overthrow of their men by the way, and therefore thought to have fled into *UMBRIA*, they were compassed in by the Horsemen of the Enemies, and so brought unto *Hannibal*. Now the Empire of *ROME* being brought into so great extremitie and danger, because of so many small losses one in the necke of another: it was ordained, that an extraordinary Governour or Magistrate should be chosen, who should be created Dictator: an Office specially used to be reserved for the last hope and remedy in most extreame danger and perill of the State and Common-wealth. But because the Confull *Servilius* could not returne at that time to *ROME*, all the waies being kept by the Enemy: the People contrary to their custome, created *Q. Fabius* Dictator (who afterwards attained the surname of *Maximus*, to say, Very great) who likewise did name *M. Minutius* Generall of the Horsemen. Now this *Fabius*

Mount Cortonenſes. Lake Thraſimene.

The judgement of a Souldier.

Battell between *Hannibal* and *C. Flaminius* the Confull, by the Lake of Thraſimene. The *Romanes* were so earnest in fight, that they heard not the noise of an Earthquake. *C. Flaminius* the Confull slaine. *Plutarch* in the life of *Fabius Maximus* addeth too as many Prisoners. *Hannibal's* craftinesse to discemible vertue. The naturall disposition of *Hannibal*.

Extreame joy causeth sudden death.

The Office of Dictator, of what effect. *Q. Fabius Maximus*, created Dictator, was

Hastinesse of
Captaines often
times very
hurtfull.

The Guide
cruelly put to
death by Han-
nibal.

Hannibals Stra-
tagem in the
Mountaines of
Gallicanum and
Casilinum a-
gainst Fabius
Dictator.

Certaine Baths
at Swessa, cal-
led the Tower
of the Baths.
Glerenum, a
City in Apulia.

Two Dictators
together, never
heard of before

was a grave and wife Counsellor, and of great Authority and Estimation in the Common-wealth: inasmuch as the Citizens had all their hope and confidence in him onely, perswading themselves, that the honour of Rome might be better preserved under the Government and Conduct of such a Generall, rather then under the Government of any other man whatsoever. So *Fabius* knowing it very well, after he had carefully and diligently given order for all things necessary: he departed from Rome, and when he had received the Army of the late Consul *Cn. Servilius*, he added unto them two other Legions, and so went unto the Enemy. Now *Hannibal* was gone from the Lake of Thrasimene, and went directly towards the City of Spoletum, to see if he could take it at the first Assault. But when he saw that the Townesmen stood upon the Rampiers of their Walls, and valiantly defended themselves: he then left the Towne and destroyed the Countrey as he went, and burnt Houses and Villages, and so went unto APULIA, through the Marches of ANCONA, and the Countrey of the MARSIA and PELIGNIANS. The Dictator followed him at the heeles, and camped hard by the City of ARPY, not far from the Campe of the Enemy, to the end to draw out the Warre at length. For the rashnesse and foole-hardinesse of the former Captaines aforetime, had brought the State of Rome into such misery, that they thought it a Victory unto them, not to be overcome by the Enemy, that had so often overcome them. Whereby all things were turned straight with the change and alteration of the Captaine: for though *Hannibal* had set his men in Battell-ray, and afterwards perceiving his Enemies flurried not, went and destroyed the Countrey, hoping thereby to intice the Dictator to fight. when he should see the Countrey of his Confederates so spoiled as it was before his face: the Dictator, this notwithstanding, was not moved withall, but still kept his men close together, as if the matter had not concerned him. *Hannibal* was in a marvellous rage with the delay of the Dictator, and therefore often removed his Campe, to the end that going divers waies, some occasion or opportunity might fall out to deceive the Enemy, or else to give Battell. So when he had passed the Mountaine Appenine, he came unto SAMNIUM. But because shortly after, some of CAMPANIA, who having beene taken Prisoners by the Lake of Thrasimene, had beene set at liberty without ranfome: they putting him in hope that he might take the City of CAPUA, he made his Army march forward, and tooke a Guide that knew the Countrey, to bring him unto CASINUM. Now the Guide overhearing CASINUM, understood it CASILINUM, and so mistaking the found of the word, brought the Army a cleane contrary way unto CALENTINUM and CALENUM, and from thence about STELLA. So when they came into a Countrey environed about with Mountaines and Rivers, *Hannibal* knew straight they had mistaken their way, and so did cruelly put the Guide to death. *Fabius* the Dictator, did in the meane time beare all this patiently, and was contented to give *Hannibal* liberty to take his pleasure which way he would, untill he had gotten the Mountaines of Gallicanum, and Casilinum, where he placed his Garison, being places of great advantage and commodity. So the Army of the CARTHAGINIANS was in manner compassed in every way, and they must needs have died for famine in that place, or else have fled, to their great shame and dishonour: had not *Hannibal* by this Stratagem prevented the danger. Who knowing the danger all his Army stood in, and having spied a fit time for it: he commanded his Souldiers to bring forth two thousand Oxen which they had gotten in spoile in the Fields, having great store of them, and then tying Torches of Fire-linkes unto their hornes, he appointed the nimblest men he had to light them, and to drive the Oxen up the Hill to the top of the Mountaines, at the reliefe of the first Watch. All this was duly executed according to his commandement, and the Oxen running up to the top of the Mountaines with the Torches burning, the whole Army marched after them faire and softly. Now the ROMANES that had long before placed a strong Garison upon the Mountaines, they were afraid of this strange sight, and mistrusting some Ambush, they forthwith forsooke their Pieces and Holds. *Fabius* himselfe mistrusting also that it was some Stratagem of the Enemy, kept his men within the Campe, and could not well tell what to say to it. In the meane time *Hannibal* got over the Mountaine, not far from the Baths of Swessa, which the Countrey men do call, The Tower of the Baths, and brought all his Army safe into ALBA: and shortly after, he marched directly as though he would go to Rome, howbeit he suddenly turned out of the way, and went presently into APULIA. There he tooke the City of GLERENUM, a very rich and wealthy Towne, where he determined to winter. The Dictator followed him hard, and came and camped by LAURINUM, not far from the CARTHAGINIANS Campe. So he being sent for to Rome about weighty Affaires of the State, there was no remedy, but that he must needs depart from thence with all the speede he could: howbeit before he went, he left *Marcus Minutius* Generall of the Horsemen, his Lieutenant of all the Army, and commanded him in his absence not once to stir nor to meddle with the Enemies. For he was fully bent to follow his determination, which was: not to vex the Enemy, nor to fight with him, though he were provoked unto it. Howbeit *Marcus Minutius* little regarding the Dictators commandement, his backe was no sooner turned, but he set upon a company of the Enemies dispersed in the Field a foraging, and slew a great number of them, and fought with the rest even unto their Campe. The rumour of this Skirmish flew straight to Rome, and there was such great account made of it, that it was esteemed for a Victory: and the common People were so joyfull of it, that they straight made the Power of the Lieutenant equall with the Dictator *Fabius*, the which was never heard of before. *Fabius* patiently bearing this extreame injury with a noble courage, having no way deserved it, he returned againe into the Campe. Thus there were two Dictators at one selfe-time (a thing never seene nor heard of before) who after they had divided the

the Army betweene them, either of them commanded his Army apart, as the Consuls were wont to do before. *Marcus Minutius* thereupon grew to such a pride and haughty minde, that one day he ventured to give Battell, and made not his companion *Fabius* of counsell withall: the which *Hannibal* having so often overcome, durst scantily have enterprised. So he led his Army into such a place, where the Enemy had compassed them in: inasmuch that *Hannibal* slew them at his pleasure, without any hope left them to escape, if *Fabius* had not come in time (as he did) to aide them, rather respecting the honour of his Countrey, then remembering the private injury he had received. For he coming fresh with his Army to the Battell, made *Hannibal* afraid, that the ROMANES Legions had liberty to retire with safety. Whereby *Fabius* wanne great Fame for his wisdom and valiantnesse, both of his owne Souldiers, as also of the Enemies themselves. For it was reported that *Hannibal* should say (returning unto his Campe) That in this Battell he had overcome *M. Minutius*, but withall, that he was also overcome by *Fabius*. And *Minutius* himselfe also confessing *Fabius* wisdom, and considering that (according to *Hesiodus* saying) it was good reason to obey a better man then himselfe: he came with all his Army unto *Fabius* Campe, and renouncing his Authority, came and humbly saluted *Fabius* as his Father, and all that day there was great joy, and rejoycing among the Souldiers. So both the Armies being placed in Garison for the Winter time, after great contention about it, at length there were two new Consuls created, *L. Paulus Aemilius*, and *C. Terentius Varro*, one that of a meane man (through the favour of the common People) was brought to be Consul. So they had Liberty and Commission to leavie a greater Army then the Generals before them had done. Whereby the Legions were newly supplied, and also others added unto them more then were before. Now when the Consuls were come into the Army, as they were of severall dispositions, so did they also observe divers manners in their Government. *Lucius Paulus*, who was a grave wise man, and one that purposed to follow *Fabius* counsell and fashions: he did desire to draw out the Warre in length, and to stay the Enemy without fighting. *Varro* on the other side was a hasty man, and venturous, and desired nothing but to fight. So it chanced, that not long after it was knowne, to the great colt and danger of the City of Rome, what difference there was betwixt the modesty of *Aemilius*, and the foole-hardinesse of *Varro*. For *Hannibal* being afraid of some stir and tumult in his Campe for lacke of Victuals, he departed from CLERENUM, and going into the warmest place of APULIA, came and camped with all his Army, by a Village called CANES. So he was followed with both the Consuls, who came and camped severally hard by him, but so neare one to another, that there was but the River of Aufide that parted them. This River (as it is reported) doth alone divide the Mountaine of the Appenine, and taketh his head on that side of the Mountaine that lieth to the Sea side, from whence it runneth to the Sea Adriaticum. Now *Lucius Paulus* finding that it was impossible for *Hannibal* being in a strange Countrey, to maintaine so great an Army of such sundry Nations together: he was fully bent, to protract time, and to avoid Battell, perswading himselfe that it was the right and onely way to overcome him, being as much to the Enemies disadvantage, as also marvellous profitable and beneficiall for the Common-wealth. And sure if *C. Terentius Varro*, had carried that minde, it had bene out of all doubt, that *Hannibal*'s Army had bene overthrowne by the ROMANES, without stroake striking. Howbeit he had such a light head of his owne, and was so fickle minded, that he neither regarded wise counsell, nor *Paulus Aemilius* Authority: but in contrary manner would fall out with him, and also complained before the Souldiers, for that he kept his men pent up and idle, whilest the Enemy did put forth his men to the Field in Battell-ray. So when his turne came, that he was absolutely to command the whole Army (for they had both absolute Power by turnes) he passed over the River of Aufide by breake of day, and gave the Signall of Battell without the privy of his Companion *Aemilius*, who rather followed him against his will then willingly, because he could do none otherwise. So he caused a Scarlet Coate of Armes to be put out very early in the morning, for a Signall of Battell. *Hannibal* on the other side being as glad of it as might be possible, that he had occasion offered him to fight: (considering that the continuall delaying of Battell did alter all his purpose) he passed his Army over the River, and had straight put them in very good order. For he had taken great Spoiles of his Enemies to furnish himselfe very bravely. Now the Army of the ROMANES stood Southward, inasmuch that the South winde (which the men of the Countrey call Vulturinus) blew full in their faces: whereas the Enemies in contrary manner had the vantage of the Winde and Sunne upon their backs, and their Battell stood in this manner. The AFRICANS were placed in both the Wings, and the GAULES and SPANIARDS set in a Squadron in the midst. The light Horsemen first began this Skirmish, and after them followed the men of Armes: and because the space betwixt the River and the Foote-men was very narrow, so as they could not well take in any more ground, it was a cruell Fight for the time, though it lasted not long. So, the Horsemen of the ROMANES being overthrowne, the Foote men came with such a lustie courage to receive the Charge, that they thought they should not have day enough to fight. Howbeit, the over-earnest desire they had to overcome their Enemies, made their overthrow more miserable, then their joy and good happe was great at the beginning. For the GAULES and SPANIARDS, (who as we have said before kept the Battell) not being able any longer to withstand the force of the ROMANES, they retired towards the AFRICANS in the Wings. The ROMANES perceiving that, ranne upon the Enemies with all the fury they could, and had them in chase and fought with them, till they were gotten in the midst of them. Then the CARTHAGINIANS that were in both Wings, came

L. Paulus Aemilius, and *C. Terentius Varro*, Consuls. The difference betwixt: *L. Paulus*, and *C. Terentius Varro*.

Aufidius fl.

Battell at Canes.

A Stratagem of Hannibal. * Plutarch in the life of Fabius saith, that there were fifty thousand slain, and fourteen thousand taken Prisoners. Paulus & Emilius Confult, flaine at the Battell of Cannae. Great slaughter at the Battell of Cannae.

The constancy of the Romans in extremity.

The Romans lost three great Battells to Hannibal at Ticinum, Trebia, and Thracimene.

Maharbal, Generall of Hannibals Horsemen. Maharbals saying to Hannibal. Pyrrhus could not keepe the Realme he conquered.

The City of Capua, how to be called.

came and compassed them in before they were aware. Moreover, there were five hundred of the NUMIDIAN Horsemen, that colourably fled unto the Consuls, who received them very courteously, and placed them in the Reare-Ward of the Army. They seeing their time, shewed behinde the Enemies, and did suddenly give them Charge. Then the Army of the ROMANS was utterly overthrowne, and Hannibal obtained Victory. Livy writeth, that there were slaine in this Battell * forty thousand Footmen, and above two thousand seven hundred Horsemen. Polybius saith, that there many more slaine. Well, letting this matter passe, it is certaine that the ROMANS had never greater losse, neither in the first Warre with AFRICKE, nor in the second by the CARTHAGINIANS, as this overthrow that was given at CANNES. For there was slaine the Confull Paulus & Emilius himselfe, a man undoubtedly deserving great praise, and that served his Countrey and Common-wealth even to the houre of death: Cn. Servilius (Confull the yeare before) was also slaine there, and many other that had bene Consuls, Prætors, and others of such like Dignity, Captaines, Chieftaines, and many other Senators and honest Citizens, and that such a number of them, that the very cruelty it selfe of the Enemy was satisfied. The Confull Terentius Varro, who was the only Authour of all this Warre and slaughter, seeing the Enemy Victoe every way, he saved himselfe by flying. And T. Titidius a Chieftaine of a Band, coming through his Enemies with a good company of his men, he came unto CANUSIUM. Thither came also about ten thousand men, that had escaped from their Enemies, as out of a dangerous storme: by whose consent, the charge of the whole Army was given unto Appius Pulcher, and also unto Cornelius Scipio, who afterwards did end this Warre. Thus was the end of the Battell fought by CANNES. Newes flew straight to ROME of this overthrow, the which though they justly filled all the City with sorrow and calamity, yet the Senate and People of ROME kept alwaies their countenance and greatnesse, even in this extreme misery. Inso much they had not onely good hope to keepe their City safe, but furthermore they leaved a new Army, and made young men to beare Armour, and yet left not SICILE and SPAIN unprovided in the meane time: so that they made the World to wonder at them, to consider these things, how they could in so great calamity and trouble have so noble hearts, and such wise counsell. But to let passe the former overthrowes, and great losses they sustained at TICINUM, at TREBIA, and at the Lake of THRACIMENE: what Nation or People could have borne this last Plague, whereby the whole Force and Power of the ROMANS was in manner utterly destroyed and overthrowne? and yet the People of ROME so held it out, and that with so great wisdom and counsell, that they neither lacked Manhood nor Magnanimity. Besides, to helpe them the more, Hannibal being Conquerour, trifling time in taking his leisure, and refreshing his Army: he gave the ROMANS leisure that were overcome to take breath againe, and to restore themselves. For doubtlesse, if Hannibal being Conquerour, had immediately after the Victory obtained, brought his Army directly to ROME, surely the ROMANS had bene utterly undone, or at the least had bene compelled to have put all in venture. So it is reported, that Hannibal oftentimes afterwards repented himselfe he followed not his Victory, complaining openly, that he rather followed their counsell which wished him to let his Souldiers rest, then Maharbals advice, Generall of his Horsemen, who would have had him gone straight to ROME, and so have ended all this Warre. But he seeing Hannibals delay, told him (as it is reported) this that is now common in every mans mouth: Hannibal, thou knowest how to overcome, but thou knowest not how to use Victory. But what? all things are not (as Nestor saith in Homer) given to men all together. For some had no skill to overcome, others knew not how to follow their Victory, and some also could not keepe that they had won. Pyrrhus King of the EPIROTES that made Warre with the ROMANS, was one of the famousest Captaines that ever was: yet as men write of him, though he was marvellous fortunate to conquer Realmes, he could never keepe them. Even so in like manner, some Captaines have bene endued with excellent vertues, and yet notwithstanding have bene insufficient in Martiall Affaires, deserving praise in a Captaine, as we may reade in divers Histories. Now after this Battell fought by CANNES, the ATTELANIANS, the CALATINIANS, the SAMNITES, after them also the BRUTIANI, the LUCANIANS, and divers other Nations and People of ITALY, carried away with the fame of this great Victory: they all came and yielded to Hannibal. And the City of CAPUA also (which Hannibal was desirous to have won long before) forsaking their old Friends and Confederates, made new League and friendship with Hannibal: the which won him great estimation with other Nations. For at that time the City of CAPUA was very populous and of great power, and the chieftest City of estimation of all ITALY next to ROME. Now to tell you in few words what is reported of CAPUA, it is certaine that it was a Colony of the TRUSCANS, the which was first called VULTURNUM, and after that CAPUA, by the name of their Governour called Capim; or otherwise (as it is most likely) because of the Fields round about it: for on every side of it, there are goodly pleasant Fields, full of all kinds of fruits growing on the Earth, called in GREEKE, Kepi. Furthermore, all the Countrey is confined round about with famous Nations. Towards the Sea there dwell the SUBSANIANS, the CUMANIANS, and the NEAPOLITANS. On firme Land also towards the North, are the CALENTINIANS and the CALENIANS. On the East and Southside, the DUNIANI and the NOLIANS. Furthermore, the place is of a strong situation, and on the one side is compassed in with the Sea, and on the other side with great high Mountaines. Now the CAMPANIANS flourished marvellously at that time: and therefore seeing the ROMANS in manner utterly undone by the Battell they had lost at CANNES, quickly tooke part with the stronger, as it commonly falleth out: and furthermore besides that they made League with Hannibal, they received him into their City

City with great triumph, hoping that the Warre being ended, they should be the chieftest and wealthiest of all ITALY. But marke how men are commonly deceived in their expectation. Now when Hannibal came into the City of CAPUA, there was a World of People that went to see him, for the great fame they heard of him. For there was no other talke, but of his happy Victories he had won of the Enemy. So being come into the City, they brought him unto Pacuvius House, his very familiar friend, who was a man of great Wealth and Authority, as any among all the CAMPANIANS. Then he made him a notable Banquet, to the which no Citizens were bidden, saving onely Jubellius Tanrea a stout man, and the Sonne of Pacuvius his Host: who through his Fathers meanes, with much ado, was reconciled to Hannibal, for that Hannibal hated him as he did, because he followed Decius Magius, who alwaies tooke the ROMANS part. But now let us consider a little I pray you, how great men sometimes unawares are subject to great dangers and misfortunes. For this young man dissembling his reconciliation with Hannibal, watching time and occasion notwithstanding to do him some displeasure, in the time of this Feast, while they were making merry, he tooke his Father aside into a secret corner of the house, and prayed him together with him, by a great good turne, to redeem the favour and good will againe of the ROMANS, the which they had lost through their great wickednesse. Then he told him how he was determined to kill Hannibal the Enemy of his Countrey, and all ITALY besides. His Father that was a man of great countenance and Authority, was marvellously amazed withall, to heare what his Sonne said: wherefore embracing him with teares running downe his cheekes, he prayed him to leave off his Sword, and to let his Guest be safe in his house. The which his Sonne in the end yielded with great ado. Thus Hannibal having before withstood all the force of his Enemies, the Ambushes of the GAULES, and having brought with him also a great Army from the Sea, and the farthest part of SPAIN, through so many great and mighty Nations, he escaped killing very narrowly by the hand of a young man, whilest he was at the Table making merry. The next morning Hannibal had audience in open Senate, where he made great and large promises, and told them many things, which the CAMPANIANS easily believed; and therefore flattered themselves, that they should be Lords of all ITALY: howbeit they reckoned beside their Host. And to conclude, they did so cowardly submit themselves to Hannibal, that it seemed they had not onely suffered him to come into their City, but that they had also made him their absolute Lord, like men that neither remembered nor regarded their Liberty. And this appeareth plainly by one example I will shew you amongst many. Hannibal willed them to deliver Decius Magius, the head of the Countrey-faction to him. Whereunto the Senate not onely obeyed with all humility, but worit of all, suffered him to be brought bound into the Market-place, in the presence of all the People: who because he would not forsake the ancient League and friendship with the ROMANS, had shewed himselfe a more faithfull Citizen to his Countrey and Common-wealth, then unto the barbarous People. Now whilest these things passed thus in CAPUA, Mago (Hannibals Brother) went to CARTHAGE, to report the newes of his happy Victory to his Countreymen, which they had won of the Enemies: and withall, before the Senate to declare the noble Exploits of Armes done by Hannibal. And to prove the words true he spake, he poured out at the coming in of the Senate-house, the Gold Rings which had bene taken from the ROMANE Knights: of the which there were (as some do report) above a bushell full, and as other some do write, above three bushells full and a halfe. After that, he prayed a new supply for Hannibals Army; which was granted them by the Senate with greater joy then afterwards it was sent. For the CARTHAGINIANS perswaded themselves by the things present, that the Warre would fall out as fortunate, as the beginning was faire: they thereupon decreed to continue the Warre, and to aide Hannibals attempts, by leavying of Souldiers. Now no man withstood this new supply to be sent to Hannibal, but Hanno a perpetuall Enemy of the BARCINIAN Faction. Howbeit the CARTHAGINIANS weighed not his counsell and advice then, though it tended to peace, and was good counsell for them, as oftentimes before he had used the like. So when Hannibal had made League with the CAMPANIANS, he led his Campe before the City of NOLA, hoping they would yeeld of themselves without compulsion. And certainly so it had come to passe, had not the sudden coming thither of Marcellus the Prætor beene, who both kept the People in, pacified the Sedition, and repulsed the Enemy that was coming into the City, by a Salley he made upon him at three severall Gates, chasing and killing them even to their Campe with great losse. This is that noble Captaine and valiant Souldier Marcellus, who with a noble courage made the World know, that Hannibal was not invincible. Hannibal perceiving that there was no other way, but to let NOLA alone till another time: he came to ACERRES, and tooke and spoiled it without resistance. Then going on with great power unto CASILINUM, a fit place to offend the CAPUANS, he went about to win them that lay there in Garison, but when he saw that neither his faire promises, nor otherwise his threats could prevaile, he left part of his Army to besiege the City, and bestowed the residue in Garisons before the Winter Season. Howbeit he chose for his chieftest seate and strength the City of CAPUA, which stood very pleasantly, and had plenty of all things. There it was that Hannibals Souldiers being used to lie hard, and easily to away with cold, hunger and thirst, became then of valiant men, ranke cowards, of strong men weaklings, and of serviceable and ready men, timorous and effeminate persons, through the daily pleasures they enjoyed at will. For sweete enticing pleasures do corrupt the strength and courage of the minde, and mans disposition unto vertue: moreover they spoile his wit, and take all good counsell from him, all which things are dangerous for men. And therefore Plato rightly calleth pleasure, the baite of all evils. And doubtlesse in this case, the pleasures of CAMPANIA did hurt the CARTHAGINIANS, more

Conspiracy against Hannibal at Capua.

Marcellus Victory of Hannibal at the City of Nola.

Hannibal's Souldiers married with ease at Capua. Pleasure the baite of all evils.

One Winters
eat spoiled a
Souldier, and
made him a
coward.

The hard shift
of the *Casti-
ans* to live dur-
ing *Hannibal's*
Siege.

Hannibal's good
fortune began
to faile him.

Three famous
Captaines of
the *Romanes*,
*Fabius Maxi-
mus*, *Sempronius
Gracchus*,
*Marcus Mar-
cellus*.

The Victories
of the *Romanes*
against *Hanni-
bal*.

* *Plutarch* in
the Life of
Marcellus, spea-
keth of five
thousand *Car-
thaginians* slain,
and onely of
five hundred
Romanes.

Two Factions
in *Naples*.

The City of
Tarentum deli-
vered unto
Hannibal by
Treason.

more then otherwise the highest Alpes, and all the Armies of the *ROMANES* did. For one onely Winter passed over in such pleasure and wantonnesse, was of such great force to extinguish the vehement courage in the Souldiers, that when they were brought into the Field at the beginning of the Spring, sure you would rightly have said that they had forgotten all Martiall Discipline. Thus the Winter being passed over, *Hannibal* returned againe to *CASILINUM*, hoping that the Citizens within would willingly yeeld unto him, after they had abidden so long a Siege. Howbeit they were bent to abide all extremitie, before they would yeeld to their so cruell an Enemy, although they lacked Victuals. Wherefore living first by Spealt, or bare Barley, and afterwards with Nuts which they had received of the *ROMANES* by the River of *Vulturius*: they held it out so long, that *Hannibal* in the end being angry with the continuance of the Siege, he was content to take the City upon composition, the which he had refused before. Now this Warre, in the which the *CARTHAGINIANS* had alwaies had great Victories and good Fortune, and received no losse worthy of memory, began at that time to decline, and to fall to great change and alteration. For the League that was made with *Philip* King of *MACEDON*, and the new Aide and Supply that was sent from *CARTHAGE*, and the taking of *PETILIA*, *CONSTANTIA*, and of other Cities of the Countrey of the *BRUTIANS*, kept the *CARTHAGINIANS* in good hope. On the other side, the great Victories which the *ROMANES* had wonne upon the Enemies of *SPAIN* and *SARDINIA*, did greatly encourage them, and gave them also good hope that their Affaires would prosper better and better. They had also chosen three excellent Captaines, *Fabius Maximus*, *Sempronius Gracchus*, and *Marcus Marcellus*, a man most worthy of praise for Martiall Discipline: who so wisely governed the Affaires of the State, that *Hannibal* found he should make Warre with an Enemy, no lesse politicke and wife, then hardy and valiant. For first of all, he was driven from the City of *CUMES*, with great slaughter of his men, by *Sempronius Gracchus*, and forced to raise his Siege: and shortly after he was overcome by *Marcellus*, in a Battell he fought at *NOLA*. For there were slaine above a thousand *ROMANES*, and * six thousand *CARTHAGINIANS* slaine and taken flying. Now it is easily seene what great importance that Battell was of: because *Hannibal* immediately upon it, raised his Siege from *NOLA*, and went into *APULIA* to winter his Army there. By this meanes came the *ROMANES* to recover againe, as out of a great sicknesse, and sent a great Power against the Enemy: and were not content onely to keepe their owne, but they durst also invade others. So their chiefest intent was, to besiege the City of *CAPUA*, for the injury they had but lately received of the *CAMPANIANS*. For incontinently after the Battell was fought at *CANES*, they forooke the *ROMANES*, even in their greatest extremitie and misery, and tooke part with *Hannibal* that was Conquerour, forgetting the great pleasures their City had received in old time by the *ROMANES*. On the other side, the *CAMPANIANS* knowing they had made a fault, and being afraid of this new Preparation of the *ROMANES*, they sent to *Hannibal* into *APULIA*, to pray him to come and aide their City (being of the number of the Confederates) in their greatest necessity. *Hannibal* departed out of *APULIA* without delay, and came on with great Journeys into *CAMPANIA*, and camped by *TIPATA* over *CAPUA*, whereby he rather deferred till another time, then prevented the Plague hanging over the *CAMPANIANS* heads: so spoyling the Countrey round about *NAPLES*, he began to take conceit of a new hope, that he might take *NOLA* by Treason. For in *NOLA*, the People and Senate were at variance the one against the other, as they were likewise in divers other Cities of *ITALY*. The common People desirous of change, favoured *Hannibal* and the Noblemen, and men of Authority, tooke part with the People of *ROME*. So when *Hannibal* went to take the City of *NOLA*, *Marcellus* met him with his Army in Battell-ray, as he had often done before, and failed not to fight with him, even at the first meeting. There the *ROMANES* overcame, and drave the Enemy with such manhood and readinesse, that if the Horsemen which had taken another way, had come in in time, as *Marcellus* commanded them; no question the *CARTHAGINIANS* had beene utterly overthrowne. *Hannibal* after he had retired his Army into his Campe with great slaughter, he shortly after departed thence, and went into the Countrey of the *SALENTINIANS*. For certaine young *TARENTINES* that had beene taken Prisoners in former Battells, where the *ROMANES* had beene overthrowne, and that were afterwards delivered free without Ransome: they to shew themselves thankfull, had put *Hannibal* in hope to deliver him the City of *TARENTUM*, so he would bring his Army before the City. *Hannibal* inticed by their promises, did what he could to obtaine it, because he might have some City upon the Sea in his power, the which he had desired of long time. And indeede, of all the Cities upon the Sea Coast, there was none so meete as *TARENTUM*, to bring aide out of *GREECE* thither, and also to furnish the Campe with many things that were to be occupied daily. So though this thing was drawne out in length, by the Garison of the *ROMANES* that valiantly resisted: yet *Hannibal* never gave over his Enterprize, untill that *Nico* and *Philomenes*, the Authours of the Treason, had delivered him the City into his hands. The *ROMANES* kept onely the Castle, the which is in manner environed with the Sea on three sides: and on the fourth side, that lay upon the firme Land, it was very strong with Rampiers and Bulwarkes. *Hannibal* perceiving that he could do no good on that side, because of their great strength: he determined to shut up the mouth of the Haven of *TARENTUM*, hoping that was the onely way to make the *ROMANES* yeeld, when their Victuals should be cut from them. Yet the Enterprize seemed very hard, because the Enemies had all the Streights of the Haven in their power, and the Ships also that should besiege the issue of the Haven, were shut up in a narrow little place, and were to be drawne out of the Haven, at the foote of

of the Castle, to bring them into the next Sea. But when never a man of the *TARENTINES* could devise how to bring this Enterprize to passe: *Hannibal* himselfe perceived that these Ships might be drawne out of the Haven with certaine Engines, and then to cart them through the City to the Sea. So having his cunning Workmen in hand with the matter, the Ships within few daies after were taken out of the Haven, and carried into the Sea, and then came and shewed before the Barre of the Haven. Thus the City of *TARENTUM* being won againe, after the *ROMANES* had kept it the space of a hundred yeares: *Hannibal* leaving the Castle besieged both by Sea and Land, he returned into *SAMNIUM*. For the Consuls of the *ROMANES* had spoiled and stripped the *CAMPANIANS* that went out to forage, and having brought their Army before *CAPUA*, they determined (if it might be) to win it by Siege. Wherefore *Hannibal* being very sorry for the Siege of *CAPUA*, he came with all his Army against the Enemy: and seeing shortly after that the *ROMANES* did not refuse to fight, they both marched forward, and doubtlesse to fight, it would have proved a bloody Battell, had not *Sempronius* Army severed them as he did, which came into *CAMPANIA* under the Conduct of *Cn. Cornelius*, after they had lost *Sempronius Gracchus* in the Countrey of *LUKE*. For they seeing this Army far off, before they could know who they were, the *ROMANES* and *CARTHAGINIANS* were both afraid, and so retired into their Campe. Afterwards the Consuls went unto severall Countreys, the one into *LUKE*, and the other towards *CUMES*, to make *Hannibal* remove from *CAPUA*: who went into *LUCANIA*, and found occasion to fight with *M. Centenius*, who very fondly and desperately did hazard his Army left him in charge, against a subtill and dangerous Enemy. The Battell being begun, *M. Centenius* was slaine valiantly fighting, and few other escaped. After this also there hapned another losse: for *Hannibal* returning shortly after into *APULIA*, he met with another Army of the *ROMANES*, the which *Fabius* the Praetor led, who also entrapped that Army by Ambushes, and slew the most of them: so that of twenty thousand men, two thousand scant escaped the edge of the Sword. In the meane time the Consuls perceiving that *Hannibal* was gone, they came with all their Army unto *CAPUA*, and did besiege it round. This being come to *Hannibal's* eare, he came with his Army into *CAMPANIA*, in very good order and well appointed: and at his first coming he set upon the Campe of the *ROMANES*, having first willed the *CAMPANIANS* at the selfe same instant to make a Salley out on them. The *ROMANES* Consuls at the first tumult of their Enemies, divided the Army betweene them, and went against them. The *CAMPANIANS* were easily driven againe into the City: howbeit against *Hannibal*, the Battell was very bloody. For if ever he proved himselfe a valiant Captaine or noble Souldier, that day he shewed it. He attempted also to surprize the *ROMANES* by some Stratagem. For as his men were about to breake into the *ROMANES* Campe, he sent one thither that had the Latine Tongue excellently well, who cried out by the commandement of the Consuls, that the *ROMANES* should save themselves in the next Mountaines, considering they had almost lost all their Campe and strength. This cry made on the sudden, had easily moved them that heard it, if the *ROMANES* being thoroughly acquainted with *Hannibal's* subtilties, had not found out his deceit. Wherefore one of them encouraging another, they made the Enemy retire, and compelled him in despite of his beard to sic into the Campe. When *Hannibal* had done what he could by all device and practice possible, to raise the Siege from *CAPUA*, and perceiving all would not serve, being sorry for the danger of his Confederates: he then determined to call a Councell, the which he had passed over a long time, having reserved it for the last refuge. For he trusted up his Carriage, and marched away with his Army, and as quietly as he could, he passed over the River of *Vulturius*, and coasting through the Countreys of the *SIDICINIANS*, *ATIFANIANS*, and *CASSINIANS*, he came to *ROME* with Ensignes displayed, hoping thereby he should make them raise their Siege, being so earnestly bent to win *CAPUA*. This flying straight to *ROME* by Currers, they were so afraid there, as *ROME* was never in like feare it stood in then. For they saw their mortall Enemy come to them with Ensignes displayed, whom they had so often proved, almost to the utter destruction of their Empire: and now they saw him present, whom they could not resist being absent, threatening to bring the Senate and People of *ROME* into subjection. So all *ROME* being in feare and tumult, it was ordained that *Fulvius Flaccus* (one of the Consuls lying before *CAPUA*) should be sent for home. And that the new Consuls *Sulpius Galba*, and *Cornelius Centimalus*, should lie in Campe out of the City: and that *C. Calpurnius* Praetor should put a strong Garison into the Capitoll, and also that the Citizens that had borne any Office or Dignity, should be appointed by their Countenance and Authority to pacifie the sudden tumults that might happen in the City. So *Hannibal* marched forward without staying, till he came to the River of *Anienes*, and there camped within twenty four furlongs of *ROME*: and shortly after that, he came with two thousand Horse so neare unto *ROME*, that riding from the Gate *Collina*, unto *Hercules* Temple, he had leisure to view at his pleasure, the situation and Walls of so great a City. *Fulvius Flaccus* seeing that, could not abide it, but straight sent out certaine men at Armes of the *ROMANES* against him: who coming with great fury to give Charge upon him as they were commanded, they easily sent him packing. The next morning *Hannibal* brought his Army out of the Campe, and did set them in Battell-ray, determining to fight presently, if he could allure the Enemy to battell. The *ROMANES* on the other side did the like. So both Armies marched one against the other, with such life and courage, that to see them, they appeared mgn that feared no danger, so they might obtaine the Victory that day. For on the one side, the *CARTHAGINIANS* were to fight (in manner) for the Empire of the World: the which they thought depended upon this Battell, as being the last they should fight. The *ROMANES* in contrary manner, they were to fight

Tarentum won
by *Hannibal*.

Hannibal's Stra-
tagem.

Vulturius fl.

Sulpius Galba,
*Cornelius Cenni-
malus*, Consuls.

Anienes fl.

Hannibal com-
meth to invade
Rome.

A wonder.

Salapia a City
where Hannibal
fell in love.The death of
Fulvius Vice-
Consull.

for their Countrey, Liberty, and their Goods, to see whether they could keepe them, or that they should come into their Enemies hands. Howbeit there fell out a thing worthy of memory. For as they were ready set in Battell-ray, tarrying but for the Signall of Battell to give Charge, there fell such a wonderfull great shower and storme upon them, that both of them were driven in spight of their teeths to bring backe their Army into their Forts againe. The next day following in like manner, unto the which it seemed the Battell had bene deferred, when they had againe both of them set their men in Battell-ray, there fell the like storme upon them, which did as much hurt to the ROMANES and CARTHAGINIANS, as the first: so that it forced them onely to looke to save themselves; and not to thinke otherwise to fight. Hannibal perceiving this, he turned to his friends and told them, that the first time he thought not to winne to ROME, and that at the second time the occasion was taken from him. So there was a thing that greatly troubled Hannibal, and that was this. That though he came so neare to ROME, with an Army of Horsemen and Footmen: yet he heard that the ROMANES had sent aide into SPAIN, and that he had redeemed the Countrey where he had bene, at a far greater price then reason required. Wherefore being in a rage withall, he caused all the Goldsmiths and Bankers Shops of the ROMANES Citizens to be sold by the Crier. But afterwards casting with himselfe, what a hard Enterprize it was to take the City of ROME, or else being afraid to lacke Victuals (for he had stored himselfe onely but for ten daies) he raised his Campe, and removing thence came unto the holy Wood of the goddesse Feronia, and rifled the rich Temple there, and afterwards went thence into the Countrey of the BRUTIANS and LUCANIANS. The CAPUANS having intelligence thereof, being left out of all hope, they yielded up their City unto the ROMANES. The City of CAPUA being thus yielded up, and brought againe to the subjection of the ROMANES, it was of great importance to all the People of ITALY, and withall brought great desire of change. Hannibal himselfe also following evill counsell, did spoile and destroy many Cities he could not keepe: whereby he did stir up the hearts of divers Nations against him. For where before when he was Conquerour, he had often let Prisoners go without Ranfome paying, through which liberality he had won the hearts of many men: even so at that present time, his barbarous cruelty made divers Cities (mislaking to be subject to the CARTHAGINIANS) to rebell against him, and to take part with the ROMANES. Amongst them was SALAPIA, the which was yielded up unto the Consull Marcellus, by Blacius meanes chiefe of all the ROMANE Faction: and a Band also of choice Horsemen which was left there in Garison, were in manner slaine every man of them. This is the City where Hannibal fell in fancy with a Gentlewoman, and therefore they greatly reprove his immoderate lust and lasciviousnesse. Howbeit there are others, that greatly commending the continency of this Capitaine, say, that he did never cate lying, and never dranke above a pint of wine, neither when he came to make Warre in ITALY, nor after that he returned into AFRICA. Some there be also that say, Hannibal was cruell and unconstant, and subject to divers such other vices: howbeit they make no manner of mention of his chastity or incontinency. But they report that his Wife was a SPANIARD, borne in CASTULO, a good Towne: and that the CARTHAGINIANS granted her many things, and trusted her very much, because of the great faith and constancy of that Nation. Now Hannibal after he had lost (as we have told you) the City of SALAPIA, he found the meanes to cry quite, and to make the ROMANES lose more then he had lost. For at the self-same time Fulvius Vice-Consull lay besieging of HERDONIA, hoping to win the City without resistance. And because he stood in no feare of any Enemy round about him (for Hannibal was gone into the Countrey of the BRUTIANS) he kept no Watch, and was altogether negligent in Martiall Affaires, contrary to the nature of the ROMANE Captains. Hannibal being advertised thereof by Spials, would not lose such a goodly opportunity: and therefore coming into APULIA with his Army ready, he came so hastily upon HERDONIA, that he had almost stollen upon Fulvius, unprovided in his Campe. Howbeit the ROMANES valiantly received the first Charge with such courage, that they fought it out longer then it was looked for. Notwithstanding in the end, as the ROMANES two yeares before that had bene overcome not far from thence, with their Consull Fulvius: even so likewise under the Conduct of this Fulvius Vice-Consull, the ROMANES Legions were utterly overthrowne, and their Capitaine slaine, with the most part of his Army. The Consull Marcellus was at that time in the City of SAMNIUM, who being advertised of this great overthrow, desired to be even with him: and though it seemed he came too late to helpe things past remedy, yet he brought his Army into the Countrey of the LUCANIANS, whither he understood Hannibal was gone after his Victory, and came and camped directly over against his Enemy, and soone after came to Battell. The which the CARTHAGINIANS refused not, but gave such a fierce onset on either side, that they fought it out till Sun-set, and no man knew who had the better, and so the night parted them. The next morning the ROMANES shewing againe in Field in Battell-ray, made it knowne that the Enemies were afraid of them. For Hannibal kept his men within the Campe, and the next night following stole away without any noise, and went into APULIA. Marcellus also followed him foote by foote, and fought to put all to hazard by some notable Battell: for he bare himselfe thus in hand, that of all the ROMANE Captains, there was none matchable with Hannibal but himselfe, either in Counsell, Wit, or Policy, or else in Martiall Discipline, or Warlike Stratagems. Howbeit the Winter following kept him, that he could not fight any set-Battell with the Enemy: for after he had made a few light Skirmishes, because he would not trouble his Souldiers any more in vaine, he bestowed them in Garison for the Winter time. At the beginning of the next Spring, procured partly by Fabius Letters (who was one of the new Consuls for that yeare) and partly also through his owne disposition, he

he brought out his Garisons sooner then they were looked for, and came with his Army against Hannibal, who lay at that time at CANUSIUM. Now it chanced, that through the nearnesse of both their Campes, and the good desire they both had to fight, in few daies they fought three severall times. The first Battell, when they had fought it out till night, in manner like hope of both sides, and that it could not be judged which of them had the better: they both of purpose retired into their Campe againe. The second day Hannibal was Conquerour, after he had slaine almost two thousand seven hundred Enemies, and put the residue of the Army to flight. The third day, the ROMANES to recover the shame and dishonour they had lost the day before, they were the first that prayed they might fight, and so Marcellus led them out to Battell. Hannibal wondering at their valiantnesse, laid unto his People, that he dealt with an Enemy that could never be quiet Conquerour, nor conquered. So the Battell was more bloody and cruell then any that was before: because the ROMANES did their best to be revenged of their losse, and the CARTHAGINIANS on the other side were mad in their mindes, to see that the vanquished durst provoke the Vanquishers unto Battell. In the end, the ROMANES being sharply reproved, and also perswaded by Marcellus to stick to valiantly like men, that the news of their Victory might come to ROME, before the news of their overthrow: they flew in among the prease of their Enemies, and never left fighting, till that after they had thrice broken their Enemies, they made them all flee. At the self-same time Fabius Maximus tooke the City of TARENTUM againe, almost after the self-same sort it was lost. This being reported unto Hannibal, he said: The ROMANES have also their Hannibal. The next yeare following, Marcellus and Crispinus were chosen Consuls, who preparing to put themselves in readinesse for Warre, they led both the Armies against the Enemy. Hannibal despairing that he was not able to resist them in Battell, he sought all the wits he had to devise some way to intrap them by subtilty: whom he could not overcome by Battell. So Hannibals head being occupied thus, there was offered him a better occasion to bring this Enterprize to passe, then he looked for. Betweene Both Campes there was a pretty Grove, in the which Hannibal laid certaine Bands of the NUMIDIANS in Ambush, to intrap the Enemies passing to and from. On the other side, the Consuls by consent of them all, thought it best to send to view this Grove, and to keepe it if neede required: left in leaving it behinde them, the Enemies should come, and so be upon their jacks afterwards. Now before they removed their Army, both the Consuls went out of their Campe, with a small company of Horsemen with them, to view the situation of this place: and so going on very undiscerely, and worse appointed then became men of their Authority and Place, they unfortunately fell into Hannibals Ambush. So, when they saw themselves in a moment compassed about on every side with Enemies, that they could not go forward, and were also fought withall behinde: they defended themselves the best they could, rather by compulsion, then of any determination they had to fight. So, Marcellus was slaine fighting valiantly: and Crispinus the other Consull also very sore hurt, who hardly escaped the Enemies hands. Hannibal being advertised that Marcellus was slaine, who was the chiefe man of all the ROMANE Captains, that had most hindered the happy successe of his Victories, and had besides troubled him most: he presently went and camped there where the Battell was fought, and when he had found Marcellus body, he gave it honourable Pompe and Funerall. Hereby we may see how Magnanimity, and excellent Vertues, are esteemed of all men: considering that the cruell and most mortal Enemy gave honourable buriall to so noble and excellent a Capitaine. The ROMANES in the meane time seeing one of their Consuls dead, and the other Consull very sore hurt, they drew straight to the next Mountaines, and camped in a strong place. Howbeit Crispinus had sent to the next Townes of the Mountaines, to advertise them that Marcellus his Companion was dead, and that the Enemy had gotten the Ring he sealed his Letters withall, wherefore he wished them to be ware of any Letters written in Marcellus name. Crispinus Messenger came but newly unto SALAPIA, when Letters were brought also from Hannibal in the behalfe of Marcellus, to tell them that he would be there the next night. The SALAPIANs knowing his craft, they sent his Messenger away, and carefully looked for Hannibals coming. About the fourth watch of the night, Hannibal came to the City of SALAPIA, who of purpose had put all the ROMANES that had fled, in the Vauntguard, because that they speaking the Latine Tongue, might make them believe that Marcellus was there in person. So when the Citizens had suffered six hundred of them to come in, they shut to the Gates, and with their Shot and Darts thrust out the rest of the Army, and then put all them to the Sword they had let into the City. Thus Hannibal being in a marvellous rage he had missed of his purpose, he removed thence, and went into the Countrey of the BRUTIANS, to aide the LOCRIANS that were besieged by the ROMANES, both by Sea and by Land. After all these things, at the earnest request of the Senate and People, two new Consuls were created, both famous Captaines, and valiant Souldiers, Marcus Livius, and Claudius Nero: who having divided the Army betwixt them, went unto their severall charge and Provinces. Claudius Nero went into the Countrey of the SALENTINIANS, and M. Livius into GAULE, against Hasdrubal BARCHINIAN, who was come over the Alpes, and made haste to joyne with his Brother Hannibal, bringing with him a great Army both of Footmen and Horsemen. Now it chanced at the same time, that Hannibal had received great losse by Claudius the Consull. For first of all, he overcame him in the Countrey of the LUCANIANS, using the like policies and fetches that Hannibal did. Afterwards againe, meeting with Hannibal in APULIA, by the City of VENUSIA, he fought such a lusty Battell with him, that many of his Enemies lay by it in the Field. By reason of the great losses, Hannibal suddenly went to METAPONT, to renew his Army againe. So having remained there a few daies, he received the Army from

Divers Con-
flicts of the
Romans with
Hannibal.Hannibals
words of Mar-
cellus.Marcellus and
Crispinus Con-
suls.Hannibal layeth
ambush for the
Romans.The death of
Marcellus.The power of
MagnanimityMarcus Livius,
and C. Nero,
Consuls.

Sena a City of
-quila
Metaurum fl
N. e. uis, and
C Ne u Coun
tus vercame
Hafdrubal, and
flew fifty fixe
thousand of
his men.

The change
and alteration
of the Cartha-
ginians good
fortune.

The praise of
Hannibals great
wildome in the
government of
his Army.
P. Scipio in-
vaded Car-
thage.

The last Bat-
telle Hannibal
fought in Italy,
was with Sem-
pronius, in the
which he over-
came Hannibal.
Hannibal sent
for to returne
into Africke,
after he had
warred sixteen
yeares in Italy.
Hannibals
Arch of Tri-
umph.
Hannibal de-
parteth out of
Italy.

Hannibals and
Scipios meet-
ing, and talk.

from *Hanno*, the which he joyned unto his, and then returned unto *Venusia*. *C. Nero* lay not far from *Venusia* with his Campe: who having intercepted Letters of his Enemies, he understood by them that *Hafdrubal* was at hand with his Army. Thereupon he bethought himself night and day, what policy he might use to prevent the joyning of two so great Armies together as these. So, after he had taken advice of himself, he followed in fight a dangerous determination, but peradventure necessary, as the time required. For leaving the Campe unto the charge of his Lieutenant, he took part of the Army with him, and making great journeys, came to *Pisenum* (being the Marches of *Ancona*) so that on the sixth day he came to *Sena*. There both the Consuls joyned their Forces together, and setting upon *Hafdrubal* by the River of *Metaurum*, they had very good luck at that Battell. For, as it is reported, there were six and fifty thousand of the Enemies slain on that day: so that they almost had as great an overthrow, as the *Romans* had received before at the Battell of *Cannes*. Now *C. Nero*, after this famous Victory, returning as speedily unto *Venusia* as he went thence, he set up *Hafdrubals* head, where the Enemies kept the Watch: and did let certaine Prisoners go, to carry newes to *Hannibal* of this great overthrow. For afterwards it was knowne, that *Hannibal* knew nothing yet of *Claudius* secret Enterprize, nor of the speedy execution and great slaughter he had made. Whereat sure I can but wonder, that so subtle a Captaine as *Hannibal*, could be deceived by *Claudius*, considering both their Campes lay so neare together: so that he first heard the newes of the overthrow of his Brother, and of all his Army, before he understood any thing of the Consuls departure, or heard of his returne againe to the Campe. Now *Hannibal* having not onely received a generally, but also a particular great losse by the death of his Brother, he said then, he plainly saw the change and alteration of the *CARTHAGINIANS* good fortune: and shortly after removed his Campe, and went thence into the Countrey of the *BRUTIANS*. For he knew that this great overthrow given by the River of *Metaurum*, was a marvellous encouragement to the *ROMANS*, and would also be a great log in his way, for the successe of this War. This notwithstanding, he gathered together all his Power he had left in *ITALY*, after so many great Battels and Conflicts, and so many Cities taken: and maintained the War with an invincible courage. But the most strangest thing in *Hannibal* was this, that through his authority and wisdom, he kept all his Army in peace and amity together (being a medley of *SPANIARDS*, *AFRICANS*, *GAULES*, and of divers other Nations) and never man heard that there was any brawle or tumult among them. Howbeit the *ROMANS* themselves, after they had won *SICILE*, *SARDINIA*, and *SPAINE* againe, they could never utterly overcome him, nor drive him out of *ITALY*, before they had sent *P. Cornelius Scipio* into *AFRICKE*: who making War with the *CARTHAGINIANS*, he brought them to such great extremitie, that they were driven to lend for *Hannibal* home out of *ITALY*. *Hannibal* at that time (as we have said before) was in the Countrey of the *BRUTIANS*, making War by Inrodes and sudden Invasions, rather then by any fought Battell: saving that once there was a Battell fought in haste betwixt him and the Consull *Sempronius*, and immediately after he came and set upon the same *Sempronius* with all his Army. At this Battell *Hannibal* had the Victory: but at the second, *Sempronius* overcame him. Since that time, I can finde in no Greeke nor Latine Authour, that *Hannibal* did any famous act in *ITALY* worthy memory. For being sent for into *AFRICKE* by the *CARTHAGINIANS*, he left *ITALY* sixteen yeares after this *AFRICKE* War was begun, greatly complaining of the Senate of *CARTHAGE*, and of himself also. Of the Senate, because that all the time he had been in his Enemies Countrey so long, they had allowed him so little Money: and so scant him besides with all other things necessary for the Wars. And of himselfe, because that after he had so often overcome the *ROMANS*, he had alwaies delayed time after the Victory, and had given the Enemy liberty to gather force againe. It is reported also, that before he imbarqued and tooke Sea, he set up a triumphing Arch or Pillar, by the Temple of *Juno Lacinia*, in the which were briefly graven his noble Victories, both in the *Punicke* and *Greeke* Tongue. So when he was departed out of *ITALY*, the winde served him so well, that in few daies he arrived at *LEPTIS*, and landing all his Army, he first came to *ADRUMENTUM*, and afterwards unto *ZAMA*. There receiving advertisement how the Affaires of the *CARTHAGINIANS* prospered, he thought it best to devise some way to end this Warre. For this cause he sent unto *Scipio*, to pray him to appoint him some convenient place where they might both meete, and talke together of matters of great importance. Now it is not certainly knowne, whether *Hannibal* did this of his owne head, or by commandement of the Senate. *Scipio* refused not to come to parley. Wherefore at the day appointed, there met two famous Generals of mighty Nations, in a great Plaine together, either of them having his Interpreter, to talke together of divers matters touching Peace and Warre. For *Hannibal* was altogether bent to Peace, because he saw the Affaires of the *CARTHAGINIANS* waxe worse and worse every day: that they had lost *SICILE*, *SARDINIA*, and *SPAINE*: because the Warre was brought out of *ITALY* into *AFRICKE*: because *Syphax* (a mighty King) was taken Prisoner of the *ROMANS*: and also because that their last hope consisted in the Army he had brought into *AFRICKE*, which was the onely remaine and reliefe of so long a Warre as he had made in *ITALY*: and also because that the *CARTHAGINIANS* had so small a Power left (both of Strangers, and also of Citizens) that there were scarce men enough to defend the City of *CARTHAGE*. So he did his best to perswade *Scipio* with a long Oration he made, rather to agree to Peace, then to resolve of Warre. Howbeit *Scipio* that lived in hope to bring this Warre to a good end, would not seeme to give care to any Peace. Wherefore after they had long debated the matter of either side, in the end they brake off, and made no Agreement. Shortly after, was this famous Battell striken by the City of *ZAMA*, in the which the *ROMANS* obtained Victory. For

For first of all, they made the *CARTHAGINIANS* Elephants turne upon their own Army, so that they did put all *Hannibals* Horsemen out of order. And *Lelins* and *Mafinissas*, who made both the Wings, increasing their feare, gave the Horsemen no leasure to gather themselves in order againe. Howbeit the Footmen fought it out a long time, and with a marvellous great courage: inso much that the *CARTHAGINIANS* (trusting in their former Victory) thought that all the safety and preservation of *AFRICKE*, was all in their hands, and therefore they layed about them like men. The *ROMANS* on the other side had as great hartes as they, and besides, they stood in the better hope. Howbeit one thing indeed did the *ROMANS* great service to helpe them to the Victory: and that was, *Lelins* and *Mafinissas* returne from the chafe of the Horsemen; who rushed into the Battell of the Enemy with great fury, and did put them in a marvellous feare. For at their coming, the *CARTHAGINIANS* hearts were done, and they saw no other remedy for them, but to hope to scape by flying. So it is reported, that there were slaine that day, above twenty thousand *CARTHAGINIANS* in the Field, and as many more Prisoners. *Hannibal* their Generall, after he had tarried to see the end of the Battell, fled with a few of his men out of the great slaughter. Afterwards when he was sent for to *CARTHAGE*, to helpe to save his Countrey, he perswaded the Senate not to hope any more in Warres, but did counsell them, that setting all devices apart, they should send unto *Scipio* the *ROMANE* Captaine, to make Peace with him upon any condition. When the ten Ambassadors had brought the Capitulation and Agreement unto *CARTHAGE* of the Articles of Peace, it was reported that there was one *Gilgo*, who misliking to heare talke of Peace, made an Oration, and perswaded all he could to renew Warre against the *ROMANS*. Wherefore *Hannibal* perceiving that divers men confirmed his Opinion, and being much offended to see such beastes, and men of no understanding, to dare to speake of such matters, in so dangerous a time: he cast himselfe down headlong, whilest he was yet in his Oration. So when he saw that the Citizens and all the whole Assembly thought this too presumptuous a part of him, and unmeet altogether for a free City, he himselfe got up into the Pulpit for Orations, and said: Let no man be offended, if a man that from his youth had been alway out of *CARTHAGE*, and brought up all his life time in Wars, be ignorant of the Lawes and Ordinances of the City. After that he spake so wisely of the Articles of Peace, that the *CARTHAGINIANS* being immediatly moved by the authority of so great a person, they all agreed to accept the conditions which the vanquisher, and the necessity of time offered them. The Articles out of doubt were very extreme and such as the vanquished are wont to receive with all extremity by the Conquerors. But besides all other things, the *CARTHAGINIANS* were bound to pay the *ROMANS* an Annuall Tribute, untill a certaine time were run out. So when the day came that the first Pension was to be payed to the *ROMANS*, and that every man grugged when the Subsidie was spoken of: some say, that *Hannibal* being offended with the vaine teares of the *CARTHAGINIANS*, he fell laughing. And when *Hafdrubal Hadm* reproved him because he laughed in such a common calamity of all the City, he answered, that it was no laughter nor rejoycing from the heart, but a scorning of their fond teares, that wept when there was lesse cause (and onely because it touched every private mans Purse) then before, when the *ROMANS* tooke from the *CARTHAGINIANS* their Ships, Armour, and Weapons, and their spoiles of the great Victories which they had wonne before, and now gave Lawes and Ordinances unto them that were vanquished. I know some Authours write, that *Hannibal* immediatly after he had lost the Battell, fled into *ASIA*, for that he was afraid they would deliver him into *Scipios* hands, that perhaps might demand him of them. But whether that was done suddainly, or some time after the Battell was lost at *ZAMA*, it makes no great matter: considering that all the world knoweth, that when he saw things brought to extremity, he presently fled into *ASIA* unto King *Antiochus*. So it is most true, that King *Antiochus* received him with great courtesie, and used him very honourably: inso much as he made him of counsell with him all in all, both in private and publique Causes. For the Name of *Hannibal* carried great reputation with all men: besides that, he had a common and mortall hate to the *ROMANS*, which was a pricking spurre still to move Warre against them. And therefore it seemeth that he came in happy houre into that Countrey, not onely to pricke forward the courage of the King against them, but also to set Warres at liberty against the *ROMANS*. So he told him, that the onely way to make Warre with the *ROMANS*, was to go into *ITALY* to leavy *ITALIAN* Souldiers, by whom onely, that Victorious Countrey of all other Nations might be subdued. He requested of the King a hundred Ships, sixteen thousand Footmen, and a thousand Horsemen onely. With this small Army he promised to invade *ITALY*, and that he would marvellously trouble the *ITALIANS*: whom he knew yet to stand in no small feare of him, for the very sound of his Name onely, because of the late Warres he had made there, so fresh yet in memory. Furthermore, he tooke heart againe unto him to renew the warres of *AFRICKE*, if the King would licence him to send men unto *CARTHAGE*, to stirre up the *BARCINIAN* faction, whom he knew hated the *ROMANS* to death. When he had gotten the King to grant him his request, he called *Arifon* *TYRIAN* unto him, a fine subtle fellow, and meet for such a purpose: to whom he made large promises, and perswaded him to go to *CARTHAGE* to his friends, and to carry them Letters from him. Thus *Hannibal* being a banished man, and fled out of his Countrey, raised Warre in all parts against the *ROMANS*. And surely his counsell had taken good effect, had King *Antiochus* rather followed his advice, as he did at the first, then the vaine persuasions of his fine Courtiers. But envy, a common plague frequenting Princes Courts, bred *Hannibal* great Enemies. For they being afraid that by his counsels he should grow in great favour with the King (for he was a wife and

Scipios Victory of the Carthaginians at the Battell of Zama.

The flying of Hannibal.

Hannibal could not abide fools talke of War.

Hannibal in his misery fled unto King *Antiochus* into Asia.

Envy the common plague of Princes Courts.

Scipio African met with Hannibal at Ephesus. Hannibals judgement of the most famous Captaines.

Hannibal counsellor King Antiochus to make War with the Romans.

King Antiochus judgement of Hannibal.

Hannibal made General of Antiochus Army by Sea together with Apollonius.

Hannibal fled to Prusias King of Bithynia.

politick Captaine) and that thereby he should beare great sway and authority: to prevent it, they lacked no device to bring him in disgrace with the King. And it so chanced at that time that *Vilius*, who came Ambassadour unto *EPHESUS*, had often conference with *Hannibal*. Thereupon his privy Enemies took occasion to accuse him, and withall, the King himselfe became jealous of it, that from thenceforth he never more called him to counsell. At the selfe same time also, as some do report, *Publius Cornelius Scipio African* (who was one of the Ambassadors sent unto King *Antiochus*) talking familiarly with *Hannibal*, prayed him amongst other things to tell him truly, whom he thought the worthiest Captaine of all others. *Hannibal* answered him. First he thought *Alexander King of MACEDON* the chiefe: next unto him, *Pyrrhus*, King of the *EPIROTES*: and thirdly, himselfe. Then *Scipio African* smiling, asked him: what wouldst thou say *Hannibal*, if thou hadst overcome me? Truly said he, then I would be chiefe: I myselfe. This answer pleased *Scipio* marvellous well, because he saw he was neither despised, nor yet brought to be compared with the other, but left alone as peerelesse, by some secret flattery of *Hannibal*. After these things *Hannibal* found occasion to talke with King *Antiochus*, and began to lay open his Life unto him from his youth, and bewray the malice he had alwaies borne unto the *ROMANES*: whereby he so satisfied the King, that he was againe received into his grace and favour, which he had almost utterly lost. Thereupon the King was determined to have made him Admirall of his Army by Sea, the which he had put in readinesse for *ITALY*, and also to make proofe of his great courage and service, whom he knew to be a worthy man, and a mortall Enemy to the *ROMANES*. But one *Thous*, Prince of the *ETOLIANS*, thwarting this opinion, either for malice, or else for that his fancy was such: he altered the Kings minde, and cleane changed his purpose, the which was a matter of great importance for the Warre he pretended to make. For he gave counsell unto *Antiochus*, that he should go himselfe into *GREECE*, and direct his own affaires: and that he should not suffer another to carry away the honour and glory of this War. So King *Antiochus* shortly after went into *GREECE*, to make War with the *ROMANES*. Within few daies after, when he consulted whether he should make league with the *THESSALIANS*, *Hannibals* opinion was specially asked: who spake so wisely touching the State of the *THESSALIANS*, and the chiefe matter of importance, that they all went with his opinion, and gave their consents unto it. Now his opinion was, that they should not need much to care for the *THESSALIANS*, but rather to make all the meanes they could to get King *Philip of MACEDON* to take their part, or else to perswade him to be a Neuter, and to take neither part. Furthermore, he gave counsell to make War with the *ROMANES* in their own Countrey, and offered himselfe to aid him the best he could. Every man gave good eare to his words, but his opinion was rather commended, then followed. Wherefore every man marvelled, that such a Captaine as he, that had so many yeares made Warre with the *ROMANES* (who had in manner conquered all the World) should then be so light set by of the King, when it specially stood him upon, to have such a mans helpe and counsell. For, what Captain living could a man have found more skillfull or politike, or meeter to make Warre with the *ROMANES* then him? Howbeit the King made no reckoning of him at the first beginning of this Warre, but shortly after, disdainning all their counsell, he confessed that *Hannibal* onely saw what was to be done. For after the *ROMANES* had obtained Victory in the Warre he made in *GREECE*, *Antiochus* fled out of *EUROPE* into *EPHESUS*, where making merry, and following pleasure, he hoped to live in peace, little thinking the *ROMANES* would come with an Army into *ASIA*. Now, these flattering Courtiers fed still his humour: a perpetuall plague to Kings and Princes, that suffer themselves to be flattered, and are contented to be deceived, because they give good eare to that that pleaseth them. But *Hannibal*, who knew the power and ambition of the *ROMANES* perswaded the King to hope for any thing rather then Peace, and bad him trust to it, that the *ROMANES* would never stay, till they had proved whether they could enlarge the Dominions of their Empire, into the third part of the world, as they had done in *AFRICK*, and *EUROPE*. *Antiochus* perswaded by the authority of such a man, straight commanded *Polyxenidas*, a very serviceable man, and skillfull in Sea service, that he should go meet with the Army of the *ROMANES* that was coming thither. Then he sent *Hannibal* in *SYRIA*, into leavy a great number of Ships together, and afterwards made him and *Apollonius* (one of his favoured Courtiers) Generals of his Army by Sea: who notwithstanding that *Polyxenidas* was put to the worst by the *ROMANES*, they went and fet upon the *RHODIANS*, and were Confederates with them. *Hannibal* in this Battell assailing *Eudamus* the Captaine of the *RHODIANS*, that led the left Wing, he had already compassed in the Admirall Galley, and doubtlesse had obtained the Victory, but that the other Wing came in to rescue, after they had followed *Apollonius* in chase, and tooke the Victory from him, that was his own. After this Battell by Sea, which had no great good successe, we do not finde that *Hannibal* did any thing worthy of memory. For King *Antiochus* being overcome, besides other conditions, the *ROMANES* offered him, they desired that *Hannibal* (the mortall Enemy of the Countrey) should be delivered unto them. *Hannibal* foreseeing this long before, he suddenly stole from *Antiochus*, after this notable Battell that was fought by *MAGNESIA*, where the Kings Power was overthrowne. So, after *Hannibal* had wandered up and down a long time, he fled at length unto *Prusias King of BITHYNIA*, for succor. Now he did not so much trust to his friendship, but because he sought for the meekest place he could come by, as also for the safest, the which he most desired: considering that the *ROMANES* had the most part of the Sea and Land in their subjection. Some say, that after King *Antiochus* was overcome, *Hannibal* went into *CRETA* unto the *GORTYNIANS*: and that the ramour

tanne

ran immediatly, he had brought a great Masse of Gold and Silver with him: Wherefore being afraid lest the *CRETANS* should offer him some violence, he devised this shift to scape the danger: he filled earthen Pots with Lead gilt, and sent them into the Temple of *Diana*, faining that he was marvellous careful for them, as though all his Treasure had been there. On the other side he had hid all his Gold in Images of Brasse, the which he had left carelesly lying on the ground in the houle. In the meane time, whilst they watched the Temple carefullly, that these earthen Pots should not be carried away without their privy, *Hannibal* hoised saile, and fled into *BITHYNIA*. In *BITHYNIA* there is a Village upon the Sea side, which the Countrey men call *LIBYSSA*, of the which by some mens saying, there ran an old Oracle and Prophecy in this sort:

*The Land of Libyssa shall cover under mould,
The valiant Corps of Hannibal, when he is dead and cold.*

There *Hannibal* lay, not spending his time idly, but passing it away in exercising of the Mariners, riding of Horses, and training of his Souldiers. Some Authours also do write, that at that time *Prusias* made Warre with *Eumenes*, King of *PERGAMUS*, who was a Confederate and friend of the *ROMANES*: and that he made *Hannibal* his Lieutenant-Generall of his Army by Sea: who assailing *Eumenes* with a new found and unknowne device, won the Victory of the Battell by Sea. For before they began to fight, it is reported that *Hannibal* had gotten an infinite number of Snakes into earthen Pots, and when the Battell was begun, and they busily tending their fight: he threw those Pots with Snakes into the Enemies Ships, and that by this fearefull and strange device he made them flee. Now whether this was true, or not, the old Chronicles do make no manner of mention, but onely *Amylius* and *Trogus*: and therefore I report me to the Authours. So, the news of the disfection betwixt these two Kings, *Prusias* and *Eumenes* being brought to *ROME*, the Senate sent *T. Q. Flaminius* Ambassadour into *ASIA*, whose Name was famous for the noble Victories he had obtained in *GREECE*: to the end (as I conjecture) to make peace betwixt these two Kings. *Flaminius* being come unto King *Prusias*, he was marvellously offended, and sorry in his minde to see *Hannibal* yet alive (that was the mortallest Enemy of the *ROMANES*) after the Conquest of so many Nations, and the sacking of so many People: therefore he was very earnestly in hand with King *Prusias*, to deliver him *Hannibal*. *Hannibal* from the first beginning mistrusted King *Prusias* inconstancy very much, and therefore had digged divers Vaults in his houle, and made seven severall vents to flie out at, if he were suddenly taken. The report of *Flaminius* coming did increase his suspicion the more, for that he thought him the greatest Enemy he had in *ROME*: both generally for the hate he bare unto all the *ROMANES*, as also particularly for the remembrance of his Father *Flaminius*, that was slaine in the Battell fought by the Lake of *Thrasymene*. So *Hannibal* being full of care and griefe (as it is reported) he found devices to escape, the which stood him to no purpose against such a great power. For when the Kings Guard which was sent to take him, had compassed his houle about, *Hannibal* thought to flie at their first coming, and to save himselfe by the secretest Vault he had. But when he found that the place was kept by the Guard, then he determined to rid himselfe out of the *ROMANES* hands, by destroying himselfe. So some do report, that he was strangled by one of his men, whom he had commanded to helpe to dispatch him. Others write again, that he had drunke Bulls Blood, and when he had drunke it, died, as *Clitarchus*, and *Stratocles* do falsly report of *Themistocles*. Howbeit *Titus Livius*, that famous Historiographer writeth, that *Hannibal* called for the Poyson he had ready for such a mischief, and that holding this deadly Drinke in his hand, before he dranke, he said, Come on, let us rid the *ROMANES* of this paine and care, sith their spite and malice is so great, to hasten the death of a poore old man, that is halfe dead already. The ancient *ROMANES* advertised *Pyrrhus King of the EPIROTES*, who came with Ensignes displeased to the very Walls of the City of *ROME*, that he should looke to himselfe, and beware of poysoning: and these *ROMANES* now do make a friend forgetting his Kingly State and faithfull promise, vilely to betray his poor Guest. After he had said, bitterly cursing King *Prusias*, he poysoned himselfe, being seventy yeares old, as some Writers do testifie. His Body was buried in a Tombe of Stone by *LIBYSSA*, on the which was engraven no more but this: *Here lieth Hannibal*. The *ROMANES* being advertised of his death, every man said his opinion, as his fancy served him. Some greatly blamed *T. Q. Flaminius* cruelty, who to make himselfe famous by some notable act (as he thought) made a poore old man put himselfe to death, that was in manner halfe dead by age, and besides, was past doing the State of *ROME* any more hurt, they being Conquerors in manner, of all the world. But some againe on the other side, commended *Flaminius* for it, and said, it was a good deed of him, to rid the *ROMANES* of their mortall Enemy: who though he had a weak Body, yet he lacked no wit, wife counsell, and great experience in Warres, to intice King *Prusias* to make War, and to molest all *ASIA*, besides new Wars. For at that time, the power of the King of *BITHYNIA* was so great, that it was not to be lightly regarded. For after that, *Atibridates King of the same BITHYNIA*, did marvellously molest the *ROMANES* both by Sea and by Land, and moreover fought Battels with *L. Lucullus*, and *Cn. Pompey*, famous Captaines of the *ROMANES*. And so the *ROMANES* might also be afraid of *Prusias*, and specially having *Hannibal* his Captaine. So some judge, that *T. Q. Flaminius* was specially sent Ambassadour unto King *Prusias*, secretly to praefise *Hannibals* death. Howbeit it is to be supposed, that *T. Q. Flaminius* was not so desirous to have *Hannibal* so suddenly put to death, as he would have been glad otherwise to have brought him againe to *ROME*, that had done such mischief to his Countrey: and this had been a great benefit for *ROME*, and much honour also unto himselfe. Such was the death of *Hannibal* the *CARTHAGINIAN*, a famous man doubt-

less

Hannibal King Prusias General by sea, against Eumenes King of Pergamus. A strange device of Snakes put in earthen Pots, and thrown into the Enemies Ships. Titus Quintius Flaminius sent Ambassadour into Asia.

Hannibal poysoned himselfe, being seventy yeares old. Hannibals Tombe by Libyssa.

G g g g 2

The praise of
Hannibal.

lesse and highly to be commended for Martiall praise, setting his other Vertues aside. So we may easily judge, of what power and force his Noble-minde, his great Wisdome and Courage, and his perfect Skill of Martiall Discipline was in all things. For in all the Warres the CARTHAGINIANS had so vehemently, and with such great preparation enterprised, they never thought themselves overcome, till Hannibal was overthrowne at that great Battell by ZAMA. So it appeareth that all their strength and skill of Warres began, and also ended with Hannibal their Captaine.

The end of the Life of Hannibal.

THE LIFE OF SCIPIO AFRICAN.



Ann. Mund.
3803.

Ant. Christ.
145.

The Paren-
tage of Scipio.



Publius Scipio a PATRICIAN, of the Family of the Cornelij (who was the first ROMANE Captaine against whom Hannibal fought in ITALY) was the Father of Cornelius Scipio afterwards surnamed African, the First: so called because he had conquered that Nation. The same Scipio, after he had obtained many great Victories in SPAIN, and done notable feates of Armes, was in the end slaine with a wound he had in a Battell against his Enemies, as he was plying and encouraging of his men from place to place, thronging in the greatest danger and fury of the Battell. Shortly after did his Brother Cn. Scipio also end his life, much after one selfe manner, and was slaine valiantly fighting. So these two Captaines besides the fame they atchieved by their noble deeds, left behinde them great praise of their faithfulness, modesty, and courage: the which made them not onely wished for of their Souldiers that were then living, but also of all the SPANIARDS besides. Cn. Scipio had a Son called P. C. Nasica, one that had been Consul, and had also triumphed: who being but a young man, was thought the meetest man of all the City of ROME to receive *Idea* the Mother of the gods. This Publius had two Sons, the so famous Scipios: of the which the one was called African, because he conquered ASIA: and the other African, because he subdued AFRICK at that famous Battell of ZAMA, where he overthrowne Hannibal and the CARTHAGINIANS, as we said before. Whose Life we purpose now to write, not so much to make the glory of his Name (so famous by all the Greek and Latine Authours) the greater by our History, as for that we would make all men know the order of his noble deeds, and morall vertues, to the end that all Princes and noble Captaines in reading it, should behold the lively Image of perfect vertue, which many move an earnest desire in them to follow the example of P. C. Scipios Life, who from his child-hood gave great hope and shew of a noble nature, and excellent vertue, after he followed the instruction of Martiall Discipline, under the Conduct of his Father. He was carried

carried into the Field at the beginning of the second Warre with the CARTHAGINIANS, followed the Campe being but seventeen yeares old, and in a very short time grew so toward and forward in all things, in riding, in watching, in taking all manner of paines like a Souldier, that he wan great commendation of his own Father, and besides, great estimation also of all the Army. Furthermore, he shewed such tokens of a sharpe wit and noble courage, that he made him beloved, and also feared of his Enemies. For this Scipio was present at the Battell of the Horsemen, where Publius Cornelius Scipio the Confull fought with Hannibal, by the River of *Thesin*: and some Writers do affirme, that Cornelius the Father being hurt, was almost taken by the Enemy, had not his Son Scipio saved him, who had then but a little downe on his beard, he was so young. After that also, at the Battell that was fought by CANUS, to the great losse, and in manner utter destruction of the Empire of ROME, when the ten thousand men that fled to CANUSIUM, had all together with one consent referred the Government of the Army unto Appius Pulcher, that had been *Edilis*, and unto Cornelius Scipio, that was yet but very young the same. Scipio shewed then by his deeds, what noble minde and courage was in him. For when he saw certaine young men confult together between themselves to forsake ITALY, he thrust in among them, and drawing out his Sword, made them all sweare they would not forsake their Countrey. These, and such like deeds done by him with a lively courage and noble minde, being then but a young man, wan him such favour with the ROMANS, that not respecting his young yeares, nor their ancient custome, they called him forward, and laied Offices of great charge and Government upon him. Infomuch that when he sued for the Office of *Edilis* before his due time, notwithstanding that the Tribunes of the People were against his suite, because he was so young a man: yet the People suffered him to be brought from Tribe to Tribe, and so was presently chosen *Edilis* with the most voices. So after his Father and Uncle (both famous and noble Captains) had been slaine one after the other in SPAIN, and that the ROMANS were in consultation to appoint some worthy Captaine in the roome: they could finde no man that durst undertake this so dangerous War, considering the losse of two so great Captaines before. Wherefore the whole assembly being called to choose a Vice-Confull, all the other Princes and Peeres of the Realme being silent at so worthy a motion: Scipio onely of all the rest, being but twenty four yeares old, stood up in the midst of them, and said with a good hope and confidence he would willingly take the charge upon him. He had no sponer offered this promise, but he was presently made Vice-Confull of SPAIN, with the wonderfull good will and favour of the People, who gave him all their voices. Howbeit the Senatours afterwards considering better of the matter, against what Captaines and Nations, he should make Warre, they thought it impossible so young a man could performe so weighty a charge. Wherefore mens mindes were wonderfully changed againe on the suddain, as if the Tribes of the People had repented them of their voices and election. Scipio perceiving it called an Assembly presently, and made such an Oration of his age, and Discipline of Warres, that every man that heard him wondred at him, and the People began againe to renew the good hope they had of him for the Warres. For he had not onely a noble courage in him, being indued with so many singular vertues, but he was also a goodly Gentleman, and very comly of person, and had besides a pleasant countenance: all which things together, are great meanes to win him the love and goodwill of every man. Moreover, even in his gesture and behaviour, there was a certaine Princely grace. Now the glory of Martiall Discipline being joyned unto those his rare Gifts of minde and nature, it was to be doubted, whether civill Vertues made him more acceptable unto strangers, then wonderfull for his skill in Warres. Furthermore, he had filled the common Peoples hearts with a certaine superstitious feare, because he did daily (after he had taken the mans Gowne) use to go up to the Capitoll, and so into the Church without any company: infomuch that all men began to thinke that he learned some secret things in the Temple, which others might not know, as they were perswaded long before, that *Numa Pompilius* was taught by the Nymph *Ageria*. Furthermore, it seemeth that some had the like opinion of Scipio, as in old time they had of *Alexander King of MACEDON*, to wit, that oftentimes there was a Snake seene in his Mother Chamber. But let these things go. Scipio departing out of ITALY with ten thousand Footemen, and a Fleece of thirty Gallies, every one of them having five Oares to a banke, he sailed into SPAIN: and in few daies arriving at *EMPORIA*, he landed his men and marched by land to *TARRACON*. There he kept a Councell, and many Ambassadors of the Cities their confederates came thither, who being courteously received, returned to their lodgings with such answer as they liked. After this, Scipio being carefully bent to prosecute the Warre he had taken upon him, he thought it best to joyne the remaine of the old Bands with his Army, which had been saved through the manhood and valiantnesse of *Lucius Martius*. For after both the Scipios were slaine, and both SPAINES almost lost, and the ROMANE Legions also overthrowne and put to flight, *Lucius Martius* a ROMANE Knight, having gathered together the remnant of both Armies, resisted (beyond all hope of man) the Enemies puffed up with glory of the Victory they had gotten, and with great valiantnesse, and unpeakeable industry he maintained Warre in SPAIN, against three Captaines of the CARTHAGINIANS. Now Scipio being come to this Army that lay in Garrison for the Winter time, every man did certainly perswade themselves that the Warre should prosper: and when they saw him, they remembered their old Captaines, infomuch that there was never a Souldier could have his fill with looking upon this young man. Howbeit, after he had commended the Souldiers for their noble courage, not despairing for the calamity of their Countrey, he greatly honoured *Lucius Martius*: to shew, that who so trusteth in his

The first Souldier slaine of P. Cornelius Scipio, being but seventeen yeares old.

Publius Cornelius Scipio rescued his Father from being taken of the Enemies.

Honours done to Scipio, being but a young man.

Scipio Vice-Confull at four and twenty yeares of age.

Scipios great minde and goodly personage.

Scipios journey into Spain.

The valiantnesse of *Lucius Martius* a Roman Knight.

Scipio besieged
new Carthage
in Spaine.

Scipio wanne
the City of new
Carthage by
assault.

The great
chastity of
Scipio.

Mago Hasdrubal
Barciman, and
Hasdrubal
Gisgo, the three
famous Cap-
taines of the
Carthaginians.

Besula fl.

Scipio's liberal-
ity to his
Enemies.

owne vertues, need not envy the glory of another man. So Winter being past, he tooke the old and new Bands out of the Garrisons, and first of all determined to go and lay siege unto new CARTHAGE. For of all the Cities of SPAIN it was the wealthiest, and none more meet to make War both by Sea and Land, then that. Moreover, the Captaines of the CARTHAGINIANS had bestowed in this City all their Munition, and greatest Treasure: and left a strong Garrison, both in the City, and Castle. But the Captaines themselves were divided in divers Countries, to the end that they there might keepe the whole Region from spoile, least of all looking then, that CARTHAGE should be besieged. But Scipio having put all in readinesse, he came and besieged new CARTHAGE with all his Army both by Sea and Land. This seemed to be a marvellous hard enterprize, and would continue long, both because the City was very strong of it selfe, and also for that the men within it were so courageous, that they did not onely thinke themselves able to defend the City, but their hearts served them also to make sallies out upon the Enemy, and to skirmish with them, even to the very Trenches of the ROMANES Campe. Howbeit it hapneth often, that what a man cannot obtaine by force, he may winne by industry. Now Scipio knew, that the Lake or Meare which is not farre from the Walls of CARTHAGE, did ebbe and flow with the Tide, and that it was passable by foord on that side where they might easiliest come to the Walls: so, he thinking to embrace this occasion, and that he could not possible meet with a better device to take CARTHAGE: when he saw his time, he set his men in Battell-ray, and having divided them into severall Squadrons, gave a more desperate assault upon the City, then he had done before. In the meane time, he chose out a Band of the valiantest men he had, and commanded them to wade over the Lake, and to scale the Walls on that side, where they within the Towne made least account of it. So, these Souldiers that were commanded to give this attempt, after they had passed over the Lake without any let or trouble, they found that part of the Wall without any Watch or Guard, because the greatest fury of the fight, was on the other side of the City. Therefore they easily getting up on the Wall, came and assailed the Enemies behinde them. The Citizens, and those of the Garrison, perceiving they were unware fallen into that great danger, they immediatly forooke the Walls, and seeing themselves charged on every side, betooke them to their Legges, and fled. The ROMANES pursued them so hotly, that they wanne the City, and sacked it: where they found a wonderfull great spoile, and abundance of all things necessary for Warre. Scipio greatly prayed his Souldiers and did reward them, for that they had done so valiant service. Howbeit when he should come to give the scaling Crowne of the Walls, unto the first man that got up upon the Walls, there were two Souldiers at such variance for the matter, that all the Army was in danger of division and mutiny upon that occasion. Thereupon Scipio called his men together, and in open assembly told them, that he knew they both got up on the Wall together, and so gave them both a scaling Crowne: and by this means their tumult was presently pacified. Afterwards he sent unto all the Cities of SPAIN, the hostages that were found in the City, which were a marvellous number: the which wanne him great fame for his courtesie and clemency, whereby he allured many Nations to yeeld themselves unto the ROMANES, and to forsake the CARTHAGINIANS. But one thing above all the rest chiefly increased his praise, and wanne him great love and goodwill, as a mirrour and example of all vertue. There was a young Lady taken prisoner, that in beauty excelled all the Women in CARTHAGE: whom he carefully caused to be kept and preserved from violence and dishonour. And afterwards when he knew that she was married unto Lucius Prince of the CEBTIBERIAN, he sent for her Husband, that was a very young man, and delivered her unto him, untouched or dishonoured. Lucius not forgetting his noble courtesie unto her, did let all his Subjects understand the great bounty, modesty and rare excellency of all kinde of Vertues that were in this ROMANE General, and shortly after, he returned again to the ROMANES Campe with a great number of Horsemen. The three Captaines of the CARTHAGINIANS (Mago Hasdrubal BARCINIAN, and the other Hasdrubal, the Son of Gisgo) knowing that the losse of new CARTHAGE did them great hurt, as well in the impairing of their credit with other strange Nations: as also by the conjecture divers made of the Successe of this Warre: they first practised to dissemble the losse of it, and then in speech to make light of it as much as they could. Scipio having joyned to him divers Nations and Princes of SPAIN, (among the which were the two little Kings, Mandonius and Indibilis, understanding where Hasdrubal BARCINIAN lay, he marched towards him with his Army to fight with him, before Mago and the other Hasdrubal came to joyne with him. Hasdrubal BARCINIAN lay in Campe by the River of Besula, and was very desirous to fight, trusting wholly to his strength and Army: but when he heard that Scipio was at hand, he left the Valley, and got to a Hill of pretty strength. The ROMANES Legions followed him, and gave him no respite, but pursued so neare, that he came and assailed his Campe at the first coming. So they fought it out upon the Trenches and rampires, as if they had been at the assault of a City. The CARTHAGINIANS trusting to the strength of the place, and driven to it of necessity (which maketh cowards most desperate,) they valiantly resisted their Enemies the best they could. The ROMANES in contrary manner, being valiant, and full of good hope, fought it out lustily like men, and the fight was so much more cruell, for that it was in the sight of their Generall Scipio, and of all the Army besides: inasmuch that their valiant service there could not be hidden. Therefore they never gave over the assault, untill that having done their uttermost endeavour, they got up upon the Rampires, and entred into divers places into the Enemies Campe, and made them flee. Hasdrubal Captaine of the CARTHAGINIANS, saved himselfe by flying, with a few with him, before the ROMANES entred

Verques meet
for a Generall.

Scipio called
King by the
Spaniards.

Hasdrubal sent
into Italy to his
Brother Hanni-
bal with an
Army.

Hanno the chief
of the contrary
faction unto
Hasdrubal
Barciman, o-
vercame in
Battell, and
taken prisoner.

Masinissa offer-
eth his friend-
ship unto the
Romans.

Syphax King of
the Masasyliani.

Hasdrubal
judgement of
Scipio.

entred into their Fort. After this Battell, Scipio according to his manner, caused all the Spanish Prisoners to be brought before him, and then gave them liberty to depart without paying of Ranfome. Among the Prisoners, there was a young Gentleman of the Kings blood, and Nephew unto Masinissa, whom when he had used very honourably, he sent unto Masinissa, with great and rich Gifts: to shew thereby, that a General of an Army, should beas bountifull and full of civill Vertues, as otherwise skilfull and expert in Martiall Discipline. For the end of Warre is Victory: the benefit whereof consisteth in bounty and clemency. From thence cometh the glory and all other praises due to Captaines: as it hapned in those things whereof we now Treat. For a great number of SPANIARDS being present, wondering at the great clemency of the General of the ROMANES, they could do no lesse but call him King, to honour and recompence his vertue. But Scipio strake that word straight, the which was no common sound to the ROMANES eares, and therefore he would by no means allow that Tide, which he knew to be hateful to the Noble-men of his Countrey, and also unmeet for the liberty of the ROMANES. He onely prayed the SPANIARDS, that if they had any minde and desire not to shew themselves unthankfull to him, that then they would be faithfull and loving to the People of ROME. So whilst these things were done by Scipio, the other two Captaines of the CARTHAGINIANS, (Mago, and Hasdrubal the Sonne of Gisgo) after they understood of the overthrow of their men by the River of Besula, made all the speed they could to joyne together: and shortly after came and met with Hasdrubal BARCINIAN, to consult together, and to take order for the Warre. So after they had laid their heads together, and considered all things, they concluded thus: that Hasdrubal BARCINIAN should go into ITALIE to his Brother Hannibal, where the Warre was greatest: and that Mago, and the other Hasdrubal should remaine in SPAIN, should fend for aide from CARTHAGE, and should not fight with the ROMANES untill all their forces looked for, were assembled, and so might make a great and puissant Army. When Hasdrubal was gone into ITALY, Hanno was sent from CARTHAGE in his place. But practising in his journey to make the CARTHAGINIANS to rebell. M. Syllanus came and set upon him by Scipio's commandement, and was so fortunate, that he overcame him in Battell, and tooke him Prisoner. Now there was a City which the Countrey men called ORINGS, the which was very wealthy, and meet to renew the War. Lucius Scipio was sent thither with part of the Army to besiege it: but finding it a very strong situation, and too well manned to take it at the first assault, he environed the Town, and within few daies tooke and sacked it. Winter came on apace, and the time of the yeare made them both to retire into their Gerrisons, for the winter. So Scipio having had so good fortune in this War, he went unto TARRACON: Mago, and the other Hasdrubal, the Son of Gisgo, went to the Sea side. The next Summer, Warres growing more bloody and cruell then before in the lower SPAIN, the ROMANES and CARTHAGINIANS met, and joyned Battell by the River of Besula, and fought set Battells. After they had fought a long time together, Scipio at length got the Victory, and made the Enemies flee (of the which there were slaine a great number in the Field) and giving them no leasure to gather together againe, and to make head against him, he fought with them and followed the chafe so hotly, that Hasdrubal and Mago were driven to leave the maine Land, and to flee to GADES, after they had lost all their Army. In the Army of the CARTHAGINIANS, there was a young man of a noble courage, and very wife, called Masinissa, who finding means to have secret conference with Syllanus, he was the first man that offered him friendship, either being brought to it through Scipio's liberality, or else because he thought the time was come, that it was the surest way to take part with the ROMANES, which were the Conquerours. It is that Masinissa that afterwards (through the goodnesse of the ROMANES) became the great and mighty King of NUMIDIA, and indeed he was divers waies a profitable friend unto the ROMANES. Furthermore the selfe same yeare (which was the fourteenth of the second Warre with the AFRICANS) SPAIN was the first Nation and People of the up-land men dwelling in the heart of the Realme, that was conquered under the happy conduct of the Vice-Consull Scipio: howbeit it was the last Realme that was made a Province long time after, by Augustus Caesar. Now Scipio not contenting himselfe with the great Victories he had obtained, in very short time in SPAIN (for he had an imagination and good hope also to conquer AFRICA) he thought it his best way, to make all the means he could possible, to get Syphax King of the MASASYLIANS, a friend to the ROMANES. Wherefore after he had felt the Kings minde, perceiving that he was well inclined to make league with the ROMANES, he presently set all his other affaires aside, and sailed into AFRICKE with two Gallies onely, at five Oares to a Banke. At the selfe same time also came Hasdrubal, the Son of Gisgo thither, from GADES: so that both these valiant and lusty Captaines came of purpose to the King envying one the other, to crave the Kings goodwill, unto their Countrey and Common-wealth. Syphax welcomed them both into his Court, and did use them very honourably and courteously, and appointed that they should both eate at one Table, and lie in one selfe Chamber, because the one should not thinke his entertainment better then the other. It is reported that Hasdrubal wondering at the magnanimity and great widome of Scipio that was present, he considered with himselfe the great danger the City of CARTHAGE and all AFRICKE besides was in, through that mans means: for he saw him yet a young man, quick, and excellent in all manner of great Vertues, and that had continually obtained such Victories: and therefore considering the lusty youth of this Gentleman, he imagined that it was impossible to perswade him to embrace Peace, rather then Warre. Besides, he was afraid also that Syphax, moved by the perage and authority of him that was present, would take part with the ROMANES: and indeed his minde

Syphax King
of the Massy-
lians maketh
league with the
Romans.

The unfortu-
nate fight of
two Cosen-
Germanes.

The rebellion
of the Roman
Souldiers a-
gainst their
Captaines, in
Scipios sick-
nesse.
Mandonius In-
dibilis, two
Kings of
Spaines.

Scipios wife-
dome suppress-
ing his anger.

Scipios great
wisdome in
punishing the
offenders.
Scipios care of
his counce-
nance.

Scipio did put
the Authours
of the rebelli-
on to death.

minde gave him rightly, for so it hapned. For though *Syphax* at the first shewed himselfe indifferent to them both, and had moved talke to end the Warre betwixt the ROMANES and the CARTHAGINIANS: yet afterwards when *Scipio* told him he could conclude no Peace without consent of the Senate of ROME, he rejected *Hadrubal*, and inclining to *Scipios* request, he made league with the People of ROME. So *Scipio* being returned againe into SPAINE, himselfe partly by force, and partly also by *L. Marius* meanes, conquered *LITURGIUM CASTULO*, and certaine other places that refused to yeeld themselves unto the ROMANES. And to the end nothing should be lacking for all kinde of sports and pleasures, after he had so fortunately obtained so many famous Victories: when he was come to new CARTHAGE, he caused the Fencers to prepare themselves to fight with great pompe, where there were many great Estates, not onely to see that pastime, but also they themselves to handle the Weapons in person. But amongst other SPANIARDS of noble Houses, there were two called, *Corbius* and *Orsua*, which were at strife together for the Kingdome: but that day they ended their quarrell, the one being slaine by the others hand. The Fight was very lamentable and grievous to the Beholders: but the death of him that was slaine, troubled them much more, for they were both Cosen-Germanes. After all this *Scipio* having his minde still occupied in matters of greater weight and importance, then those which he had already brought to passe, he fell sicke. His sicknesse being carried through all SPAINE, and as it hapneth often, his dis ease being reported to be much greater and dangerous then it was indeed: thereupon, not onely the Nations of SPAINE began to rise in hope of change, but the Army it selfe also of the ROMANES, the which he had left at SUCRO. First of all, Martiall Discipline was corrupted through the absence of the Generall. Afterwards also, the report of his sicknesse, and danger of his life being spread abroad in the Army, raised such a rebellion among them, that some of them little regarding the authority and commandement of the head Captaines of the Bands, they drave them away, and chose two meane Souldiers for their Captaines; who presumptuously tooke upon them the Name given unto them by men of no authority, and yet more arrogancy; made the bundles of Rods and Axes to be carried before them. Such folly doth fury and vaine ambition oftentimes worke in mens mindes. On the other side, the SPANIARDS slept not, and specially *Mandonius* and *Indibilis*: who aspiring to the Kingdome of SPAINE, came to *Scipio* when he was Conquerour, after he had taken new CARTHAGE. But afterwards being offended to see the power of the ROMANES increase daily, they sought occasion to make some alteration. So after they had heard, not onely of *Scipios* sicknesse, but also how he was at deaths doore, and did beleve it: they presently leaved an Army, and went and made Warre with the SWISSITANS which were confederates of the ROMANES. But *Scipio* being recovered againe of his sicknesse, like as upon the false rumour of his death every man began to rise: even so after the truth was known indeed of his recovery, they were all put down againe, and not a man of them durst proceed any further in their rebellion. *Scipio* being more skillful in Martiall Discipline, then acquainted with sedition and rebellion, although he was marvelously offended with the Souldiers that had committed this folly; yet in the end, left following his anger, men should have thought him to have exceeded all bounds of reason in punishing of them, he referred all unto the Consull. The most part of them gave advice, that the Authours of the rebellion should be punished, and all the rest pardoned: for by this meanes, said they, the punishment shall light upon a few that have deserved it, and all the rest shall take example by them. *Scipio* followed that advice, and presently sent for all the seditious Bands, to come to new CARTHAGE to receive their pay. The Souldiers obeyed his commandement, some of them making their fault lesse then it was, as men do often flatter themselves: others also trusting to the Captaines clemency, as knowing him not to be extreme in punishment. For *Scipio* was wont to say, that he had rather save the life of one ROMANE Citizen, then to kill a thousand Enemies. This rumour ran also, that *Scipio* had another Army ready, the which he looked for to joine with them, and then to set upon the Kings (*Mandonius* and *Indibilis*) who made Warre with the SWISSITANS. These Souldiers departing from SUCRO, with good hope to obtaine pardon, came unto CARTHAGE. Howbeit the next day after they were come into the Town, they were brought into the Market-place: where there Armour and Weapons being taken from them, they were environed with all the Legions Army. Then the ROMANE Generall sitting in place of judgment, shewed himselfe before all the company in as good health and good disposition of body, as ever he was in all his youth. Then he made a sharpe and bitter Oration, full of grievous complaints: insomuch as there was not one of all the Souldiers that were unarmed, that durst cast up their eyes, or look their Generall in the face, they were so ashamed. For their consciences did accuse them for the fault they had committed, and the feare of death did take their wits and senses from them, and the presence of their gracious Captaine, made them blush as well that were innocent, as the parties that were offenders. Wherefore there was a generall and sorrowfull silence of all men. So after he had ended his Oration, he caused the chiefe Authours of this rebellion to be brought forth before the whole Assembly: who after they had been whipped according to the manner, were presently beheaded, the which was a fearefull and lamentable sight to the beholders. These matters thus pacified, *Scipio* made all the other Souldiers to be sworne againe, and then went and proclaimed Warre against *Mandonius* and *Indibilis*. For they considering with themselves, how the ROMANE Souldiers that had rebelled in the Campe, were put to death, they were out of hope to obtaine any pardon. Therefore they had leaved an Army of twenty thousand Footmen and two thousand Horsemen, and came downe with them against the ROMANES. *Scipio* having intelligence thereof, before that Kings could increase their Army, and that

that other Nations could rebell: he departed from CARTHAGE, and went with as great speed as he could, to meet with the Enemy. The Kings were camped in a very strong place, and trusted so to their Army, that they were not determined to provoke the Enemy, nor also to refuse the Battell if it were offered them. Howbeit it chanced by the nearnesse of both Campes, that within few daies, they being provoked by the ROMANES, came down and set their men in Battell-ray, and joyned Battell with *Scipio*: so that a good while together, the fight was very bloody and cruell. But at length the SPANIARDS seeing themselves compassed in behinde, and being driven to fight in a ring to defend the Enemy on every side, they were overcome: so that the third part of them scarcely saved themselves by flying. *Mandonius* and *Indibilis* seeing themselves utterly undone, and that there was no hope nor remedy left, they sent Ambassadors unto *Scipio*, humbly to pray him to receive them to mercy, and to pardon them. But *Scipio* knowing right well how greatly they had offended him, and the ROMANES; yet thinking it more honourable to overcome the Enemy by courtesie and clemency, then by force: he did pardon them, and onely commanded them to give him Money to pay his Souldiers. In the meane time *Masiniissa* came from GADES, and landed; because he would himselfe in person confirm the friendship he had offered *Scipio* in his absence, by the meanes of *M. Syllanus*, and also speake with him face to face, whom he judged to be a worthy man, for the famous Victories he had obtained. And in truth *Masiniissa* was not deceived in the opinion he had of the valiantnesse and Vertues of *Scipio*, but found him the selfe same man whom he before had imagined him to be in his minde: the which but feldome hapneth so notwithstanding. For besides the great rare gifts of nature that *Scipio* had above all others, there was in him also a certaine princely grace and majesty. Furthermore, he was marvellous gentle and courteous unto them that came to him, and had an Eloquent Tongue, and a passing Gift to win every man. He was very grave in his gesture and behaviour, and ever wore long haire. *Masiniissa* being come to salute him, when he saw him, he had him in such admiration, as it is reported, that he could not cast his eyes off him, nor have his fill of looking on him. So he thanked him marvellously for sending his Nephew unto him, and promised him that his deeds should confirme and witnesse the friendship agreed upon between them: the which he ever after inviolably kept unto the ROMANES, even to the houre of his death. So all the Nations of SPAINE became subject to the Empire of ROME, or at the least their Confederates: whereupon those of GADES also following the example of others, came and yeilded themselves unto the ROMANES. This is a very ancient Nation, and if we may credit their report of it, as CARTHAGE was in AFRICK, and THEBES in BOEOTIA; so was GADES upon the Sea, a Colony of the TYRIANS. *Scipio* after he had conquered all SPAINE, and driven out the CARTHAGINIANS, considering that there remained nothing more for him to do; he left the Government of the Province unto *L. Lentulus*, and to *Manlius Acidinus*, and returned to ROME. When he was arrived at ROME, the Senate gave him audience out of the City, in the Temple of *Belona*. There, when he had particularly told them of the things he had valiantly and fortunately brought to end: and further, that he had overcome foure Captaines in divers foughten Fields, and also put to flight foure Armies of the Enemies, and driven the CARTHAGINIANS out of both SPAINES, and that there was no Nation left in all those parts, but was subdued to the ROMANES: the Senate gave judgement, that all these things were worthy of a noble Triumph. But because never man yet was suffered to enter into ROME in Triumph, for any Victories he had obtained, whilst he was onely but Vice-Consull, and not yet been Consull: The Senatours thought it not good, and *Scipio* himselfe also made no great suite for it, because he would not be an occasion, to bring in any new Custome, and to breake the old. So when he came into the City, he was afterwards declared Consull, with the great good will and consent of the whole Assembly. It is reported that there never came such a world of People to ROME, as were there at that time, not onely for the Assemblies sake, but more to see *Publius Cornelius Scipio*. Wherefore not the ROMANES onely, but all the strangers also that were there, all their eyes were upon *Scipio*, and said both openly and privately: that they should send him into AFRICK, to make Warre with the CARTHAGINIANS, at home in their owne Countrey. *Scipio* also being of the same opinion, said, that he would aske advice of the People, if the Senate would be against such a worthy enterprise. For amongst the Peeres and Senatours, there were some that vehemently inveighed against that opinion, and amongst the rest, *Fabius Maximus* specially, a man of great fame and authority. *Scipio* went forward with the matter, and thwarted him, and shewed many reasons that there was no way to overcome the CARTHAGINIANS, and to drive *Hannibal* out of ITALY, but that onely: and that all other counsels were in vaine, and unprofitable. After this matter was long debated in Councell, *SCIPIO* was appointed unto *Scipio*: and the whole Senate gave him Commission to go with his Army into AFRICK, if he thought it meet and profitable for the Common-wealth. The decree of the Senate being published, every mans minde ranne of so great enterprises, that they perfwaded themselves AFRICK was already their owne, and had great hope to end this Warre. Howbeit *Scipio* saw it a hard matter to make his preparation for this journey, because of the poverty of the Common-Treasure, and for lacke of young men, the flower and choice of the which was utterly gone, by the former great losses and overthrowes *Hannibal* had given them. Howbeit to satisfie every mans expectation of him, he made all the possible speed he could, to prepare things necessary for the Warres. So divers People of THUSCAN, and of the UMBRIANS, offered to helpe him to their best power: some of them gave him Timber to build his Ships, others holpe him with Armour, and others also furnished him with Corne, and all other kinde of Victuals, and munition for his Army.

A noble thing
to overcome
the Enemy by
clemency.

Masiniissa com-
eth unto *Scipio*.

A princely ma-
jesty in *Scipios*
personage.
The Antiqui-
ty of those of
Gades.
Scipios noble
deeds.
Scipios return
out of Spaine
to Rome.

Scipio made
Consull.

The

Scipio prepared his Army and Navy by Sea in five and forty daies.

Scipio's policy in Sicile.

The Ships being built, and all the Army by Sea put in a readinesse, in the space of five and forty daies, a thing incredible to many, *Scipio* departed out of ITALIE, and sailed towards SICILE. But when he came to take muster of his Army, he specially chose those that had served long time in the Warres, under the conduct of *M. Marcellus*, the which were all esteemed for very expert Souldiers. And for the SICILIANS, he partly wan them by courtesie, and partly by compulsion compelled them to give him aide for the Warre he tooke in hand, the which he meant to make in AFRICKE, when the time of the yeare should serve for it. Among other things, it is reported, that *Scipio* chose out of divers Cities, three hundred young Gentlemen of the noblest houses of all the said Province, and commanded them to meet at a certaine day appointed, every man with Horse and Armour. They then coming at the day appointed, according to his commandement, the Consull bade them choose whether they would follow him in the Warres of AFRICKE, or else deliver up their Armour and Horse to as many other ROMANES as they were in number. So when they all prayed they might be dismissed from the Warre, *Scipio* appointed three hundred other young ROMANES in their places, whom he had brought out of ITALY with him unarmed, because he would mount and arme them at the SICILIANS Coast, as indeed it chanced. Afterwards they did him great service in AFRICKE, in many great Battels. Now time was come on for *Scipio* to put his Army in Garrison for the Winter-time, when he came to SYRACUSA, taking order not onely for the preparation of Warre, but also for the affaires of SICILE. There when it was told him by complaint of divers, that there was a great company of ITALIAN Souldiers in that City, who would not restore the spoiles which they had gotten in the Warres, but kept them still in their hands, notwithstanding that the Senate had enjoyned them by speciall commandement to make restitution to the SYRACUSANS: he straight compelled them by proclamation, to accomplish the Senates commandement. Whereby he wanne all the Peoples hearts of SICILE, and was reported to be a iust and upright Consull. In the meane time he was advertised by *Caius Lelius*, that returned out of AFRICKE with great spoile, how King *Masiniissa* was very desirous of his coming thither, and that he instantly prayed him he would come into AFRICKE, as soone as he could possible, so it were without the prejudice of the Common-wealth. Moreover, that divers Nations and People of AFRICKE had the like desire: who hating the Government of the CARTHAGINIANS, desired nothing more then some good occasion to rebell. Now this journey was not deferred through *Scipio's* fault or negligence, considering that such a Captaine could hardly be found that was more carefull and diligent in his charge then he. Howbeit the affaires of SICILE, and the opportunity he had to recover LOCRES againe, did hinder him that he could not bring his purpose to passe according to his minde. Furthermore, his Lieutenant *Pleminius* disorder grieved him much, because that having left him at LOCRES, he fell to all sorts of insolvency, as to deflower Women, and to spoile the poore Citizens: insomuch that they being marvellously offended with these infinite troubles and villanies offered them, they determined rather to suffer all other things, then to be subject to the Government of so vile and wicked a man. So the Ambassadors of LOCRES being arrived at ROME, and exhibiting their complaints in open Senate, of the great wrongs and injuries *Pleminius* did them: the Noble-men tooke the matter so grievously, that they made bitter Decrees, not onely against the same *Pleminius*, but also against *P. C. Scipio* himselfe. Whereupon *Scipio's* Enemies having gotten matter enough to accuse him, they were then so bold to affirme, that he was acquainted with the injuries offered the LOCRIANS, with the licentiousnesse of *Pleminius*, and with the rebellions of his Souldiers also: and that he had suffered all these things more negligently, then became the Office or duty of a Consull. They added thereto moreover, that his Army he had in SICILE was altogether unruly and unserviceable, and regarded not the Ordinances of the Campe: and that the Captaine himselfe was carelessse, and altogether given over to pleasure and idleness. But above all others *Fabius Maximus* was his heavy Enemy, and so vehement against him in his words, that he exceeded the bounds of all modesty and reason, and thought good to call him presently home out of SICILE, and to dismiss him of his charge. This decree was thought of all men very straight, and extreme. Wherefore, following *Quintus Metellus* counsell, the Senatours appointed ten Ambassadors to go into SICILE, to make diligent inquiry, whether the Accusations objected against *Scipio* were true: and if they found him in fault, that then they should command him in the Name of the Senate presently to returne into ITALY. And on the other side, if they found that he was unjustly accused, and onely through the procurement of his malicious Enemies and Detractors: then that they should send him to his Army, and encourage him valiantly to go forward with this Warre. So when the Ambassadors were arrived in SICILE, after they had made diligent enquiry according to the Articles of their Commission; they could not finde that *Scipio* was faulty in any thing, saying that he had too lightly passed over the wrongs and injuries *Pleminius* had done unto the LOCRIANS. For *Scipio* was very liberal in rewarding of his men, and exceeding courteous, and mercifull also in punishing of them. But when they saw his Army, his Ships, and his other Furniture and Munition for Warre: it is reported that they wondered so much to see the great abundance, and good order taken for all things, that when they returned to ROME, they greatly commended *Scipio*, and rejecting all the Accusations of his Accusers, they did promise the Senate and People of ROME assured hope of Victory. So when all these home-troubles at ROME were taken away, their chanced other out-ward troubles abroad that grieved him much. For the Ambassadors of King *Syphax* came and told him, that their Master had made new league with the CARTHAGINIANS, and was become friend unto *Hafdrubal*, whole

Daughter

P. C. Scipio accused.

Q. Fabius Maximus, a great adversary unto Scipio.

Scipio's nature.

King Syphax revolteth from the Romanes.

Daughter he had married: and therefore that he wished him if he meant to do his Countrey good; to make no attempt upon AFRICKE, for he was determined to reckon the CARTHAGINIANS his friends, and also to set upon them whom the GARTHAGINIANS account their Enemies. *Scipio* quickly returned the Ambassadors again unto *Syphax*, because the effect of their coming should not be blown abroad in his Campe: and gave them Letters, in which he praised King *Syphax*, that remembering his league and faithfull promise, he should beware he attempted nothing unworthy the Name of a ROMAN, and Faith of a King. Afterwards calling his men together, he told them that the Ambassadors of King *Syphax* were come into SICILE, to complain of his long tarrying, as *Masiniissa* had done before. Therefore he was to hasten his journey to go into AFRICKE, and thereupon commanded all his Souldiers to put themselves in readinesse, and to provide all things necessary for their journey. The Consuls commandement being published through all SICILE, their repaired immediately unto LILYBEA a multitude of People, not onely those that were to faile into AFRICKE, but of others also that came to see the Fleet and Army of the ROMANES: because they never saw an Army better furnished, nor set out with all things necessary for Warre, nor better replenished with Souldiers, then that. So *Scipio*, all things being ready embarked at LILYBEA with so earnest a desire to passe over the Sea, that neither Oares nor wind did content his minde. Yet he was brought in few daies sailing, to the Promontory or Mountaine called Faire, and there he put all his men on land. The newes of his arrivall flying straight to CARTHAGE, all the City was presently in such an uproare, that suddenly they founded the Alarme, and guarded the Gates and Walls, as appeareth by testimony of some in writing. For from *M. Regulus* time unto that present day it was almost fifty yeares space since any ROMAN Captaine ever entred AFRICKE with force of Armes. And therefore it was no marvel though they were afraid, and grew to uproare. The Name of *Scipio* did increase their feare the more, because the CARTHAGINIANS had no Captaine matchable with him. *Hafdrubal* the Sonne of *Gisgo* had the Name at that time of a luty Captaine, whom they knew had notwithstanding been overcome, and driven out of SPAIN by *Scipio*. Howbeit putting all the hope and safety of their Countrey in him, and in King *Syphax* that mighty King: they never left intreating the one nor perswading the other, to come and helpe the affaires of AFRICKE, with all the speed they could possible. So, whilst these two were preparing to joine both their Armies together, *Hannibal* the Sonne of *Hamilcar*, being appointed to keepe the next Countrey adjoining to it, came against the ROMANES. *Scipio* after he had destroyed the Countrey, and enriched his Army with great spoile, he camped by the City of UTICA, to see if it were possible for him to winne so noble and wealthy a City, and being besides so commodious for the Warres both by Sea and Land. At the selfe same time *Masiniissa* came to the ROMANES Campe, and was inflamed with a vehement desire to make Warre against King *Syphax*, by whom he had before been driven out of his Kindome and inheritance. *Scipio* that had known him in SPAIN, a young Prince of an excellent wit, and quick and valiant of his hand, he sent him to discover the Army of the Enemies, before the CARTHAGINIANS could gather any greater power, and willed him to use all the device and meanes he could possible to intice *Hanno* to fight. *Masiniissa* as he was commanded, began to provoke the Enemy, and drawing him out by little and little, he brought him where *Scipio* lay with all his Legions armed, looking for a good houre to fight. The Army of the Enemies was now wearied, when the ROMANES came to set upon them with their fresh Army. *Hanno* at the first onset was overcome and slaine, with most of his men: and all the rest fled and dispersed themselves here and there, where they thought they might best scape. After this Victory, *Scipio* returning backe againe to besiege the City of UTICA, the suddain coming of *Hafdrubal* and King *Syphax*, made him to leave off his enterprise, for that they brought with them a great Army both of Footmen and Horsemen, and came and camped not farre from the ROMANES. *Scipio* perceiving that, raised his siege immediately, and came and fortified his Campe upon a Hill, from whence he might go and fight with the Enemy, and molest them of UTICA, and also keepe his Ships safe that rode at Anchor. Howbeit the time of the yeare being come, that both Armies were to dispose their men in Garrisons for the Winter season, he determined to send unto King *Syphax* to seele his minde, and to make him leave the friendship of the CARTHAGINIANS if it were possible. For he knew well it was his marriage with *Sophoniba*, which through her flattering perswasions had brought him to that fury, that he had not onely forsaken the friendship of the ROMANES, but also meant to destroy them, contrary to his faith and promise: and that if he had once satisfied the heate of his love with her, he thought then he might be called home againe. *Syphax* having understood *Scipio's* message sent him, he answered, that indeed it was time, not onely to leave the league with the CARTHAGINIANS, but also to give up all thought of Warre: and so promised, that he would be a good meane to make peace. *Scipio* gave good care unto it, and caught hold of an excellent fine device. He chose the valiantest Souldiers in his Army, apparelled them like slaves, and made them waite upon the Ambassadors, and gave them instructions what they should do. These fellows, whilst the Ambassadors and King *Syphax* were in talke together about the Articles and conditions of peace, and that the consultation held longer then it was wont to do, they went and walked up and down through the Enemies Campe, to see all the waies and entrees into it, according unto *Scipio's* instructions. After they had done this divers times, they came againe to *Scipio*. Truce was taken for a time, the which being expired, *Scipio* seemed to make preparation for Watres, (as being out of hope of any Peace,) and to make his Army ready by Sea, preparing Engines of Battery to returne to besiege UTICA, as he had done before. He gave out this rumour through all the Countrey: to perswade his Enemies that

The ready and faithfull good will of *Masiniissa* to the Romanes.

Hanno overcome and slaine.

Sophoniba, King *Syphax* Wife.

Scipio's craft.

that it was true: howbeit having called the Captaines and Petty-Captaines of his Army together, he made them privy to his intent and enterprise. He told them that both the Enemies Campes lay not farre asunder; of the which, the one of them had all their Tents and Cabins of Wood; and the building of the other Campe was all of Reeds, so that they were both easie to be burnt. Whereupon having sent for *Masiniſſa* and *Caius Lelins* to come unto him, he gave them charge about midnight to give Alarme unto *Syphax* Campe, and to set it on fire: and that he himselfe on the other side, would set upon the *CARTHAGINIANS* Campe. They two obeyed *Scipios* commandement, performed his will without delay, and came at the houre appointed them to assaile the *NUMIDIANS* Campe, and so did set the houses of Reeds on fire; which tooke fire in such sort, as the flame was immediately round about the Campe. The *NUMIDIANS* at the first thinking the fire had come by misfortune, ran thither straight unarmed to quench it. But when they found themselves among the Legions of the *ROMANS*, and that there was nothing but killing downe right, seeing themselves so compaffed in on all sides, they saw their best remedy was to flie. On the other side also, where *Scipios* Army was, the *CARTHAGINIANS* Campe was almost all burnt, and the Enemies put to flight with such cruell slaughter, that some Writers affirme, there were flaine that night about forty thousand men, aswell *CARTHAGINIANS* as *NUMIDIANS*. This great overthrow and slaughter being carried to *CARTHAGE*, did put the Citizens there in such a feare and terrour, that some thought best to send for *Hannibal* out of *ITALY*, and others gave advice to make peace with *Scipio*. Howbeit the *BARCINIAN* faction which was rich and wealthy, and altogether against the Peace-makers, they so prevailed, that they leaved a new power to begin Warre againe. King *Syphax* and *Hafdrubal* having leaved a great multitude of Footmen and Horsemen againe, renewed their Army sooner then was looked for, and came againe to pitch their Campe directly over against the Enemies. *Scipio* having understanding of that, would not tarry, but determined to give them Battell, whilst his men were in good heart and willing to fight. So it chanced at the first by the neareness of both their Campes, that there were certaine skirmishes: but in the end, the Armies came to joyne Battell, and the *ROMANS* fought with such courage and terrour, that at the first onset they made the *NUMIDIANS* and *CARTHAGINIANS* flie, and slew the most part of them. *Hafdrubal* and *Syphax* escaped, by flying out of the slaughter. *Scipio* sent *Masiniſſa* and *Caius Lelins* with the light Horsemen to give them chase. *Syphax* being come into *NUMIDIA*, and from thence into his own Realme and Kindome, he leaved an Army in haile of all sorts of People, and came to meet with *Masiniſſa* and *Caius Lelins*, and was not afraid to give them Battell. But it was a fond part of him, considering that he was nothing like so strong as his Enemy, neither for number of fighting men, nor yet in likelihood of Souldiers. For neither the Souldiers, nor Captaines of his Army were matchable with the Souldiers and Captaines of the *ROMANS* Campe: and therefore King *Syphax* was easily overcome by such skillfull and moreover was himselfe taken in Battell, with many other great Noble men, whom *Masiniſſa* would hardly have looked for: and then they were brought unto *Scipio*. At the first there was a marvellous joy among them, when it was told them that King *Syphax* should be brought Prisoner unto the Campe: but afterwards when they saw him bound they were all forry to see him in such pitifull state, remembering his former greatnesse and regall majesty. they called to minde how famous the Name of this King had been but a little before, what wonderfull great wealth he had, and also the power of so great a Realme and Kingdome. Howbeit *Scipio* the *ROMANE* Consull received him very courteously, and gently asked him what he meant to change his minde in that sort, and what moved him to make Warre with the *ROMANS*. Then the King remembering his former friendship and faithfull promise broken, he boldly told him, that it was the love he bare to his Wife *Sophonisba*, who onely had procured him to deale so dishonourably with the *ROMANS*: howbeit, that he had so smarted for it, as all others might take example by him, and beware how they breake their promise. And yet, that this was a great comfort to him in his extreme misery to see that his mortall Enemy *Masiniſſa* was so taken with that frenzy and mad humour, where-with he before was possessed. For after *Syphax* was overcome and taken. *Masiniſſa* went into *CYRTHA*, the chiefe City of the Realme, the which he wan, and found *Sophonisba* there, with whom he fell in fancy: who, after she had finely wrapped him in with her deceitfull flatteries and kindnesse, he promised her also to deliver her out of the *ROMANS* hands: and because he might the better performe his promise made, he took her to his Wife and married her. When *Scipio* was informed of these things, it grieved him marvellously. For it was known to all men, that *Syphax* was overcome under the conduct, and through the *ROMANS* meanes: and therefore all that was belonging to *Syphax*, was at the disposition of the *ROMANS*. Wherefore if *Masiniſſa* had without *Scipios* consent, undertaken to defend *Sophonisba*es quarrell, then it appeared plainly, he despised the authority of the Consull, and the majesty of the People of *ROME*. Furthermore, his filthy lust did aggravate his fault the more, the which seemed so much more intolerable, by how much the continency of the *ROMANE* Consull was the greater, the which *Masiniſſa* saw daily before his eyes, and might have been a patterne and example unto him. For *Scipio* besides many other proofes and shewes of his Vertues, in all places where he obtained Victory, he alwaies kept the Women undefiled, which were taken prisoners. So *Scipio* being offended with *Masiniſſa*, (though he shewed it not before company) received him very lovingly at his returne to the Campe: yet afterwards notwithstanding, taking him aside, he so sharply reproved him, that he made him know what it was to obey a moderate, and also a severe Captaine. Whereupon *Masiniſſa* went into his Tent and wept, and could not tell what way he should take: howbeit shortly after, perceiving that it was unpossible for him to keepe promise

A marvellous great slaughter of the *CARTHAGINIANS*.

Syphax King of the *Misajians* overcome, and taken in Battell.

Masiniſſa was the City of *Cytha*, where he fell in love with *Sophonisba* King *Syphax* Wife.

The great and rare continency of *Scipio*.

with *Sophonisba*, which grieved him to the heart: he sent her poyson, and a message withall; the which she dranke immediately, and so willingly made her selfe away: Furthermore, the *CARTHAGINIANS* after they had received such wonderfull great losses and overthrowes, one after another, perceiving that their affaires were brought to such a straight and extremity, that they were no more to looke after the enlarging of their Dominions, but onely to consider which way they might keepe their owne Countrey: they sent for *Hannibal* to come out of *ITALIE*. Who returning with great speed into *AFRICK*, before he did any thing else, he thought good first to talke with *P. Scipio* about peace: either because he was afraid of the good fortune of this young man, or else for that he mistrusted he could not otherwise helpe his Countrey and Common-wealth, which he saw decaying and like to be destroyed. Wherefore a place was appointed: where they might meet according to his desire: where when they were both met, they had long talke together about the ending of this war. In the end *Scipio* offered *Hannibal* such conditions of peace, that by them it appeared the *ROMANS* were not weary of warre, and that *Scipio* himselfe being a young man, had better hope to obtaine victory, then great desire to hearken to peace. So, all hope of peace being set aside, they brake off their talke, and the next morning two famous and worthy Captaines of the most noble Nations that could be, prepared themselves to battell, either to give or take away in short time from their Common-wealths, the Seignory and Empire of all the world. The place where they employed all their force, and where this famous battel was fought, as it is reported, was by the City *ZAMA*: in the which the *ROMANS* being conquerours, did first make the Elephants flie, then the horsemen, and in the end brake so fiercely into the footemen, that they overthrew all the Army. It is reported, that there were flaine and taken by the *ROMANS* above forty thousand *CARTHAGINIANS*. *Hannibal* fled out of the fury of the battell, and saved himselfe, though that day he had shewed himselfe like a valiant and famous Captaine. For at this battell he had set his Army in better order then ever he had done before, and had strengthened it both with the commodity of the place, and relief beside: and even in the very fury and terrour of the battell he so bestirred himselfe among his souldiers, that the enemies themselves did commend and praise him for a noble Captaine. After this victory, *Scipio* meeting with *Vormina* King *Syphax* son, that brought aide to the *CARTHAGINIANS*, he put him to flight, and came and brought his Army to the Walles and Haven of *CARTHAGE*, thinking (as indeed it fell out) that the *CARTHAGINIANS* would sue to him for peace. For, as the *CARTHAGINIANS* before had been very good souldiers, and ready to make warres: so were they now become timorous and faint-hearted, specially when they saw their Generall *Hannibal* overcome, in whom they chiefly reposed all their hope and trust, for defence of their Countrey. Wherefore they being (as I have said) out of heart, sent Ambassadors unto *Scipio*, to pray him that according to his accustomed clemency, he would grant them peace. Now was great suite made at *ROME*, to have the Government of the Province of *AFRICK* and one of the new Consuls made haste to come and make warre, with such charge and preparation as was meet for his dignity and calling: and therefore *Scipio* doubting that another should carry away the glory for the ending of so great a warre, he was the better contented to yeeld to the *CARTHAGINIAN* Ambassadors requests. So the capitulation of the Articles of peace was offered unto the *CARTHAGINIANS*, according to the conquerors mind: and besides all other things, the whole Fleet of all their Ships and Gallies (in the which their hope consisted much) were taken from them. For when the whole Fleete was burnt; it was such a lamentable sight unto them all, that there was no other thing but weeping and lamenting through the whole City, as if *CARTHAGE* had been destroyed and razed to the very ground. For as some do write, there were five hundred Ships burnt of all sorts. These things therefore should make us all beware of humane frailty, the which we often forget in our prosperity. For they that before persuaded themselves to conquer the world, after they had wonne so many great battells, and victories of the enemy, and in manner conquered all *ITALIE*, and so valiantly besieged the City of *ROME*, were in short time after brought to such misery and extremity, that all their power and force being overcome, they had no more left them but the Walles of *CARTHAGE*, and yet they were not sure to keepe them, but through the speciall grace and favour of the enemy. After these things were done, *Scipio* by decree of the Senate, did not onely restore King *Masiniſſa* to his Realme againe, but also adding thereunto the best part of all King *Syphax* Countrey, they made him one of the mightiest Kings of all *AFRICK*: *Scipio* returned and afterwards he gave honourable gifts unto every man as he had deserved. In fine, after to *ROME*, he had set all the affaires of *AFRICK* at good stay, he brought his Army backe againe into *ITALIE*: at what time there came to *ROME* a world of people, to see so great and famous a Captaine, returning from such wonderfull great victories. So he entred into *ROME* with pompe of triumph, *Terentius Culeo* following him with a hat on his head, because that *Scipio* through his favour and friendship he was taken out of bondage. *Polybius* writeth, that King *Syphax* was led in triumph: howbeit some say he died before *Scipio* triumphed. Indeed divers that did triumph, some before him during the warres of the *CARTHAGINIANS*, and others afterwards in the warres of *MACEDONIA* and *ASIA*, they made greater shew of plate, both of gold and silver in their triumph, and led also a great number of prisoners: how-

Sophonisba poysoned her self, through *Masiniſſa*es procurement. *Hannibal* sent for into *Italy*, to returne into *Africke*.

The battell at *Zama*, and *Scipios* victory of the *Carthaginians*. The praise of *Hannibal*.

Five hundred ships of the *Carthaginians* burnt by *Scipio*.

Scipios triumph at *Rome*. *Syphax* was led in triumph for the *Carthaginians*.

Scipio and *A. E. lius Petus* chosen Censors. Scipio Prince of the Senate.

Scipio and *Sempronius Longus* chosen Consuls

The easyty counsell of Scipio.

The naturall love of Scipio African to his brother *Lucius Scipio*.

howbeit one onely *Hannibal*, that was overcome, and the glory of so great a warre ended, did make the triumph of *P. Scipio* so excellent and famous, that it far passed all the gold and magnificent pompe of all others triumphs. For after *AFRICKE* was conquered, no Nation then was ashamed to be overcome by the *ROMANES*. For he made this Province as it were a bridge and open passage to increate and enlarge the Empire of *ROME*, both in *MACE- DON*, and also in *ASIA*, and in other parts of the world besides. Now *Scipio* (whom I may rightly call *AFRICAN*, after the conquest of *AFRICKE*) being returned to *ROME*, he lacked no temporall dignities nor honours. For in the Counsell holden for the election of Censors, although there were divers others of the noblest houses of *ROME* that sued for that office, yet he himselfe, and *Aelius Petus* were preferred before all the rest, and after they were created Censors, they did governe in their Office like good men, and with good quietnesse. Afterwards the Censors that followed them, did still one after another chuse *Scipio AFRICAN* Prince of the Senate: the which dignity was wont to be given to them onely, that obtained the Type of all honour, through their great conquests and benefits done to their Countrey. Shortly after, he was againe chosen Consull with *Sempronius Longus*, the sonne of that *Sempronius* whom *Hannibal* overcame in that great overthrow, at the battell by the River of *Trebia*. They two were the first (as it is reported) that divided the Noblemen and Senators from the people, in the shew-place to see pastime. This separation was very odious to the people of *ROME*, and they were marvellously offended with the Consuls for it, because they tooke it, that increaseth the honour of the state of the Senators, they thereby did discountenance and imbase them. Some say also, that *Scipio AFRICAN* afterwards repented himselfe that he had taken away the old custome, and brought in a new. At that time there fell out great variance betwixt *Masinius* and the *CARTHAGINIANS*, touching their borders and confines. Whereupon the Senate sent *Scipio* thither with two other Commissioners: who after they had heard the cause of their quarrell, they left the matter as they found it, and would proceed no further in it. And this they did, because that the *CARTHAGINIANS* being troubled with civill warres at home, should take upon them no other warres abroad, neither should have leisure to attempt any alteration otherwise. For the *ROMANES* had great warre with King *Antiochus*, and *Hannibal* *CARTHAGINIAN* was there with him, who still stirred up the old enemies against the *ROMANES*, and practised to raise up new enemies against them, and in all things to counsell the *CARTHAGINIANS* to cast away the yoke of bondage, which the *ROMANES* had brought them into under the title of peace, and to prove the friendship of the Kings. Howbeit shortly after, the *ROMANES* having obtained victory, and driven King *Antiochus* out of *GREECE*, they intended also to conquer *ASIA*: and therefore all their hope was in *Scipio AFRICAN* as a man that was borne end warres of great importance. Howbeit *Lucius Scipio* and *Caius Lelius* were Consuls, and either of them made suite for the government of *ASIA*. The matter being consulted upon, the Senate stood doubtfull what judgement they should give, betwixt two so famous men. Howbeit, because *Lelius* was in better favour with the Senate, and in great estimation: the Senate beganne to take his part. But when *P. Cornelius Scipio AFRICAN*, the elder brother of *Lucius Scipio*, prayed the Senate that they would not dishonour his house so, and told them that his brother had great vertues in him, and was besides very wise, and that he himselfe also would be his Lieutenant: he had no sooner spoken the words, but the Senators received him with great joy, and presently did put them all out of doubt. So it was ordained in open Senate, that *Lucius Scipio* should go into *GREECE* to make warre with *ÆTOLIANS*, and that from thence he should go into *ASIA*, if he thought good, to make make warre with King *Antiochus*: and also that he should take his brother *Scipio AFRICAN* with him, because he should go against *Hannibal*, that was in *Antiochus* Army. Who can but wonder at the love and naturall affection of *Publius Cornelius Scipio AFRICAN*, the which he first shewed from his youth unto his father *Cornelius*, and afterwards also unto his brother *Lucius Scipio*, considering the great things he had done? For, notwithstanding he was that *AFRICAN* by name that had overcome *Hannibal*, that had triumphed over the *CARTHAGINIANS*, and excelled all others in praise of Martiall discipline: yet of his owne good nature he made himselfe inferior to his younger brother, because he might have the honour of obtaining the Government of that Province from his fellow Consull *Lelius*, that was so well beloved, and of great estimation. *Lucius Scipio* the Consull brought great honour to his Countrey by that warre, for that he followed the sound and faithfull counsell of his brother. For first of all going into *GREECE*, he took truce for sixe moneths with the *ÆTOLIANS*, through the advice of his brother *AFRICAN*: who counsellled him, that setting all things apart, he should straight go into *ASIA*, where the warre was risist. Afterwards also he wanne *Prusias* King of *BYTHINIA* from *Antiochus* friendship, who before was wavering up and downe, doubtfull which side to take, and all through his brother *AFRICAN*'s meanes and practise. So the authority of the *AFRICAN* was very great, and all those that would obtaine any thing of the Consull, came first to the *AFRICAN* to be their meane and intercessor. Now when he came into *ASIA*, *Antiochus* Ambassadors: and *Heraclides* *BIZANTIAN*, came unto him to offer to make peace, and after they had openly told their message, perceiving that they could not obtaine reasonable conditions of peace, they pri-

The fidelity and love of *P. Scipio* to his Country.

Antiochus being overcome, accepteth conditions of peace

Great Kingdomes and wealth, are full of troubles.

Privately talked with *Scipio AFRICAN*, as they they were commanded, and practised the best they could to make him King *Antiochus* friend. For they told him, that *Antiochus* would send his younger son which he had taken, and furthermore that he would willingly make him his companion in the Government of all his Realme, onely reserving the name and title of a King. Howbeit *P. Scipio*, excelling no lesse in faithfulness and bounty, then in many other vertues, after he had answered them to all other matters, he told them, that for his son he would take him for a marvellous friendly gift: and that for a private good turne, he would do the best he could to requite him with the like: Howbeit, that he would counsell the King above all things to leave off thought of war, and to receive those offers and conditions of peace which the Senate and people of *ROME* would offer him. Shortly after, *Antiochus* sent *P. Scipio* his son according to his promise: who (as it is reported) had been taking prisone from the first beginning of the war, as he went from *CHALCIDE* unto *ORICUM*: or as other writers say, as he passed by in a pinnace. Yet some hold opinion, that he was taken as he went to discover the counsell of the enemies, and that he was then sent againe unto his father, lying sicke at the City of *ELEA*. This great courtesie of King *Antiochus* was marvellous well thought of by the *AFRICAN*, and not without cause: for to see his son after he had been away so long, it did greatly lighten his spirits, and diseased body. But *P. Scipio* to shew some token of a thankful mind, prayed the Ambassadors that came unto him, greatly to thanke King *Antiochus* for the exceeding pleasure he had done him, to send him his son. Afterwards he gave *Antiochus* advice also, that he should not give battell, till he understood of his returne from *ELEA* to the Campe. So *Antiochus* being persuaded by the authority of so worthy a man, he kept close in his Campe for a certaine time, and determined to draw the warre out at length, hoping in the end that he might come to speak with the Consull, by the *AFRICAN*'s meanes. But afterwards, the Consull camping hard by *MAGNESIA*, did so vex and provoke the enemy, that the King came out to battell, and set his men in battell ray. It is reported that *Hannibal* himselfe was present at the battell, being one of the Generals for the King. So *Antiochus* being overcome, and his Army discomfited, perceiving that there was no helpe in his affaires, he came unto the *AFRICAN* (who being newly recovered of his sicknesse, came to the Campe a little after the field was wonne) and by his meanes obtained of the Consull to be contented to take of peace. When *Antiochus* Ambassadors were come to the Campe, and had humbly craved pardon in behalf of their King, and also prayed that they would give them such conditions of peace, as they best liked of: *Scipio AFRICAN* with the consent of them all answered them, that it was not the manner of the *ROMANES* to yeeld to adversity, neither also to be proud in prosperity: and therefore that he now made him the selfe same offer and conditions of peace, which he did before the victory. That the King should not meddle with *EUROPE*: that he should surrender up all he had in *ASIA*, from the mountaine *Taurus*, unto the River of *Tanais*: that he should pay tribute twenty years together: that he should also put in such hostages as the Consull would chuse out: and that specially above all the rest, they should deliver *Hannibal* *CARTHAGINIAN* unto the Consull, who was the only author and procurer of this war. But he, as we have written in his life, perceiving that King *Antiochus* Army was overthrowen both by sea and by land, escaped the *ROMANES* hands, and went unto *Prusias* King of *BYTHINIA*. *Antiochus* having accepted the offers and conditions of peace, said, that the *ROMANES* used him very favourably, to rid him of so great a care, and to appoint him so small a Kingdome. For great Kingdomes, and overmuch wealth which every man coveteth, are full of great and sundry troubles: inso much that *Theocritus* words are as true, as otherwise excellently written.

*The things I wisht are neither wealth, nor Scepter, Robe, nor Crowne,
Nor yet of swiftnesse and of strength to beare away renowne:
But singing with a merry heart in simple shed, to looke
A loose upon the troublous seas, that are so hard to brooke.*

So when the mighty King of *ASIA* was overcome, and that so great a war was so easily ended beyond all mens opinion: the Consull *L. Scipio* returned to *ROME*, and made his entry into the City, shewing a great and honourable triumph. He also deserved the surname of the Province and Countrey subdued by him. So that, as his eldest brother was called *AFRICAN*, for that he had conquered *AFRICKE*: even so was *Lucius Scipio* surnamed *ASIAN*, for conquering *ASIA* unto *ROME*. And *P. Scipio* through whose counsell his brother *Lucius* had brought his warres to happie end, he went not clear without honour also. For shortly after, two noble Censors, *T. Q. Flaminius*, and *Marcus Claudius Marcellus* chose him Prince of the Senate the third time. Now at that time, the house and family of the *Scipios* and *Cornelians* flourished with supreme degree of honour: and the authority of *Scipio AFRICAN* was growne to such height and greatnesse, as no private man could wish to be any greater in a free City. Howbeit the secret malice of wicked hearts, which could no longer abide his greatnesse and authority, began at length to burst out, and to light upon those that were the authors of so great things. For two tribunes of the people, suborned (as it is reported) by *Porcius Cato*, accused *P. Scipio AFRICAN* for keeping backe King *Antiochus* money, and because he brought it not into the common Chamber or treasury. *Scipio AFRICAN* knowing his innocency, being called by the Magistrate, shewed himselfe obedient, and came into the Market-place with a bold countenance, and there made an Oration, declaring what things he had done for the benefit and commodity of his Countrey and Common-wealth. The rehearsal of these things did not mislike the

L. Scipio surnamed *African*, for his conquest of *Africa*. *T. Q. Flaminius*, *M. C. Marcellus* Censors. The time of the flourishing of the *Cornelii*. The inconsistency of these worldly things. Great men most envied!

The last fortunate day of the Africans good fortune. The voluntary banishment of Scipio from Rome.

T. Gracchus Tribune.

Divers opinions about the accusation of the African.

The Africans wife and children.

Divers opinions touching the death of P. Scipio. Statues of the two Scipios and Ennius the Poet, by the gate Capena at Rome. Scipio African died at Linternum.

common people that were present : because he did it rather to avoid the danger prepared for him, then otherwise for any vaine glory or ostentation. Howbeit the Tribunes not being so contented, were vehement against him, and spared no injurious words, but accused him as though he had indeed been in fault, howbeit upon suspicion, rather then of any due prooffe. The next morning being commanded to come before them againe, he appeared at the houre appointed, and being well accompanied with his friends, he came through the whole assembly, and went up to the Pulpit for Orations. When he saw that every man kept silence, then he spake in this manner: I remember, my Lords, that on such a day as this, I was that famous victory of Hannibal and the CARTHAGINIANS, and therefore leaving aside this contention, I thinke it good if go to the Capitol, to give God thanks for the victory. So he departed thence, and all the whole assembly followed him, not onely to the Capitol, but also to all the other Temples of the City, leaving the two Tribunes all alone with their Sergeants. That day was the very last day of the AFRICANS good fortune, for the great assembly and multitude of people that waited upon him, and for the great good will they bare him. For from that day forward he determined to get him into the Country, far from all ambition, and the company of the people : and so went unto LINTERNUM in a marvellous age, that for reward of his so great service, and so sundry benefites, as he had brought into his Country, he received but shame and reproach : or else for that indeed being (as he was) of a noble mind, he thought it more honour willingly to give place to his enemies, then to seek to maintaine his greatnesse by force so Armes. So when the Tribunes did accuse him of contempt, and that his brother Lucius did excuse his absence by reason of his sickness: Tiberius Gracchus, one of the Tribunes that was against the AFRICAN, tooke his excuse (beyond all mens opinions) for good payment, and did so well defend Scipios cause, sometimes honourably praising him, another time also threatening his enemies, that the Senate afterwards thanked him very greatly for it. For they were marvellously offended for the great injurie they did him. Some do write that P. Scipio himselfe, before he went unto LINTERNUM, did with his owne hands teare the booke his brother had brought unto the Senate, to deliver the account of his charge : and that he did it not for any deceite or pride, but with that selfe boldnesse of mind he aforetime used to the treasurers, when he did against the law require the keyes of the common treasure, to supply the present need of the State. Now some there be also that say, it was not the AFRICAN, but Scipio ASIATIC that was accused before the Tribunes : and that Scipio AFRICAN was sent in Committion at that time into THUSCAN. Who, understanding of his brothers accusation, at his returne to ROME, and finding his brother Lucius condemned, and the Sergeants waiting on him to carry him, being bound into prison, he was in such a rage withall, that he rescued his brother by force out of the Sergeants hands, and from the Tribunes of the people. And they report beside, that Tiberius Gracchus one of the Tribunes, complaining first that the authority of the Tribuneship was trode under feet by a private person, he afterwards letting fall all the malice and envy he bare unto the Scipios, defended their cause, because the Tribunes should rather seem to be overcome by a Tribune, then by a private person. They said moreover, that the selfe same day the Senate supped in the Capitol, he perswaded the AFRICAN to let Tiberius Gracchus marry his younger daughter. This promise was no sooner made, but Scipio coming hom to his house, told his wife that he had bestowed their daughter : whereupon she being angry, told him againe, that he should not have married her without consent of her mother, though he could have bestowed her upon Tiberius Gracchus. This answer liked Scipio marvellous well, when he saw that his wife was of his minde, touching the marriage of their daughter. I know it is thought of some, that it was attributed to Tiberius the sonne, and to Appius Claudius his father in law. For Polybius, and other ancient writers affirme, that Cornelia, the mother of Caius and Tiberius Gracchi, was married unto Gracchus, after the AFRICANS death. For Scipio AFRICAN was married unto Emelia the daughter of L. Paulus Emilius Consul that was slaine at the battel of CANNES. By her he had two daughters, of the which the eldest was married unto P. Cornelius Nasica, and the younger unto Tiberius Gracchus, either before or after the death of his father. Now touching his sonne, there is little mention made of him in writing, that a man may write of certainty to be true. We have spoken of his younger son that was taken by King Antiochus, and afterwards frankly sent unto his father : of whom notwithstanding afterwards I finde no mention in writing, saving that some say he was afterwards Prator, and that he came to this office by meanes of Cicercius his fathers Secretarie. There appeareth in writing also, that the younger AFRICAN was adopted by the sonne of P. Scipio. Cicero in his booke intituled Cato Major saith, how weake (said he) was the sonne of P. AFRICAN that adopted thee his son? And in his sixt booke also de reipub. Emilius the father exhorteth Scipio his sonne, to follow justice and piety, as his grandfather Scipio AFRICAN had done. And touching the death of P. Scipio AFRICAN, writers do diversly vary : for some say, that he died and was buried at the gate Capena, over the which stood three statues or images, two whereof were the images of Publius and Lucius Scipio, and the third was of Q. Ennius the Poet. And surely that which Cicero wrote, seemeth to confirme it true : our Ennius, said he, was marvellously beloved of AFRICAN the great, and therefore it is thought that he was buried in Scipios Tombe. Other authors write also (and surely they agree best with the common report) that Scipio AFRICAN died at LINTERNUM, and that there he was buried at his own appointment : because his Country so unthankfully acknowledging his service, should do him no honour at his death : and that there they set him up a Tombe, and his statue upon that, the which afterwards was blown down by a tempest of wind, and the which Livy him-

himselfe witnesseth he saw. Furthermore, by CAIETA this Epitaph was graven in a plate of Copper, set in a Marble Tombe.

The man that vanquishd Hannibal, and conquer'd Carthage Towne, And eke increast the Romanes both in Empire and renowne. Lies here a heap of dust and earth, hid underneath this stone : His deeds, his prowesse, and his life, are altogether gone. Whom neither Europe could withstand, nor Africke in times past, (Behold mans frailty) here he lies in little roome at last.

The Epitaph of Scipio African.

Now touching the time of his death, having made great search for it, I have found in certaine Greeke Authours, that the AFRICAN lived foure and fifty yeares, and died shortly after. Furthermore he was a Noble Captaine, and worthy of all commendation for Martiall Discipline, and besides excelled in other vertue : the which did so delight his mind, that he was wont to say, he was never lesse idle, then when he tooke his ease : neither lesse solitary, then when he was alone. For sometimes he would withdraw himselfe out of the Assembly, and from all mens company, and thought himselfe safe when he was alone. The fame of his noble Deeds was so great, that wheresoever he went, all sorts of people would come and see him. The common report went, that when he was at LINTERNUM, there came certaine Rovers unto him, to see so famous a man, and to kisse that so faithfull and victorious a hand. For Vertue hath great force and power with all sorts of people : because it doth not onely make the good, but the evill also to love and honour it.

Scipio African fifty four years old at the time of his death.

The power of Vertue.

THE COMPARISON OF HANNIBAL with P. SCIPIO AFRICAN.



NOW let us Compare Hannibal and Scipios Deedes together, as touching their Civill Discipline. First, if we remember their Deedes in warres, it is manifest, that both of them have been great and famous Captaines in warre, and that they have not onely been comparable with the noblest Kings and Princes in their time (being also in that age when warres flourished most) but with those that were before their time. One thing maketh me wonder much at them, that they having great and heavy enemies in their Countrey (who sought to overthrow all their doings and enterprises) could possibly go through with so great matters, and to obtaine such happy and famous Victories, in strange and forraigne warres. Therefore passing over all other matters, what adoe had Publius Scipio before he could obtaine to be sent into AFRICKE, to make warre with the CARTHAGINIANS? Fabius Maximus, and other Noblemen of the City greatly against it. Againe, what enemy had Hannibal of Hanno, who was Prince and head of the contrary faction against him? Now they both having overcome such great troubles at home, did notwithstanding bring things to end worthy perpetuall memory : not by chance, as it happeneth unto many ; but through their industry, great wisdom, and counsell. So divers do wonder greatly at Hannibals courage and noble mind : who after he had sacked the City

of SAGUNTUS, came boldly from the farthest part of the world into ITALIE, and brought with him a great Army of Footemen and Horsemen, and came to make warre with a great State and Common-wealth, the which his predecessors always dreaded: and after he had wonne many Battells, and slaine sundry Consuls and Captaines of the ROMANES, he came and Camped hard by the City of ROME it selfe, and procured strange Kings and farre Nations to make warre with the ROMANES. He that was able to do so great things as these, men cannot otherwise thinke of him but that he was a great and valiant Captaine. Others also speaking of Scipio, do greatly praise and commend him for the foure Chieftaines he overcame, and for the foure great Armies which he defeated and put to flight in SPAIN, and also for that he overcame, and tooke that great King Syphax prisoner. In fine, they come to praise that famous Battell, in the which Scipio overcame Hannibal at ZAMA. For if Fabius (said they) were praised, because he was not overcome by Hannibal, what estimation will they make of the AFRICAN, who in a pitched Battell overcame that so famous and dreadfull Captaine Hannibal, and also did end so dangerous a warre? Besides also that Scipio did alwayes make open warre, and commonly fought with the enemy in plaine field: where Hannibal in contrary manner did alwayes use crafty and subtilty, and was full of stratagemes and policie. And therefore all Authours, both Greeke and Latine, do count him very fine and subtil. Furthermore, they greatly commend Hannibal for that he maintained this Army of so sundry Nations, so long time in peace, as he had warre with the ROMANES: and yet that there was never any mutinie or rebellion in his Campe. On the other side, they blame him againe, because he did not follow his Victory, when he had overcome the ROMANES at that famous Battell of CANNES: and also because he spoiled his souldiers with too much ease, and the pleasures of CAMPANIA and APULIA, whereby they were so changed, that they seemed to be other souldiers then those that had overcome the ROMANES, at the sundry Battells of TREBIA, THRASIMENE, and CANNES. All Writers do reprove these things in Hannibal, but specially his cruelty. For amongst other things, what cruelty was it of him to make a Woman with her Children to come from ARPI to his Campe, and afterwards to burne them alive? What shall a man say of them whom he cruelly put to death in the Temple of Juno Lacinia, when he departed out of ITALY? For Scipio AFRICAN on the other side, if we shall rather credite the best Authours that write, then a number of other detracters and malicious Writers, we may say, he was a bountifull and temperate Captaine, and not onely lively and valiant in fight, but also courteous and mercifull after victory. For oftentimes his enemies proved his valiantnesse, the vanquished his mercy and clemency, and all other men his faithfullnesse. Now therefore, let us tell you what his continence and liberality was, which he shewed in SPAIN unto a young Lady taken prisoner, and unto Lucius Prince of the CELTIBERIAN: doth it not deserve great praise? Now for their private doings, they were both virtuously brought up, and both of them embraced Learned men. For as it is reported, Hannibal was very familiar with Socilius LACEDEMONIAN, as the AFRICAN was with Ennius the Poet. Some say also, that Hannibal was so well Learned in the Greeke Tongue, that he waote an History in Greeke touching the deeds of Manlius Volso. Now truly I do agree with Cicero, that said in his Booke de Oratore, that Hannibal heard Phormio PERIPATETICIAN in EPHEsus, discoursing very largely of the office and duty of a Chieftaine and Generall, and of the Martiall lawes and ordinances: and that immediately after being asked what he thought of that Philosopher, he should answer in no very perfect Greeke, but yet in Greeke, that he had seen many old doting fooles, but that he had never seene a greater doter then Phormio. Furthermore, both of them had an excellent grace in their talke, and Hannibal had a sharpe taunting wit in his answers. When King Antiochus on a time prepared to make war with the ROMANES, and had put his Army into the field, not so well furnished with Armour and Weapon, as with Gold and silver: he asked Hannibal if he thought his Army sufficient for the ROMANES; Yea Sir, quoth he, that they be, were the enemies never so covetous. This may truly be said of Hannibal, that he obtained many great victories in the warres, but yet they turned to the destruction of his Countrey. Scipio in contrary manner did preserve his Countrey in such safety, and also did so much increase the dominions thereof, that as many as shall looke into his deserts, they cannot but call ROME unthankfull, which liked rather that the AFRICAN (perseverer of the City) should go out of ROME, then that they should repress the fury and insolency of a few. And for mine owne opinion, I cannot thinke well of that City, that so unthankfully hath suffered so worthy and innocent a person to be injured: and so would I also have thought it more blame worthy, if the City had been an aider of the injury offered him. In fine, the Senate (as all men do report) gave great thanks unto Tiberius Gracchus, because he did defend the Scipios cause: and the common people also following the AFRICAN, when he visited the Temples of ROME, and left the Tribunes alone that accused him, did thereby shew how much they did love and honour the name of the Scipios. And therefore, if we should judge the Citizens hearts and good wills by those things, men would rather condemne them for cowards to have suffered such outrage, then unthankfull for forgetting his benefits: for there were very few that consented to so wicked a deed, and all of them in manner were very sorry for it. Howbeit Scipio, that was a man of great mind, not much regarding the malice of his enemies, was content rather to leave the City, then by civill wars to destroy it. For he would not come against his Countrey with Ensignes displayed, neither would he sollicite strange Nations and mighty Kings to come with force and their aide to destroy the City, the which he had beautified with so many spoiles and triumphs, as Martins Coriolanus, Alcibiades, and divers others did, by record of ancient stories.

For

Phormio Peri-
patetician read-
ing Philosophy
in Ephesus.

Hannibals witty
answer unto
King Antiochus.

For we may easily perceive how careful he was to preserve the liberty of ROME, because when he was in SPAIN, he refused the title and name of King which was offered him: and for that he was marvellous angry with the people of ROME, because they would have made him perpetual Consul and Dictator: and considering also that he commanded they should set up no statue of him, neither in the place of the Assembly, nor in the judgement seate, nor in the Capitoll: all which honours afterwards were given by the Citizens unto Caesar, that had overcome Pompey. These were the civill vertues of the AFRICAN, which were great and true praises of continency. Now therefore, to deliver you the summe and effect of these things, these two so famous Captaines are not so much to be compared together in their civill Vertues (in the which Scipio chiefly excelled) as in the discipline of warres, and in the glory of their famous Victories. To conclude, their deaths were somewhat alike: for they both died out of their Countries, although Scipio was not condemned by his Countrey as Hannibal was, but would by voluntary banishment die out of the City.

The end of Plutarchs Lives.



THE
LIVES
OF
EPAMINONDAS,
OF
PHILIP of MACEDON,
OF
DIONYSIUS the Elder,
And of
OCTAVIUS CAESAR AVGVSTVS.

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TO THE
Most High and Mighty Princeſſe
ELIZABETH,

By the Grace of God of *England, France and Ireland*
Queene, Defender of the Faith, &c.

THIS Princely Bounty of your blessed hand
(most gracious Sovereigne) comforting, and sup-
porting my poore old decaying Life, of right
challengeth the travels in my Study, the labors
of my Body, and the prayers of my Devoti-
ons, to be wholly imployed for your Highnesſe,
& altogether dedicated to your service. Wherein whileſt I ſtrive to
bring in open ſhew ſome ſmall performance of my moſt humble du-
ty to your Sacred Maieſty, mine owne unworthineſſe amazeth
me with trembling feare for my preſumption, but that your High-
neſſe matchleſſe grace to ſo many your moſt admirable Vertues of-
fered my pardon Under which I preſent in all humbleneſſe in-
to your Maieſties ſacred hands, this my ſecond Translation of the
late Addition of fifteen other Lives, unto thoſe former in Plu-
tarch, published for my benefit of Country, under protection of the
moſt Royal name of your moſt Gracious Maieſty. And albeit
in reſpect of my ſelfe I offer but duty, which I wiſh I could in o-
ther and better ſort performe: Yet I am the rather emboldened
herein, for that the famous memory of renowned Emperors, migh-
ty Kings, worthy Chieftaines and Generals of Armies, yea
and

and of two famous Philosophers Plutarch and Seneca, being the whole subject of this second Translation, is worthily published under your Majesties patronage, Whose rare Vertues and wonderful wisdom, neither former mighty Kings, nor Learned Philosophers might equall; from whose blessed fortunes many oppressed Kings and distressed Kingdomes, have sought and found their succours; and whose most honourable and most happy peaceable Government, is the worlds wonder to all posterity.

Wherefore most Gracious and most Blessed Sovereigne, I beseech your Princely favour to accept with Grace the simple performance of your poor unworthy servant his most humble service, whose soule with hearty prayer according to his most bounden duty, continually calleth unto God for preservation of your most Royal Person, in all honour, health, and happinesse, and so still to Reigne over us.

Your Majesties most humble

and obedient servant,

THOMAS NORTH.

THE



THE LIFE OF EPAMINONDAS.



Ann. Mund.
3580.

Ant. Christ.
368.

*O onely like thy selfe, the world alwayes
Admireth thy great valour, grace and wit:
And thinking to have all good parts in it,
By having thee, triumpheth in thy praise.*



Riters of Histories report that Cadmus the sonne of Agenor having taken sea out of PHOENICIA into EUROPE, by commandement of an Oracle he left the Countrey of THRACIA where he had dwelt, and came into BOEOTIA, where he had great doings against a certaine neighbor-people called SPARTANS: of whom having overcome part of them by subtilties, he made alliance with the chief of those that were left alive, and grew into such favour with them, that he drew them and their people unto THEBES, where these great men which were of noble house tooke them wives, and so had a great number of worthy men of noble race descended from them. Of which some of them were very rich men, and attained to the tipe of royall dignity: as Creon and Jocastus. Now because they were divided into two principal houses, it is hard to judge out of which of the two families of the Chronians, or Echionides, Polymnus the father of Epaminondas was descended. Some are of opinion that he came out of the house of another chief man of the SPARTANS, called Udams, from whom descended the divine nobly descended Tiresias. But howsoever it was, he descended from one of the most noble and ancient houses of the ed. THEBANS, of whom they report this notable thing: that the most part of this noble linage carried upon their body even for a naturall birth-marke from their mothers wombe, a Snake: and so did

did they bear it in their Armes in device of their Scutcheons. Touching this matter, I hold the say of the Poet *Enripides* to be true: that the honour of noble houses falleth to decay, if once their goods faile them. For the poverty whereof some of *Epaminondas* ancestors made profession of vertue, seemed to be the cause that they were made final account of. Otherwise I cannot allow that the said Poet spake of, that a noble and vertuous man is no body if he be poore. For one *Epaminondas* onely throughly confuted this opinion, who notwithstanding he was exceeding poore, obtained nevertheless the chiefeft places of honour in the Common-wealth: for he was one of the best learned and most excellent Philosophers of the world, being *Platoes* follower and familiar, and the most renowned man of all the *GREEKES*, as appeareth by the discourse of his life. Now *Polymnis* had two sons, to wit, *Caphisias*, and *Epaminondas*, whom he was very careful to see well brought up and taught all the liberal and honest Sciences, especially *Epaminondas*, who had the most stayed wit, and best inclined to vertue, desirous to hearken and to learne, humble, obedient, and wonderfull apt and docible: and according to the discipline of the *THEBANS*, he learned of one *Dionysius* to be very skillfull in song and playing upon instruments. And as for learning, and in Philosophy chiefly, it happened well for him that he fell into good mens hands by such a meane. When the Colledges and Companies of the *Pythagorian* Philosophers that were disperfed through the Cities of *ITALY*, were banished by the faction of the *Cylonians*: they that kept still together, met in Council at *METAPONT* to determine of affaires. But some seditious persons arose against them, set fire on all parts of the house where they were, and burnt them all together, leaving *Philolaus* and *Lyfis*, who being young and lusty, saved themselves through the fire. As for *Philolaus*, he recovered the Countrey of the *LUCANIANS*, and kept there with his friends: but *Lyfis* went further, and got to *THEBES*, where when he was arrived, *Polymnis* received him, and prayed him to be *Epaminondas* Schoolemafter, who was but a young boy, but yet of good capacity, and of very great hope. This Philosopher employed his endeavour to manure this noble and quickewit of *Epaminondas*: and in short time made him ready and perfect in all Science and Vertue: so that it is hard to finde a more Wife, Grave, and Vertuous person then he was, of whom it is fit we should say somewhat more at large. When he was but fiftene yeares of age, he gave himselfe to all manner of exercises of the body, as to runne, wrestle, play at the weapons, and to practise all manner of Armes: and being quickly skillfull in all these, he then gave himselfe to his booke, being naturally silent, fearful to speake, but never wearied to heare, and to learne. Whereupon *Spintharus* the *TARENTINE* having been a long time with him in *THEBES*, said, he never spake to any man that knew so much and spake so little as *Epaminondas*. If he fortun'd to be in any company where there was talke of Philosophy, or of State matters, he would never from thence till he saw the matter ended that was propounded. Furthermore, he had no great liking of these darke and mystical arguments of some, that thinke to hide vertue in the obscurity of their words, but he gave himselfe wholly to the true practise thereof: though otherwise he was as pleasant a man to give a fine silent discourse, as could be possible to be found, as the disputation betwixt him and *Theanor*, touching poverty and riches doth witnesse, which worthily deserveth to be mentioned here, as in his proper place.

Lyfis after he had lived a long time in *THEBES*, died, and was honourably interred by his disciple *Epaminondas*, who had honoured and entertained him whilest he lived, and at his death omitted no ceremonies requisite at his funerall. *Arceus*, one of the chiefe of the *Pythagorian* Philosophers that stayed in *SICILIA*, understanding that *Lyfis* was at *THEBES*, through age not able to go to him: appointed by his will and testament, that they should bring *Lyfis* alive againe into *ITALY* if it were possible, or at leastwise the rest of his bones, if so it happened he were dead. The warres that fell out in the interim were a hindrance, that that could not be done so speedily. But when the wayes were open and free, the *Pythagorians* sent *Theanor* of their sect to *THEBES*, where he found *Lyfis* dead and buried: and so coming to *Epaminondas*, after salutations and preambles, told him before *Polymnis* and *Caphisias*, that his companions which were very rich, willed him to give *Polymnis* and his children a good sum of money, in recompence of their courteous entertainment which they had given to *Lyfis*. Whereupon after pleasant excuses made, *Epaminondas* concluded, that none could be received: and added further that *Jason* a Captaine of the *THESSALIANS* thought I had given him a rude and uncivill answer, when he having earnestly intreated me to take a good summe of gold which he gave me, I sent him word that he did me wrong, and began to make warre with me: for that he aspiring to make himselfe a Lord, would corrupt me with money, a plaine Citizen of a free Towne, and living under the Law. But for thee, *Theanor*, I commend thy good will, because it is honest and vertuous, and I love it with all my heart: but I tell thee, thou bringest physicke to men that be not sicke. Admit then that thou hearing we had been in warres, haddest brought us Armes to defend us, and then in the same place thou haddest found us quiet, and in good peace and amity with our neighbours: thou wouldest not have thought it good to have bestowed these Armes, and left them with those that had no need of them. Even so thou art come to relieve our poverty, as if it were a griefe unto us: whereas to the contrary it is an easie and pleasant thing for us to carry, and we are glad we have it in our house amongst us: and therefore we need no Armes nor money against that that doth us no hurt at all. But thou shalt tell thy brethren there, that they do use their goods very honestly: and also that they have friends here which use their poverty well. And as for *Lyfis* entertainment and burial, he himselfe hath fully recompensed us, having taught us amongst many other goodly things, not to be afraid of poverty, nor to be

Polymnis father to *Epaminondas*. *Epaminondas* his vertuous inclination in his youth.

Lyfis a good son oldest brother to *Epaminondas*.

Epaminondas exercises in his youth. *Epaminondas* wisdom in speaking little.

Epaminondas refused to take money.

Epaminondas contentment with a poore estate.

grieved to see it amongst us. After *Theanor* had made some reply touching the good or evil of riches, as that if poverty were not evil of it self, neither were riches to be had in contempt, and despised: No, truly said *Epaminondas*: yet considering with my selfe that we have a world of covetous desires of many things, some naturall as they call them, and borne with us, bred in our flesh by the lusts pertaining to it: others strange unto us, grounded upon vaine opinions, which taking a settling and habit in us by tract of time, and long use through evill education, oftentimes do plucke us down, and withdraw our souls with more force and violence, then those that be naturall unto us. For reason, by daily exercise of vertue and practise thereof, is a meane to take many of those things away from us that are borne and bred within us: yet this notwithstanding, we must use continuall force and exercise against our concupiscences that are strangers unto us, to quench them in us, and by all possible meanes to repress and subdue them. Now having made sufficient proofe of that, there is also, said he an exercise of Justice against greedy covetousnesse of getting, which is not, to go rob and rife his neighbours houses in the night, nor to rob men on the high way side, nor if any man betray his friends or his Country for money: such one doth not exercise himselfe against covetousnesse, for law possibly, or feare, brideth this covetous desire to offend any man: but that man that oftentimes willingly abstaineth from just gaires, which he may lawfully take, he it is that by continuall exercise keepeth himselfe farre off from unjust and unlawfull taking of money. For it is impossible that in great pleasures, yea wicked and dangerous, the soule should containe it selfe from coveting of them, unlesse before being oftentimes at his choice to use them, he had not condemned them. And it is not easie to overcome them, nor to refuse great riches evill gotten being offered, unlesse he had long before killed in him this covetous desire of getting, the which besides many other habitudes and actions, is still greedily bent shamefully to gaine, pleasing himselfe in the pursuit of injustice, hardly sparing to wrong another, so he in any thing profit himselfe. But to a man that disdaineth to receive liberality and gifts of his friends, and refuseth to take presents offered him by Kings, and that hath rejected the benefits of fortune, putting by all covetous desires of glittering treasure layed before him: he shall never be assailed or attempted to do that that is unjust, nor his mind shall never be troubled, but will content himselfe quietly to do any thing that is honest, carrying an upright heart, finding nothing in it but that that is good and commendable.

But his life is farre more excellent then his discourse: and as touching that, I will yet speak somewhat of it. *Diomedon* *DYZICENIAN*, at *Artaxerxes* request, promised to winne *Epaminondas* to take the *PERSIANS* part. To bring this to passe, he came to *THEBES*, and brought a great masse of gold with him, and bestowing three thousand crownes, he bribed a young man called *Mycibius*, whom *Epaminondas* loved dearly. This young man went to *Epaminondas*, and acquainted him with the occasion of the other mans coming to *THEBES*. But *Epaminondas* straight answered him, *Diomedon* being present: I have no need of money: if the King wish well to the *THEBANS*, I am at his commandment without taking one penny: if he have any other meaning, he hath not gold nor silver enough for me: for I will not sell the love I beare to my Country for all the gold in the world. As for thee that hast now attempted me, not knowing me, haply thinking me to be like thy selfe, I pardon thee: but get thee away quickly out of the City, lest thou seduce some other, having failed to corrupt me. And for thee *Mycibius*, deliver him his crownes againe: and if thou doest it not presently, I will send thee before a Justice. Thereupon *Diomedon* besought him he would let him go away with safety, and carry that with him he brought thither. Yes marry, said *Epaminondas*, but it shall not be for thy sake, but for mine honor: being afraid that if thy gold and silver should be taken from thee, some man would accuse me that I had a share in that which I refused to take openly. Then he asked him: Whither wouldest thou I should cause thee to be conveyed? *Diomedon* said, to *ATHENS*: which was done, and he had a very good convoy with him: and because he should not be troubled by the way betwixt the gates of *THEBES*, and the haven where he should imbarke himselfe, *Epaminondas* gave *Chabrias* the *ATHENIAN* charge of this man, that he should see him safe at his waies end, and so he straight returned backe again.

Now though he was very poore, yet he would never take any thing of this City or friends, he was so well acquainted with poverty, which he bare more patiently through his study of Philosophy. For on a time having the leading of an Army of the *THEBANS* into the Country of *PELOPONNESUS*, he borrowed above five crowns of a Citizen for his expences in his journey. *Pelopidas* being a man of great wealth, and his exceeding good friend, could not possibly ever make him take any part of his goods, but rather *Pelopidas* learned of him to love poverty. For *Epaminondas* taught him to thinke it an honour to him go plainly apparelled, to eate moderately, to take paines willingly, and to make warre lustily. But to relieve others, he would make bold to use his friends goods, and in such a case their goods were common to him. If any of his Citizens were taken prisoners with the enemy, or any friend of his had a daughter to be married, and was not able to bestow her: he called his friends together, and seised every man of them at a certaine summe, and afterwards brought him before them that should have this money, and told him how much every man had bestowed upon him, that he might thanke them all. But on a time he went far beyond this: for he sent a poore friend of his to a rich Citizen of *THEBES*, to aske of him fixe hundred Crownes, and to tell him that *Epaminondas* willed him to let him have them. The Citizen being amazed at this demand, went unto *Epaminondas* to know what he meant to charge him so deeply, to make him disburse these fixe hundred Crownes unto him. It is, saith he, because this man being an honest man

Epaminondas would not be won by bribes to take part with the *Persians*.

Epaminondas his temperance in apparell and diet. *Epaminondas* redeemed prisoners, and married poore maidens.

is poore: and thou that hast robbed the Common-wealth of much, art rich. He lived so soberly, and was such an enemy unto all superfluity and excess, that being on a time invited to supper to one of his neighbors, when he saw great preparation of fine meates, baked meates, made dishes, and perfumes: he said unto him: I thought thou haddest made a sacrifice, not an excess of superfluity, and even so went his way. Even the like he spake of his own table, saying, that such an ordinary never received treason. On a time being at a feast with his peeres and companions, he dranke vineger. And when they asked him what reason he had to do so, and if it were good for his health? I cannot tell, saith he, but well I wote, it is good to put me in remembrance how I live at home. Now it was not for that his nature misliked sweet meates, that he lived thus strictly, and did love and embrace poverty, for he was marvellous high and nobly minded: but by his straight and unreprieveable life, he led, he thought to bridle many insolencies and disorders then reigning amongst the THEBANS, and to reduce them to the former temperance of their ancestors. As upon a time a Cooke giving up an account to him and his fellowes of their ordinary expences for certaine dayes, he could finde fault with nothing, but with the quantity of oile that was spent. His companions marvelling at it: Tufi, saith he, it is not the expence that offendeth me, but because they have powred in so much oile into their bodies. The City of THEBES made an open feast, and they were all of them in their banquets, feasts, and great assemblies one with the other: but *Epaminondas* to the contrary, he went dry up and downe the Town very sad, without being annointed with any oile of perfume, or decked with brave apparel. Some of his familiar friends met him in this estate, and wondering at him, asked him why he walked so alone, and ill apparelled through the City? Because, said he, you might in the meane time safely give your selves to drinke drunke, and make merry, taking thought for nothing. Thus have we spoken enough touching his temperance: and as for his other vertues they are most famous in armes, the which he with great good fortune and happinesse managed for the good of his Country.

Now his modesty would in no wise suffer him to seeke his advancement, but contrariwise he withdrew himselfe from Government, onely to give himselfe quietly to the study of Philosophy. Howbeit it happened that the LACEDÆMONIANS on a time prayed aide of the THEBANS, at that time being in league with them, who sent them certaine foote-bands. *Epaminondas* being about five and thirty years of age, armed himself, and went with the rest. Then it was that that friendship began betwixt *Pelopidas* and him, which constantly continued even to the end For they being both in battel-ray, the one by the other, against the ARCADIANs, whom they had in front against them in the plaine of MANTINEA, it chanced that one of the points of the battel of the LACEDÆMONIANS, in the which they were, retired, and many of them left their ranks: but they being resolute, determining rather to die then to flie, stood to it like men, untill that *Pelopidas* being hurt in seven places, fell down upon an heape of dead bodies: then *Epaminondas* though he tooke him to be but a dead man, stepped manfully before him to defend his Body and Armes, and he alone fought against many, resolved to dye in the place, rather then to leave *Pelopidas* among the dead men, untill that himselfe being thrust into the breast with a pike and wounded in the arme with a blow of a sword (ready to give over) by good fortune, and in a happy time, King *Agessipolis* came on with the other point of the battell; and saved them both. Afterwards the LACEDÆMONIANS finely wanne the Castle of THEBES called CADMEA, put in a strong garrison there, and gave the government of the City unto *Archias*, *Philippus*, and *Leontidas*, authors of all the mischief. Whereupon to avoide their violence, *Pelopidas* and many others with speed fled and saved themselves, and were banished by found of Trumpet. And as for *Epaminondas*, they said nothing to him, but let him alone in the City: for he was contemned as a man of no reckoning, because he was so given to his booke: and if he should have had any will to have stirred against them, he could have done them no hurt for his poverty. Now whilest *Pelopidas* and his companions being at ATHENS, had laid a plot to free THEBES, *Epaminondas* making no shew of any thing, had long before devised another practise, which was, to lift up the hearts and courage of the young men of THEBES. For when they went out to play and exercise their bodies, he alwayes found a way to make them wrestle with the LACEDÆMONIANS. Afterwards when he saw the LACEDÆMONIANS fiercely throw them and give them shrewd falles, they being the stronger, he rebuked the THEBANS, and told them, it was a shame for them for want of courage to suffer the LACEDÆMONIANS to set their feet upon their throats, that were not halfe so strong, rough, and boisterous as they were. All this while *Pelopidas* and his followers went on with their complot, and they had so good successe in their purpose, that one night they got privily into the City of THEBES, and met at *Charons* house, where they were to the number of eight and fourty. *Epaminondas* knew all well enough, and some towards night taking him aside, went about to perswade him to joyne with them in this enterprise, and to take armes with them to set upon these tyrants: marvelling much, that he would be so backward, the liberty of his Country standing upon it. He answered, that he had taken order with his friends and *Gorgidas*, that they should put themselves in readinesse upon any occasion; howbeit that he would put none of his Citizens to death, unless they were condemned by law: yet if you will make an attempt for delivery of the City, so it be without murder, and shedding the blood of the Citizens, I will helpe you (said he) with all my heart. If you will not believe me, but persevere in your determination, I pray you let me alone, pure and undefiled with the blood of my Citizens, and so blamelesse to attend occasion, whereby I may justly take hold of that which may turne to the good of the Common-wealth: for the murder that will be committed, cannot possibly be contained with.

Epaminondas his strict life checked to the THEBANS.

Epaminondas failed when others feasted.

The occasion of friendship between *Epaminondas* and *Pelopidas*.

Epaminondas would not consent to bloody conspiracy.

within reasonable bound. I do certainly believe that *Pherecides* and *Pelopidas* peradventure will specially set upon the authors of the Tyranny: but *Eumolpidas* and *Samiadas*, both cholericke and fierce men, taking the liberty of the night, they will never lay down their Armes, nor put their swords up into their sheathes, before they have filled all the City with murders, and slaine divers of the chief peronages. Moreover, it is very convenient for the people of THEBES, that some be left free, and blamelesse of this murder, and guiltlesse of all that shall be done in this fury of action: for so the people shall least suspect that we give any encouragement to their rising, although to good end. Notwithstanding all this the enterprise was executed, and the tyrants put to death, the City restored to her ancient liberty, and the Castle of CADMEA rendred up by composition, and *Lyfandridas* the LACEDÆMONIAN, and other commanders within, suffered to depart, with safety of their goods and the souldiers.

These were the beginnings of the long warres of the LACEDÆMONIANS against the THEBANS, with whom the ATHENIANS joynd in league. For *Epaminondas*, he quietly gave himselfe to his booke: notwithstanding he was put forward by *Pamienes*, a principall man of THEBES, and he beganne to follow the warres very hotly, and in divers encounters made great proofe of his wisdom, hardinesse and valour: insomuch that by degrees he attained at the length to the highest charges of Government in the Common wealth. And his Citizens having made no further reckoning of him, being a man of forty yeares old: after that they came to know him, and had trusted him with their Army, he saved the City of THEBES that was like to have been undone, and freed all GREEKS from the servitude and bondage of the LACEDÆMONIANS: making vertue as in a clear light shine with glory, shewing her effects when time serveth. Furthermore, *Agessilas* being entred into BOEOTIA with an Army of twenty thousand footmen, and five thousand horse, preyed and spoiled all the plaine Countrey, and presented the THEBANS in open field that which they would not accept, finding themselves the weaker: howbeit they defended themselves so well, through the aide of the ATHENIANS, and of the wise conduction of *Epaminondas* and *Pelopidas*, that *Agessilas* returned home with his Army. But after he was gone, the THEBANS went with their Troopes before the City of THESPIES, where they surprized and put to the sword two hundred men of the Garrison, and afterwards gave divers assaults one upon another unto the wall; and seeing their labour lost, they returned with their Army back againe to THEBES. Howbeit *Phabidas* the LACEDÆMONIAN, he that had taken the Castle of CADMEA by treason (whereupon rose all this warre that followed) and was then governour of THESPIES, made a fallly out of the Towne, and rashly went to give a charge upon the THEBANS in their retreat, where he lost five hundred of his men, and himself was slaine in the field. Not long after, the LACEDÆMONIANS with the selfe same power returned againe to make war with the THEBANS, who having won certaine streights and places of advantage, so blocked up the way, as they could not over-runne the Country, and spoile it as they had done before. Nevertheless, *Agessilas* had so harried and troubled them, that by little and little they came to a maine battell, which held very long and cruel. Now though *Agessilas* at the first had the better, yet the THEBANS charged him so hotly, that at the length he himselfe was hurt, and constrained to retire. being well payed for teaching the THEBANS military discipline. And this was the first time that the THEBANS knew themselves to be as strong and lusty as the LACEDÆMONIANS: whereupon they triumphed in sign of victory, and from that time forwards they waxed more courageous to make head against the enemy, and to present them battell. But the onely thing that did most encourage them, was the presence of *Epaminondas*, who counselled, commanded, and executed very wisely, valiantly, and most fortunately. A certaine time after that they went with a great number of good chosen men before ORCHOMENE, where they prevailed not, because there was a strong Garrison of the LACEDÆMONIANS, that sallied out upon them to give them battell, which was very sharpe between them. And yet, albeit the LACEDÆMONIANS were many against one, the THEBANS gave them the overthrow, which never happened to them before: but what Nation forever they had been, they thought they had done a great feat, if with a greater number by many, they had overcome a small number of the LACEDÆMONIANS. But this victory, and the encountering of TEGYRE, where the THEBANS obtained another victory under the conduct of *Pelopidas*, lit up their hearts on high, and made their valour more famous then before.

The next yeare following, *Artaxerxes* King of PERSIA, meaning to make warre in EGYPT, and therefor to retaine divers strangers, determined to appease the warres against the GREEKES, in hope that they bring at peace, would more easily be contented that souldiers should be leaved in their Country: and thereupon sent his Ambassadors to all the Townes of GREECE, to perswade and intreate them to be at peace together. The GREEKES were very willing to hearken unto it, being wearied of all sides with so long a warre, and were easily drawne to treat of peace: whereby it was especially agreed and concluded, that all the Cities of GREECE should be free, and use their owne lawes; and Commissioners were sent all about to withdraw the Garrisons in every place where any was kept. Unto this the THEBANS onely refused to agree, that every Towne should by it selfe severally capitulate under the City of THEBES. Thereunto the ATHENIANS mightily opposed themselves, and there was one of their Orators called *Calistfratus*, that touching this matter made a notable Oration before the Assembly of the States of GREECE. And *Epaminondas* on the other

The Tyrants of Thebes slaine, and the City freed.

Epaminondas attained to the highest degree of government. *Epaminondas* freed Greece from servitude.

The Thebans defend themselves against *Agessilas*, and are revenged on him.

Phabidas and five hundred of his men slaine.

The Thebans having repulsed *Agessilas*, do triumph. *Epaminondas* a good Captain.

A second victory of the Thebans.

All Greece save the Thebans, make peace with the King of Persia.

Epaminondas maketh a notable oration in the defence of his Country right. The Athenians and the Lacedæmonians share the Government betwixt them to keepe Thebes under.

The Thebans raze Platæes and sacke Thebes.

Epaminondas round and sharpe demand to King Agefilas.

Agefilas excludeth the Thebans out of the treaty of peace.

Epaminondas being chiefe Captaine hath six Counsellors for assistants. Oracles of two sorts came to Thebes, and how they were disposed of, or placed. Epaminondas encourageth his souldiers.

side also, made a wonderful and vehement oration in defence of the right of the THEBANS: in so much as this controversie was left undecided, and the Treaty of peace was universally agreed and concluded amongst all the other GREEKES, the THEBANS onely excepted, who were not comprized within the Treaty. So through the motion of Epaminondas, they were bold to withstand the decrees of the rest of GREECE. For the ATHENIANS and LACEDÆMONIANS that many years before had contended for the principality of GREECE, made then division together: so that the one should command by sea, and the other by land. Thus they could not like in one wife, that the THEBANS should aspire to be chief, and therefore they sought to dismember the other Townes of BOEOTIA from the City of THEBES. And the rather for that the THEBANS being strong and lusty of body, and encouraged for that of late they had oftentimes beaten the LACEDÆMONIANS, would strive with them for the superiority of GREECE by land, but especially they had a wonderful confidence in the wisdom and prowesse of their Captains, but specially of Epaminondas. Matters resisting thus doubtful, the Citizens of PLATÆES, a Town of BOEOTIA, desirous to be at league with the ATHENIANS, they sent to request some souldiers of them, promising to put the Towne into their hands. The governors of the Country of BOEOTIA having intelligence of it, desirous to prevent the Garrison of the ATHENIANS, brought a Troope of souldiers against them, and they all came before PLATÆES, before the Townsmen had any knowledge of their coming: in so much that part of them were surpris'd in the fields by the horsemen, and the other fled into the Town. But having no body to aide them, they were compelled to receive and accept such composition as it pleased the THEBANS to grant them: which was, to leave their Town, and to go sately with baggage and baggage, never to returne againe into the Country of BOEOTIA. After this, the THEBANS razed the City of PLATÆES to the ground, and had the sacke of the Town of THEBES, enemy unto them. All the GREEKES solicited againe by the Ambassadors of PERSIA, thought it good to make a general peace, and so assembled the Commissioners of all the Towns at SPARTA. Epaminondas that was yet scarce known, because he loved not to shew himselfe, and in all his exploits of war he had ever preferred the advancement of his great friend and companion in Arms Pelopidas, before himself: yet famous among the GREEKES for his great knowledge and experience, was sent thither by the THEBANS. Epaminondas finding that the other commissioners did lean to Agefilas, began to speak boldly and plainly, and made an oration, not only in the THEBANS behalfe, but for all GREECE also: making them plainly see, that war did still increase the greatnesse of the City of SPARTA onely, and keep all the rest of the Townes of GREECE under. Therefore he gave counsell to all to establish a firme peace indifferently betwixt them, that thereby it might have the longer continuance, when all comprized within the contract should be equals. Agefilas perceiving all the GREEKES assisstant at this assembly, to give very attentive ear unto him, and to be tickled, bearing him speak so freely of peace: he asked him aloud if he thought it just and reasonable, that all the BOEOTIA should be set at liberty. Epaminondas on the other side, did presently and boldly aske him againe, if he thought not also that it was just and reasonable, that all LACONIA should be set at liberty. Thereupon Agefilas in anger stood up on his feet, and commanded him to answer plainly, if they should not restore all the Province of BOEOTIA to her liberty. Epaminondas returned the self same speech again unto him: if they should not also put that of LACONIA in her liberty. This did so anger Agefilas, besides that it did him good to have this colour for an old grudge he bare unto the THEBANS, that forthwith he put the names of the THEBANS out of the list of those that should be comprized within the peace, and immediatly proclaimed open war against them. But this being done had evil successe afterwards, and by reason of the suddaine and rash enterprize of the LACEDÆMONIANS, it turned to their utter overthrow. For the THEBANS, there was no remedy but they must bear the whole brunt alone: for there was not a Towne that durst send them any aide, because they were all agreed and sworn to this peace, in so much as every one thought them utterly cast away and undone. Many pittied their estate, and they that loved them not, rejoiced: they made so full account, that the LACEDÆMONIANS should find nothing that could stand before them.

So the LACEDÆMONIANS made King Cleombrotus march with his Army towards THEBES: and being come neare to CHERONEA with ten thousand footmen and a thousand horse, he pitched his Campe there to stay for the rest of his Allies. The THEBANS having intelligence of the approach of the enemy, chose Epaminondas to be Captaine Generall, giving him charge of this war, with six other Counsellors, whom they call Baotarches, as who would say, Governors of BOEOTIA, to be of his counsell, and to assist him. Now there came Oracles to the THEBANS from all parts: some promising victory, others threatening overthrow. He commanded them to set those on the right hand of the chaire for Orations, that promised victory: and those that threatened overthrow, on the left hand. They being thus disposed of, he got up to the chaire for Orations, and said to the THEBANS: If you will be obedient to your Capitaines, and courageous of heart to encounter your enemies, these here (shewing the good Oracles on the right hand) are yours: but if for faint hearts you refuse danger, those there (shewing the bad on the left hand) shall be for you. Thereupon encouraging all the THEBANS names that were of age to bear Armes, and of some parts of BOEOTIA those that he thought fittest for wars: word was brought him that a very honest and valiant man of his person died in his bed. O Hercules, said he, what had this man leisure to dye in all these troubles? His presence rejoiced, and made all his Army lively: also all the time he was Captaine of the THEBANS, they never saw any of these terrors happen in this Campe without manifest cause, which they call

call suddaine feares. He was wont to say, that there was no death more honest then to die in the wars: and that the body of a souldier should not onely be kept in exercise like the Champions that fight for mattery, but rather more hardened to endure any labour or paines meet for a good souldier. And therefore he could not abide very fat men, but cashiered a whole band of them for that cause onely: saying, that scarce three or foure targets could cover so great a belly, as did keep him that he could not see his own privities. So he drew his Army out of THEBES, having in all but six thousand fighting men. Even as they were marching away out of THEBES, divers of the souldiers thought they had had many unlucky signes. For as they were going out of the Gates, Epaminondas met on his way a Herald, that following an ancient ceremony and custome of theirs, brought an old blinde man as if he had been runne away, and the Herald crying out aloud, Bring him not out of THEBES, nor put him not to death, but carry him back again, and save his life. The old men took this meeting and cry for an evil sign: but the young men kept silence, and spake never a word, for fear it should be thought that their hearts failing them, they would seek to dissuade Epaminondas from going the journey he had undertaken. And he himself, unto some that made bold to tell him, that it were well done before he went any further, to consider first what successe the flying of the birds did promise unto him, answered in this verse of Homer.

It is a happy signe, to fight for his Country.

Such a present and franke resolution stopped the mouths of all those that were not very constant. But there happened yet another signe worse then the first. For there went a Secretary before him carrying a javeling, unto the which was tyed a scroll, to make the souldiers know that they should do what the General commanded them. The wind rose and blew of this scroll and carried it away, tiding it upon the square pillar that stood upon a Tombe of certain LACEDÆMONIANS, and PELOPONNESIANS that had been slain in that place when Agefilas brought his Army thither. All there came againe certaine old men unto him to speake with him perswading and protesting that he ought not to go any further with his Army, since the gods were so manifestly against it. All this notwithstanding he never ceased to march with his Campe, thinking that the conscience and resolution to fight in a good cause, ought to be much stronger and of more force to put him in good hope, then these evil signs that appeared, to make him mistrust the worst. And as in marching to meet with the LACEDÆMONIANS they heard it thunder: they that were neare unto him, asked him, what that thunder meant? That, said he, betokeneth that the enemies braines are troubled and astonished: seeing they having hard by them so commodious places, to Campe in, they now lye encamped where they are. Indeed they halted, staying for divers of their Allies that came not: all of them having at better leisure considered of the discourse Epaminondas made in SPARTA in open assembly of all the Commissioners of every Towne, against the ambition of the LACEDÆMONIANS. Epaminondas therefore applying to good purpose at that time all the goodly discourse he had learned by the study of Philosophy, for the present time the common people blamed him much: but after the fortunate successe of his intention, every man then judged him to be a man ripely understanding the duty of a wise and valiant Chieftaine of warre. For making his Army march with speed, he wanne the straights hard by the City of CORONEA, and Camped there. Cleombrotus on the other side, understanding that the THEBANS had gainted that passage, despairing he could not passe that way, made his Army go a great compass about the Country of PHOCIDE: and marching along the sea side in a very troublous and dangerous way, at the last he pierced into the Country of BOEOTIA without any danger. And as he went also he robbed in little Townes, and certaine Gallies that lay along that coast, and in the end arrived at LEUCTRES: and there sate downe to refresh his men a little, over-wearied with travell in their journey. The BOEOTIANS marched presently that way to meet with them, and so passing over some little mountaines, they discovered them in the plaine of LEUCTRES, which did amaze them, seeing so great an Army.

The Baotarches thereupon came together to consult whether they should go forward, and to fight one against many: or else retire, and finde out some better place of advantage. In this Counsell their opinions fell out to be equal: for three of them thought it good to retire: the other three with Epaminondas, said, they must tarry and fight. So the conclusion of this counsell being doubtful, and the Baotarches disagreeing, Pelopidas Captaine of the holy band came to them, who was of the second opinion: so that they all agreed together to put it to the hazard of battell. But Epaminondas seeing their souldiers afraid through the superstition of these signes, devising by some like remedy to put this mistrust out of their heads: to bring this to passe, some being newly come from THEBES, he willed them to say and give it out every where, that no man could tell at THEBES what was become of the Armes that hung up in Hercules Temple: but that the voice was all the Towne over, that the ancient demigods their ancestors had come and taken them away, for the aide of their descendants at this present time. He suborned another also, that gave it out he was newly come from Trophonius truncke or hole, and that the god which giveth the Oracles in the same, commanded him to tell the BOEOTIANS that after they had overcome their enemies in the plaine of LEUCTRES, they should celebrate yearly playes in the honour of Jupiter. And thereof it came that the BOEOTIANS long time after that did yearly celebrate a feast, which is made in LEBADIA. Now to end the painting of this artificiall device, Leandrus a SPARTAN, being a banished man out of his Country, and fighting at that time for the BOEOTIANS, being

Epaminondas winneth credit in the end.

Cleombrotus King of the Lacedæmonians, retireth cowardly.

Co uncill and consultation is to be used in War.

The policy of Epaminondas to put away superstitious feare.

being brought before the souldiers, whom they encouraged to fight like men the day of the battell: he did sweare unto them that the LACEDÆMONIANS had an ancient Oracle, that said they should lose their principality, when they should be overcome by the THEBANS in a pitched field, in the plaine of LEUCTRES. It is true indeed that the LACEDÆMONIANS had had many Oracles and forewarnings to bid them beware of the anger of LEUCTRES: but the common people understood not what this warning meant, but were deceived by the equivocation of the word: for that there were three LEUCTRES: to wit, in LACONIA, ARCADIA, and BOEOTIA. Howbeit, the vision of Pelopidas, whereof is made large mention in his life, and the sacrifice he made of the young Filly that came into his Campe, confirmed all the former inventions, and made them bold that were most discouraged. Adding withall, that Epaminondas having assembled all his Army, beganne to encourage them with these strong and lively reasons to shew their valour: inasmuch, that being freed from this superstitious feare, they longed for nothing more then to come to blowes. Epaminondas ever concluded all his Orations in this manner: O worthy men, embrace sacred death, advancing your selves to the most honourable and famous fight for your Country, for the Tombs of your Ancestors, and for the holy things. Even at the same time came to the THEBANS an aide of five hundred horse, and fiftene hundred footmen THESSALIANS, conducted by Jason, who practised with both sides to make peace for certaine dayes, telling them he was not wise that feared not the events. Some judge it was not at that time that Jason travelled betwene them both, but rather it was after the journey of LEUCTRES. Howbeit, I have followed that which Diodorus the SICILIAN writeth, as a thing most likely. Now as Cleombrotus retired with his Army out of BOEOTIA, he met with a great supply of naturall LACEDÆMONIANS, and some of their Allies, brought to him by Archidamus, Agesilaus sonne. The LACEDÆMONIANS seeing the THEBANS so resolute, and fearing their desperate boldnesse: sent these two Troops the easilier to daunt the courage of their enemies. These two being joyned together they were ashamed to be afraid of the BOEOTIANS, and whether it was that the truce taken was neare expired, or that they forced not of it, they returned on the suddaine againe into the plaine of LEUCTRES fully bent to fight. The BOEOTIANS also for their part shrunke not an inch backe, and so on both sides they set their men in order of battell. For Epaminondas, he set his battell after a new fashion, never before shewed by any other Captaine. For having chosen out of his Army the best men and valiantest souldiers he had, he placed them together in one of the points of his battell, where he should be himselfe and fight in person, seconded with Pelopidas, with his three hundred chosen men, called the holy band: and in the other corner he placed his weaker men, commanding them expressly not to abide the charge of the enemies that should come to assaile them in front, but faire and softly to retire when they saw them come neare them. So the matter fell out as he wished: and he hoped to determine the battell by the vertue and prowesse of that point where he had placed all the flower and choise of his Army.

Now the signe to fight being given, the LACEDÆMONIANS marched of even hand with the two horns of their battell, ordered in forme of a Cressant. On the contrary part, one of the Wings of the battell of the BOEOTIANS beganne to give backe, and the other with great fury ranne to charge the enemy in the flank: straight they were both come to the sword together. And at the first, because either side fought very desperately, the victory was doubtfull for a certaine time: but at the length Epaminondas Troopes brake in amongst the LACEDÆMONIANS, and killed the most part of them that were about King Cleombrotus. So long as the King was alive, he kept backe the THEBANS from victory, because he was accompanied with all the most valiant men of his Army, valiantly fighting about him. But after he fell downe dead on the ground, having received an infinite number of wounds, and stricken downe many of his enemies: then they thronged together on all sides, and there was a cruell fight about his body, where there were heapes of mens bodies slaine one upon another. And although Epaminondas did sharply follow this point, yet the LACEDÆMONIANS made such resistance at the last, that they did a little repulse the BOEOTIANS and cleared the body of their King out of the presse and multitude: but that held not long. For Epaminondas through his persuasions did so lift up the hearts and courage of his men, that they gave a second and so fierce a charge upon them, that they wholly overthrew the LACEDÆMONIANS, and made them flie for life. Then Epaminondas fiercely pursuing the flying enemies, made great slaughter, and wanne one of the most glorious victories that ever Captaine did: having in a pitched field overcome the most noble and warlike Nation of all GREECE, with a farre smaller number of men then his enemies had. Also he rooke more glory of that above all his other exploits, and specially because it hapned unto him in his father Polymnis life time. And oftentimes he had these words up in his mouth: that of all the honest and happy fortunes that ever chanced unto him, nothing joyed his heart more, then that he vanquished the LACEDÆMONIANS at the battell of LEUCTRES, his father and mother that begat him being both alive. And to say truly, he that day preserved the life of his father and mother, and of his whole Country besides: for the LACEDÆMONIANS were fully resolved utterly to destroy the THEBANS. Now heiving at all other times to shew himselfe amongst them, fine and neat, with a pleasant countenance: the next day after

How Epaminondas concluded his orations. Jason aideth the Thebans with five hundred horse and fifteen hundred footmen. A supply sent to Cleombrotus.

Epaminondas setteth his battell after a new fashion.

King Cleombrotus slaine.

Epaminondas overcometh the Lacedæmonians.

after the battell at LEUCTRES he came out openly very sad, heavy and pensive. Whereupon his friends asked him presently if he had heard any evil newes, or some misfortune had happened to him. None, said he, but I perceived by my selfe yesterday, that overjoyed with the victory that I obtained, I lift up my selfe more then became me: and therefore to day I correct this joy, which yesterday was too exceeding in me. He knowing that it was the manner of the SPARTANS to hide and cover (as well as they could possible) all such misfortunes: desirous openly to expresse and shew the greatnesse of the losse they had sustained, he would not suffer them to carry away their dead bodies by great all together, but every City one after another: and so by this meanes it appeared that there were above thousand LACEDÆMONIANS slaine. Some make the number of the dead to be greater, and say they were foure thousand naturall LACEDÆMONIANS, but that must be understood of them and their Allies: and of the BOEOTIANS, there were not above three hundred or thereabouts found dead. This battell of LEUCTRES was stricken at the beginning of the second year of the hundred and second Olympiade.

The LACEDÆMONIANS having at that battell lost the greatest part of their honour and greatnesse, which men had seene before in their estate, lost not their courage for all this: but to keepe their youth still in heart, and to take away all feare which had possessed them that had escaped from this overthrow, Agesilaus entred ARCADIA with an Army, and was contented to take a small Towne of the MANTINEANS, and to prey and spoile the Country: which done, he returned home againe. Some thinke that this was the cause that brought Epaminondas into LACONIA. Othersome report it otherwise, and say that Agesilaus would not suffer the MANTINEANS to re-edifie their City. And there be that are of another opinion, which is: that Lycomedes Captaine of the ARCADIANS having made a rode hard to ORCHOMENE, he slew upon an encounter Polytropus Captaine of the LACEDÆMONIANS, and had two hundred SPARTANS with him, his purpose being to winne ORCHOMENE: and there upon they finding themselves too weake to stand against the LACEDÆMONIANS, they sought the alliance and aide of the THEBANS. Howsoever it was, the LACEDÆMONIANS and ARCADIANS being enemies, by reason of their chiefe City of MANTINEA: that was the cause the THEBANS joyned with the ARCADIANS, and being followed with their Allies, led by Epaminondas, they entred into LACONIA with an Army of fourty thousand men of warre, and with thirty thousand others that followed the Campe. The ATHENIANS sent Iphicrates Captaine with twelve thousand men to aide the SPARTANS: but before his coming Epaminondas entred into LACONIA in divers places, and sacked all the whole Country, which had not been laid wait by an enemy in fixe hundred yeares space before, when the DORIANS came to inhabit there. The SPARTANS seeing their Country waited and destroyed before their eyes, were desirous to go out with all the force they could make: but Agesilaus would not suffer them, telling them how dangerous it was to leave the City, to set upon such a mighty enemy. So they were quiet, and Epaminondas in the meane space descended the mountaine Taugete with his Army, towards the River of Eurotas, the which at that time was risen very high by reason of the Winter. He sought what he could to draw Agesilaus to fight, who beholding Epaminondas a great while, marching in battell ray alongst the River side at the head of his Troopes: he wondred at his boldnesse and valour, but would by no meanes come out of his fort. Inasmuch as after this Army had preyed and foraged all LACONIA, Epaminondas led them backe againe laden with booty. And though Agesilaus had wonne himselfe great honour for his wisdom, in looking to the safety of his City: yet Epaminondas had made his Country so poor with the former losses sustained, especially at the overthrow at LEUCTRES: that SPARTA could never afterwards recover that losse againe, nor grow into that reputation and power it had before. Furthermore, notwithstanding all the aide of the ATHENIANS, and the experience of Iphicrates, Epaminondas returned with his whole Army as he came. And the more to keepe the LACEDÆMONIANS still under their feete, and to heape new troubles upon them: he gave counsell to the ARCADIANS and other their Allies, to re-edifie and replenish the City of MESSINA with new inhabitants again, which the LACEDÆMONIANS had long before that destroyed. All the whole counsel giving their consents unto it, he made diligent inquiry forthwith to seek out all those that till that time had been ancient inhabitants in MESSINA: and in the space of fourescore and five dayes having re-edified the ruined houses, he set on foote againe one of the noblest and most ancient Cities of GREECE, and left there a strong Garrison: for the which he was as much esteemed and rather more then for any other service he had ever done.

The LACEDÆMONIANS being lightened of a marvellous great feare, made an agreement with the ATHENIANS, and left them the chiefe command by sea, reserving to themselves that by land. Afterwards through the aide of the ATHENIANS, and the supply that was sent unto them out of SICILIA, they wanne their Townes againe by little and little. The ARCADIANS to stop their course, assaulted the City of PALLENE in LACONIA, put all the garrison there to the sword, razed the Towne, and preyed on all the Country thereabout: and doubting that the LACEDÆMONIANS would be revenged, they prayed aide of the THEBANS, who sent Epaminondas thither and the other Boeotarches, with six thousand foot men, and five hundred horse. The ATHENIANS having intelligence thereof, sent their Army before under the leading of Chabrias, who marched directly to CORINTH, and there had supply of souldiers of the MEGARIANS, PALLONIANS, and

The Lacedæmonians policy to keep their youth in good courage.

Sparta impoverished and decayed.

Epaminondas causeth Messina to be repaired and peopled.

The Lacedæmonians fortifie the passages into Peloponnesus, from sea to sea.

Epaminondas entereth into Peloponnesus by force of armes

Epaminondas overcame the Corinthians.

Chabrias a valiant Capitaine.

Epaminondas spared the lives of his enemies.

Ease and idleness undo a Country.

and CORINTHIANS; so that he had made up a Regiment of ten thousand men. And afterwards the Army of the LACEDÆMONIANS and of their Allies, being arrived at the very place of CORINTH, they made all together the number of twenty thousand fighting men. So they determined to repaire and fortifie all the passages and entrances into the Country of PELOPONNESUS, to stop the passage of the BOEOTIANS. And beginning from the City of CENCREES unto the haven of LECHUM, they shut and blocked up all the wayes from the one sea to the other, with mighty great peeces of timber a crosse, and with a marvellous deepe ditch. And this great peece of worke was followed with such speed, both by meanes of the great multitude of people, as also through the goodwill of those that laboured it hard: that they had finished and done all before the BOEOTIANS could arrive there. Epaminondas at his coming having diligently viewed and considered this fortification, perceived that the easiest way to be forced, was that which the LACEDÆMONIANS themselves kept. So he sent to give them defiance, though they were thrice as many men in number as his own. For all this that they had the defiance, they durst not come out, but kept them close under this fortification, which receiving certaine assaults, they were repulsed. Now all of them doing their best endeavour, being occupied, some assailing, other defending, Epaminondas chose out the best men in all his Army, and lustily charging the guard of the LACEDÆMONIANS enforced them to give him way, and in despite of them he entered into PELOPONNESUS, which was a wonderful and memorable exploit of all others. From thence he marched towards the Cities of EPIDAUROS and TROEZEN, and so forraged all the Country: howbeit he could take none of the Townes, because they were defended with strong Garrisons. Nevertheless he put SICYONE, PHEUNTE, and some other Townes in such feare, that they yielded themselves unto him. That being done, he went to CORINTH, and there overcame the CORINTHIANS in a set battell, and beate them home fighting even to the walls of their City. There were some of his men so rash, and presuming of their valour, that they entered hand over head with those that fled, even within the Gates of their City: which put the CORINTHIANS in such a terrible feare, that they ranne with all speed possible to get their houses over their heads. Chabrias beate them out againe, and killed some of them. Whereupon he caused a token of triumph to be set up, as if it had been an overthrow. Epaminondas laughing him to scorne for it, said he should not call it a Trophée, or token of triumph, but rather *Hecatestes*, as one would say, a statue of *Proserpina*: because in time past they commonly set this image of *Proserpina* at the first Gallows they found before the Gate of any City. The BOEOTIANS therefore came on with their battell as neare unto CORINTH as they could, and Chabrias with his Troops Camped without in a very strong place of advantage for him: so there were many skirmishes between them, in the which Chabrias shewed such valour, that he won great fame and reputation even of Epaminondas himselfe. Who being asked on a time whom he thought the greatest Capitaine, himselfe, Chabrias, or *Iphicrates*: It is hard to judge, said he, whilst we are all alive. Another brought him word that the ATHENIANS had sent an Army againe into PELOPONNESUS, furnished with new Armors. Well, answered he, doth *Antigenidas* weep when he knoweth that *Tellin* hath new Flutes? This *Tellin* was a very bad player of the Flute, and *Antigenidas* excellent good and skilfull. Touching the supply of this Army, they were ten thousand SPANIARDS and GAULES, whom *Dionysius* the Tyrant sent out of SICILIA to aide the LACEDÆMONIANS, having paid them for five moneths. They had served reasonably well in this war, and so in the end of Summer returned home againe.

Now it fortuned in these last encounters, that Epaminondas having forced the LACEDÆMONIANS that stood to the defence of the fortification above mentioned, and having them in his power to have slaughtered a great number of them at his will: he contented himselfe onely with his glory, that in despite of them he had entered into PELOPONNESUS, and fought to do them no more hurt: which gave those occasion that did envy his glory to blame him, and to accuse him of treason, as having willingly spared the enemies, because they should particularly thanke him onely. But now that we have begunne to speake of this matter, we must see how he behaved himselfe among his Citizens, and the wisdom he used in defence of his integrity. Among all those that could not endure the glory of his vertues, was *Menecides* the Oratour, and eloquent man, but withall most wicked and malicious. He finding that Epaminondas wanne such honour by warres, never left perswading the THEBANS to embrace peace, and to preferre it before warre: because they should not live always under the obedience and command of one man. Epaminondas told him one day in open counsell: Thou wilt deceive the THEBANS, going about to counsell them to leave warres: and highly commending ease, thou goest about to put iron bolts upon their feet. For warre begeth peace, the which cannot hold long but among those that know how to seeke and keepe it with the edge of the sword. Then speaking to the Citizens: If ye will have the principality and command of all GRECE, before all others: you must shrowd your selves in your Tents and Pavilions in the open field, and not follow Games and Wrestlings here at home. Also he knew well enough that the BOEOTIANS spoiled and undid themselves by ease and idleness: which was the cause that he constantly bare this minde to keep them continually in warres. Whereupon when time came that they fell to choosing of Captaines, and that they went about to chuse him *Baeotarche*: he said to the Citizens: My masters, I pray you consider of it, now you are at leisure, before you chuse me: for I tell you plainly, if I be chosen your Capitaine, you must to the warres. He called the Country of BOEOTIA, which is all plaine Champion, the scaffold of war: saying it was impossible to keep it, unless the inhabitants had their Targets on their armes, and their swords in their hands.

hands. This was not because he did not love peace, and solitarie to study Philosophy, and that he was not more fearful of them he had in his charge then for himselfe, using alwayes to watch and forbear his meat, when the THEBANS were at their banquets and feasts giving themselves to all pleasure: but he knew them well enough, and he was never more careful of any thing, then to keep his Army from idleness. For on a time the ARCADIANs intreating that his troopes might enter into one of their Towns, to lie dry there in covert all the Winter, he would by no means yeeld to it. For now (said he to his souldiers) that they see you exercise your selves in Arms, they wonder at you as brave and valiant souldiers: but if they should see you at the fire side parching of Beans, they would esteeme no better of you then of themselves. No more could he endure covetousnesse: for if sometime he gave his men leave to go a booting, his meaning was, that whatsoever they got should be bestowed in furnishing of Armes. For if any man went about to fill his purse with money, he thought him unworthy to be a souldier. As on a time when he perceived that his Target-bearer had received a great sum of money for the ranome of a prisoner, he said unto him: Give me my Target, and go thou thy wayes, and buy thee a Taverne to lead the rest of thy life there: for I perceive thou wilt no more like an honest man put thy selfe in danger in the wars, as before thou hast done, because thou art now rich and wealthy. Now Epaminondas being such a one as you have heard, *Menecides* notwithstanding would never cease controuling of him: and one day he went so far as to reproach him that he had no children, that he was not married, and that he magnified himselfe more then ever King *Agamemnon* had done. Epaminondas answered him, thou hast nothing to do to counsell me to marry: for in that respect there is never a man here in all this counsell whom I would lesse use then thou. And this he spake, because the other was suspected to be an adulterer. And where thou thinkest that I do envy the glory and fame of *Agamemnon*, thou art foully deceived: yet I tell thee he was not a little troubled to win a Town in ten years: where I to the contrary putting the LACEDÆMONIANS to flight in one day, have delivered our City and all GRECE from them. But thanks be to you, my Lord THEBANS (speaking to all the whole assembly) through you I did it, and overthrew and ruined the power and government of our enemies. Nevertheless, *Pelopidas* and he were very civil recompensed for this good service of theirs: for at their returne from LACONIA, they with some other of the *Baeotarches* were accused, for that after the time of their charge and government was expired, they had kept it foure moneths beyond the time the law had appointed them. With much ado *Pelopidas* was absolved: but Epaminondas willed his companions to lay all the fault upon him, as being forced unto it by his authority: and that for his part his words could be no better this deeds. So upon this he being called before the Judges, and after he had justified that he had passed the time limited of his authority: in stead of excusing himselfe, he went and told bravely his worthy exploits he had done in this journey at that time: adding withall, that he was willing and ready to die, so they caused his condemnation to be written upon the pillar of his Tombe, to the end the GREKES should understand that they had put Epaminondas to death, because he had compelled the THEBANS, against their wills to burn the Country of LACONIA, the which in five hundred years before had never once been spoiled: that he had restored the City of MESSINA with inhabitants againe, two hundred and thirty years after the LACEDÆMONIANS had laid it wast: that he had brought all the people and Towns of ARCADIA to be as one body in league together, and had set all the GREKES at liberty: and all these things, said he, we did in our journey. The Judges understanding this worthy and true defence, they all rose from their seats and laughed a good, and would never take their bals to ballot against him.

But as for his second accusation, that he had shewed favour unto the LACEDÆMONIANS for his own particular honour, he would make no answer before the people of THEBES to this false imputation, but he rose out of the Theater, and passing through the assembly walked into the parke of exercises. The people being in uproare against him, made no choise of him againe as they were wont to do, although there was no great need: but created other *Baeotarches* to go into THESSALY. And the more (as they thought) to despise Epaminondas, they commanded him to go that voyage as a private souldier: the which he refused not, but went very willingly, and upon this occasion. *Pelopidas* being sent the second time into THESSALY, to make accord betwixt the people and *Alexander* the Tyrant of PHERES, was by this Tyrant (not suspecting the dignity of an Ambassador, nor of his Country) made prisoner with *Ismenias*. Whereupon the THEBANS being justly offended, sent thither an Army of eight thousand footmen, and five hundred horse, howbeit under the leading of unskilfull Captaines, who wanting judgement to use the time, thought it good to returne home againe without doing any thing. But as they went their way, *Alexander* being stronger in horsemen then they, followed them, and gave charge upon the Reare, killed some, and grievously wounded others. So they knowing neither how to go forward nor backward, were in great distresse, and the rather because their victuals fell shorter every day then other. But being now almost out of all hope to retire home with safety, Epaminondas being then amongst the foote, was earnestly intreated by the souldiers and Captaines to helpe to redresse this disorder. Thereupon he chose certaine footmen light armed, and all the horsemen, and so falling himselfe amongst them in the reaward of the Army, he so lustily repulsed the enemies, that the rest of the Army afterwards marched in great safety: and did so well, fighting at times, making head as occasion served, and keeping his Troopes in so good order, that he brought them all away safe. This act crowned him with a new glory, confounded his enemies, and won him great honour every where, besides the love and good will of his Citizens: who set great fines upon their Captaines, because they

Epaminondas careful to keep his Army from idleness.

Epaminondas refuseth to answer to a false reputation.

Pelopidas imprisoned.

Epaminondas
chosen Captain
General for
Thebely.

Epaminondas
prefereth the
safety of his
friend before
his own repu-
tation.

Epaminondas
delivereth Pe-
lopidas out of
prison.

The modera-
tion and tem-
perance of E-
paminondas.

Eloquence
commendable
in a Captaine.

they had behaved themselves so evil in this journey. Again, the people seeing that by so many worthy deeds Epaminondas razed out all the slanders and accusations which his evil willers had vomited out against him: they chose him anew their Captain General, to returne into THESSALY with another Army. At whose coming all the Countrey straight rejoiced for the reputation of so great and famous a Captaine, and there wanted little even to breake this Tyrants necke altogether, his friends and Captaines stood in such fear, and his subjects in good mind to rebell, and very joyfull for the hope they had shortly to see the Tyrant at one blow well recompensed for all his cursed and wicked deeds he had done long before. Nevertheless Epaminondas setting aside the consideration of his honour and glory, in respect of the deliverance and safety of his friend Pelopidas, and being afraid that Alexander, when he should see his estate in danger to be overthrowne, would take revenge in his madnesse upon Pelopidas: he purposely drew his warre in length, wheeling about in every place, refraining to set on him in earnest, dissembling to make his preparations, and still delaying, because he would prepare and soften the heart of this Tyrant by this device, not to leave him too much to his bold unbridled will, neither to stirre up (to the danger of Pelopidas) the sharpe and inhumane anger of this blood-sucker. Who being a Monster, compounded of cruelty and cowardice, was so afraid onely of the name and reputation of Epaminondas, and hanging the Wing, as they say: that he presently sent men unto him to excuse and justifie him. But Epaminondas would not that the THEBANS through his slacknesse should make peace and alliance with so wicked a man, but only he was contented to take a truce with him for thirty dayes, taking Pelopidas and Ismenias out of his hands. So with them he returned backe againe to THEBES, and alwayes continued faithfull friendship with Pelopidas, refusing ever to have any part of his goods, but did still persevere in his wonted simplicitie and discipline. Now speaking of this friendship, they report that Epaminondas having committed a man of base condition for some light fault to prison, Pelopidas prayed him to set the poore man at liberty, but he denied him: and yet afterward being intreated by a woman he kept, he did it at her request, saying that harlots were to be granted such requests, not Captaines.

This boldnesse he shewed in all places, and to all men yet mingled with a great sweetnesse, and with a good lively grace: whereof we will bring many examples, besides that he spake at SPARTA against the LACEDÆMONIANS and Agesilaus, in the presence of all the Commissioners of GREECE. The ARGIAHS having made league with the THEBANS, the ATHENIANS sent their Ambassadors into ARCADIA, to see if they could gaine the ARCADIAHS to be their friends. So these Ambassadors began roundly and hotely to charge and accuse both the one and the other: in-somuch as Callistratus speaking for them, reproved the other two Cities ORESTES and OEDIPUS. Epaminondas being present at that assembly of counsell, stood up, and said: My Lords, we confesse that in times past we had a man that killed his father in our City, and in ARGOS one that killed his mother: but for us, we have driven out of our Countrey, and banished all such wicked murderers, and the ATHENIANS have received them both. And to the SPARTANS that had laid many great and grievous imputations upon the THEBANS: If they have done nothing else, my Lords of SPARTA, answered Epaminondas, yet at the least they have made you forget to speake little. The ATHENIANS had made league with Alexander the Tyrant of PHAGES, mortal enemy of the THEBANS, who promised the THEBANS that he would let them have a pound of flesh for an halfe peny. Epaminondas hearing of it, Well said he, and we will finde them wood that shall cost them nothing to seech this flesh withall: for we will go sell and cut downe all the Trees they have in their Countrey, if they go about to make any alteration other then good. So when he went into THESSALY, and brought backe Pelopidas againe, the ATHENIANS made no great stir against him: and the tyrant that promised flesh so good cheap, had much ado at that time to keep his skin whole. But afterwards he had his payment, as you may read in the latter end of Pelopidas life. But that which did excell in Epaminondas, and did cut the throat of envy it self, was his moderation and temperance, knowing how to use any state or condition offered him, and never to rage against himselfe nor others, always bearing this mind, that howsoever they took him, and in what place soever they set him, he was well contented, and all for the good of his Countrey: for proof whereof I will shew you this example. His evil willers on a time thinking to bring him in disgrace, as they say, for spite they made him superintendent and over-seer of all the customes, whilst others his inferiors, unworthy to be compared to him, were placed in the most honorable offices. This notwithstanding he despised not this office, but did discharge it very faithfully: for, said he, office or authority sheweth not onely what the man is, but also the man what the office is.

But now further: shortly after Epaminondas returne out of THESSALY, the ARCADIAHS were overcome by Archidamus and the LACEDÆMONIANS, and they lost not a man: and therefore this dayes journey was called for them, the tearelesse battell. Epaminondas foreseeing that the ARCADIAHS should yet have a storme, gave them counsell to fortifie themselves: whose counsell they following, they built the Towne which afterwards was called MEGALIPOLIS, situated in a very convenient place. Whilst they made warre with the ELIAHS their neighbours, Epaminondas heart never fainted, but his mind was alwayes given to high enterprises for the good of his Countrey; where being respected and honoured above all others, he made an oration unto his Citizens, perswading them to make themselves strong by sea, and to attend the conquest of the principality, making themselves Lords of it. This oration of his had been long thought of before, being full of lively reasons, which did shew and prove unto them that the enterprife was both honourable and profitable, as well

as well by other Arguments he alledged, as also for that he told them it was an easie thing for them that were now the stronger by Land, to make themselves also the strongest by Sea: and the rather for that the ATHENIANS in the Warre against Xerxes, notwithstanding that they had armed and set forth two hundred Gallies well appointed with men, they nevertheless willingly submitted themselves unto the LACEDÆMONIANS. So alledging many other reasons to this purpose, he prevailed so much, that the THEBANS inclined to undertake the Enterprife by Sea. Thereupon the People gave present order they should build a hundred Gallies, and withall an Arsenall with so many Roomes to lay them under covert in the Docke: and that they should send to them of RHODES, of CHIO, and of BYZANCE, to pray them to further them in this Enterprife. And for this purpose Epaminondas was sent with an Army unto these Cities: So in this course he met with Laches, a Captaine of the ATHENIANS, and a good number of Ships in his Fleete, sent of purpose to hinder the intention of the THEBANS. Norwithstanding, Epaminondas made him so afraid, that he drave him backe againe: and he holding on his Voyage, brought the Cities before named to make league with the THEBANS, who on the other side were at Warre with the City of ORCHOMENE, which had done great hurt and mischief in their Estate. So they having won it by assault, they slew every man that was able to beare Armes, and moreover made all the Women and Children Slaves.

Sometime after Pelopidas death, certaine private men of MANTINEA, fearing to be called to account for their bad behaviours and robberies they had done, if the ARCADIAHS and ELIAHS fell to agreement: they practised so, that they raised up a new quarrell within the Countrey divided into two Factions, of the which the MANTINEANS were chiefe of the one side, and the TEGEATES on the other part. This quarrell went so far, that the Parties would try it by Armes. The TEGEATES, they sent to demand aide of the THEBANS, who chose Epaminondas their Captaine-Generall, and sent him with a good number of men of Warre to aide the TEGEATES. The MANTINEANS astonished at this aide coming out of BOEOTIA to their Enemies, and at the reputation of this Captain: they immediately sent unto the ATHENIANS and LACEDÆMONIANS, the greatest Enemies of the BOEOTIANS for aide, which both the Cities granted. Whereupon there fell out often many great Skirmishes in divers parts of PELOPONNESUS. Epaminondas being not far off MANTINEA, understood by the same Countreymen, that Agesilaus and the LACEDÆMONIANS were come into the Field, and that they waited all the Territory of the TEGEATES.

Whereupon imagining straight that there were few men left in the City of SPARTA to defend it, he went about a great exploit, and a wonderful Stratageme of a man of Warre: and had brought it to passe, if the marvellous great good Fortune of SPARTA had not hindered it. So he departed from TEGEA by night, the MANTINEANS knowing nothing of it, and taking another way then Agesilaus, he had taken SPARTA without one stroke stricken, but for a Post of CANDIA that with speed brought Agesilaus word of it: who forthwith sent out a Horseman to give them intelligence that were left at SPARTA, that they should beware they were not surprised upon the sudden: and he himselfe came speedily after, and arrived there a little before the THEBANS coming thither: who being very neare the City by breake of day, gave assault to them that were within to defend the Towne. Then Agesilaus belittred him throughly, beyond the power of an old man. But his Sonne Archidamus, and Isadas the Sonne of Phabidas, fought valiantly on all parts. Epaminondas seeing the SPARTANS in order of Battell, began then to mistrust that his Enterprife was discovered. This notwithstanding, he left not off to force them all he could, albeit he fought with great disadvantage for the inconvenience of the places he occupied: and continued alwaies courageously doing and receiving hurt, untill the Army of the LACEDÆMONIANS came on, and the night also: whereupon he made them sound the Retraite. Now he being advertized that the MANTINEANS came on also with their Forces, he drew his Troopes somewhat further off the Towne, and there camped. After that he caused his men to refresh themselves with Victuals, and having left certaine Horsemen in the Campe, he commanded them to make Fires in the morning, and he himselfe went in the meane space, to surprise those that remained at MANTINEA before any man with he was gone. Nevertheless he failed of his purpose, albeit he had forethought him of all misfortunes that any man possible could have considered in so weighty a Cause. But the prosperity of the THEBANS was come to his height, and the course of Epaminondas life drawing neare to an end, would very shortly deprive GREECE of this noble and famous Person, from whom was taken a most notable Victory, and that twice, by a most strange accident. For at this second time, when he was neare unto MANTINEA, left without guard and defence; on the other side of the Towne there arrived six thousand ATHENIANS led by their Captaine Hegeltem: who having put sufficient force into the Towne, he ordered all the rest in Battell without the Towne-walls, as though he meant to have fought a Field: and immediately after them came also the LACEDÆMONIANS and MANTINEANS together, who prepared themselves to put all to the hazard of a Battell, and therefore sent for their Allies out of all parts. They were in all five and twenty thousand Footmen, and two thousand Horse. The ARCADIAHS, BOEOTIANS, and their partakers, made the number of thirty thousand Footmen and above, and three thousand Horse. First the Horsemen charged with so great fury as was possible, in-somuch as the Horsemen of the ATHENIANS finding the THEBANS in Front, were the weaker: not because they were lesse valiant and hardy then the other, but because they had not so good Leaders, and had few Archers amongst their Troopes. The THEBANS on the other side they were well appointed, and specially of THESS-

A new quarrell
berwix: the
Mantineans and
the TEGEATES.

A wonderful
Stratageme
enterprised by
Epaminondas.

The Thebans
prosperity
come to the
height.

THE LIFE OF PHILIP of MACEDON.

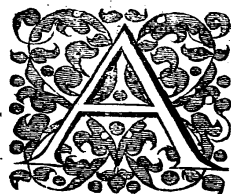


Ann. Mund.
3580.

Ant. Christ.
360.

Philip: that wisdom booteth not at all,
which scorning justice, hopes to clime on high.
Let Princes that behold thy suddain fall,
Love right and meeknesse, lest like thee they die.

Philip's Pedo.
grec.



Philip an
hostage of
Peace with
thirty others.

Myntas, the Second of that Name, and seventeenth King of MACEDON, of the Race of Temenides or Caranides, descended from Hercules, and that reigned foure hundred and ninety eight yeares, reckoning from Caranus unto Antipater, in whom began another Race: he had three Sonnes by his first Wife called Eurydice, borne in ILLYRIA: to wit, Alexander, Perdiccas, and Philip. Alexander having succeeded his Father, reigned but one yeare, during which time he made Warre with his base Brother Ptolomeus Alorites. But to appease the strife betwixt them, they sent for Pelopidas, who was at that time in THESSALIE. He tooke up all their quarrels, restored those that were banished unto their houses, and (because this Peace should be more surely kept) he tooke of them for hostages, Philip, and thirty other of the noblest mens Sonnes in MACEDON, and brought them all away with him to THEBES. Now during the time that Perdiccas reigned, which was the space of five yeares, Philip kept at Pammenes house, with whom Epaminondas was very great: and hereof it came, that some thought Philip was a hearer of Lyfis Epaminondas Schoole-master, and that they conferred together in Philosophy. Howbeit Epaminondas was then much older then he, and surely it can hardly be that they were Scholars together: except they will say that Epaminondas continuing all his life time to profit by the study of wisdom, made Philip desirous to heare him sometime, and to follow him also. And it may be well enough also that he had learned of Epaminondas to be so quicke and suddain of execution in the Warres, as he was: which was but one of the least parts of Epaminondas Vertues. But as for his continancy, justice, magnanimity, and clemency, which were the parts that in truth made him great: Philip, neither by Nature, nor by Education, nor by Study, ever attained unto it: for all this, he wanted not great Gifts of body and minde, as shall appear in the discourse of his Life: and as Theophrastus testifieth, he was greater then any other of the Kings of MACEDON, not onely in prosperity of Fortune, but also in wisdom, bounty, and moderation of manners. So it came to passe that Alexander, notwithstanding the accord Pelopidas had made, was traitterously killed by Ptolomeus named Alorites, who usurped the Kingdome, and was slaine himselfe

selfe by Perdiccas: who after he had been overcome in a great Battell by the SLAVONS, in the which he was slaine: Philip which was the last of the three Brethren, fleeing away from the place where he was in hostage, fled into MACEDON, and came to succeed in the Kingdome, the which he found in great trouble. For there were slaine at the last Battell above foure thousand MACEDONIANS, and those that escaped were so beaten and astonied with blowes, that they thought of nothing lesse then to take armes against the SLAVONS. On the other side the HUNGARIANS made inrodes into MACEDON, and the SLAVONS mustered againe to returne thither. There was one Pausanias also that aspired to the Kingdome, by the supportiof the King of THRACIA. And the ATHENIANS also, they would establish one called Argæus, and to this end sent a great Fleet by Sea, and three thousand Footmen well armed by Land, led by Mantias. Philip taking heart to him in these rude beginnings, began to embolden the MACEDONIANS by wise perswasions: he re-established military Discipline, furnished his Souldiers very well, making them arme themselves, and gave order they should be continually trained and exercised. It was he that amongst other things devised how to close his Footmen, and that framed the square Battell, which ever since was called the MACEDONIAN Phalange. He was very gracious in his words, and by his promises and Gifts he wan the hearts and good will of his Subjects.

Alexander and Perdiccas Philip's elder Brethren are slaine, and Philip succeedeth in the Crown.

Philip's first Exploits.

Now finding himselfe strong, although he was yet but young of yeares, he resolved to make head against all his Enemies, yet not by open force, but where there was need: being alwaies of this minde, to buy time and men as much as he could possible. So perceiving that the ATHENIANS did their uttermost endeavour to winne the City of AMPHIPOLIS againe, and that by this meanes they sought to bring the Kingdome of MACEDON into the hands of Argæus: he made them leave it, and thrust out their Garrisons. As for the PANNONIANS (others read PÆONIANS) or HUNGARIANS, having sent Ambassadors to them, he corrupted some with Money, and wan others by faire promises: insomuch that they were all contented to live in peace with him. And by the same meanes he brake the hope of Pausanias, having by presents gained the King of THRACIA that aided him. And for the regard of Mantias Captain of the ATHENIANS, he marched with his Army unto the City of METHONA: but he remained there, and sent Argæus with the Souldiers strangers whom they had brought with them, unto the City of EGES. Argæus approaching neare the Town with his Troope, sent to feele the Inhabitants, if they would receive him, and be the first that should be cause of his entrie into the Possession of the Kingdome of MACEDON. But perceiving they cared not for him, he returned againe. Philip that followed him hard at his heels gave him Battell, killed the most part of his men, and drave the rest unto a little Mountaine, where he besieged them so straightly, that they were forced to deliver him all the banished men of MACEDON amongst them: whereupon he let them go their lives and goods saved. This first Victory of Philip put the MACEDONIANS againe in heart, and made them bold to enterprise any thing afterwards. Hereupon he made peace with the ATHENIANS, and understanding that the King of HUNGARIA was dead, he entred into their Countrey with a maine Army, overcame them in Battell, and made them subject unto him. Of all his Enemies there were left none but the SLAVONIANS, whom he went to assaile with ten thousand Footmen, and six hundred Horse. But since they could not agree together, Bardyllis their King trusting in the Victories he had gotten before time of the MACEDONIANS, and in the valiantnesse of his SLAVONS, he came into the Field and presented Battell. The which having been fought a long time, Philip behaved himselfe so valiantly with his men of armes the MACEDONIANS, that he overthrew the SLAVONS, leaving seven thousand of them dead on the ground: and the rest escaped by flying away. Shortly after they were agreed together, and restored to Philip all the places they held pertaining unto MACEDON. Now the AMPHIPOLITANS had of long time borne Philip evill will, and whilest he was occupied in other places, they did him many injuries: wherefore he determined to make a sharpe Warre upon them. He having besieged them with a puissant Army, and having brought his Engines of Warre hard to their Walls, he beate them with such fury, that he made a sufficient breach, and entred the Town by force: out of the which he drave those afterwards that were his Enemies, and very courteously used and intreated the rest. This Town being seated in a very commodious place, upon the Frontiers of THRACIA, and of the Countries neare adjoining thereto, stood him afterwards in great stead for the furtherance and increase of his greatnesse. For by meanes of that he presently had the City of PYDNE, and made league with the OLYNTHIANS, of great power at that time: by reason whereof he and the ATHENIANS envying one the other, they both practised to win them. But Philip having won POTIDEA, drave out the Garrison of the ATHENIANS, and used them very honestly: for he sent them home to their houses, their lives and goods saved, not because he loved the People of ATHENS, but for that he feared the power of their City. After he had taken in the City of PYDNE, he gave it to the OLYNTHIANS, with all the territory belonging unto it. Then he returned to CRENIDEA, the which he having augmented with a great number of Inhabitants, he changed the first Name of it, and called it by his own Name, PHILIPPI. Within that territory he had Mines of Gold, the which he opened and digged so diligently, that he drew out yearly new made, about the summe of six hundred thousand Crownes. By this meanes in a short time he gathered together a great Treasure, and daily the Kingdome of MACEDON grew great, because it had one of the chiftest sinews and props of War. So he coyned a number of Pieces of Gold called Philipppæ, wherewith he waged a great number of men, and bribed many private GRÆKS: who afterwards sold him for ready Money the Towns of their Countrey,

Philip discometh Argæus.

Amphipolis won by Philip standeth him in great stead.

The policy of Philip.

Treasure the sinew of War.

as we shall see hereafter. In all this business, Alexander the Tyrant of PHERES in THESSALY, having been slain by his Wife *Thebe*, and by her Brethren called *Lycophron*, and *Tisiphonus*, at the first they were honoured as men that had delivered their Country of a cruel tyranny: but very shortly after, these two men changing their minds, by Money wanne the Soldiers whom Alexander kept for the guard of his person, and put themselves in his place whom they had killed, putting many Citizens to death that withstood their enterprise: and having gathered together a great number of Soldiers, they made themselves Lords of PHERES. The ALEVADES, men of authority, and greatly followed in the Country for the ancient nobility of their house, would have opposed themselves against this new tyranny. But finding themselves to be too weak, they made means to Philip: who entering into THESSALY with his Army, overcame the two Tyrants, and setting the Towns at liberty, which these Tyrants held in subjection, he shewed great love and favour to the THESSALIANS. By which occasion, in all his Conquests he had obtained afterwards, he found the THESSALIANS always ready to do him service, and to aide him in all his affairs, and not himself alone, but also his Sonne *Alexander*. But the greatness of Philip grieved his neighbours, inasmuch as the Kings of THRACIA, HUNGARIA, and SLAVONIA, not being strong enough of themselves, they joyned Forces together to make War upon him, and to be revenged. Whilst they were preparing to joyn their Forces, Philip went before, and compelled them to do what he would.

Philip greatly
envied
at.

The begin-
ning of the
holy Warre.

About this time, to wit, in the last yeare of the hundred and fift Olympiade, fiftene yeares after the Battell of MANTINEA, the holy Warre began amongst the GREEKS, which continued ten yeares space: and this was the occasion. The THEBANS not being contented with the Victory they obtained at the Battell of LEUCTRES, framed a complaint against the LACEDÆMONIANS in the Assembly of the Estates of GREECE: which they call the Councell of the *Amphictions*: and followed the matter so hard, that the LACEDÆMONIANS were condemned in a great summe of Money, because they had in time of Peace surpris'd the Cattle of CADMEA. The PHOCIANS also, they having plowed up a great deale of a certaine Land sacred to the gods, called the Land of CIRRE, were condemned by the *Amphictions* in a great summe of Money: and because they would not pay it, the Councell pronounced, without longer delay and refusal, all their Townes and Lands to be confiscated to the gods, and that all other which were condemned (of which number were the LACEDÆMONIANS) should be compelled to pay their Fines, and if they refused, they should be taken for excommunicate, and the other GREEKS should make War with them, as against accursed and execrable men. *Philomelus*, a man of great authority among the PHOCIANS, did so much, that he perswaded them not to pay it, but contrariwise to defend their Country with Armes, and to win DELPHES. Whereunto they giving their consents he gathered together a great Army, and in despite of all hinderances made himselfe Master of DELPHES: cut asunder with the Decrees made by the *Amphictions* engraven upon Marble Pillars: possessed all the Gold and Silver that was in the Temple: and afterwards rendered a reason of his fact, and prepared himselfe to make Warre against the THEBANS, THESSALIANS, and LOCRIANS; and wanne three great Battells of them. But being overcome at the fourth Battell, he threw himselfe down off a high Rocke. In the meane space, *Cirfoleptes*, the Sonne of *Claris* King of THRACIA, having rendered up to the ATHENIANS the Towns of CHERRONESUS, partly for the good will he bare the ATHENIANS, and partly for the hatred he had to Philip: the People of ATHENS sent Inhabitants thither to keep and defend the Towns. Philip perceiving that those of METHONE lent out their Town to all them that would make War against him, went and laid siege before it. They that were besieged, did valiantly defend it for a time: but in the end finding themselves too weak to make resistance, they yielded upon condition, that the Inhabitants should go out every man with one onely Gown. As soone as ever Philip had the Town in his hands, he razed it even to the ground, and gave the Country all about unto the MACEDONIANS. At this siege he was wounded with an Arrow, that put out one of his eyes. Afterwards he led his Army also at the instance of the THESSALIANS, into the Country against *Lycophron*, that began again to tyrannize those of PHERES: who having demanded aide of the PHOCIANS, they sent thither *Phayllus* with seven thousand fighting men, whom Philip overcame, and drave them out of THESSALY. Then *Onomarchus* that succeeded *Philomelus* in the charge of General, hoping to have won THESSALY, made great speed thither with all his Army, under colour to bring aid unto *Lycophron*. Philip went against him with the THESSALIANS, but because *Onomarchus* had the greater number of men, he overthrew him; and killed many of the MACEDONIANS, inasmuch that Philip himselfe was in great danger. For his men also were so afraid, that they would have forsaken him, and he had much trouble to keepe them together: and in the end was constrained to retire home into his Kingdome. *Onomarchus* departing from thence, entred into the Countrey of BOEOTIA, overcame the BOEOTIANS in Battell, and tooke the City of CORONEA. But Philip returned immediately with a great force into THESSALY to drive out *Lycophron*: who having called in the PHOCIANS, *Onomarchus* returned thither, followed with twenty thousand Footmen, and five hundred Horse. Hereupon Philip perswaded the Commons of THESSALY, that they must all together undertake this Warre. And he could so well sollicite them, that he assembled in one Campe twenty thousand Footmen, and three thousand Horse. Then was there fought a most cruell Battell, whereof the Victory fell to Philip, through the valiantnesse of his THESSALIAN men of armes. For *Onomarchus* and his men, they fled on foot towards the Sea; where was by chance *Charis* the ATHENIAN Captain sailing till along the Coast

Philip loſeth
one of his
eyes.

Philip over-
throwne by
Onomarchus.

Onomarchus
overthrowne
by Philip.

Coast with certaine Gallies. & There was great slaughter of the PHOCIANS there, followed by the Victors. Others to flee with more speed, threw down their Armes, and leapt into the Sea, by swimming to get to the Gallies of the ATHENIANS. There were slain in Battell and flight as well of naturall PHOCIANS, as of strangers that came for pay, above six thousand men, and there were taken Prisoners to the number of three thousand: *Onomarchus* that was one of them, was hang'd, and all the other drowned as Sacrilegers, by the commandement of Philip: unto whom *Lycophron* yielded the Town of PHERES, and so retired out of THESSALY, which by this means was set at liberty.

Onomarchus
hang'd.

As for Philip, he marched with his Army towards the way of THERMOPYLES, to make Warre with the PHOCIANS, within PHOCIDE it selfe: but the ATHENIANS stopped his passage. Wherefore he was constrained to returne backe into MACEDON, where he staid not long at rest, but determined to bring the Towns of CHALCIDE in subjection to him. So he tooke by assault a Fort called GYRE, the which he razed. But this was such a terrible to the other small Towns, that they put themselves under his obedience. Passing from thence into THESSALY, he drave away *Pytholus* that had made himselfe Master of PHERES. And intending to bring the Townes of HELLESPOINT under his subjection, he tooke in without paine or danger (rather by treason) the Towns of MYCIBERNE, and of TORONE. Afterwards he went with a great Army against the City of OLYNTH, the greatest and of most power that was in that marches: where first he overcame the OLYNTHIANS in two great fights, so that he made them leave the Field, and shut them in within their own Town, unto the which he gave many assaults, and lost a great number of his men there. But having with great summes of Money corrupted *Euthicrates* and *Lasthenes* Governors of the Town, at the length he had it by treason: and having sacked it, he sold the Towns-men for Slaves by the drum. The taking of this Town, brought him a great quantity of Silver to helpe to defray the charges of his War; and did also make the other Towns afraid, which had taken Armes to resist him. Now after he had bestowed many rich Presents upon his Capitaines and Soldiers that had done him good service in this War, he gave also all about great summes of Money to the Heads of the Towns, and found Merchants also among them that sold him their own Countrey and fellow Citizens: inasmuch that he himselfe confessed he had enlarged his Kingdome more through Gold and Silver, then he did by force of Armes: according to an answer that was made him, when he began first to put himselfe forward: for being desirous to know how he should carry himselfe, the Oracle answered:

With Silver Speares begin and end thy Warre,

So shalt thou toſſie ſurvey turne all things: what ere they are.

Now the ATHENIANS being jealous of his greatness, did ever helpe them whom he would hurt, and sent Ambassadors to all the Cities, to perswade them to maintaine and preserve their liberty, and to put their Towns-men to death home they found willing to betray the Common-wealth: promising them to aide them all, and declared themselves open Enemies unto Philip. He that set them most against him, was *Demosthenes*, the most Eloquent man of all GREECE at that time, and that did more trouble and hurt Philip with the blowes of his Tongue, and his continual motions, then all the Capitaines of GREECE did him besides. All this notwithstanding, with all the diligence and labour ATHENS could use, they could never bridle the wicked disposition of some private persons, but they still fought to sell their Countrey: for he that bought, sowed Silver without any spare, and there were a great number of Traitors at that time through all GREECE. And touching this purpose, they say, that he being desirous to win a very strong hold, he sent some men before to view it: who returning, reported that it was impossible almost to approach it, and did by description set it down in small points impregnable. Then he asked them if the place were so hard to come to, that a poor Ass laden with Gold could not come neare it: for he had oftentimes with Silver very easily won that, which otherwise was not to be had by force of Armes. And this was the cause that he practised to have Traitors in every Town by Gifts and Pensions, calling them that received him, his hostes and friends, corrupting mens manners besides by unworthy and dishonest means. As after that he had won OLYNTH, he made sumptuous and magnificent Sacrifices to his gods, to thank them for the Victory they had given him; and for having set down a day of Triumph for tilting and tourneying, and common sports, thither repaired a great number of strangers that came to see the Feasts: So keeping open Court, he invited many of these strangers to come to his sumptuous Feasts he made, and in them he shewed all the familiarity and courtship that might be to entertaine them. For he dranke to some, and then gave them the Cups wherein he dranke to them: to others he gave great Presents, and unto all generally he gave good words and large promises: inasmuch that many sought how to obtaine his love and favour. So it is reported, that one day a Banquet he supped *Saymus*, an excellent Comedian and Player; that he was very sad: and that he asked him why he did not crave something of him: that he might shew his liberality unto him. *Saymus* answered him againe, that he would be glad to obtaine a suite at his hands, but he durst not aske it him; being afraid he should be denied. Philip liked his answer well, and bade him aske boldly. Then he told him that a friend of his had two Daughters among other Prisoners, but of them marriageable, and besought him that he would bestow them upon him, not for any other pleasure or profit he should have of them; but because he would marry them both at his own charge, before they should be forced to their dishonour. Philip thanked him for his request, and presently caused these two Maides to be delivered unto him. Thus he bestowed many such courtesies every where, where

The policy of
the Athenians.

The force of
Eloquence.

whereof he made his profit afterwards with great usury. For a number being drawne by the sent and odour of so many good turnes, studied with themselves, envying one another, which of them might do him best service, and finde out most meanes to deliver Towns and Countries into his hands.

But now to returne againe to that we had begun to speake of the holy Warre. The PHOCIANS that had three very strong holds in BOEOTIA, to wit, ORCHOMENE, CORONE, and CORASIES, did ordinarily from thence make incursions into the Countrey of the BOEOTIANS, with a great number of Souldiers strangers whom they kept in pay, and did burne and lay wast all the Territory thereabouts, and ever had the upper-hand in all their incrodes and skirmishes they had with the Countrey-men. Upon this occasion the BOEOTIANS being weake of men, and wanting Money, sent in the end to demand aide of Philip: who was not a little glad to see them brought so low, for he desired their pride might be pulled down, which had lift them up so high since the Battell of LEUCTRES. So he sent them a good number of Souldiers, not for any desire he had to aide them, but to make them thinke that he made great account of the Temple of DELPHES, which the PHOCIANS had spoyled. After divers exploits of Warre, the one side and the other seeing themselves weary and bare, the BOEOTIANS prayed Philip to come and aide them: which he granted them: and taking a supply of THESSALIANS with him, he came to LOCRIDE with a good Army, and put himselfe in order to end this Warre at one Battell. But Phaltecus Generall of the PHOCIANS, finding himselfe not strong enough to fight with him, sent unto him to Treat of Peace: so he was suffered to go safely with his men whether he would. Whereupon under the assurance of this Peace, he retired with eight thousand men into PELOPONNESUS. The PHOCIANS then left without all hope, yeelded themselves to Philips discretion. Thus having ended this holy Warre without stroke stricken, beyond all mens opinion, he called a Councell of the BOEOTIANS and THESSALIANS in the which it was determined that there should be an Assembly of Parliament of the Amphillyons, unto whom they would wholly referre themselves for deciding of this matter. Whereupon the Commissioners for the Parliament of the Amphillyons were assembled, and there among other acts it was ordained, that from thenceforth it should be lawfull for Philip and all of his Race to sit in this Councell of the Amphillyons, and that they should have the two voices which the PHOCIANS (by him lately conquered) had before. Also, that he and his thenceforth should have the Government and superintendency of the Sports PYTHIAN, with the BOEOTIANS and THESSALIANS: because the CORINTHIANS had been partakers with the Sacrilege of the PHOCIANS. The rest of their Decrees concerned those of PHOCIDE, the safety of the Temple of DELPHES, and the union of the GREEKS. Philip having broken up the Armories of the PHOCIANS and of the strangers that had fought in their pay, he defaced their Towns, and made them sell their Horses. After he had received of the Amphillyons the greatest honour and thanks they could devise, he returned into his Realme of MACEDON, having won him the Name of a devout and valiant Prince, and laid the Foundation of the greatnesse unto the which his Sonne Alexander came afterwards. For he singularly desired to be chosen Capitaine-Generall of all GREECE, with full power and authority to make Warre with the King of PERSIA, as he did. Furthermore, the hereditary quarrels he had against the SLAVONIANS, being as irreconcilable, he entered with his Army into SLAVONIA, where having spoiled a great part of that Countrey and taken many Towns, he returned backe into MACEDON loaden with booty. After that he went into THESSALY, and drave out the Tyrants there, which held the Towns in subjection. By this means he wanne the hearts of the THESSALIANS, whom indeed he had great care to use well, hoping that if the THESSALIANS remained his faithfull friends, he should easily gaine the other GREEKS to desire his friendship; and so it hapned: for the People, neighbours to THESSALY, did presently enter into league with him. Soone after that, he led his Army into THRACIA to repress *Cersobleptes*, who troubled all the Towns of HELLESPOINT next adjoining to his Realme. When he had beaten the THRACIANS in divers encounters, he compelled the vanquished to pay yearly unto the MACEDONIANS the tenth part of their revenues; and fortifying a few good Towns in the best parts of their Countrey, he bridled the boldnesse of these barbarous People: whereupon the Towns within those marches being delivered from Wars, they very willingly entred into league and alliance with Philip.

Thus waxing greater every day then other, he held his Army before the City of PERINTH, because that stood against him, and tooke part with the ATHENIANS. So he layd siege unto it, and brought his Engines of Battery before it, among the which there were Rams of eighty foot long, and built up Towers of Wood higher then the highest Towers of Stone that were within the Town: upon the top whereof he marvellously annoyed the besieged: and battering the Walls with these Rammes, he made them fall down in divers places. The PERINTHIANS on the other side very lustily defended themselves, and reared up other Walls within, in place of them that were fallen down. He plyed them continually with wonderfull assaults, the Assaultants and assailed shewing all their possible force and endeavour. Now Philip had great Crosse-bowes and other Engines of all sorts to kill farre off, great Arrows long and sharpe at the end, which did wound those that came to the cranewes of the Walls: and those that were besieged, lost many of their men every day. But at the length they were supplied with armes and men, whom the BYZANTINES sent unto them: whereupon equalling their Enemies, they began to be cotragious againe, and resolutely offered themselves unto any danger for defence of their Countrey. For all this, the Battery begun discontented not,

Hypocritise.

Philip summoned, ha
Councill or
Parliament.Philip aspired
to greatnesse.Philip besieged
Perinth.

not, and Philip dividing his men into divers Troopes, gave them many assaults, continued by turnes one in the necke of another night and day. Which he might easily do, considering he had thirty thousand fighting men in his Campe, with an inestimable number of Missile Weapons, with Engines to bestow great shot a farre off, and of all sorts of Engines to beate down Townes, with the which he wonderfully plagued and hurt the besieged. Nevertheless the siege drew on in length, and many of the Towns-men died, besides those that were hurt and wounded: and because that Victuals also waxed scant amongst them: so that they hourly looked for no other thing, but to take PERINTH. But it fell out cleane contrary: for the fame of Philips greatnesse being blowne abroad throughout all ASIA, the King of PERSIA being afraid of such a Power, writ unto his Lieutenants upon the Sea Coasts, that they should aide the PERINTHIANS all they could possible. Thereupon his Satrapes having consulted of this matter together, sent unto the besieged a great supply of men of Warre, store of Gold and Silver, plenty of Corne, of Armes, and of all other necessary Provisions for the Warres. The BYZANTINES on the other side sent them the best experienced Captaines and Souldiers they had. By this means the two Forces of these Besiegers and the besieged being equall of new againe, the Warre began to be hotter then before. For Philip beating at the Walls without cease with his Rammes, made very great breaches, and with his Engines to shoot farre off, kept them that none durst stay at the cranewes of the Walls: and at one instant made his men to give an assault at the breaches of the Walls throwne downe, and caused others to scale the Walls that were yet standing whole, and so fighting with their Swords many were slaine in the place, and others fore wounded, both valiantly fighting for the reward of honour and Victory. The MACEDONIANS hoped to have the sacke of a rich and wealthy City, and more then that, to have goodly Presents of the King. They that were besieged on the other side, setting before them all the calamities and miseries of the taking of a City, did lustily endure any paines and danger to prevent so great a mischief. Besides that, the situation of the Towne was a great helpe unto them, not onely to hope well, but also that in the end they should be Masters. For the Towne of PERINTH stood all upon the Sea side, upon a Haven of halfe an Island that stood of a great height, and this Haven was about halfe a quarter of a League long. The houses there were very narrow and high, and because they stood high upon the hanging of the Coast all the Towne being underneath it on the ground, they were built much higher then those that stood beneath: so to see them above, they shewed like the degrees of seates in a Theater. And although that they without did still beate down some part of the Wall: that vantageed them nothing for all that. For those within did nothing else but mure up the entrance into the Streets which were narrow, and they alwaies defended themselves, making Rampiers before the low houses, as if they had been the best Walls in the world.

So Philip having gotten the outward Walls of the Towne, with all the troubles and dangers possible: he found other Walls ready built stronger then the other, as if they had been done of purpose: besides that the BYZANTINES did alwaies furnish them with any thing they wanted. Philip considering this, divided his Army into two, and let the halfe of them to continue the siege, under the charge of the best Captaines he had: and taking with him the other halfe, he went to besiege BYZANCE it selfe, and gave it a most brave assault: whereat the BYZANTINES were amazed, because their Souldiers, their Armes, and all other necessary Provisions for War were in the City of PERINTH. But the ATHENIANS sent them immediately an Army by Sea to aide them, as also those did of CHIO, of RHODES, and out of other places. Chares went thither, sent by the ATHENIANS, but he did nothing of worth, nor worthy of the Fleet he brought thither: because he was suspected of his friends, and despised of his Enemies. So that they sent Phocion thither, who before that time had fought bravely with Philip in the Isle of EUBOEAE, (which he thought to have won by meanes of Traitors) had overcome the MACEDONIANS in Battell, and had done many other notable exploits. Howbeit after his departure Philip being the stronger, departing from thence, came to besiege PERINTH, and after that BYZANCE, into the which Phocion entred with his Troopes: who did so valiantly in all fights and assaults, that Philip (who before that time was thought so terrible in Armes that none could resist him, neither durst any man present himselfe in Battell against him) rose from the besieging of PERINTH, and retired from BYZANCE and out of HELLESPOINT, and did nothing, but lost much of his reputation. For, besides the men that were killed at these two sieges, he lost some of his Ships, and many strong holds, out of the which his Garrisons were throwne, and his friends forraged by the ATHENIANS. This was the cause why he offered Articles of Peace, fearing the Forces of the ATHENIANS, desirous to forward his affaires some other way, or rather to meddle no more with them. Phocion counsellled the ATHENIANS to hearken unto it, and accept the Conditions unto the which Philip submitted himselfe. But the Counsellors (especially Demosthenes) that bare the sway at that time, moved the ATHENIANS to a new league, the which Demosthenes prepared against Philip: who bethinking himselfe, determined to employ all his meanes to subdue the Cities all at once, to the end that he might afterwards passe farther. So he leaved an Army with great speed, and having overcome certaine Troopes of the Towns in league together neare unto AMPHISE, he marched into the Countrey of ELATIA, and afterwards wan PHOCIDE; and being lift up with such prosperous beginnings, he resolved to go to ATHENS. Whereof the ATHENIANS having intelligence, they were straight in armes every where, the People being so amazed, that none durst be so bold as to speake, and they knew not what to do. They rejected the wise counsell of Phocion,

Perinth rescued
by the Persians.Philip besieged
the Byzantines
for aiding them
of Perinth.Phocion a valiant
Leader.Philip raised
both sieges
with shame
and losse.Philip winneth
much.

The Greeks
refuse the
Peace offered
by Philip.

of which *Demosthenes* was the cause. Wherefore to reparaire his fault, he stepped out and coun-
felled the *ATHENIANS* to seeke the friendship of the *THEBANS*. So thereupon they sent him
to put it in practise, and happily he obtained it, notwithstanding all *Philip's* oppositions to the con-
trary: who being affronted more then before with these crosses which the Eloquence of one man
did against him: he sent againe to offer the *GREEKS* Peace. But they kept themselves close,
and made strange of it, expecting the event of all this great Tempest: not being disposed at that
time to hearken to pacification. But as if the time of their bondage had been at the Gate, they re-
fused all Conditions, yea contemned the very Oracles of *DELPHES*, and *Demosthenes* had it often
in his mouth, that the Prophetesse did *Philippize*, to wit favoured *Philip's* affaires. These Oracles
threatned both the one and the other, and especially the *GREEKS*. Now *Philip*, though he
saw he was deceived of the friendship of the *BOEOTIANS*, yet he resolved to fight with the one
and the other. Therefore keeping his Campe certaine daies, looking for the Forces of his friends
that were not yet come unto him: he entred into *BOEOTIA*, with thirty thousand Footmen, and
about two thousand Horse. So both Campes being ready to give charge upon each other, they
both had like courage and resolution to do well. But as touching the number of men, and skil-
fulnesse of Captaines, *Philip* did passe them farre: for having done in many places so many wor-
thy exploits of Armes, he was become very expert in Military Discipline. To the contrary, on
the *ATHENIANS* side, their best Captaines, as *Iphicrates*, *Chabrias* and *Timotheus*, were dead.
Phocion also, he never thought well of this Warre: and the factions, they had hindred the best they
could that he should have no charge. Then was there but *Chares* and *Lysicles*, that were too weake
to take such a great charge upon them, and were much inferiour to many of the Captaines *Philip* had
then with him.

Philip over-
throweth the
Athenians.

The day being broken, and both Armies set in Battell the one against the other in the plaine of
CHERONEA: *Philip* placed his Sonne *Alexander*, coming but newly out of his infancy, in one
of the points of his Army, attended upon by the best Captaines he had: and he placed himselfe
in the other point, with the valiantest men in his Army, giving order and direction in all things
according to time and place. The *ATHENIANS*, having taken one of the points of their Battell,
left the other unto the *BOEOTIANS*. So the fight began very sharply, and many were slaine on
both sides, and it could not be discerned yet whether side had best occasion to hope of Victory:
untill that *Alexander* at the length, desirous to make his Father see some proofe of his valour,
and many other valiant men seeing the courage of this young Prince, following him, they with
him brake into the Battell of the Enemies, and there was a marvellous cruell slaughter. *Philip* on
his side also giving charge upon the greatest preste and multitude of his Enemies, not endur-
ing that any should take the honour from him, no not his own Sonne: set upon them so
fiercely that withstood him, that he put them out of order, and made them flie for life. There
died in this Battell above a thousand *ATHENIANS*, and there were taken Prisoners to the num-
ber of two thousand. And of the *BOEOTIANS* in like manner there were many killed in the
Field, and a great number taken. After this Battell, *Philip* caused a token of Triumph to be set
up, and suffered the Enemies to take away the bodies of their dead, and to bury them. He
made sumptuous Sacrifices unto his gods, to give them thanks for his Victory: and honoured
them that had done good service in this Battell, every one according to his degree and de-
sert. Howbeit he committed certaine insofencies: for after he had drunke well with his friends,
he went to the place where the dead bodies lay, and there he fell a singing in mockery, the begin-
ning of the Decree which *Demosthenes* had propounded, whose counsell they following, the
ATHENIANS concluded to make Warre against him, lifting up his voice, and keeping measure
with his foot: *Demosthenes*, the Sonne of *Demosthenes* *PEANIAN* set out this. But afterwards
when he began a little to come to himselfe againe out of his drunkenesse, and that he had
thought a little of the danger he had been in: then his haire began to stand upright on his head,
when he entred into the consideration of the force and vehemency of such an Oratour, that
had brought him in a piece of a day, to put his whole Estate and his life to the hazard of a Bat-
telle. And when the *ATHENIANS* sent unto him to Treat of Peace, he presently set his coun-
tenance, rubbed his eye-browes, and laying aside all madnesse and wantonnesse, made them a
very sober and advised Answer. Others say, that he dranke too much at the Feast of his sac-
rifice, and that after supper he dancd and made a Mummery with his Minions: passed by
the Prisoners, and gave them sharp taunts in mockery, touching the misfortune of their over-
throw: and that *Demades* then being one of the number, was so bold frankly to speake a word
to him, which was of such efficacy, as it made him refrain from his insofency. O King, said
he, it being now thy fortune to play *Agamemmons* part, thou art not ashamed to shew the
Deeds of *Thersites*. *Philip* finding himselfe touched to the quick with this word so well set, he
presently changed his apparell and countenance, cast down to the ground his Garland of Flowers
he wore on his head, caused all the other signes of mockery which were carried after him to be
broken, and from thenceforth began greatly to esteeme of *Demades*, and would have him a-
bout him. *Demades*, being passing Eloquent above others of his time, did so well entertaime
Philip, that he caused him to deliver all the other prisoners of the *ATHENIANS*, without paying
of any Ransome. And further yet, humbling the Conquerours fiercenesse, he made Peace with
the *ATHENIANS*, but put a Garrison within *THEBES*, and moreover granted Peace unto the
BOEOTIANS.

Demades
toucheth Philip
to the quick,
and thereby
winneeth esti-
mation with
him.

But

But that which principally brought him to incline unto it, was the desire he had to be chosen
Captaine-Generall of *GREECE*: And to this end he caused them to give out abroad, that he
would undertake to make Warre for the *GREEKS* against the *PERSIANS*, and to be revenged
of them for the outrages and sacrileges which they had committed against the Temples of the
gods in *GREECE*: and sought to gaine the good will and friendship of all the *GREEKS* by
all kinde of courtesies he could possibly devise or thinke of, as well openly as secretly. So
he made a motive, that he desired to speake with the Townes openly, and so communicating
some things unto them, which concerned the good of all their Common-wealth in General:
And for this purpose there was appointed a general Assembly of the States in *GREECE* in the
City of *CORINTH*, in the which he propounded this, to undertake the Warre against the *PERSI-
ANS*: and putting them in great hope of happy successe, he perswaded the Commissioners of
every Town, which were present in this Assembly of Councill, boldly to conclude this enterprise.
He solicited his matter in such sort, that the *GREEKS* with general consent chose him their Cap-
taine-Generall with soveraigne authority. Then he began to make great preparation for this Warre,
and having made a description and seile of all the Contributions, as also the number of men of War
which every City should furnish for this enterprise: he returned into *MACEDON*, and sent from
thence two of his chiefe Captaines before into *ASIA*, *Attalus* and *Parmenio*, with a part of his
Army, commanding them to deliver the *GREEKS* Cities of *ASIA* out of bondage. But his
death broke the Voyage, so that they went not very farre. Now hitherto have we seen *Philip*
natural Disposition in the midst of his Deeds, and what is commendable and reprobous in so great
a Prince. But before we go further in the rest of his Life, it may peradventure not be much imper-
tinent to insert in this place some of his Sentences and memorable Additions, whereby he may be
the better discerned, to compare him afterwards with the others. For mens words and fashions a-
mongst their familiars, be the very lively Tables of the Affections and passions of the Soule: it
being impossible for any man alwaies to counterfeit so, but that they may oftentimes see his heart at
his tongues end.

The cause
that moved
Philip to make
Peace with the
Athenians.

Philip chosen
Captaine-Ge-
nerall of
Greece.

So then, neues being brought him in one selfe-day of three great prosperities: The first, that
he had wonne the prize at the courses of Coaches with foure Horse in the solemnity of the *Olym-
pian* Games: The second, that his Lieutenant *Parmenio* had overcome the *DARDANIANS* in
Battell: The third, that his Wife *Olympiade* had brought him a goodly Son: he lifted up his hands to
Heaven, and said: O Fortune, I beseech thee send me in exchange of this, some reasonable adver-
sity, against such and so great happinesse. *Lasthenes* an *OLYNTIAN*, that for a great summe of
Money had sold him the Town of *OLYNTH*, complained to him one day that some of his Minions
called him Traytour. He answered him againe, that the *MACEDONIANS* were rude plaine men,
that called all things by their Name. He seemed to repute the *ATHENIANS* happy men, for that
they found yearly ten Captaines in their Town to be chosen: and that he to the contrary in many
yeres could finde but one, and that was *Parmenio*. After he had overcome the *GREEKS*, many
advised him to put good and great Garrisons in the Towns, that they might with more safety be
kept under. But he answered them: I had rather be called a long time courteous, then a short time
Lord. And when his familiars gave him counsell to banish a malicious Person, that did nothing but
speake evill: he answered them he would not, fearing lest he should every where else speak evill of him.
There was an *ACHAÏAN* called *Arcadian*, that made profession to speake evill of him every where,
and warned every man to flie so farre from *Philip*, as none could tell there what man he was. *Arc-
adian* being by chance met in *MACEDON*, the Courtiers would have had *Philip* to have punished
him, and not to let him escape out of his hands. *Philip* to the contrary spake him faire, and sent
him Presents to his Lodging. Shortly after, he commanded they should make enquiry what talke
Arcadian had of him among the *GREEKS*. Every man brought him word, that he did wonder-
fully commend and praise him wheresoever he came. Then said *Philip* unto them: I am a better
Physician for evill speech then you are. Another time in the Assembly of the *Olympian* Games,
as the *GREEKS* spake evill of him, his friends said that such ill speakers would be severely
punished, to speake so much evill of him that had done them so much good. Nay, but what would
they do then, answered he, if we did hurt them? *Smicythus* did often accuse *Nicanor* unto him,
telling him that he did nothing else but speake evill of *Philip*: so that his best familiars thought it good
he should be sent for, and be punished according to his deserts. Yea but (replied he) *Nicanor* is
one of the honestest men of *MACEDON*: were it not better therefore to enquire whether the
fault be in us, or not? And forthwith having made diligent search whence this discontentment of
Nicanor came, he found that he was a man oppressed with extreme poverty, and that no man
would relieve him in his necessity: whereupon he sent him immediately a good Present. After-
wards *Smicythus* brought word, that *Nicanor* every where spake great praises of *Philip*. See
then, said he, how it dependeth upon our selves to be well spoken of. He was wont also to say,
that he was much beholding unto the Counsellors of *ATHENS*, for that they speaking evill of
him, were cause to make him an honest man of word and deed: For, said he, I do daily enforce
my selfe both in my deeds and words to make them lyers. He sent home (as hath been spoken be-
fore) all the *ATHENIANS* Prisoners at the Battell of *CHERONEA*, without paying any Ran-
some, and yet moreover they asked for their beds, their Apparell, and all their baggage, and com-
plained of the *MACEDONIANS*, because they did not deliver it unto them: When *Philip* heard
of this, he fell a laughing, and said unto them that were near about him: How say you, do not
you

In prosperity
Philip remem-
breth adversity

Philip sharpe
sentences.

Philip dealeth
kindly with
his Enemy.

Philip relieveth
Nicanor
oppressed with
extreme pove-
ty.

Philip stoppeth
his eares
gainst bad
counsell.

you thinke these **ATHENIANS**, suppose they were overcome by us at the Play at Bones? He said also, that they which gave him counsell to deale sharply with the **ATHENIANS**, were men of an ill judgement, to counsell a Prince that did and suffered all things for Glory, to destroy the Theater of Glory, which was the City of **ATHENS**, by reason of Learning. There was a great number of Prisoners taken at a Battell, and he was present to see them sold by the drum, sitting in his Chaire, his Gown being turned up a little higher then was decent. Then there was one of the Prisoners that was a selling, that cried out aloud unto him: I beseech thee, O King, to pardon me that I be not sold, for I am thy friend from Father to the Sonne. Philip asked him, how and from whence this friendship should come between us? I will tell thee in thy eare, answered the Prisoner. Philip commanded they should bring him to him. Then the Prisoner coming near to him, told him softly: O King, let thy Gown fall down before a little, for as thou sittest, thou shewest that that is unfit to be seene. Then spake Philip aloud to his men, Deliver him, and let him go: for he is indeed one of my friends and well-willers, but I had forgotten it. Such was his behaviour to his Enemies, and those that spake evill of him.

Philip's justice
and other
good qualities.

Let us now speake somewhat of his justice, and of divers other affections worthy to be noted in him: the which do appeare something in his words, and by the effects that followed. And they do shew more and more, that this Prince had learned very much with *Epaminondas*, but above all, to be nobly minded, patient, and desirous of honour without shame: qualities that had been much more excellent in him, if he had not made such Merchandize with wicked men as he did, that sold their Countrey: besides that they saw in him an ardent ambition, as also in that he covered to be Capitaine-Generall of all the **GREEKES**, and the Triumphs preceding his death, and all his life do shew. And to this purpose he counsell'd his Sonne *Alexander* to speake graciously unto the **MACEDONIANS**, to winne their good wils, whilst he had leasure now to be courteous unto them, another reigning in the Kingdome: at if he would have said, that when he came to be King, he should carry the gravity of a Master and of a Lord, and that he should do justice. He gave him counsell also to seeke to get the love of those that bare credit and authority in good Towns, as well of the wicked as of the good, that he might afterwards use the good, and abuse the evill. But now to returne to his justice againe: Being a Judge betweene two bad men, he ordained that the one should stie out of **MACEDON**, and the other should runne after him. It is reported of him, that he had gotten together a number of the wickedest and most disordered men that were in his time, whom he lodged all together in a Towne which he had caused to be built, and called it **PONEROPOLIS**, the Towne of Knaves. He had on a time bestowed the Office of a Judge upon one recommended unto him by *Antipater*: but understanding afterwards that he used to paint his haire and beard, heooke it from him, saying, that he that used deceit in his haire, would hardly deale truly in a good Cause. *Machetas* pleaded a Cause on a time before him whilst he slept, so that not conceiving nor understanding well the matter, he wrongfully condemned him. Whereupon *Machetas* began to cry out, that he did appeale. Philip being angry at that word, asked him presently, unto whom he did appeale from him? Before thy selfe, O King, answered he, when thou art awake, and wilt give good eare to conceive of my Fact. These words touched Philip to the quicke, whereupon he rose up on his feete, and calling himselfe better to minde, knew that he had wronged *Machetas* in his sentence, and yet nevertheless he would not revoke his Judgement: howbeit he himselfe with his owne Money discharged the matter, whereupon the Suite was brought before him. *Harpalus* had a Kinman and a Friend of his called *Crates*, attainted and convicted of great crimes: he besought Philip, that paying the Fine, sentence should not be pronounced against this *Crates*, that he might avoide the shame and disgrace. But Philip answered him againe, It is better he should bare his owne blame and discredit, then I for him. A Souldier of his, a valiant man of his hauds, having by false report obtained of him the Gift and forfeiture of the goods of a **MACEDONIAN**: it fortun'd that the **MACEDONIAN** ill willing to put up such an outrage, bewrayed unto Philip the unthankfulnesse of the Souldier whose life he had saved. Philip was so offended with the villanie of this Souldier, that after he had revoked his Gift, he made him quail in such sort, that his wickednesse was knowne of every one, and the **MACEDONIAN** restored againe to all his goods. A poore old Woman being in Suite of Law, besought him to give Judgement, and pressed him continually: but he excused himselfe, and told her, he was not at leasure to heare it. The old Woman cried out aloud: Leave then to be King. He being astonied and lively pricked with this word, did heare her, and all others in order. As for his friends, *Philo* a Gentleman of **THEBES** had done him many pleasures at the time when he remained in hostage in the City of **THEBES**: he was lodged in his house, and after that he would never receive any Gifts or Presents of him. Whereupon Philip said unto him: Take not from me the Title and Honour of Invincible, being overcome by thee of courtesie and liberality. Word being brought him of the death of *Hipparchus*, borne in the Isle of **EUBOIA**, he was very sorry: and as one that stood by, told him he was ripe and ready to die for age: Yea, said he againe, for himselfe, but not for me, to whom he is dead too soone: for he is dead before he received any recompence of me, worthy the friendship he bare me. As touching houshold matters, he fell out on a time with his Wife *Olympias*: and his Sonne *Alexander*: in which time of his anger, *Demaratus* a Gentleman of **CORINTH** went to visit him. Philip then asked him, how, and after what manner the **GREEKES** lived one with another. Truly, answered *Demaratus*, thou carest much for the Peace and Union of the

Philip giveth
his Son good
counsell.

The Town of
Knaves.

A memoran-
dum for Ma-
gistrates.

The old
speech of a
Woman to
Philip.

the **GREEKES**, since the persons that touch thee so nearely, and those whom thou oughtest to make much account of, are so separated from thee. This word made him consider so well of it, that afterwards he appeased his anger: the cause thereof is shewed in the beginning of *Alexander's* life; and so reconciled himselfe unto them. Being told him that his Sonne *Alexander* milked it, and complained that he begot bastards of other women: he told him, Since thou feest now, that thou shalt have many competitors with thee for the Kingdome after my death, endeavour thy selfe to be an honest man, that thou mayest come to the Crown not so much through me, being mine heir, as through thy selfe, for that thou art worthy. He perswaded him much, diligently to study Philosophie under *Aristotle*, to the end, said he, thou do not many things that I have done, whereof now I heartily repent me. Being on a time fallen backward, lying all alongst the place where they exercise wrestling: and wallowing up and downe, as if he had seen the figure and print of his body in the dust: O *Hercules*, said he, how little quantity of ground will serve us by nature; and yet we covet to inhabite all the world! He would on a time lodge his Campe in a faire ground: but being told that there was no forrage for the beasts, he was constrained to dislodge from thence, saying: What is our life, since we must take care even to place Asse? There was an host of his, that on a time bad him to supper with him. So, as he was going, he met divers by the way, whom he carried thither with him. Whereupon perceiving his host was much troubled, because he had not meate enough to feede so many mouthes: Philip seeing it, sent secretly to tell every one in their eares whom he brought with him, that they should keepe a place in their stomacke for the Tarr. The other believing that he spake in earnest, did forbear to eate, whereby there was meate enough for them all. That which is already said, is sufficient to make us know the natural disposition of this great Prince: whose end we are now about to describe unto you. He undertaking to passe into **ASIA**, to make war with the **PERSIANS**, in the state of Capitaine-Generall of the **GREEKES**: being desirous his voyage should be favoured of the gods, he asked of the propheteesse of **DALPHES**, whether he should overcome the King of **PERSIA**? she answered him:

Nature con-
tent with a lie-
tie.

Philip beguil-
ed his friends
at a banquet.

Philip deceived
by an ambigu-
ous oracle.

Cleopatra, Phi-
lip's daughter
married with
great solemn-
ties.

The Oracle is crowned when his end is neare at hand,
To offer him in sacrifice, a man doth ready stand.
This oracle being doubtfull and obscure, Philip tooke it for his advantage: as if *Apollo* had told him, that the King of **PERSIA** should be slaine by him, as an oblation of sacrifice. But cleane contrary, the oracle threatned him with death in a day of a solemne feast: and that he should be slaine as a bull, whom they crowne with Garlands and hats of flowers, when they go about to sacrifice him. Notwithstanding supposing that the gods did favour his enterprise, he was very pleasant, perswading himselfe that **ASIA** should shortly be tributary to **MACEDON**. So he prepared sumptuous and magnificent sacrifices in honour of the gods, and made preparation for the marriage of his daughter *Cleopatra*. Now he being desirous to draw to this feast as many **GREEKES** as he could possible, to that end made Proclamation every where, that there should be Games of prize for Learning and Musicke, and sent to summon all his hostis and friends, in what part of **GREECE** soever they were, to come to this marriage: and commanded the Lords of his Court that they should do the like for their part. For he desired to shew the **GREEKES** all signes of friendship, and to make them the best chaire that could be possible, in recompence of the honour they had done him: to chuse him their Capitaine-Generall. There was a wonderfull assembly of people from all parts at this feast; and the marriage was solemnized betwixt *Alexander* King of **EPHROS** and *Cleopatra*, and the Games also at *EGESIA* City of **MACEDON**. Where not onely Philip's private friends, and the most notable men of the **GREEKES** but also the principal and chiefe Townes of **GREECE** (and among other **ATHENS**) gave him presents of many rich Crownes of gold. The decree of the people presenting a Crowne of Gold, and openly proclaimed by a Herald; the effect of it was: that if it happened any man having conspired or attempted ought against the person of King Philip, should stie to **ATHENS** in hope of privilege there; that he should be delivered into the hands of the King. In the middelt of this great Feast at the Marriage, there was an excellent Player of Tragedies, called *Neoptolemus*, that rehearsed verses touching the enterprise of Philip: and as if he meant to have reproved the pride of the King of **PERSIA**, he lively touched that of his matter Philip; and before he was ware, foretold his death in covert termes, and which might be applied (as also Philip did, blinded and astonied with his prosperity) unto the estate, and unto the King of **PERSIA**. Among other verses the beginning of it was very neare to this effect:

Above the skyes extoll thy pride,
Surmount all haughtinesse that is
Within this earthly vaine so wide:
Promise thy selfe a worldly blisse,
And prosperous life for ever sure,
Yet canst thou now no longer dure.
For some already have begun
T by ruine, which thou canst not shun.

LIII

And

*And death neare to that breast of thine,
Shall shortly breake off thy designe.*

The day after this royall marriage, the Games beganne to be played, and the people ranne from all parts to the Theater to see them, even untill it was darke night. And in the morning at the break of day there was a proceffion, in the which (among many other sumptuous and magnificent shewes) they carried the images of twelve principall gods of GREECE, wonderfull cunningly wrought with great art; and then after them was borne the image of *Philip* for the thirteenth, as if he would have placed himselfe in ranke with his gods. When the Theater was full set with people, *Philip* himselfe came in the end, apparelled all in white, having commanded all his guard to follow him a far off: desirous to shew the GREEKS, that because of the great confidence he had of their faithfull friendship, he thought he needed no guard for his body. But at that time he was put to death after a strange sort: and that we may know by what occasion, we will take the matter further off.

Philip placed in ranke with the gods.

The occasion of Philip's death

The second Pausanias slain.

Privaterepects a let to publike justice.

Pausanias conspirceth against Philip.

Philip traitorously slain by Pausanias.

Pausanias the traitor slain.

The wives and children of Philip.

There was in this Court a MACEDONIAN Gentleman, called *Pausanias*, borne in the Countrey of ORESTIDES, one of the Gentlemen Pensioners of *Philip's* Guard, that sometime was beloved for his beauty. He perceiving that the King loved another, whose name was as himselfe, *Pausanias*: began to gill him with injurious words, calling him *Androgyne* (as much to say, as womanish man) and reproved him that he abandoned his body to any that would. This second *Pausanias* very impatiently bare these words in his heart, yet made no reply to them, but onely imparted to his friend called *Attalus* what he meant to do; and within few dayes after he lost his life after a notable manner. *Philip* fought a battell with the SLAVONS; in the which this young man behaved himselfe very valiantly, right before the person of *Philip*: and received upon his body all the blowes they strake at him, so that he died in the field. This valiantnesse of his being blown abroad through the Army, *Attalus* that then was in great favour with the King, intreated the first *Pausanias* to come and suppe with him, and having made him drunke, he left his body to all the horse-keepers and mule-letters to be carnally abused. His drunkenesse having left him, he was so grieved at his heart for the outrage *Attalus* had done him, that he went and complained to the King himselfe. *Philip* was marvellously offended withall, because of the villany that was offered him. But because of the love he bare to *Attalus*, and also for that he stood in need of his service, and for that he was Uncle to *Cleopatra*, the last and well beloved wife of *Philip*, and appointed his Lieutenant for the warre of ASIA, he made as though he knew it not. But to appease *Pausanias*, he gave him great presents, and placed him amongst the number of them of the Guard about his person. *Pausanias* having made his complaint to *Olympias*, unto *Alexander*, and to some other, had sundry answers, but no justice at that time. Wherefore keeping this despite in his heart, he resolved not onely to be revenged of him which had done him this injury, but also of *Philip* that would do him no justice. But to further him in this divellish purpose, amongst others a Rhetorician called *Hermocrates* did set him on, whom *Pausanias* frequented to learne of him. Discourfing one day together, he asked him how a man might in a short time make himself famous, to be spoken of by every body? *Hermocrates* answered, in killing one that had done many great things: for, said he, it is of necessity, that remembring his facts, the name of him that killed him must also be comprised. *Pausanias* applying that to the purpose of his anger, having no patience to prolong time, his heart being so full of choler and griefe, determined with himselfe to execute his enterprize the same day the playes should be: the which he did, as followeth. He layed horses ready at the gate of the Theater, and went about it, having a sword under his Gowne, after the fashion of the GAULES as they weare it. When the time was come that *Philip* would himselfe to go to the Theater, all the Noblemen and Gentlemen that attended upon him, went into the Theater before him, who had commanded all the Gentlemen of his guard to come a good way behind him. Then *Pausanias* seeing *Philip* going all alone, ran to him, and gave him such a blow with his sword overthwart his flanks, that he ranne him through and through, so that he fell downe starke dead. The blow being given, he ranne away straight unto his horse, and some of the Guard ranne to *Philip*, others swiftly followed the murderer, among which was *Leonidas*, *Perdiccas*, and *Attalus*. Howbeit *Pausanias* that had gotten the start before, had easily mounted on horsebacke before the others could come neare him to overtake him, had it not been that in the way as he fled, he stumbled at the roote of a vine, which overthrew him. Then *Perdiccas* and the rest lighted on him at herose, and thrusting as him, killed him in the place. Behold how *Philip* that was the greatest King in his time of EUROPE, and for the greatnesse of his power, placed himselfe among the gods: was brought low, even to ranke with the weakest of the world, and died being but fixe and fourty yeares old, having reigned twenty foure yeares. That therefore whereof he gloried most, was in his skill of warres, and in the actions which he managed bravely, preferring that farre above all exploits of war. For (said he) in victory all that fight in the battell have their part; but in those things that I have atchieved unto, having wisely directed them, none is partaker of the honour but my selfe onely. He had five wives, the first was *Olympias* the daughter of *Neoptolemus* King of the MOLSSIANS, of the line of *Æacus*, of whom were born *Alexander* surnamed the Great, and *Cleopatra*. *Alexander* succeeded his father: and for *Cleopatra*, she was married to her Uncle *Alexander* King of EPIRUS, and brother of *Olympias*. The second wife of *Philip* was *Andate*, a Lady of SLAVONIA, of whom he had a daughter called *Cyne*, married unto *Amyntas* his Cousin Germane: who being slain, she was betrothed unto *Lagarus* King

King of the AGRINIANS, who died before consummation of Marriage. After the death of *Alexander* the Great, the being of a manly courage, and opposing her selfe against those that would deprive the children of *Alexander* of the Crowne of MACEDON, was slaine by *Perdiccas* commandment. The third was *Phila*: and the fourth was called *Mede*, the daughter of the King of THRACIA. These two had neither of them any children. And lastly being too old to marry, he married *Cleopatra*, the daughter of *Hippostratus*, and *Attalus* Niece: at the marriage of whom he would have killed his sonne *Alexander*, for throwing a cup at *Attalus* head: after the which followed great trouble and foule stirre betwixt *Philip*, *Olympias* and *Alexander*: but *Demaratus* the CORINTHIAN saved all that againe. Of this last wife, he first had a daughter called *Europe*, and then a sonne called *Caranus*, whom *Olympias* put to a cruell death. For his concubines, the one called *Arfinone*, being gotten with childe by *Philip*, she fell into *Lagus* hands, unto whom she gave *Proton* afterwards King of EGYPT. The second was a Girle of LARISSA, called *Philinna*, of whom he begat *Aridaus*: who first of all was poysoned, and in the end cruelly murdered by *Olympias*: being the last King of the race of *Temenides* in MACEDON. For the issue of *Alexander*, they were rejected by *Cassander*. The third was *Nicaspolis*, a woman of THESSALY, and *Pasens* sister, Tyrant of PHERES: of whom he had a daughter called *Thessalonica*, whom *Cassander* married, and was afterwards slaine by *Anipater*. The end of *Alexander*, of his mother, and of his children and successors, was lamentable in divers sorts. And thus we see in *Philip* and in his race, how many wayes the high Judge of the world hath in his power and hand to overthrow the greatest, when they are drunke with their prosperity.

Philip's concubines.

The end of Philip of Macedons Life.



LIII 2

THE

THE LIFE OF DIONYSIUS.



Ann. Mund.
3557.

Ant. Christ.
391.

*Base Tyranny is wrong: unhappy mother,
Witnesse this wretch, in shew both grave and wife.
Tet he himselfe beguiling, and each other,
Shew'd that his heart was fierce and full of vice.*

*Archias the
founder of the
City Syracuse.*



Archias slain.

*Petalisme ban-
ishment for
five yeares.*

*Aristocracy
brought to De-
mocracy, and
that to Monar-
chy in Gelo the
first King.*

IN the second yeare of the second Olympiad, *Archias* a CORINTHIAN, not daring to returne againe into his City for a foule fact committed by him in the perfon of an honest youth called *Atheon*: he tooke the sea and sailed into SICILIA with certaine CORINTHIANS and DORIANS, and there built the City of SYRACUSA, the which by proceffe of time became so great, that it had within it as it were foure Townes, of the which one was called *the Ile*, the second *Acradine*, the third *Tyche*, and the least *Neapolis* lay neare unto the other, with a Fort called *Hexapyle*, which commanded all the other, and it was in the top of a high place which they called *Epipotes*, as much as to say, as over all the other Towns. It was governed at the first, by the command and power of *Archias* onely: but he being killed by *Telephus*, whom he had abused in his infancy, the SYRACUSANS gathered together of diverse parts, brought their estate to Aristocratie, which flourished for a time. But being come to passe that *Tyndaris* one of the Lords of the Town carried himselfe after such a manner, that he made many jealous that his drift and policy was to make himselfe chiefe Lord: the other Lords made a law called *Petalisme*, to meet with this practise: howbeit it was that that increased his enterprife. The effect of this law was, that the name of him that aspired to make himselfe absolute Lord of the City, should be written in an Olive leafe, the which being put into the hand of this Lord, without further ceremony it was to tell him that he was banished the City for five yeares, much after the fashion that is reported of the Ostracisme of the ATHENIANS. By meanes of this *Petalisme*, the Lords banished another, so that in the end, the people became Lord. But hereupon a dangerous sedition happening amongst them, *Gelo*, Lord of the City of *GELE*, did so wisely look into the troubles of the SYRACUSANS: that they chose him King in the second yeare of the threescore and fourth Olympiade. After him succeeded *Hieron*, who at the beginning carried himselfe very well: but afterwards falling into acquaintance with the Poets *Simonides*, *Pindarus* and *Bacchylides*, which taught him many good things, he reigned very proudly. So, he having reigned about twelve yeares, left his brother *Thrafylbulus* his successor: who for his cruelties and infolencies was driven out of SYRACUSA by force, and went to LOCRES, and there ended the rest of his dayes. Then the SYRACUSANS established the government of Lords, which continued sixty yeares: in which time they make warre with the AGRIGENTINES, and compelled them to sue for peace: they

they destroy the TRINACRIANS and their Town: they set upon the LEONTINES, which are aided by the ATHENIANS under the conduct of *Laches* and *Carceadas*, who behaved themselves so evil, that at their returne home they were banished. Shortly after the new troubles betwixt the SYRACUSANS and the LEONTINES, the ATHENIANS sent *Phaax* into SICILIA to kindle the fire a little, and to mutine the one against the other. Howbeit it had no good successe, but rather raised a cruell warre betwixt the SYRACUSANS and ATHENIANS, in the which at the last *Nicias* and *Demosthenes* were overcome by sea and land both, and afterwards put to death, and the souldiers of ATHENS that were prisoners most cruelly used. The SYRACUSANS lift up with this victory, did put downe their Lordly Government, and brought it to a popular state again. Then thinking to be revenged of the CARTHAGINIANS that were come to the aide of the SEGESTANS against the SELINONTINES, which were their friends: they sent *Diocles* with foure thousand good men against *Hannibal* the sonne of *Gisco*, who lay in Campe at that time before *HIMERA*, the which he wanne after he had overcome *Diocles*, and slaine the most part of his Troopes. The SYRACUSANS casting their anger for this losse upon *Hermocrates* one of their chiefe Citizens, they banished him with the *Petalisme*, and drave him out of the Towne. He helping himselfe with the meanes he had in his hand, made up and armed five Gallies, and afterwards with certaine banished men of *HIMERA*, attempted to put in againe into SYRACUSA. But seeing he could not prevaile, he landed and possessed the ruined Towne of SELINONTE. He repaired it, called home againe all the inhabitants dispersed through SICILIA, fortified himselfe there, and in few dayes got together a Troope of fixe thousand men. With these forces he set upon them of PALERME, and MOTYE, in league with the CARTHAGINIANS, overcame them in a pitched field, maintained his friends, and followed his victory. The SYRACUSANS hearing good report of *Hermocrates* valour, beganne to repent them that they had so dishonourably used him. He on the other side being advertised by his friends of the good affection of the Citizens unto him: to winne their good favour againe, he was very carefull to gather together the bones of those that were killed by *HIMERA* under the leading of *Diocles*, and sent them to SYRACUSA, in Carts very richly set out. For all this they sent not for him home, the SYRACUSANS being afraid of him, for that he was a man of such courage and wisdom, lest he should make himselfe Lord of the Towne. He seeing himselfe thus refused, went backe to SELINONTE, and shortly after being solicited by his friends, he found meanes by night to come into SYRACUSA, and possessed the Acradine. The SYRACUSANS tooke Armes immediately, fought with *Hermocrates*, killed him in the Market-place with part of his traine, and banished those that favoured him. His friends saved some of them from the violence of the Citizens, and amongst others *Dionysius* the sonne of *Hermocrates*, a plaine Citizen of SYRACUSA, whose life we presently write of.

*Hermocrates the
father of Dio-
nysius slaine.*

Now it is reported, that his mother being with childe of him, dreamed that she was brought to bed of a Satyre, and that the Soothsayers being asked their opinion, answered, she should have a sonne that should be famous above all the GREEKES. Furthermore, a young gentlewoman of SYRACUSA called *Himera*, some time before *Dionysius* made himself Lord of the City, dreamed that she was taken up to heaven, by a guide that having carried her to and fro, in the end brought her before *Jupiter*, at whose feet she saw a young man with a yellow hair, bound with iron chains: and asking her guide what he was: It is, said the other, the cruell scourge of SICILIA and ITALY, the which shall spoil a great Country, as soon as his bolts be off his feet. Within few yeares after, *Dionysius* having already seized upon the estate, as he came to make his entry into SYRACUSA, and that the Citizens went out to meet him to do him honour: *Himera* being there by chance, knew him, and straight cried out: This was the young man that she saw in heaven. This being reported to *Dionysius*, he caused them to kill the young damosell. Another time his horse falling in the mire that he could not get out, *Dionysius* left him fast there: but the poor beast with struggling got himself out, and ranne after his master: bringing in his main a swarm of Bees. This did hearten him, especially through the counsell of his Soothsayers, to follow his purpose to subdue his Country: the which he obtained by this means. The CARTHAGINIANS desirous to make themselves great in SICILIA, sent thither their Capitaine *Himileo* with a great Army: against whom the SYRACUSANS made head, wanne a battell, and killed fixe thousand of his men. Notwithstanding this, he went and besieged AGRIGENTE, and having upon surpriseth overthrowne the Army of the SYRACUSANS by sea, he enforced them that were besieged to save themselves as they could, entred into this great rich City abandoned, and took the spoile of it. The AGRIGENTINES that escaped gave the alarme, through all SICILIA, and retiring themselves to SYRACUSA their friend Town, beganne in full assembly of the City to accuse the Capitaines of SYRACUSA, saying, that by their treason the Country was sold unto their enemies. *Dionysius*, the son of *Hermocrates*, a young man of a stout heart, and that did embrace great matters in his mind, being in this assembly, took hold of the occasion offered; and seeing the people out of countenance, he stepped forth, charged the Capitaines very much, and gave counsell that they should do justice: whereupon the Magistrates did set a fine on their heads. And having found *Philisus* inclined that way, and gotten money of him (who was very rich) to pay this fine, with promise to furnish others if they were condemned: he followed his purpose in other assemblies, having speech at will, and a comely manner withall, so that almost for little or nothing, he wane the hearts of the people, who moved by his oration, did cashier the old Captains, and chose new, and among others *Dionysius*, who was a good souldier, and had made proofe of his valiantnesse in divers encounters

*Dreams shew-
ing Dionysius
his qualities.*

*Himera killed
by the Tyrant
Dionysius, for
speaking truth.*

*The occasion
of Dionysius
rising.*

*Dionysius his
subtle plots to
attaine the so-
veraignty.*

*Dionysius his
practices to as-
pire to great-
nesse.*

* A Jester or
shrewd Foole.

*Dionysius chosen
Captaine Ge-
neral.*

against the CARTHAGINIANS. But after they had chosen him Captaine, he never came to counsell with his other companions, nor would not be acquainted with them: but under hand, made a foule report runne abroad that they practised with the enemies. This made men of good judgement to presume that he himselfe went about to make some alteration: and they could not forbear to blame him for it. Nevertheless the people not looking so inwardly into it, they esteemed him very much. Hereupon many assemblies were made to think of their affaires in warres, in one of the which *Dionysius* perceiving the SYRACUSANS astonished, gave advice that they should call home their banished men: saying that it was a great mockery to run into GREECE and ITALY for aide since they heard at their doores such as had been Citizens, who had rather die like vagabonds, then serve the enemy. And that the favour they should shew them, would spurre them forward to do their Country good service. The wisest men durst not gain-say this advice, perceiving that the people did incline unto it: that if they hindred that, it was to get as many enemies as there were banished: and that they being called home, should thanke none but *Dionysius*, at whose commandement they would ever be afterwards. No man speaking a word, the decree of repeale was authorized by the people, and the banished men returned to SYRACUSA. In the middelt of all this businesse, letters were brought from GEELE, which demanded aide. *Dionysius* offered himselfe straight, and was sent thither with two thousand footmen, and four hundred horse. Being arrived at GEELE, and finding the City in trouble, he tooke the peoples part, accused the principals, made them be put to death, and their goods forfeited. With which forfeiture he payed the ordinary garrison of GEELE, and promised double pay to them that followed him from SYRACUSA: unto the which he returned immediately, having the favour of his souldiers. So all the people ranne about him in multitudes, asking him where the enemies were, and what they did? You do not consider, said he, that your enemies indeed are in your Town. They that governe in your estate are more to be feared, then the CARTHAGINIANS: for whilst you are busie about your playes and feasts, they divide the common treasure among themselves, and pay not the souldiers. In the meane space *Himilco* prepareth himselfe to come and besiege you, whereof your governors make no reckning, neither do they give any order for it. I knew this well enough before, but now I am most assured of it: for *Himilco* lent a Trumpet unto me, under colour of certaine prisoners, and secretly bad him tell me, that he would give me more then any other of my companions, so that I would not search him too narrowly: and if so be that I would not helpe him, at the least yet that I would not hinder him. And therefore thinke with your selves to finde another Captaine in my place: for it is no reason whilst others sell the town to the enemies, that I should go hazard my selfe with my fellow Citizens, and in danger in the end that they should thinke of me I should be partaker with the wicked practises of others. Those that heard what he spake, being marvelously offended, carried these words immediately all about the Town. But for the present time every one went home to their house, sad, and troubled in their minds. The morrow after, as those that should speake before the people did draw by lot of letters, that they might know in order how they should speake, and that the letter F. came to his lot: some flander by told him, this F. signifieth * Foole, *Dionysius*, because thou wilt tell us great follies. No, replied he quickly: that I shall be a Monarch. Presently the people being assembled, and his turne being come to speake, he accused his other companions with great vehemency, was heard very attentively, and with great praise of all the people, whom the day before he had angered very much: so that in the end there were some of the assembly cryed out, that necessity required that *Dionysius* should be chosen alone Captaine General, with all authority and soveraigne power, and that it was no tarrying till the enemies be under our walls, and that he was a fit man to take care of this businesse: and as for traitors, that they should thinke of them at better leisure. Hereupon the people chose *Dionysius* their Captaine General, giving him full authority, and power of the affairs of the Common-wealth, and praying him to consider of all that should be expedient to resist the enemies. He seeing his enterprife so well grounded, propoundeth a decree to the people, that the souldiers pay should be doubled over that it was before: for that would make them more courageous and willing to do good service. And as for money, that the SYRACUSANS should take no thought for that, for he knew a way how to come by it well enough. This so suddaine advancement, and his bold promises joyned with the disposition of this young man, made many suspect him that had any understanding and judgement: inasmuch that some beganne to goe and come to houses to conferre together to finde meanes betimes to withstand the tyranny, which had now (as they say) put the irons in the fire. But *Dionysius* having an eye abroad, and a number of spies that slyly fell into companies, being afraid they would do him some hurt, determined to provide for it by a farre fetch to fight, but very fit to serve his turne: which was, to obtaine licence to chuse a guard for his person, unto the which he came, as followeth. He proclaimed in the Town that those that were able to bear Armes should follow him, and to make their rendez-vous with their Armes at a day set down at the Towne of the LEONTINES, and bring victuals with them for one moneth. There was then in that Towne a Garrison of the SYRACUSANS: the banished, and all sorts of men withdrew themselves, whom *Dionysius* hoped would have taken his part, for that they were men which desired nothing more then change and alteration, and perswaded himselfe that few of the SYRACUSANS would follow him. Hereupon he went himselfe into the field, and being encamped near the Towne, one caused his friends to give the Alarme, and to cry helpe, as if the enemies had environed him to kill him in his Tent: and making as though he had been marvellously afraid, he fled, and saved himselfe by swiftnesse within the Castle of the Towne, where he passed all the rest of the night, made fires

*Dionysius his
guard.*

*Theeves rogues
and rakehels
fit assistants
for a Tyrant.*

*Daphneus and
Demarchus put
to death.*

*Dionysius flight
cowardly out
of GEELE.*

*The souldiers
incensed a-
gainst Dionysius.*

*Dionysius pa-
lace sacked, and
his wife ravish-
ed.*

fires all about, and sent for his souldiers in whom he put most trust, as a man that is afraid, seeing his enemies lie in waite for him. The next morning some of the people of SYRACUSA being gathered together in the Towne of the LEONTINES, in open assembly he made a long discourse of that that had passed, to make them believe that his evil willers would have surprised him, and could speak so well, that the people appointed him six hundred souldiers to guard his person, such as he himselfe would chuse out. Immediately he chose young men to the number of a thousand, which had nothing to lose, hardy and desperate to put any thing in execution that they were commanded. These he furnished with all things necessary, and made them great promises: so that he wanne their hearts, and got unto him the souldiers strangers that were in the SYRACUSANS pay. Howbeit he changed the Captaines from their companies, and put in their places some other made to his hand. And afterwards he sent *Dexippus*, a wife and valiant Captaine LAGEDEMONIAN, backe again into his Country, of whom he stood in fear, and perceived he would be a barre in his way to hinder that he went about. Over and above that he sent for the souldiers of the Garrison of GEELE, and gathered together all them that were banished, all Theeves and Rogues that would come and serve him, judging them to be fit men to serve the turne he purposed. When he had gotten a great troop of such Rakehels, he straight returned to SYRACUSA, and lodged his forces in the Arsenall, and then shewed himselfe openly Lord, and Tyrant, without any longer dissimulation. This amazed and grieved the SYRACUSANS most extremely: nevertheless they were enforced to bear this yoke which they could not help, because the Town was full of souldiers strangers, and for that also they were afraid of the CARTHAGINIANS that were near unto them with a mighty Army. All this happened, *Dionysius* being but five and twenty years old. In the third year of the ninety three Olympiads, and in the three hundred seven and fourtieth year of the foundation of ROME. Thus you see how this young man, of a base condition, meanly born, made himself Lord of one of the greatest Common-wealths in the world at that time, and continued this usurpation all the dayes of his life, which was the space of thirty eight yeares.

This being done, he made them all rich and wealthy that aided him in this enterprife, drave out all those he could finde that withstood these his attempts, put to death before all the people *Daphneus* and *Demarchus*, two of the chiefeest men, and of greatest power that were at that time in SYRACUSA, and that had most crossed him of all others in the device of his purpose. Afterward, because he would yet strengthen himselfe the better, he married *Hermocrates* daughter, a SYRACUSAN Captaine, that overcame *Nicias* and the ATHENIANS, and married his sister unto *Polyxenus*, brother in law unto *Hermocrates*. Whilst things passed thus, the CARTHAGINIANS, being masters of AGRIGENTE, after they had spoiled, burnt and razed it, they marched away with their General *Himilco*, and went and besieged the City of GEELE, friend to the SYRACUSANS, in manner of a like distance from SYRACUSA and AGRIGENTE, very farre in land, when the other two were ports of the sea. The besieged did wonderfull valiantly defend themselves, their Towne being weake and kept by the Citizens onely, accompanied with their wives and children that would not forsake them. *Dionysius* hearing of their necessity, brought a stronge aide unto them of thirty thousand footmen, and a thousand horse, besides a great number of Gallies, that lay off and on upon the Ille, to cut off victuals from *Himilco*, and to land also. But when they came to joyne, *Dionysius* having divided his bands into three troopes to trouble his enemy the more, he could not do so well but the CARTHAGINIANS had the better, and slew many of his men. He very hardly escaping with his troope entered into the Towne, and there called his friends together to counsel what they were best to do. They seeing the place dangerous, and of great disadvantage to hazard battell in, gave him counsell to retire againe. He sent a Trumpet over night to *Himilco*, to pray him to surcease armes till the morning, that he might gather the dead bodies together to bury them. In the mean space, in the first watch of the night, he made all the people come out of the Towne, and dislodged himselfe about midnight, leaving there two thousand men lightly armed, commanding them to make great fires and noise, that the enemies might thinke that he and his men were still in the Towne: and that they at the breake of the day should come to their troopes. *Dionysius* having escaped thus, came unto CAMARINE, a Towne halfe-way betwixt GEELE and SYRACUSA, and commanded all the inhabitants to dislodge and come to SYRACUSA, that they might avoide the cruelties of the CARTHAGINIANS who sacked GEELE. So, all the inhabitants of these two Townes compelled to leave their houses and Country, all the fields and high-ways were full of women, children, and of poore people of the Country. This moved the souldiers against *Dionysius*, who accused him that he had done this of purpose, that he might more easily seise upon the other Cities of SICILIA, which should be destroyed by the barbarous CARTHAGINIANS: and thus they complained one to another of the little aide he had given to the Townesmen of GEELE: how the souldiers of his guard had dealt cowardly in their service, and ran away without the losse of a man of theirs, and no body pursued after them. Upon this discontentment, the ITALIAN souldiers that came out of ITALIE, took their journey to returne home. And the men of Armes of SICILIA at the first began to lye in waite to kill *Dionysius* on the way: but seeing that the souldiers of his guard were never from him, nor he from them, they departed all together, and went with speed towards SYRACUSA, and found them that were left there in Garrison, lodged in the place of the Arsenall, who knew nothing what had happened before GEELE. By this meanes being entered without resistance, they sacked the palace of *Dionysius*, where they met with great riches, and did so villanously abuse his wife, that for griefe she killed her selfe. But about the time that they departed from the Campe, *Dionysius* imagin-

ing by the way what would follow after this, chose out certaine footmen and horsemen which he thought he might best trust about his person, and went with all speed possible with them to SYRACUSA, supposing he should not overcome these men of Armes, unlesse he did as they. And even as he thought, so it came to passe: for they perswading themselves that *Dionysius* could not well tell what courle to take, whether to follow them, or to keep with his Army: thought they had wonne all, and walked up and downe the Towne telling stories of the cowardlinesse of *Dionysius*: who having marched well-neare nineteene leagues at one journey, came about midnight to the Gates of ACRADINE, with about an hundred horse and six hundred footmen: and finding it shut, caused store of Fagots, Reeds, and Sedge of the Fennes to be laid against the Gate, wherewith the SYRACUSANS use to burn their Lime, and which they found there ready at hand. Whilst this Gate was burning, his men that could not follow him so fast, arrived one after another. And so the Gate being burnt he entred, and found in the Market-place some of these men of Armes, who in haste had set themselves in order of battell: but on the suddain they were engaged, and killed with pikes and darts. *Dionysius* on the other side, he ran through the Towne, putting them all to the sword he met here and there in the streets, that were running to aide their men. And not staying so, he entred into their houses whom he knew to be his enemies, killed some of them, and drave others out of the City. The rest of the men of Armes fled, some here, some there, and the next morning all his force arrived at SYRACUSA. But they of GELA, and of CAMARINE being angry with him, went into the City of the LEONTINES.

The Carthaginians by reason of the plague demand peace.

In the midst of all these stirs and doings, the plague being hot in the Campe of the CARTHAGINIANS, enforced *Himilco* to send an Herald unto SYRACUSA to demand peace. *Dionysius* accepted it very willingly. So peace was concluded, that the CARTHAGINIANS should have the SICANIANS, besides all the Townes which they had before the war in their power: That they of SELINONTE, of AGRIGENTE, of HIMERE, of GELA, and of CAMARINE, might returne home to their houses, dwell in their Country, and in their Townes without walls, paying a certaine yearly tribute unto the CARTHAGINIANS: That the LEONTINES, those of MESSINA and all other the SICILIANS should be free, and enjoy their liberties and priviledges: That the SYRACUSANS should remaine under the government of *Dionysius*: That the prisoners and Gallies taken in this warre should be restored againe on either side. By this meanes of this peace *Dionysius* got the CARTHAGINIANS out of SICILIA, established his principality surer then ever, and married againe two other wives together: the one a stranger of the City of LOCRES, called *Doris*: the other of SYRACUSA called *Arifomache*, the daughter of *Hipparinus* the chiefe man of all the Citizens. He had asked a wife of them of RHEGE, but they refused him, and scorned his tyranny; of whom he was cruelly revenged, as we will tell you hereafter. It is reported that he married them both in one day, and it was never knowne which of them he knew first: for the rest, that ever afterwards he shewed them both a like favour. They did ordinarily eate together with him, and both of them by turnes lay with him. They of SYRACUSA were desirous that his wife of SYRACUSA should be preferred before the stranger. But *Doris* had this good hap, to bring forth *Dionysius* eldest son: which served his turne well to defend himselfe, that she was a Foraigner. *Arifomache* to the contrary was married a long time to *Dionysius* and had no children though he was very desirous to have one by her. In suchom that he put *Doris* mother to death, charging her that she had by charmes and forceries kept back *Arifomache* from conceiving. But afterwards she had children, to wit, two sons, *Nisus*, and *Hipparinus*: and two daughters, *Arete*, and *Sophrosyne*. *Dionysius* the younger, married his siter *Sophrosyne*: and *Arete* was married unto *Thearides*, brother to *Dionysius* the elder: and her second husband was *Dion*, the brother of *Arifomache*. Furthermore, considering that the SYRACUSANS being delivered from the war of the CARTHAGINIANS, should have leifure to thinke to recover their liberty againe: and perceiving that the quarter they called the Isle was stronger of situation, and easier to keep then any other of the three: he enclosed it in with a strong wall from the rest, and built there many great and high Towers, Palaces to keep his Courts, halls for his Counsell and publike assemblies, goodly Galleries, and spacious Gatehouses to contain a great number of people. And to retire himselfe unto upon a suddain motion of the common people, he built a marvellous strong Castle, within the compasse whereof he enclosed the Arsenal, where might lie in docke threescore Gallies: and there was a Gate also to shut to, into the which could enter but one Galley at a time. Then chusing out the goodliest and best place of all the territory of SYRACUSA, he divided it among his friends, and gave it unto them that had charge of men of war under him. That which remained, he distributed by equal portions unto other inhabitants of the Town, as well natural born Citizens, as strangers, come from other parts to dwell at SYRACUSA, concluding under the name of Citizens the bondmen enfranchised, whom he called the new Burgeses: and distributed to the people also the houses of SYRACUSA, those reserved of the quarter of the Isle, which he gave unto his friends and souldiers.

Dionysius fortified himselfe strongly against future dangers.

Dionysius made war against the free Cities of Sicilia.

So having as he thought well assured his estate, he began to make war upon the free Cities of SICILIA, under the colour that they favoured the CARTHAGINIANS. HERBESSE, a City in firme land near unto the mountaines, in the heart of the Country, was the first he attempted, and went and besieged it. But the SYRACUSANS that were a great number in his Army, and well appointed, began to have secret meetings, and to blame themselves, for that they joynd not with the men of Armes to drive out this Tyrant. He whom *Dionysius* had given them for their Capitaine called *Doricus*, was aware of their conferences, and threatened one that spake louder then the others: who

who replied so fiercely againe, that the Capitaine came to him in choler to strike him: but his companions took the quarrell, and did so contend against him, that they killed the Capitaine in the place. Then stirring up their fellow Citizens to recover their liberty, they sent for the men of Armes of the SYRACUSANS, who were retired into the fort of ETNE. *Dionysius* amazed with this change, presently raised his siege, and with all expedition tooke his way towards SYRACUSA, that he might be there first. After he was gone, those that had mutined chose them for their leaders that had killed Capitaine *Doricus*, went and encamped themselves with the men Armes before SYRACUSA, in place called *Epipies* to make war with the Tyrant, having stopped all the passages that he could not come out into the field. And forthwith they sent to them of RHEGE and MESSINA, to pray them to send them aide: which they obtained, to wit, ninety Gallies well appointed. Furthermore, they promised by open proclamation, a great sum of money to him that would kill the Tyrant: and to the strangers that were in pay, to make them Burgeses as themselves, if they would take their part against him. They provided Engines of battery to beat down the walles of the Isle, and every day gave new assaults unto them, and made very much of all the souldiers strangers that took their part. Whereupon *Dionysius* seeing himselfe shut out of the field, and that his men forsooke him every hour, assembled his friends to consult with them what was to be done. Some counselled him to tarry, alledging that tyranny and absolute power usurped by him, was a faire Tomb. *Polyxenus* his brother was of the mind, that he should save himselfe on the swiftest horse he had in his stable, in the lands which the CARTHAGINIANS held in SICILIA. But *Philistus*, who afterwards wrote the story of his selfe, said then, that *Dionysius* should neither flee away, nor yeeld up his tyranny, the which he should never forgo but by force, and his feet forward. *Dionysius* tooke hold of this opinion, and resolved with himselfe to abide all extremity, rather then to yeeld up his place. But in this case he fortun'd to come to see a butcher slaughter an ox, and having observed that at one stroke he fell down stark dead: Alas, said he, were it not a great shame that for fear of death which lasteth so little while, and is so soon gone, I should leave so goodly and great a Seigniorie? But knowing what people he had to deale withall, he sent ambassadors unto them that kept him in so straightly, to beseech them to permit him with safety to come out of the Town with his followers. Even at that instant he sent men to the souldiers CAMPANIANS, to promise them all that they would have, so they would come and besiege SYRACUSA. The Townemen having suffered him to go his way with five ships, slept quietly in hope that he would be gone: and cashiered a part of their souldiers, supposing they should need no longer to besiege it. So that their souldiers dispersed themselves here and there in the fields, even as if the tyranny had been put downe. But the CAMPANIANS allured by *Dionysius* promises, came into the field, and being come to AGYRIDE, they left their carriage, to be so much the sooner before SYRACUSA. They were twelve hundred horsemen, and made such speed, that they surpris'd the SYRACUSANS, and in despite of them rode through the Town unto the Castle of *Dionysius*, in whole aide also at the very same time there arrived by sea, three hundred other souldiers: so that now he became more courageous then ever he was. The SYRACUSANS on the other side began to disfigure themselves, some being of one minde some of another: which *Dionysius* understanding, he made a sally out upon them that kept the quarter called NEAPOLIS, or new Towne, and put them all to flight: howbeit many were not killed: for *Dionysius* riding every where about, willed his men to kill none that fled. Thus were the SYRACUSANS driven and dispersed in the field, where they gathered about the horsemen above seven thousand. Now for *Dionysius*, he having caused them to be buried that were slaine in this conflict, he sent ambassadors unto ETNE to them that were retired thither, to intreate them to be at peace, and to returne home to their houses, promising them by oath, that he would never be revenged for any thing they had practis'd or done against him. Those that had wives and children at SYRACUSA, were compelled to trust to his words and promises. But when the Ambassadors alledged to the others, the humanity of their master in burying the dead: they answered, that the Tyrant deserved to have as much done to him, and that they prayed the gods they might quickly requite him. For all this they would not stir out of ETNE, expecting opportunity to set upon their enemy: who being escaped from so great a danger, he courteously used them that returned, to entice the others to follow. And for the rest, after he had well payed the CAMPANIANS, he put them out of the City, suspecting their inconstancy and treason. They departing from SYRACUSA, went unto the City of ATELLE, where they prevailed so much, that they were received into the Towne to dwell there. But their wickednesse burst out into such extremity, that one night they set upon the naturall inhabitants, killed every man that was able to beare Armes, and afterwards by force thrust out their wives: and by this meanes made themselves masters of the Towne, and of all the territory thereabout. At the same time *Aristus*, one of the chiefe men of LACEDÆMON was sent unto SYRACUSA, upon a rumour given out among the people, that it was to drive out the Tyrant: but the effect shewed that it was but to negotiate with him, and to bind him unto them, to serve their turnes in their affairs. *Aristus* then immediately after his arrivall having had secret conference with *Dionysius*, he began to mutine the SYRACUSANS, promising them all the aide he could, for the recovery of their liberty. But afterwards he himselfe killed *Nicoles* the CORINTHIAN, who had promised the SYRACUSANS to be the head of this enterprise: and accusing them that gave credit to his words, he made the Tyrant more bold and stronger then ever. So did he also begin to shew himselfe more then before: for he found the meanes to send the SYRACUSANS into the fields to get in their corne and harvest, and in the meane space whilst they were out of the City, he went into the houses himselfe, and fetched out

Dionysius souldiers mutine, and war against him.

Dionysius resolved to abide all extremity rather then flee.

The double destiny of *Dionysius*.

Dionysius craveth peace of them of ETNE.

Treacherous ingratitude.

Aristus meant to strengthen the Tyrant.

out all their armes that had any. Then he environed his Castle round about with another second wall, built divers ships, and assembled a great number of souldiers strangers, whom he afterwards entertained. Now he thinking himselfe too little a Lord, undertooke to conquer some frontier Townes near unto the territory of the SYRACUSANS, and before he would assaile them, he brought his Army before ENNE, which he wanne presently. From thence he came to besiege the City of the LEONTINES, the which having resisted him, after he had foraged and preyed the Country about, he turned unto the Townes of the naturall SICILIANS, making as though he meant to set upon them, to the end that those of CATANE, and of NAXE, seeing the warre in another place, should care the lesse for themselves. So being neare unto the Town of ENNE, he put into Limnestus head, a Citizen of the same, that he should take upon him to make himselfe Lord of the Towne, promising him to helpe him in it: which the other executed. Howbeit he kept the Town for himselfe, and shut the Gates against Dionysius: who being angry with this repulse, counsellled the ENNIANS to drive out this new Tyrant. The people being set on by him, ran one day in armes into the Market-place, and cried, Liberty. Dionysius understanding that, followed with some of his faithful friends, tooke hold of Limnestus, and delivered him to the ENNIANS, and went out of the Towne againe immediately, to make others to trust him. From thence he went unto CATANE, and wanne the Towne through the treason of Arcefilans Captaine of the same: tooke all the armes from the inhabitants, and left a good Garrison there. Procles Captaine of NAXE, shortly after, played even the like part that Arcefilans had done, and was well recompensed for it: and all his kinsmen and friends were given him: but the other inhabitants were sold by the drum, their Towne destroyed, and their lands given to the SICILIANS, neighbors to SYRACUSA. For those of CATANE, they were also sold to them that would give most within SYRACUSA, and their Towne given to the souldiers CAMPANIANS. This made the LEONTINES hold up their hands, leave the Town, and to dwell at SYRACUSA. Now Dionysius fortified SYRACUSA anew, and having determined to close in the quarter called Epipoles with walls, he assembled threecore thousand labourers distributed by troopes, and serving skilful masters, accompanied with Mafons that had their day-work. These men encouraged by his presence, by his promises and gifts, finished the wall in three weeks of a reasonable height and thickness, being little lesse then two leagues about. The banished men of SYRACUSA being fled to RHEGE, did what they could possible to move the inhabitants to make war against Dionysius. They laboured it so well, that in the end the RHEGIANS went into the field, and induced the Governors of MESSINA to keep them company. But a MESSENIAN called Leomedon, having discouraged the troopes, every one went home againe, and did nothing: and as for Dionysius, he looked no further into them, but the RHEGIANS and MESSENIANS having sent unto him to treat of peace, he judging that the friendship of these two Cities would be very expedient for him, made peace with them.

Threecore thousand labourers to build and fortifie.

Dionysius preparations against the Carthaginians.

So having assured himself on that side, and considering that many GREEKES of SICILIA fled into the Townes which were subject to the CARTHAGINIANS, and that there were Townes untouched, unto the which they carried their goods: he thought that so long as he was at peace with them, divers of his subjects would be willing to do the like. Howbeit that in making war with them, those whom the CARTHAGINIANS should overcome by armes, would come to his side. Furthermore, word was brought him that CARTHAGE was wonderfully afflicted with the plague, which did the more strengthen him in his resolution. But knowing that he had to deal with mighty enemies of all the people of EUROPE, and that this war would not so soone be ended: he gathered together into SYRACUSA out of all the coasts of ITALY, of GREECE, and of SICILIA, the best workmen and artificers, unto whom he gave great wages, and great gifts unto those that were most skilfull and diligent. Who labouring in envy the one of the other, they built up in a short time two hundred Gallies, repaired an hundred and ten that had served a long time, forged an hundred and forty thousand bucklers or targets, so many swords and daggers, as many helmets and fallers: fourteen thousand corcelets, curaces, and brigandines of all sorts: Engines of battery of all fashions, and of darts, an incredible and unestimable number. Touching the Gallies, to arme them with Pilots, Mariners, and Galley-slaves, the City of SYRACUSA furnished for the one halfe: and Dionysius for the other halfe payed the souldiers strangers. The furniture of these ships, armes, and harnesse being ready, he began to gather his Army together, and would not for saving charges put himselfe in readinesse before. He gathered together within SYRACUSA all those that were able to beare armes: he drew out of the Townes subject unto him, all that were meet for warre: he leaved men out of LACONIA with consent of the Lords of SPARTA, and got a great number out of all parts because he payed well, and gave them very gracious entertainment that came to serve him. But above all the rest he shewed himself a marvellous friend to the RHEGIANS, and MESSENIANS, that had a reasonable strong Army in readinesse to be employed: being afraid that so soone as they should see the CARTHAGINIANS passed into SICILIA, they would joyne with them: for to which side soever these two Cities would incline, they would helpe to make a great weight in the balance, and to bring the victory to fall on their side. It was at that time that he gave a great Country of extent unto the MESSENIANS, and prayed the RHEGIANS to give him a wife of their Town. But they would not heare of this in any wise. Whereupon he went to the LODRIANS, who gave him her of whom we have spoken before: and for many dayes together did nothing else but make banquets and feasts, as well to his souldiers, as unto the more part of the Citizens of SYRACUSA. For he had now changed his first sourenesse and cruelty of a Tyrant into gentleness: he did use his

sub-

subjects in a more civil fort, put no more of them to death, nor banished any more of them, as he did at the first beginning. Shortly after this marriage was past, he assembled the people of SYRACUSA, and did persuade them to make warre with the CARTHAGINIANS, telling them that they were enemies of all the universall GREEKES, and of those especially that dwelt in SICILIA, whom they practised by all meanes they could, to make subject unto them. And that albeit they did not now make any alteration, it was because of the plague that tormented them much: but so soone as they were free from that, they should see the effects of their malice against all the inhabitants of SICILIA, which they cast long before in their minds. And that it were better for him, since it must needs be, soone or late, to beginne to make warre upon them, they being now weakke, then to tarry till they were recovered again: and that it was a great shame to them to suffer the Towns of GREECE so near unto them, to be made subject to barbarous people: that being desirous to recover their liberty, so much more willing they would be to yeeld themselves unto the SYRACUSANS, so soon as they should see that it were open war. These and other reasons were received and allowed by the SYRACUSANS, who were no lesse desirous then himself to wake warre with them. For they hated the CARTHAGINIANS, because that for fear of them they were constrained to put them themselves under the yoke. And next, for that they hoped Dionysius would use them more gently, so long as on the one side he should be afraid of the force of the enemies, and on the other, of the rebellion of those whom by force he kept under. And especially above the rest, for that they hoped being armed, if occasion were offered, they might one day stand for the recovery of their liberty.

Dionysius his persuasions prevailed to make war with the Carthaginians.

Warre being concluded upon in this assembly, Dionysius suffered the SYRACUSANS to spoile the PHENECIANS that trafficked in their haven: which they executed out of hand. The other SICILIANS did as much: so that the CARTHAGINIANS were driven to runne away, and those that they could catch were cruelly handled in every place, for the hatred they bare them, because of the proud parts they committed in the wars past. Dionysius having all his Army in readinesse, sent a Herald unto CARTHAGE with letters, containing that the SYRACUSANS had decreed in their Councell to make war upon the CARTHAGINIANS, unless they departed from the Towns of GREECE, which they held in SICILIA, and did leave them at liberty. The Senate and people of CARTHAGE amazed at it, knew that they had to fight with Dionysius, nevertheless they resolved to take armes, and sent to levy men out of all parts. Dionysius on the other side, he tooke the field with an Army of fourecore thousand fighting men of foote, and three thousand horse: and had at the sea neare two hundred Gallies and ships of oares, accompanied with five hundred great ships of burden, full of all sorts of Engines of battery, and of necessary munitions for such an Army. All the Townes almost of SICILIA yeelded themselves unto him, saving MOTYE, ANCYRE, SOLES, EGESTE, PALERME, and ENTILLE. Leptines his brother and Admirall, lay before MOTYE, and besieged it: and himselfe spoiled all the Country of the SOLENTINES, PALERMITANS, and ANCIRELIANS: and besieged EGESTE, and ENTILLE, and gave them divers assaults. Newes being brought unto him that Himilco was at hand, he went and encamped before MOTYE, a Towne situated within a little while of SYRACUSA: half a league from firme land, stately built, and very rich at that time. The which he assaulted by sea and by land, drove Himilco and his forces backe, and wanne the Towne by assault: but they sold their lives and Towne very deare, having killed a great number of the enemies before they were forced. The SICILIANS yet angry in their hearts for the mischiefs they had endured through the insolency of the CARTHAGINIANS in the former warres: were so braced in blood, that all those of MOTYE were put to the sword. They that saved themselves in the Temples, had their lives granted them: but Dionysius made them all be sold by the drum. Whilst he was occupied there, the EGESTANS made a fall upon the Campe which he had left before the Town, and set it on fire, which burnt the most part of his souldiers, and the rest well warmed, saved themselves as they could. But Dionysius not much regarding this losse, set upon all the Townes of the CARTHAGINIANS with his Army. They for their part gave all the authority and power to Himilco, to prepare for this war of SICILIA. He made an Army of three hundred thousand footmen, and of a great number of horsemen, and gave the rendezvous to the shippes of burthen at PALERME: where he arrived with his Fleet of Gallies that followed him. The Admirall Leptines having deferred his coming, set forward with his ships, and fought with them in the maine sea: he killed five thousand of his men, sunke fifty ships, and two hundred Carts of warre: and the rest of them saved themselves by flying. But Himilco having landed his Army, went and assailed MOTYE, and wanne it againe of the SYRACUSANS.

War denounced against Carthage.

The inhabitants of Motye slain.

At that time Dionysius was before EGESTE, where word being brought him of the arrival of the CARTHAGINIANS, and of the taking againe of MOTYE, he began to be afraid, and to take advice to returne to SYRACUSA: he commanded the SICILIANS to retire, and made their hands wait, to disadvantage their enemies by so much the more. This suddaine change of Dionysius, was cause that many of his friends tooke part with Himilco, who seeing his affaires prosper so well, made his Army march to MESSINE: tooke in (passing by) the Ile and towne of LYPARI: and then besieged the MESSINEANS so straightly, that in the end he wanne the Towne by assault. And there having refreshed his troopes, he razed the Towne to the very ground, the which did so much amaze the SICILIANS, that all except the ASSARINS, turned unto the CARTHAGINIANS. Dionysius being at his wits end for so many losses, did fortifie the

Dionysius fled notwithstanding his huge Army of three hundred thousand men. Messine wanne and razed by the Carthaginians.

Strong

strong holds that were in the territory of the LEONTINES, sent the CAMPANIANS to ETNE, that dwelt in the Towne of CATANE: and taking order for his affairs the best he could possible, he went into the field with foure and thirty thousand footemen, and a thousand horse, and lodged under the mount Taur, where the banished men of SYRACUSA were placed, favoured by the CARTHAGINIANS, and had fortified it, and made it in forme of a Town: whilst he made his abode there, newes came unto him that the Army of the CARTHAGINIANS was divided into two, and that the one part of them went by land to CATANE with Himilco: and the other came towards him by sea, led by Mago. He hoping to make this Fleet as nothing, commanded his brother Leptines to make out with his shipping against Mago. But Leptines was put to flight, with the losse of twenty thousand men, and well neare an hundred of his ships. This losse drave Dionysius into such a feare, doubting besides lest Mago following his victory should draw towards SYRACUSA, which was easie to be wonne having no Garrison in it: he retired into his City, and from thence sent men into ITALY and into GREECE, to pray aide against the CARTHAGINIANS. Himilco knowing his retreat, brought all his forces immediately unto SYRACUSA, besieged it by land and by sea, wanne the suburbs of ACRADINE, and set up his pavilion in the Temple of *Jupiter Olympian*, all the other Temples of the Suburbs having been rifled by the fouliders. In the meane time Polyxenus brought to the aide of the Towne, thirty ships of their friends under the conduct of Pharasidas, a Capitaine of the LACEDÆMONIANS. With this aide, and all the ships of burthen, Dionysius put to the sea to get victuals. But now whilst he was at the sea in his voyage, the SYRACUSANS being careful to looke to their City, and spying out all occasions to mischiefe the besiegers: they descreyed a boate that brought Corne to the Campe of Himilco. Whereupon on the suddaine they armed all their Gallies, and fought so valiantly with the CARTHAGINIANS, that they rooke their Admirall with twenty others, and sunke foure of them, and followed the rest that fled, unto the very place where their ships lay at Anchor within the great haven, provoking them to battell. But the CARTHAGINIANS astonished with this overthrow, stirred not.

Leptines loseth twenty thousand men.

Himilco besiegeth Syracusa.

The Syracusans confound Dionysius.

Then the SYRACUSANS fastened the Gallies prisoners unto the poores of theirs, and brought them into the City. Whereupon they being courageous againe for this little advantage they had of their enemies: they beganne to take among themselves, how the Tyrant had been many times overcome, and that they to the contrary without him had overcome the CARTHAGINIANS. And thereupon gathering together by groopes, they went speaking one to another, that they were weary with serving a Tyrant, and now specially having meanes to put him downe for ever: For, before they were disarmed, but now by reason of the warres they had their Armes in their hands. Notwithstanding they daily held this talke, Dionysius made the people to assemble, and praised them highly for the good service they had done, persuading them furthermore to be of good courage, for within few dayes he would make an end of this warre. But as the assembly of the people was ready to go their way, Theodorus a SYRACUSAN, judged to be one of the best men of armes within the Towne, stepped up, and made a long Oration, in the which after he had by peece-meale laid open all the tyrannies, cowardlinesse, and wicked deeds of Dionysius, whom he called Grammarian, clerke, a carelesse man, ignorant of the affaires of warre, oppressor of all SICILIA, and favourer of all thieves and ill men of the world: he perswaded them by divers reasons to endeavour themselves to recover their liberty. And since that their allies of ITALY and GREECE were within the City, that they should bring backe againe the power and authority to create such Capitaines as they should thinke good, into the hands of the Citizens, according to the tenure of their ancient lawes, or else into the hands of their ancestors and first founders, which were the CORINTHIANS: or at the least into the LACEDÆMONIANS hands, who had then the seigniorie of all GREECE. The SYRACUSANS being marvellously moved with such a speech, beheld the countenance of their confederates assistants in this assembly: untill such a time as Pharasidas being gotten up into the Pulpit for Orations, made every man hearken, supposing it should be he that should begine first to stirre up and encourage others to the recovery of their liberty. But to the contrary, he being particularly friend to Dionysius, beganne to tell them, that his Lord had sent him to aide the SYRACUSANS and Dionysius against the CARTHAGINIANS, not to destroy them, nor to abolish his estate. This speech being cleane contrary to that the common people expected, the souldiers strangers ranne straight about him. Whereupon the SYRACUSANS stirred not, saying that to themselves they curied the LACEDÆMONIANS; because that heretofore they had sent them Arifus, who pretending he came to aide them for to recover their liberty, was a traitor and sold them: and now that this Pharasidas had broken the hearts of their courages, being well disposed to root out this tyranny. For Dionysius he spake smoothly for the time, being thoroughly afraid they would have set upon him, and so dismissed the assembly, using the most gracious words unto them he could possibly. To others he gave presents, he sent for others to come and eate with him at Table. In the meane time the plague strangely posselt the Campe of the CARTHAGINIANS, and in a short time killed well near a hundred and fifty thousand of them: whereupon the most part of them were forsaken alive and dead, the contagion was so horrible. Some imputed it partly to the discommodity of the place, and excessive number of men living as it were on heapes together: partly unto the vengeance of God punishing their pride, the insolencies, cruelties, and sacriledges of the CARTHAGINIANS. Dionysius understanding of this misery, would not vainly let slip such a fit occasion, but armed fourescore Gallies, under the conduct of Pharasidas and Leptines, and his troopes, with whom he assailed Himilco by sea

Pharasidas a Spartan collecteth the Syracusans.

The Carthaginians plagued againe.

Sea and by Land, tooke his Forts, burnt and drowned the most part of his Ships, brake the rest, and gave his People of SYRACUSA meanes to set upon the little Barkes, and to shut them within the City. To be short, he brought them to such extremitie, that they sent secretly unto him to pray him to suffer that which was saved from the overthrow the day before, to passe the Sea, and to retire home to AFRICK with safety: promising to make him a Present of an hundred and fourescore thousand Crownes. His answer was, that it was not possible all should be saved, yet he was contented the naturall CARTHAGINIANS should passe. For he doubted much that the SYRACUSANS and their Friends would never suffer him to respite those other, if they once understood it. But he did it of purpose, being unwilling that the Army of CARTHAGE should be utterly destroyed, for feare that when the SYRACUSANS should see themselves free from this feare, they would remember the Oration of Theodorus, and put to all their force to recover their Liberty againe. The Money promised him being delivered, Himilco imbarqued by night all the naturall CARTHAGINIANS that were left into forty Gallies, and made Saile immediately towards AFRICK. Howbeit he was scant out of the Haven, but certaine CORINTHIANS perceived his stealing away, and suddenly came to tell it to Dionysius, who seeming to be very greatly busied, commanded to sound the Alarum, and that the Capitaines should prepare themselves to follow him. The CORINTHIANS seeing he went but faintly to worke, would tarry no longer, but even at the present houre imbarqued themselves, drew up their Ankers, and rowed hard after their Enemies: so that in a short space they overtooke the Reare of their Vessels, and so rudely hurt them, that they sunke some of them. Immediately after, Dionysius drew his Army into the Field: but the SICILIANS, friends unto the CARTHAGINIANS, had gotten the start before crossing the Countrey, inso much that the more part of them got home to their Houses. For this cause Dionysius having left a Guard to keepe the passages by the High waies, he brought his Army backe againe to the Enemies Campe. The barbarous People seeing themselves betrayed by the Generall, forsaken of the naturall CARTHAGINIANS and SICILIANS, their hearts were killed, and began to flie, stealing away, some this way, some that way: but all of them in manner fell into the hands of the Souldiers that guarded the High waies. Those that were left came before Dionysius, and casting downe their Armes, besought him to take pity of them, and to save their lives: the SPANIARDS onely excepted, who gathered themselves together with their Armes, and sent unto him to offer their Service, if it would please him to accept them: the which he did, and received them into pay among the Souldiers Strangers. For the rest, he tooke the other Prisoners, and gave their baggage in prey to his Souldiers. For Himilco, after he had lived ignominiously and poorly at CARTHAGE, he died distract of his wits. Some hold opinion, that immediately after he was arrived, not able to indure the shame he got in this Warre, he killed himselfe.

The Carthaginians crave safe passage homeward.

Dionysius his feare.

Himilco dieth.

Dionysius having driven the CARTHAGINIANS out of SICILIA, he built up MESSINA againe which they had ruined. Then he went to besiege TAUROMENION, fortified by the SICILIANS, who lustily gave him the repulse, and made a Salley upon him, and killed the most part of his men, having much ado to escape himself. On the other side, Mago chiefe of the AFRICANS in SICILIA, did courteously intreate his Allies, and received into his protection all those whom Dionysius oppressed. By which occasion having won the hearts of the most part of them, he became so strong in a short time, that he got a great Army againe on foote, marched with them to MESSINA, and over-ran all the plaine Countrey; where having gotten a great booty, he tooke upon him to besiege the ABACENIANS Confederates of Dionysius: who being bound to aide them, he went against the CARTHAGINIANS, beate Mago in a Conflict, and killed eight hundred of his men. So having brought his Troope to SYRACUSA and refreshed them, he armed a Fleete of an hundred Vessels, to go and make Warre with those of RHEGE, and coming to their Haven by night, at that instant time he did fiercely assaile them, set fire on their Gates, and set up scaling-Ladders in divers parts: nevertheless the RHEGIANS defended themselves so courageously, that he was forced to retire. And thereupon receiving certaine intelligence what great Preparations they made at CARTHAGE to begin the Warre againe: he left RHEGE, and returned againe to SYRACUSA. So the CARTHAGINIANS had gotten together againe fourescore thousand men, whom they sent into SICILIA under the conduct of Mago. But before they came to joyne with the Enemies, they concluded Peace with these Conditions, that every one should enjoy that they had gotten: That one of them should not quarrell with the other for any thing: That Dionysius might without breach of Peace make Warre with the TAUROMENIANS. These being thus agreed upon between them, Dionysius went and besieged TAUROMENION the second time, and did more furiously assault it then before: so that in the end, after long resistance of them that were besieged, he wanne the Towne, drave out the SICILIANS that dwelt there, and did replenish it with Strangers whom he kept in pay. Afterwards because his Army should not be idle and mutinous, he chose twenty thousand Footmen, and three thousand Horse, and went into ITALY with them, next adjoining unto SICILIA, to subdue those GREEKS which had dwelt there of long time. Newes being brought unto them of Dionysius intention, they assembled all the Estates of the Countrey of CROTONE, where they all resolved to joyne together to repulse this common Enemy; and making all the Forces they could, established Eloris a banished man of SYRACUSA their Chieftaine, they made their Army march against Dionysius, who camped before the City of CAULONE. He understanding of their coming, raised his Siege suddenly to go and meete with them: and the next morning after his departure, by breake of the day, he gave Charge upon the GREEKS with

Dionysius overthroweth Mago, and warreth against them of Rhege.

Peace concluded with Conditions.

Dionysus vanquisheth the Greeks that dwell in Italy. The Rhegians constrained to make Peace with hard conditions.

with his Troope well appointed, who marching disorderly, he killed their Chieftaine, and the valiantest men of their Army: and afterwards besieged the others that had saved themselves in a Towne, and compelled them to yeeld for that they had no water. Yet contrary to all mens expectation, he used them very courteously, and sent them home safe without Ransome. After he had wonne this goodly Victory, he led his Army into the Territory of the RHEGIANS, whom he hated to the death. They having no friends, and too weake of themselves to resist such a mighty Enemy, were constrained to make Peace with him with very hard Conditions. For he made them give him threescore Gallies, an hundred and fourscore thousand Crownes, and for hostage and observation of other Articles, an hundred of the chieft of the Towne. From thence he returned to besiege CAULONÆ, and held them so strait, that he won it by assault, destroyed it, and gave the Lands unto them of LOCRES.

But forasmuch as he could not forget the unreconcilable hatred he bare unto the RHEGIANS, he having demanded on a time one of their Daughters in marriage, they report, that the answer they made in an open Assembly of the Towne unto his Ambassadors, was, that they would give him none of them, unlesse he would marry the Hangmans Daughter of the Towne: this made him resolve that he would see the end of it. And where before he had made Peace with them, it was not for any good will he bare them, nor that he desired their friendship, but because he would take their Gallies from them, hoping that after he had left them bare at the Sea, he should come closer to them, and have them at his discretion. Therefore whilest he was in ITALY, he fought nothing else but to take an occasion to make Warre with them, so that he might not be charged, that contrary to his faith he had broken the Edict of Pacification. Having therefore led his Army unto the Straights, making as though he would passe into SICILIA, he sent unto the RHEGIANS to demand Victuals for his Army, promising to send them so much againe upon his returne to SYRACUSA. Which he did, to the end that if they refused, he might excuse himself well if he did set upon them: and if they did give him any, it should then turne to the hurt of the Towne, which if it came to be besieged, should be constrained for famine to hold up their hands to him. The RHEGIANS that least doubted his malice, furnished him with Victuals for certaine daies: but perceiving he tarried there too long, now counterfeiting he was sicke, then that he used other delays to prolong time, they began to see his fetches, and refused to victuall him any more. Thereupon he feigning to be much offended, sent them home their Hostages, and came to besiege the Towne: and coming hard to their Walls, made daily and continuall Assaults, beating upon the Walls with great Engines which he had made expressly of an incredible greatnesse. They having chosen a valiant man for their Captaine, called *Phyton*, and furnished all those that were able to beare Armes in the Towne, they defended themselves courageously, and did many waies hurt their Enemies: and specially in a Salley they made *Dionysus* was fore hurt with a Lance in the flanke, that he was like to have died; but being recovered and well againe, he pursued his purpose more obstinately then ever: whereby he tooke all hope of aide from them, and having continued Siege there eleven Moneths all together, in the end the RHEGIANS found themselves in great want of Victuals of all sorts: for a bushell of Wheate was at fifty Crownes. After that all kinde of Corne failed them, first they did eate up their Horses, and all kinde of Beasts of burthen. Then when they had no more to eate, they did teete all their Hides and Leather they could finde in the Towne, and so lived a while. And last of all, coming out of the Towne, they did eate and devour up such Hearbes and Rootes as they could finde by their Walls, even as wilde Beasts. *Dionysus* perceiving it, in stead of pitying of them (nay rather desiring they should eate one another of them) he caused the Grasse to be cut downe, and put his Beasts in the Campe into it, to feede of all that was along the Towne Walls and Ditches, to the end they should have nothing more to eate. So that in the end the poore RHEGIANS overcome by necessity, were constrained to yeeld themselves and their Towne to the discretion of the Tyrant. Who being entred into the Towne, found heapes of bodies dead of that Plague of Famine: and such as were yet alive, seemed rather ghosts then living persons. So he gathered together about fixe thousand Prisoners, whom he sent all to SYRACUSA, suffering notwithstanding all that could ransom themselves (paying a Talent) to be redeemed: and the rest to be sold by the Drumme to him that would give most. Amongst the Prisoners there was *Phyton* and his Sonne. *Dionysus* made his Sonne to be drowned first: and the next morning after, he made the Father to be tied to the highest Engine of Battery he had, and sent to tell him newes of the death of his Sonne. He was happier by a day then his Father, said *Phyton*: who was drawne all the Towne over, and whipped most shamefully: having a Serjeant at his backe that cried out aloud, that *Dionysus* made him be whipped thus, because he had made the RHEGIANS take Armes against him. But *Phyton* that had shewed himselfe like a valiant Captaine and worthy man in this Siege, and had lived honourably all his life time, did patiently indure the paine which the Tyrant made him suffer. For he remained constant, speaking out aloud that every body heard him: That he was put to death, because he would not betray his Country, and deliver it into the Tyrants hands; howbeit that within few daies the gods would be revenged of him for this outrage. His constancy was such, that it moved *Dionysus* Souldiers to compassion: who began already to murmur against him. Wherefore fearing lest they should be so bold to take him out of the Tyrant's hands, he made them leave whipping of him, and commanded that they should drowne him in the Sea with all his Kinned, which was done: for the rest, the City of RHEGIA was razed to the ground.

Thus

Thus have we made a large Discourse of the practises and Warres of *Dionysus*. Now let us speake something of his private Government. He had wit enough, but troubled with many vices: and the more he grew in yeares, the more it was corrupted. The Flatterers made an end of his destruction: for they called his cruelty, the hate of wicked men, and good justice; and made him believe that he was a most worthy man in all things: insomuch that he thought himselfe the onely man of the World, and would be so reputed. Being thus carried, and seeing himselfe at good leisure, he entred into a course which he had somewhat discontinued during the Warres, and therewith he was strangely taken: which was, to write Verses, and to make Tragedies. He fell to this study againe with more diligence then before, and sent for Poets out of all parts, whom he honoured, and gave Presents unto, because they should correct his Workes of Poetry. They seeking to gratifie him for their profit, said nothing but that which they thought should be most pleasing unto him: so that being puffed up with their flatteries, he gloried more in his Verses, then he did in his Warres. Now amongst other Poets that followed him, there was one they called *Philoxenus*, a learned man, and excellent to write Hymnes in praise of the gods. *Dionysus* one day gave him a Tragedie of his to peruse and correct; he crossed it all over from one end to the other: and one night being asked what he thought of certaine Poeties which the Tyrant made, he spake openly, that they were worth nothing. He answered so plainly, that *Dionysus* angrily said, it was of envie that he censured his Workes so, and sent him forthwith to dig in the Quarry-pit. The next morning his friends intreated *Dionysus* to pardon him, which he did: and would have him againe to Supper with many others of his sort. In the midst of this Feast, *Dionysus* that desired nothing more then to have his Verses heard, rehearsed some of them, and of those especially which he thought best done. Then turning himselfe to *Philoxenus*, he asked his opinion. But he answered him never a word, but looking about him, called one of *Dionysus* Guard, and said unto him: Carry me againe to the Quarry pit. *Dionysus* smiling at it, bare this nip well: and soone after taking *Philoxenus* apart, perswaded him not to be so sharpe. His friends also told him that he might easily forbear to speake so freely to no purpose. Then *Philoxenus* made him an answer all new, saying, that from thenceforth he would keepe such a weight on his words, that he would speake the truth, and keepe himselfe in *Dionysus* favour, as he did. For *Dionysus* having rehearsed certaine Verses full of great lamentations, to move the hearts of the hearers to pity, he prayed *Philoxenus* to say his minde of them: who answered him, that those Verses had filled him full of pity. It was a sharpe gird of mockery which *Dionysus* perceived not, no more then that which *Melanthis* spake of a Tragedie after the like sort, that he could not see it, it was so darke of speech. And so was *Plato* not much better used then *Philoxenus*. *Dion* his Disciple and Brother-in-law of *Dionysus*, had spoken so much good to this Tyrant, that being at leisure he was contented to see *Plato*, and to heare him. So they being together, their talke generally was all of Vertue: but chiefly they disputed, what was true force and prowesse? Where *Plato* proved unto him, that Tyrants were nothing lesse then valiant men. Out of that, turning his talke to speake of Justice: he shewed him that the life of the iust was very happy: and that to the contrary, the life of unjust men was most wicked. Insomuch that the Tyrant seeing himselfe convinced, could no longer endure talke with him: and was sorry to see those that were present so much to esteeme of him, and to take such singular pleasure to heare him speake. So at the last his choler being up, he asked him, what businesse had brought him into SICILIA? To seeke an honest man, said *Plato*. And how? (replied *Dionysus*) by the gods (to heare thee speake) it seemeth thou hast yet found none. *Dion* thought his choler should go no further, and so sent *Plato* away in a Galley, whom *Pole* Captaine of *Lacedæmon* brought backe againe into GREECE. But *Dionysus* prayed this Captaine secretly, that whatsoever he did he should kill *Plato* by the way, or at leastwise sell him: adding to this jest withall, He shall be never a whit the worse for that: for if he be a iust man, he shall be as happy being a Servant as otherwise. And so *Plato* was sold in the Isle of *EGINA* for the price of two hundred Crownes, and afterwards bought againe by *Annicerius* a Philosopher, and sent to ATHENS.

Dionysus gave himselfe to all Poesie, and sent for the best Singers he could recover in the Games Olympiall, to rehearse and sing his Verses before the People. The Singers at the beginning were heard with admiration of every body, for the goodnesse and finenesse of their voices: but when they came to examine their Songs, they were despised, mocked, and whistled at, which angered him extremely when he heard of it. So this passionned desire did so much increase in his head continually, that he became almost as a man beside himselfe: and said that his faithfull friends did envie him, and began to be at defiance with them, as if they had beene Traytors unto him. To conclude, this fury of his did so possesse him, that he did put many to death upon false occasions, and banished others, as *Philissus*, and *Leptines* his Brother, both of them valiant men, and that had done him great Service in his Warres. Howbeit afterwards he sent for them againe, and they were his friends as before. But since we are now to talke of his cruelties, let us say something as we passe by. One of his greatest friends called *Marsyas*, dreamed one night that he cut his throat. The Tyrant understanding of it, put this poore Dreamer to death: alleading that this Dreame could not have come to him at night, but that he had it settled in his minde to commit such an act in the day. *Leptines* being desirous one day to describe SICILIA in his presence, tooke a Halbard from one of the Souldiers of his Guard, and with the butt end of it drew on the ground that which he would: wherewith *Dionysus* was so angry, that he bitterly tooke up *Leptines*, and put the Souldier to death that had given him his Halbard. *Dionysus* one day being disposed to disport himselfe some way, gave his *Bardasse* his Sword and his Cloake to keepe: which one of his familiars perceiving, said: And what, do you trust this young Boy

M m m m. 2

The private carriage of *Dionysus*. Flatterers the bane of Princes.

Truth procureth it selfe-haired.

The constancy of *Philoxenus*.

Dionysus distinguishing *Plato* who spake truth, causeth him to be sold.

The cruelties of *Dionysus*.

The lively picture of a subtle Tyrant.

Dionysus very cunningly breaketh Peace with the Rhegians.

The Rhegians overcome, and their City razed.

Dionysus cruelty towards *Phyton* and his Sonne.

A bold answer
of *Teschia*, *Dionysius*'s Sister.

He spared not
his own Brother
and Sister.

Dionysius ty-
rannical con-
trary to his
Writings.

Pretty speeches
and deeds of
Dionysius.

The Corinthi-
an Ambassa-
dours refuse
Dionysius's Pre-
sents

with your life? The Youth began to smile at it: but *Dionysius* made him be killed, because by smiling he seemed to allow of this word: and he also dispatched the other, because he had shewed him the means to kill him. He was determined to have put his Brother-in-law *Polyxenus* to death: but he having an inkling of it, fled out of *SICILIA*. *Dionysius* sent to *Teschia* his Sister, and chid with her, because she had kept his flying away close from him: But she answered him with a bold countenance: What thinkest thou, *Dionysius*, that I am a woman so cowardly and faint-hearted, that if I had known that my Husband would have gone, I would not have taken Sea with him, and have beene companion of his Fortune? I knew nothing before he was gone, for it had beene more honourable for me to have beene called the Wife of *Polyxenus* banished, then Sister to thee a Tyrant. *Dionysius* was blanke at this speech, and the *SYRACUSANS* wondered at the vertue of this woman: inso much that after the Tyranny was destroyed, they did not leave to do her all the honour that they could have done to a Queene: and when she was dead, all the Citizens by common consent went with her body to the Sepulture. A question being made one day, to wit: Which was the best Copper? *Antiphon* answering quickly, that it was that wherewith the *ATHENIANS* melted the Statues of *Armodius* and *Aristogiton*, *Dionysius* made him to be strangled, and die in great torment. They report of him that he spared not his owne Mother, but caused her to be strangled, though she was very old. And as for his Brother *Lepines*, he suffered him to be killed by his Enemies, albeit he might easily have saved and delivered him at that time. Some talked of his Tyranny in a Barbers Shop, and said it was well established, and also evill to be destroyed, as the Diamond to be broken. I marvel said the Barber, smiling, how you say that of him, upon whose throat I passe my Razour so often? These words being brought to *Dionysius*, he hanged the Barber. He had put to death at divers times ten thousand of his Citizens, and though he had written in one of his Tragedies, that Tyranny was the Mother of Injustice: notwithstanding he had oftentimes this word in his mouth: That children must be deceived with Playes, and men with faire promises. And he said that the greatest pleasure and contentment he found in all his Government, was, that what he would have done, was suddenly executed.

One day he would have had Money of the *SYRACUSANS*: they complained and lamented, beseeching him to hold them excused, telling him they had no Money. He to the contrary, made them to be asked by others: which he did twice or thrice one after another. And as he continued still urging of them yet further: it was told him they did nothing but laugh, as they walked in the Market-place. Then he commanded his Receivers to presse them no more: for it is a signe, said he, that they have no more, since they make no account of us. His Mother being past age to marry, would needs marry a young man. He answered her, that indeed it was in his power to breake the Lawes of *SYRACUSA*, but of Nature, not: He severely punishing all other Malefactors, pardoned Thieves that tooke away mens Gownes and Cloakes whom they met by night in the streets: to the end that for this cause the *SYRACUSANS* should leave to make Feasts and Assemblies, wherein they could not keepe themselves from speaking and plotting against him. On a time a Stranger promised him aloud to teach him secretly, how he should know those that did practise any thing against him. *Dionysius* prayed him very earnestly. So the other going to him, Give me said he, fixe hundred Crownes, that the *SYRACUSANS* may thinke thou hast learned of me the signes to discover the Conspirators. He gave them him, and feigned that he had learned these means of him: greatly commending the subtilt fashion to get Money which this man had invented. Having heard one day a man that played upon the Citherne passing well, he openly promised him the summe of fixe hundred Crownes. The next morning he came to demand this summe: *Dionysius* told him: thou gavest me great pleasure yesterday to heare thee play: and so did I thee in making thee this promise: and so thou wert paid in the Field for the pleasure thou gavest me, by that that thou receivedst. One asked him on a time, If he were not Idle. God forbid, said he, that that should ever happen to me. He being informed that two young men of the City drinking together, had spoken many evill words of him and his Tyranny at the Table: sent to invite them both to supper with him: and seeing that the one after he had drunke a little, said and did many foolish things: and that the other to the contrary was very sober, and dranke but feldome: he pardoned the one, as being a Drunkard and insolent of nature, and that through drunkenesse had spoken evill of him: but he put the other to death, as one that bare him evill will in his heart, and being Enemy unto him of set purpose. Some of his familiars reproved him, because he had honoured and advanced a wicked man, and evill beloved of the *SYRACUSANS*. And he answered them, I will that there shall be one in *SYRACUSA*, that shall yet be more hated then my self. Once he sent Presents unto certaine Ambassadors of *CORINTH*, which came unto him. They refused them, because they had a Statute in their Common-wealth, that did forbid Ambassadors to take or receive any Gifts of Presents or Lord or Prince whatsoever. He was discontented withall, and told them that they did evill to take away that onely good which is in Tyrannies, that is, to have power to give: but they taught men also, that to receive any good of Tyrants, is a thing one should feare and shun. Being informed that a Townesman of *SYRACUSA* had hidden a Treasure in the ground in his house, he commanded him to bring it him: the which he did, but not all for all that, for he reserved a part, with the which he went and dwelt in another Towne, and bought some Land there: which when he understood, he sent for him to come to him; and restored him all his Gold and Silver: Since thou knowest now, said he, how to use Riches, and not to make that unprofitable which is made for the use of man.

Now his cruelties and tyrannous behaviour made him marvellous odious to the World, by reason

reason whereof he entred into such a mistrust of every body, that he made a Trench he digged about his Lodging where he lay, and because he would lie safely, he drew up a Draw-bridge, and shut himselfe in with great feare, having a great Guard without round about him. His Wives durst not come into his Chamber before they had put off their Gownes, he was so afraid left they should bring a Dagger under their Gownes. Yea his Brother and his owne Sonne were faine to put off their Clothes, and the Guard of his Chamber should come naked whatsoever he was that put his foote into it: then there was another Garment cast upon him. He was afraid of his owne Sonne as much as of any other, doubting that when he felt his owne courage, and frequented men of understanding, he would make some complot against him, and in the end thrust him out of his Seate and Seigniory. He locked him up in a Chamber, and would suffer no man to come and speake with him: where for lacke of other occupations, this young man occupied himselfe to make little Coaches or Chariots, Candlesticks, Saddles, Stooles, and Tables of Wood. Nevertheless, after he had some more liberty, and that his Father began to let him come abroad: he straight grew to be proud and dissolute as might be. And they say, that when he had ravished a Townesmans Wife by force, his Father being angry with him, asked him: Whether ever he had seene him do any such thing or not? the Sonne answered him: No more had you a Father that was a Tyrant. But *Dionysius* replied upon him againe: So shalt thou never have a Sonne at all, if thou leavest not to play these wicked parts. Another time going to see his Sonne in his Lodging, and seeing there great store of Vessels of Gold and Silver, he told him: there is nothing in thee of a Lord or Prince, since I have given thee such a deale of Gold and Silver Plate, and yet thou knowest not how to get a Friend. It was an ordinary thing with *Dionysius* to tell wonders, and do little, being so exceeding timorous. But specially after the execution of his Barber, and that his Daughters were now waxen great, he would not abide that any should clip his haire with Sizers: but he made an Image-maker of Images of Earth to come to him, who with a burning coale burnt his glib round about his head. Now he made himselfe to be knowne by a memorable fact he did: which was this. A certaine Flatterer called *Damocles*, praising the Majesty and Riches of *Dionysius*, and the Magnificence of his Palace, maintained that the Sun never saw a more happy man. *Dionysius* to make him partaker of this felicity, made him sit downe upon a little Bed very sumptuous, and enriched with wonderful precious things. Then he caused them to set up Tables laden with Vessels of Gold and Silver, and covered with wonderful dainty Meates, a number of fine Pages attending on his Service, Perfumes passing rare and most excellent sweete for the Chamber, and dainty Musicke both with Voice and Instruments. To be short, all the Pleasures and Pastimes possible to be thought of, did compasse this Minion of Court round about. But in the midst of all his Magnificent Furniture, *Dionysius* caused a naked Sword, glittering, and sharpe pointed, to be fastened to a small haire of a Horse, and to be hanged right over *Damocles* head: who forgetting this felicity he had so much commended, besought *Dionysius* it might quickly be taken away. And like as he was cruell unto men, so did he shew himselfe a despiser of his proper gods, whereof we will alleadge some examples. Having sacked the Temple of *Proserpine* in the City of *LOCRES*, he tooke the Sea, and having a gale of winde at pleasure: You see, said he, how the immortall gods do favour Sacriledges. He tooke off a Cloake of fine Gold from *Jupiter Olympian*, in the Towne of *SYRACUSA*, which Cloake weighed fourscore and five Talents, which are more worth then fifty thousand Crownes, and gave him another of Woollen, saying: that the Cloake of Gold was too cold for Winter, and too heave for Summer: and that the Woollen Cloake would be more convenient in both seasons. He rounded also the Statue of *Apollo*, which had a glib of Gold. And finding that Money went low with him, by reason of his great expences in the Warres he had against the *CARTHAGINIANS*, he tooke the Sea with a Fleete of three score Gallies, with pretence to set upon Pirates, but indeed it was to spoile a Temple of great fame, full of goodly and rich Jewels that had bene offered up there, the which was seated upon the edge of the quarter of a City of *THUSCAN*, called *AGYLLE*. Being arrived there in the night, and having landed his men: in the morning by breake of day he suddenly and without any danger executed his Enterprize. For the place being guarded with some few men, he easily forced it, and afterward at his leisure sacked the Temple, where he got to the summe of six hundred thousand Crownes. Which the Townesmen understanding, came out upon him straight, to see if they could defend the Temple: but he overcame them in Battell, and having taken a great number of Prisoners, he spoiled all their Countrey, and then returned to *SYRACUSA*, where he sold his Prisoners and his Booty, for the which he had also three hundred thousand Crownes more.

So being now well stored againe, he began to set up an Army: and because he saw the Townes subject unto the *CARTHAGINIANS* willing to revolt, he did intice them, and used them very graciously that came and tooke his part. The *CARTHAGINIANS* hearing that, sent unto him to demand their Townes, otherwise they proclaimed Warre against him. So on both sides they came into the Field. For the *CARTHAGINIANS*, they dispatched *Mago* into *SICILIA* with a great Army. *Dionysius* being afraid of nothing, marched before with his Troops, and being camped neare to a place called *CABALES*: both the Armies fiercely gave Charge upon each other, and after a long Fight *Mago* was slain in the place with ten thousand of his men, and five thousand taken Prisoners. The *CARTHAGINIANS* were not discouraged for all this, but chose them againe the Sonne of *Mago* for their chief Captaine, a young Gentleman, wise, courageous, and valiant. So after they had stayed *Dionysius* by a Truce for a certaine time, the tearme being expired, they presented him a Battell, and fought it out so resolutely, that after they had slaine his Brother *Lepines* (whom he forooke at his neede)

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and

Tyrants live in
great feare and
hated.

Dionysius nip-
pingly answer-
ed by his Son.

Dionysius fear-
ing the Barbers
Sizers, singe-
d his haire
with a coale.

Damocles a
flatterer well
served.

Dionysius Sa-
criledges.

Dionysius pre-
pareth Warre
against the
Carthaginians.

Mago a *Cartha-
ginian* Captaine
with ten thou-
sand of his
men slaine.

*Dionysius over-
thrown, and
his Brother
Leptinus slain.*

*Dionysius over-
come by the
Carthaginians,
falling sicke
and dieth.*

*Dionysius the
younger ban-
ished for his
cruelty, dieth
at Corinth.*

*Syracusa the
chiefe City of
Sicilia brought
into subjec-
tion under the
Romans.*

and fourteene thousand of his men, with much ado he saved himselfe. But the Conquerours being never a whit prouder of such a Victory, they sent Ambassadors unto him that concluded a Peace for their advantage. For beside the Townes that remained unto them, *Dionysius* paid them fixe hundred thousand Crownes to defray their charges in the Wars. Also he kept not this Peace long, but brake it shortly after: for understanding that the Plague was not amongst the *CARTHAGINIANS*, and that they were fallen out amongst themselves, he tooke advantage of this occasion, and to give colour to his pretence, gave it out, that the *AFRICANS* Souldiers had foraged the Lands of his friends; whereupon he leaved an Army of thirty thousand Footmen, and three thousand Horse: with this Army he began to make Warre againe, and in the first imployment of his Forces he was *SELENO-TE* and *ENTELLIS*: and after that he marched to *LILYBEE* to besiege it: but seeing it well guarded, he returned backe againe. Hereupon newes was brought him, that fire had taken some of the Arsenals of the *CARTHAGINIANS*: wherefore supposing all their Ships of Warre had beene burnt, he began to scoffe at all their Forces. But they having armed upon a sudden a Fleete of two hundred Gallies, assailed unlooked for a hundred and thirty of *Dionysius* Gallies, which wintered in the Haven of *ERIX*, some of them he sunke, and brought away the others. After this losse *Dionysius* retired into *SYRACUSA*, and fell very sicke. The which *Dion* perceiving, entred into talke of his Children, and of his Sister *Aristomache*. But the Physicians to curry favour with young *Dionysius*, hindered him that he could have no fit time to say any thing to him. Or as *Timaeus* writeth, they gave him drinke (as he had commanded them) to make him sleepe, and by this meanes tooke from him his senses, joyning death with sleepe. Some others say, that he was killed by his Guard: others, that he was poisoned. But *Diadornus* the *SICILIAN* fettereth downe the cause after another sort: which is this. He caused, said he, a little before, a Tragedy of his intituled, *THE LENEANS*, to be plaid at *ATHENS*: and having gotten the Victory, one of the Musicians brought him word of it by Sea: the which did so please him, that after he had richly rewarded the Messenger, he made a great Sacrifice to the gods to give them thanks for his Prosperity, and sumptuous Feasts, unto the which he invited all his friends, and dranke so largely, that he fell into a great sicknesse whereof he died. Now he had in times past an Oracle, that had foretold he should die then, when he had overcome those that should be worthier then himselfe. He applied this Oracle to the *CARTHAGINIANS*, supposing it was meant by them, because they were stronger then he. This was the cause that oftentimes in the Battels he had won against them, he being Victor, fled, or willingly suffered himselfe to be overcome because of this Prediction. Howbeit he could not thum his destiny: for being an ill Poet, he was judged by the sentence of corrupt Judges, to have excelled all the other Poets better then ever he was: and then came he to end his daies, as the Oracle had foretold him. Now though he had reigned the space of thirty eight yeares full out, and had boasted many times that he would leave his Sonne a Principality chained with strong chaines of a Diamond: this young *Dionysius* ruled no long time, but being shortly after driven out of *SYRACUSA* by the Inhabitants themselves, secondly by *Dion*, and at the last by *Timoleon*, who overthrew him altogether: he was sent to *CORINTH*, where he ended the rest of his daies in misery. Afterwards the *SYRACUSANS*, maintaining their liberty for the space of twenty yeares: they fell into *Agathocles* hands, who also committed terrible cruelties. After his death, they being full of civill dissention, demanded aide of *Pyrrhus* King of *EPHROS* against the *CARTHAGINIANS*. He having made a Journey into *SICILIA*, was constrained to leave it, and had great Warre with the *ROMANS*. By reason whereof the *SYRACUSANS* willingly yeelded themselves unto *Hieron* the second of that name, under whom (a great friend of the *ROMANS*) they prospered the space of fifty yeares. But after his death, his little Sonne *Hieronimus*, a young Lord and unruly, tooke part with the *CARTHAGINIANS*: and having reigned onely fifteene Moneths, he was killed by his Guard. Now for that his death brought on great confusions, and that the *SYRACUSANS* enclined to the *CARTHAGINIANS* part: the Confull *Marcellus* went to besiege *SYRACUSA*, and tooke it in the second year of the one hundred forty and two Olympiade. So that afterwards it was governed by Prætors, and according to the *ROMANS* Law, even to the declination of their Empire.

The end of the Life of Dionysius.

THE

THE LIFE OF OCTAVIUS CÆSAR AUGUSTUS.



*Ann. Mund.
398.*

*Post. Christi.
42.*

*Thy Tenth Augustus, and thy tongues good gift,
Thy Valour, Wisdom, and thy worthy Feats,
Thy Countreys Love, thy Laws, and Statutes, list
Thy Throne above all other Princely Seats.*



Cicero, the Daughter of *Accius Balbus* and of *Julia* the Sister of *Julius* The descent of *Augustus*.
Caesar, was married unto the Father of this man, whose Life we write of now, and who was descended of the ancient Race of the *Octavians*, issued out of the Countrey of the *Volscs*, and knowne at *ROME* from the time of *Tarquinius*, and of *Servius Tullus*. Their Sonne *Octavius* was borne in the yeare of the Consulship of *Cicero* and of *Caius Antonius*, at that time when as the Conspiracy of *Catiline* was discovered, and suppressed. He was called *Thurinus*: but afterwards, according to the tenor of his Uncles Testament, who made him his Heire, he was called *Caius Julius Caesar*, and lastly *Augustus*, by the advice of *Mnratius Plancus*, and by the Decree of the Senate. He was but foure yeares old when his Father died, and at twelve yeares he made the Funerall Oration for his Grandmother *Julia*: foure yeares after that, he became a Gownman, though he were but young: yet his Uncle gave him a Present at his returne out of *AFRICK*, such as the Souldiers are accustomed to have of their Captaines. Shortly after he followed his Uncle into *SPAIN*, whither he was gone against the Children of *Pompey*, and passed through many great dangers to overtake him. This Warre being ended, because *Caesar* undertooke other longer Journeys, *Octavius* was sent into the City of *APOLONIA*: and there plied his Booke very diligently. And it chanced him, without having any minde to it, that being gone to see *Theogenes* a learned Astronomer, he cast his Nativity, and suddenly he leapt being amazed, and honoured him. The which made *Octavius* conceive great hope of himselfe, and in memory of this good hap, he caused certaine pieces of Money to be coined, and he himselfe told the opinion of *Theogenes*. Being returned from *APOLONIA* to *ROME*, after his Uncle was slain by *Cassius*, *Brutus*, and their Allies, he declared himselfe to be his Heire, though his Mother and *Marcus Philippus* were of another minde. And having put himselfe forward, he governed the Common-wealth of *ROME*, first with *Antonius* and *Lepidus*: afterwards with *Antonius* the space of twelve yeares: and lastly himselfe alone, the space of foure and forty yeares. But before we speake of his Government of common Affaires in time of Peace and Warre, let us say somewhat (after *Suetonius*) of his Family and his manners. *Augustus* ruled He married being yet very young the Daughter of *Publius Servilius Isauricus*: but having made foure yeares. Peace

Wife and Sage
Sentences.

An hundred
and fifty Se-
nators and two
thousand
Knights, ap-
pointed to be
slaine.

Two Parric-
ides justly pu-
nished.

A good Sonne.

Women, some
faithfull to
their husbands
others unfaith-
full.

Enfranchised
Slaves some
treacherous,
some true.

and it would be very hard to describe the wickednesse of that time, the which like a furious stream carried away so many Citizens of ROME. In whose History do appeare most rare examples of all sorts of Vices and Vertues in all manner of persons: of whom we will make mention, after those that have written more at large: as amongst others, *Appianus Alexandrinus*: which will serve to shew, how much a man is a furious Beast, being lift up in Authority in the Common-wealth, and given to revenge. That there is nothing certaine nor sure in mans prosperity, which bringeth much envie to his Servants: as to the contrary, adversity maketh the afflicted contemptible, and every body ashamed of them. But they are wise men, that in such Tragick accidents do carry an invincible heart, resolutely obeying necessity, and a more high Providence then that of man. We must not call that intolérable which may happen to great or meane men: for all humane accidents are under the feete of Vertue. It chan- ceth often that force and wisdom do defend a man, as alwaies these two Vertues do preserve his Ho- nour. He is well advised that can finely pacifie and divert the fury of an Enemy: as to the contrary, shame and despair do gripe cowards, slothfull, and fearfull. But in fine, necessity presseth on the one side, and danger on the other.

So they did set up the names of the Proscriptors fastned in divers places of ROME, to the number of an hundred and thirty Senators for the first time, a hundred and fifty at the second time, and two thousand Knights. Then was the gate open to all villanies and cruelties, fought withall by patience and fidelity: but the examples will shew that better then all the discourse a man can make. *Salvius Otho*, Tribune of the People, was one of the first: who having invited his friends to his last Supper, a Centener came in, and in the presence of all his Guests, halfe dead for feare, strake off his head. *Minutius* the Prætor was also killed, sitting in his Seate of Judgement. *L. Vilius Annalis*, a man that had bene Confull, being escaped out of the hands of the murderers, saved himselfe in the Sub- burbes in a little house of one of his Clients: but his owne Sonne having no patience to stay for the Inheritance of his Father, bewrayed him unto the Souldiers, who went to kill him there. Shortly after, this Parricide being drunke had a quarrell with the selfe-same Souldiers, who stabbed him in with their Daggers. *C. Toranius* was betrayed in like manner by his owne Sonne, who having con- sumed in a few daies the Succession which he had so execrably pursued, and being condemned for theft, was banished into a place where he died for want and poverty. Now against these wicked, let us set some vertuous Children. *Q. Cicero* was hid by his Sonne, whom they could never make con- fesse (though he was tormented) where his Father was: who, not able any longer to endure they should afflict so vertuous a Sonne with so many evils for his fake, came and presented himselfe to the murderers. The Sonne began to intreate them to kill him before his Father: but they were both killed at one time. The *Egnatius*, Father and Sonne, one embracing the other, were both run through and slaine at one blow. *C. Hosiidius Geta* was buried for dead by his Sonne: who saved him, sustained and kept him till it was peace. *Arruntius*, after he had comforted and strengthened his Sonne, put himselfe to the Swords of the murderers. The Sonne died immediately after for griefe, and famine. Some other Children carefully saved and kept their Fathers, and hid them. Certaine Women also shewed themselves marvellous faithfull and loving to their Husbands: and so were there to the contrary, some unfaithfull, that discovered their wonderfull wickednesse. *Tausia* made such earnest suite, that she obtained grace of *Cæsar* for *T. Junius* her Husband, who was hidden by *Philopemen* his Bondman enfranchised: whom *Cæsar* Knighted for his fidelity to his Master. *Q. Ligurius* having bene kept by his Wife, was discovered by a Slave, and killed: wherefore his Wife killed her selfe with famine. *Lucretius Vespillo*, having erred and run in great danger here and there, not knowing whither to flie, came secretly to his Wife *Thuria*, and was hidden and kept close betwixt the feeling and the top of the House, untill she had obtained his grace of the *Trium-viri*. *Apulcius* was saved by his Wife, who fled with him. The Wife of *Antius* wrapped up her Husband in Coverlets, and made him be carried to the Sea as a Packet of Stuffe, where he imbarqued, and sailed into SICILIA. *Coponius* was saved by his Wife, who put her Honour aside in respect of her Husbands life: for she lent her body one night unto *Antonius* to preserve him (which she did by that meanes) whom she loved better then her selfe. Now to the contrary, some women unfaithfull to their Husbands, delivered them into the hands of the mur- derers, because they might marry againe. Amongst other, the Wife of *Septimius* having shame- fully given her body unto one of *Antonius* familiars, she caused her Husband to be put in the number of the Proscriptors, that she might more easily continue her adultery: and so was *Septi- mius* put to death. *Q. Vestius Salassus*, was hidden in a sure privie place, wherewith he acquaint- ed his Wife; but she straight revealed him to the murderers. The which he perceiving from a high place where he was, cast himselfe downe headlong, choosung rather to die so, then to make his cruell Wife parttime. *Fulvius* was discovered by a Slave of his, and his Concubine, jealous be- cause he had married a Wife, and had left her; although notwithstanding he had made her free, and had given her Goods to live withall. Now let us presently speake of the faithfulness and un- faithfulness of Slaves enfranchised. *P. Naso* was betrayed by his Slave freed, with whom he had bene too familiar. But he sold his death, for he killed the Traytor with his owne hands, and after- wards held out his necke to the Hangman. *L. Luccius* had put into the hands of two of his Slaves manumitted, as much as was necessary to have relieved him in his banishment: but they ran away with all, and he came and put himselfe to the slaughter. *Haterius*, that was in a secret place, was sold and discovered by a Slave of his. *Cassius Varus* being bewrayed by a Freeman that was his Slave, escaped nevertheless, and hid himselfe among Reedes: where being found by those of

MIN-

MINURNES, theyooke him for a Thiefe, and would have wracked him to have bewrayed his companions: he discovered himselfe to be a Senator of ROME, but they would not believe him, be- cause he was in poore estate. But whilst they were reasoning of the matter, there cometh a Centener that strake off his head. *C. Plotius* was saved by his Slaves: but being a man given to perjure and rub himselfe with odoriferous Ointments, the scent and smell of them discovered him to the Souldiers who went ferriting up and downe in his House: yet could they not finde him, but cruelly tormented his Servants, to make them confesse where he was: which they would never do. But *Plotius* having compassion of the evils of his faithfull Slaves, came out of the place where he was hidden, and because he would prolong their life, he shortened his owne, and presented himselfe to the murderers. *Ap- pianus Claudius*, as he was neare to be had by the backe, changed his Gowne with his Slave, who went in that sort to present himselfe to the murderers: but theyooke off his head, and so he saved his Masters head. Another Slave of *Menenius* did the like: for he went into his Masters Litter, and offered his necke to the Sword of the murderers: who dispatched him whilst his Master got to the Port of the Sea, from whence he escaped into SICILIA. But the Slave of *Virbinius Panopis* is worthy of memory every where: for he hearing the murderers came to sacke his Master,ooke his Mas- ters Gowne from him and his Ring, gave him his owne, and put him out at the backe Gate. Then he goeth up into his Masters Chamber, and lay downe upon his Bed, where he boldly attended them that killed him for *Panopis*. Another shewed himselfe no lesse faithfull in the behalfe of *Annius Refio*: for although his Master had throughly thwacked him for his knavish trickes played a few daies before, and that then it seemeth he had opportunity to be revenged: he to the contrary im- ployed himselfe after a marvellous fashion to save his Master: for he meeting with an old man in his Journey, strake off his head, and shewing that with his whippings together to the murderers, he made them easily believe that he had bene well revenged of his Master, with whom immedi- ately after he saved himselfe in SICILIA. The Slaves of *Martius Conserinus* kept him a long time, and so well, that he had leisure to go to *Sextus Pompeius*. *Q. Oppius* an honourable old man, and being almost at the pits brinke, like to be killed, was rescued by his Sonne, who having finely gotten him out of ROME,ooke him upon his shoulders, and afterwards led him into SI- CILIA, where all the poore distressed ROMANES were gently received: for *Pompeius* had sent certain Ships to keepe upon the Coast of ITALY, and Pinnaces every where, to the end to receive all them that fled on that side: giving them double recompence that saved a Proscript, and hono- rable Offices to men that had bene Confuls and escaped, comforting and entertaining the others with a most singular courtesie. Many went into MACEDON to *Brutus* and *Cassius*: others into AFRICK to *Cornificius*. Some having escaped the tempest that was in the time of *Sylla*, were even gladd with this cruelty: as amongst others, *M. Fidefius*, and *Lucius Philificius*. *T. Labie- nus* was one of the number of the murderers in the Proscription of *Sylla*. Afterwards he did nothing else but goup and dowsne with a foule possessed with furies: so that being weary of his life at this time, he went and fate in a Chaire at his Gate, quietly attending that they should put him in the number of them that should be killed. *Statius Samnis*, an honourable Senator, being fourscore years old, because Thieves should have no part of his Goods, he left them in prey to whosoever would take them: and afterwards set his House on fire, and burnt himselfe within it. *Aponius* being kept a good while by his Slaves, was so weary to be shut up in a troublesome place, and where he lived very poorly, that he came out to the Market-place, and held out his throat to the murderers. *Cestius* being possessed with the like griefe, caused his Slaves to make a great fire, and then cast himselfe in it. *Sulpitius Rufus*, a man that had bene Confull, died because of an Ille of his the which he would not sell unto *Fulvia*: as also *Ampius Balbus*, for that he refused to give this wo- man a pleasant place of his. *Balbus* was betrayed by a Servant of his, that shortly after was hanged upon a Gibbet by Sentence of the People: and so had his reward for his villanous fact. *Antonius* did put in the number of the Proscriptors a Senator called *Nonius Struma*, and onely to get out of his hands an Emerod esteemed at fifty thousand Crownes. But *Nonius* found the meanes to escape with his Emerod, to the great despight of him that greedily desired this prey. Some valiantly defended themselves, as *Atreus Capito*, that killed many Souldiers running rudely upon him, thinking he would have suffered himselfe to be killed as others were. Howbeit after he had sold his flesh deare, he was overcome by multitude of Assailants. *Vetulinus* aided with his Sonne, having many times valiantly repulsed the murderers, he would have saved himselfe in SICILIA: but in the Straight he met with such a number of Enemies, that there he was killed. *Sicilius Coranus* a Senator, was put in the number of Proscriptors, and because he would not with others condemne *Brutus* and *Cassius*, devising how to escape, he put himselfe in ranke among those that carried a dead Corps to buriall: but he was discovered and put to death. The *Trium-viri* appointed such men as they liked of, to take charge of them that had bene killed. They sold the Goods of the Proscriptors by the Drumme, at such a price as the Souldiers would: and yet the most part of them were spoiled and given away. They promised the Widowes their Joynter, and to the Sonnes the tenth part of the Patrimony of their Fathers, and to the Daughters the twentieth part. How- beit there were few, and in manner none, that had any benefit by that: but to the contrary, Children they sacked many that demanded such Rights. On the other side, they did exact great summes of Money upon the City of ROME, and over all ITALY: the Owners were constrained to give the halfe of their yearly Revenue: the Tenants to furnish one yeares Rent of that they held of others: the Masters of Houses, the halfe of the Rent of their Houses, according to the Rent they went for.

Some enfran-
chised men
give their own
lives to save
their Masters.

Sextus Pompei-
us rescueth the
Proscriptors.

T. Labienus
tormented
with a guilty
conscience.

Aponius
Streight impris-
onment and
poverty held
worfe then
death.

A treacherous
Servant puni-
shed.

Promise broken
with the
Widowes and
Children of
the slaine men.
Great exati-
ons used by the
Trium-viri.

To

To encourage the Souldiers, the *Trium-viri* gave unmeasurable Gifts, granted them daily new Pilgrage: the Legions wintered in the richest Townes, who were compelled to feede the Souldiers at their owne charge. Furthermore, all the rich men were constrained to pay in nature of a Tribute at one time, the tenth part of all that they were worth. To be short, so that they could finde out new inventions, it was enough to exact Money. For the feare and custome to indure all, had fashioned men to be more slaves, then the murderers and exactors would have had them. And to close up all, the *Triumviri* caused Money to be coyned, the which on the one side had the Image of *Antonius* with an Inscription in Latine, the effect whereof is this: *M. Antonius Emperor, Augur, Triumvir*, for the establishment of the Common-wealth. And on the other side there were three hands joynt together, with the markes of the Consulship, and had these words: *Salus generis humani*, that is to say: The health of mankind.

Now during the cruelties of this *Triumvirate*, *Brutus* and his Followers made themselves strong in *MACEDON*, and did divers exploits of Warre: and were afterwards overcome in the Fields *PHILIPPANS*, as hath bene said in the Life of *Brutus*, which we neede not rehearse againe, the principall being comprehended there. After this Victory, *Antonius* went into the East to dispose of his Affaires in *ASIA*, and to leave Money there to pay his Souldiers, having promised to every one of them five hundred Crownes. *Cæsar* returned into *ITALY* to refresh himselfe, to assigne Colonies to his Souldiers, to pacifie the troubles *Lepidus* had procured, and to set a Pike betwixt him and *Pompey* at a neede, if he were never so little in league with him. *Cæsar* fell grievously sicke at *BRUNDISIUM*: but being recovered againe, he entred into *ROME*, pacified all things, and kept *Lepidus* in his wonted degree. But when he came to bring his Souldiers into Colonies, then the storme began to rise: for the Owners cried out that they were tyrannized, being driven out of their Inheritances: the old Souldiers they complained that promise was not kept with them. *Fulvia* and some others practised to set them on, to the end to draw a Warre into *ITALY*, and by this meanes to make *Antonius* come againe, besetted by *Cleopatra*. These things proceeded so far that *Fulvia* tooke Armes, for she was then in the Campe, her Sword by her side, and commanded like a Capitaine. *Cæsar* on the other side being angry, sent her Daughter home to her, unto whom he was betrothed, and led his Army against the *NURSINIANS* and *SENTINATES* the Allies of *Fulvia*.

Augustus leadeth his Army against the Allies of *Fulvia*: and after driveth *L. Antonius* out of *Rome*.

In the meane space *Lucius Antonius* departed in the night with speede, and entred into *ROME* by Treason: used it as a City taken in Warre, and drave out *Lepidus*. *Cæsar* left *Sulvidienus* to besiege the *SENTINATES*, returned to *ROME*, and drave out *Lucius*, followed him and shortened his Journey as he was going to *GAULE*, shut him up, and besieged him a great time in *PEROUSE*, and compelled him through famine to yeeld himselfe, and to crave pardon, which he granted him. *PEROUSE* was burnt by a strange accident: for one of the chieftest of the City having set his House on fire, after he had wounded himselfe with his Dagger, a boisterous winde being risen upon it, so dispersed the flames abroad, that it burnt all the Houses besides. *Cæsar* caused some of his Capitaines to be killed that were against him. He condemned the *NURSINIANS* in a great summe of Money, and because they could not pay it, he drave them out of their City and Territory. Afterwards he suppressed some troubles raised in *NAPLES* by *Tiberius Claudius Nero*, Father of *Tiberius Cæsar*, and favourer of *Fulvia*: who seeing her selfe under foote, she fled unto *ATHENS*. But *Cæsar* to prevent a new Conspiracy, sent *Lucius Antonius* far from *ROME*, to command the Legions that were in *SPAIN*: he gave him also Commissioners to looke into him, and to observe his actions. He finely drave out *Lepidus* also into *AFRICK* with sixe Legions. On the other side *Fulvia* being dead, *Cæsar* and *Antonius* agreed being ready to fight: after that they made Peace with *Pompey* that governed *SICILIA*. Immediately after that he went into *GAULE*, to appease some troubles that happened there, and sent *Agrippa* before, who compelled the *AQUITANS* to submit themselves, and pacified all *GAULE*. On the other side *Cneius Calpurnius* subdued the *CRETANIANS* in *SPAIN*. And because the Legions had committed certaine insolencies, whereupon they fell together by the eares, and the Enemies had the better hand, after he had sharply reproved them, he tooke the tenth man of the two first Bands, and belaboured *Jubellius* with a cudgel. In the meane time *Cæsar* sent at times Troopes of men of Armes into *DALMATIA* and *ILLYRIA*, to the end to breathe them for other Warres that were a hatching, as that of *SICILIA* was the first. For *Menas* the Pirate, *Sextus Pompeius* Lieutenant, having for despight brought his Fleete unto *Cæsar*, and taken his part, unto whom also he delivered the Isles of *SARDINIA* and *CORSICA*, with three Legions, *Cæsar* did him great honours, and refused to deliver him againe unto *Pompey*, who asked him of him. Besides that, *Pompey* complained of *Antonius*, and pretending to have just occasions, he took Armes again. Wherefore *Cæsar* sent for *Antonius* and *Lepidus* out of *GREECE* and *AFRICK*, to come to aid him. *Antonius* came to the Haven of *BRUNDISIUM*: but upon the sudden, not known wherefore, he tooke Sea againe, and returned from whence he came. *Lepidus* came too late, which made *Cæsar* (seeing all the weight fall on his armes) that he sent his Lieutenants against *Pompey*: who fought with them by Sea and by Land, and had the better, and put *Cæsar* to great trouble, who had like to have been killed by a Slave also that would have revenged the death of his Masters Father, that was a Proscript. After that *Antonius* being come to *TARENTUM*, with intention to make Warre against *Cæsar*, *Octavia* Sister of the one and Wife of the other, agreed them, so that they did yet prolong with *Lepidus* their *Triumvirate* for five years more. *Antonius* went against the *PARTHIANS*, and *Cæsar* prepared to set upon *Pompey* againe. Hereupon *Menas* being angry for that he was not so well accounted of as he thought he deserved, he returned againe to joyne with *Pompey* with seven Gallies.

Augustus and *Antonius* agree, and after make peace with *S. Pompeius*.

Warre againe betweene *Augustus* and *S. Pompeius*.

Augustus Lieutenant overcome by *Sextus Pompeius*.

Menas revolts from *Augustus* to his old Master *S. Pompeius*.

Cæsar

Cæsar's Fleet having sustained great hurt by tempest, was also beaten by *Menas*. *Lepidus* wan *ILYRIE*, and tooke certaine neighbour Villages. *Cæsar* having repaired his Ships and Army by Sea, and made it stronger then before, under the Conduct of *Agrippa*, who sailed unto *LIPARE*, he gave Battell by Sea unto *Pompey*'s Lieutenants. But they being aided by *Menas* (that was returned the second time) he overcame and wan thirty Ships. But the other Fleet that *Cæsar* himselfe brought, was wholly overthrowne by *Pompey*, neare unto *TAUROMENION*, and *Cæsar* brought to that extremity, that he was ready to kill himselfe. But *Cornificius* ran to the shoare, who saved him, and brought him to the Campe: from whence he retired further off, and very quickly (but with great danger) unto *MESSALA*. After certaine encounters where *Pompey* ever had the better, inasmuch as *Lepidus* was suspected to leane on that side, *Cæsar* resolved to commit all to the hazard of a latter Battell: and to draw *Pompey* unto it, he cut him so short of Victuals, that he was constrained to come to blowes, and the Fight was very cruell: wherein *Agrippa* bestirred himselfe so valiantly, that he wan the Victory, funke twenty eight Ships, brake and spoiled the most part of the rest, and tooke two of the chieftest Capitaines *Pompey* had: one of the which called *Demochares*, killed himselfe with his own hands. Now for *Pompey*, who but a little before had about three hundred and fifty saile, he fled away with all speed onely with seventene, and went to *MESSINA* so discouraged, that leaving all hope and his Army he had by land, he went to the Isle of *CEPHALONIE*, where being somewhat come to himselfe, he determined to repaire to *Antonius*. But *Tisennus* a French-man (his Lieutenant of the Army by land) led all his Troopes unto *Lepidus*: some *GREEK* Historians report that it was to *Cæsar*. *Pleminius* was within *MESSINA* with eight Legions, and did capitulate with *Lepidus* to render up the Town to him. Whereupon *Agrippa* hapned to come thither: who maintained that they ought to regard *Cæsar* that was absent then. But that stood him in no stead: for *Lepidus* entered the Town, and gave the spoile of it as well to *Pleminius* Souldiers as to his. Thereupon *Cæsar* undertooke a thing worthy of memory, which was: that being unarmed he went into *Lepidus* Campe and turning by the blowes of the Darts that were thrown at him by some, which hit his Cloake and pierced it: he tooke hold of an Ensigne of a Legion. Then the Souldiers all of them armed followed him, and left *Lepidus*: who shortly after lost Empire and Army: he that with twenty Legions promised himselfe *SICILIA* and a great deale more, *Cæsar* gave him his life and the Office of soveraigne Bishop of *ROME*, whither he sent him. Some say he was banished: Upon these first there rose a sedition in *Cæsar*'s Campe through the insolency of the Souldiers, that ran even to his Judgement Seate, using great Menaces. But he wisely appeased all, punished the Authours of the tumult, and did cassiere all the tenth Legion with great shame and ignominy, because the Souldiers of the same did overbrave him in words. He dispersed and sent some others to their houses, and gave unto them that had used themselves gently, two thousand Sesterces for every Souldier: which is thought to mount neare to fifty Crownes. He made them to be mustered, and found that they were five and forty Legions, five and twenty thousand Horsemen, and fix and thirty thousand lightly armed. Afterwards he did great honours unto his Lieutenant *Agrippa* for his notable service, and commanded *Statilius Taurus* to go into *AFRICK* to take possession of the Provinces of *Lepidus*. Whilest *Antonius* made Warre with the *PARTHIANS*, or rather unfortunately they made War with him to his great confusion: his Lieutenant *Titius* found the meanes to lay hands upon *Sextus Pompeius* that was fled in the Isle of *SAMOS*, and then forty years old: whom he put to death by *Antonius* commandement: for which fact he was so hated of the People of *ROME*, that though he had given them the pastime of certaine Plaies at his own cost and charges, they drave him out of the Theater.

Augustus ready to kill himselfe, is saved by *Cornificius*.

S. Pompeius overcome by *Agrippa*. *Augustus* Lieutenant slith.

Augustus unarmed entrench into *Lepidus* Campe, who being forsaken loseth all.

The tenth Legion cassiere for their insolent words.

Sextus Pompeius put to death by the commandement of *Antonius*.

Augustus hurt in his thighs, armes, and one of his knees.

Moreover, *Cæsar* thinking to have sailed out of *SICILIA* into *MAURITANIA*, the Sea being rough, stayed him: which was the cause that he sent his Army into *ILLYRIA*, and set upon the *JAPIDES*, which did him much mischief, yet at the last he overcame them. Then he ranne upon the *PANNONIANS*, and the *DALMATIANS*, whom he made Tributaries; being hurt in his thighs, in his armes, and in one of his knees, in this Warre against the *ILLYRIANS*. On the other side, *Messala* his Lieutenant fought against the *SALASSIANS*, dwelling in a Valley environed with high Mouttaines of the Alpes: and after divers overthrowes, he made them subject to the Empire. And shortly after *Cæsar* was chosen Consul the second time: but he resigned the Office the same day unto *Antonius Pater*, being about to make himselfe friends against *Antonius*: who being stayed about *Cleopatra*, gave his Wife occasion to returne from *ATHENS* to *ROME*. Now after the fire of enmity betwixt these two Competitors had been a hatching a certaine time, it stood either of them both upon, to seeke all the meanes to overthrow his Companion. The strange proceedings of *Antonius* in favour of *Cleopatra* hastened the Warre, whereupon followed the Battell of *ACTIUM*, the flying of these wicked Lovers, and the beginning of the Monarchy of *Cæsar*, confirmed by the Conquest of *EGYPT*, and the Tragical death of *Antonius* and *Cleopatra*. The which we touch briefly, the whole being largely set down in the Life of *Antonius*. They did great honours unto *Cæsar* after these exploits. The memory of *Antonius* was condemned, and his Statues maimed and thrown down to the ground. A little before, *M. Lepidus*, Son of the *Triumvir* and of *Junia* Sister of *Brutus*, conspired against *Cæsar*. But after *M. Lepidus* they had discovered it, he was put to death by the wisdom of *C. Mecenas* a Knight, and Governor of *ROME*: his Wife *Servilia* killed her selfe, as *Portia* the Wife of *Brutus*. After the utter Overthrow of *Antonius*, *Cæsar* tooke order for the affaires of the East parts, he made alliance with *Herodes* King of *JUDEA*. He sent the King of the *PARTHIANS* Son in hostage to *ROME*, until they should

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should send all the Ensignes and Standards they had wonne of *Crassus* and *Antonius*. He governed the Affaires of *ASIA*, received into league and friendship with him the Kings of *GALATIA*, *CAPPADOCIA*, and *PAPHLAGONIA*: and he punished some others by Fines, that were not his friends. He gave Priviledges to the Cities of *EPHESUS*, of *NICÆ*, *PERGAME*, and *BYTHINIA*, to build Temples in the honour of *Julius Cæsar*, of *ROMÆ*, and of himselfe. He set the *SAMIANs* at liberty, and after he had taken order for all the rest, he went towards *ITALY*: where after he was arrived it cannot be exprest with what great joy he was received of high and low, from *BRUNDISIUM* unto *ROME*. There he triumphed three daies together, for the *ILLYRIANS*, for *Antonius* and for *Cleopatra*. He gave great Presents unto Souldiers, and besides the Money that was made of the booty, and distributed by even Portions, he gave every one fifty Crowns apiece, the double to a Centener, and the treble to a Knight: and to every person among the People ten Crownes, even to little Children. He brought such store of Gold and Silver out of *EGYPT* (by him reduced into a Province, and condemned to pay twenty Millions of Gold to the People of *ROMÆ* for a Fine) that he brought down usury from twelve in the hundred, to foure: and made that Land and Houses were sold dear, where before the rich men had them almost for nothing. Furthermore, he brought in a marvelous change in all traffike: he also abolished all Taxes and Subsidies imposed by necessity of the civil Warres. He cried downe all strange Coines, which were at too high a price for their Law, and all through the iniquity of time. He lent out Money for a time without interest, unto those that had meanes to make double profit of it. He would not receive the Gold which the Cities of *ITALY* sent him to make him Crownes: but sent them it backe againe with his thanks for their good will. He gave the pastime for all manner of Games and magnificent sights unto the People, such as they had never seene before. He made goodly Feasts unto the Senators and Magistrates, and by a world of pleasures he appeased the sorrow of proscription, and of so many civil Warres. Being occupied in these matters, Letters came from *Crassus*, *Cæsars* Lieutenant, advertised that he had subdued the *BASTARNES*, divers People of *MÆSIA*, of *DACIA*, and of *THRACIA*: that he had won seven or eight Battels of them, that with his owne hands he had killed the King of the *BASTARNES*, and had brought the King of *GETES* to such extremity, that he killed himselfe. These newes did increase the joy, and the Triumph was granted to *Crassus*, and to *Cæsar* also: who by Decree of the Senate caused the Temple of *Janus* to be shut the third time, which had remained open the space of two hundred yeares. At this time *Cæsar* that was in his fift Consulship, numbred and mustered all the People of *ROMÆ*, reformed the Senate, the order of Knights, the distribution of Corne: and because of the great dearth that was then, he made Corne to be distributed to the People at a very meane price to some, and for gramericy to the poor. They that had been bound to the Common-wealth of too long a time, he discharged them, and burnt their Obligations. He confirmed the propriety of Houses in strife betwixt them and the Common-wealth, if they had been in quiet possession any convenient time. And to assure all those that had adhered unto *Antonius*, and to keep them that they should no more give eare to any new rumours, he sware unto them in good faith, that having taken *Antonius* Coffers he had burnt all the Letters he found in them, and read not one of them. He set down an Order for Custome, eased the Customers that had been too much oppressed: also he restored the Treasure againe, and the Augure of health. And by reason of that above named, he was called Father of the Countrey in open Senate: and at the same time he sent People to *CARTHAGE*, to set upon the Families of the *Patricians*, greatly diminished by the Proscriptions and civil Warres.

The next yeare following, which was the seven hundred twenty five of the Foundation of *ROMÆ*, and the sixt of his Consulship, seeing all the Warres appeased, Peace established, Armes laid down every where, the Common-wealth in good strength, the Lawes honoured, Justice in authority, the Senate in their ancient Glory, and the People restored by him to their rights of Assembly to choose their yearly Magistrates, and to give out their Commissions and Charges according to their old custome: he began to reason the matter with himselfe, which of the twaine was most profitable, either to keep (for the good of the State, and under the Title of a Prince) the Empire which he had in his hands: or whether he should render it up unto the People. He found himselfe grieved for that *Antonius* had oftentimes accused him of tyranny and unjust invasion: and on the other part also he apprehended the fury of the People, and the factions of ambitious men, which like the billowes of the Sea, would incontinently tosse in horrible fashion this unconstant Sea. Being thus perplexed, one day he tooke aside *Agrippa* and *C. Maecenas*, his two faithful friends, very wise men and of great experience above all others: and prayed them to tell him plainly without flattery, what they thought of it, being resolved to follow that which should be most expedient for the good of the Common-wealth. *Agrippa* by an ample discourse did counsell him to render up to the People his Principality and signiority. *Maecenas* was of the contrary opinion, and gave such counsell as *Cæsar* followed, tempering both opinions, and made himselfe Master in such sort that the People felt it not, but rather confessed that they needed such a Physician to raise them up againe from the incurable maladies they were fallen into. He thanked both his friends, gave his Niece *Marcella* to be the Wife of *Agrippa*, did him new honours, proceedeth to a new review of the Citizens of *ROMÆ*: and is chosen Prince of the Senate by *Agrippa*, who was then his Companion in the Consulship. Furthermore, assuring himselfe that so much good and honours as had been communicated to the small and great, would make them they would not much passe for their ancient Dignities and Liberty: and that the sweetness of the ease and rest they did enjoy, would make them forget all the good and evil past: he

borrowed

borrowed of his magnanimity the marvellous counsell that followeth. He resolved to discharge himselfe of the Principality into the hands of all the Senate, to render it unto the People: hoping that the Senate seeing his affection so to submit himselfe to the accustomed order, and not to seek a domination and Government ill-willed, they would thanke him the more: that all the great persons would lay aside the envy which they might beare unto him, and that the People would esteeme and love him so much the more. Upon this thought, and after he had acquainted some of the Senators withall that stood affected to him, to the end to win others by their meanes, he made an Oration in open Senate, well studied, and fit for the time. Having made a long discourse of the great extent of the Empire, and of his insufficiency, he added unto it, that this common burden could not be carried but by the immortal gods: that he had continued some yeares to manage a part of it, and that experience had made him know that his shoulders were too weake to beare such a burden as the Principality, subject to infinite changes, and exposed to a thousand ambushes. He therefore required, the City being furnished with so many Noble Persons, that the affaires might be managed by many men, who joyning themselves together, might more easily satisfie the charges, then one alone: that in a good houre, having set all things in good estate againe, he did put the Common-wealth into the hands of the Senate and People of *ROMÆ*. This Oration diversly moved the Senators. Some of them thought, that there was more Art then Truth in it. Others judged, that it was not expedient to put the estate into the power of many. The most of them enriched and made great by *Cæsar*, and that were risen up by the ruines of their Countrey, said: that they should preferre that which now they had in hand, before all the time past, beaten with so many Tempets. Many others inclined to that side, not that they were in good earnest of that minde, but for feare to be looked upon with an evil eye, if they did speake against their Companions. So then all of them with one consent unadvisedly, rather then of a common and ripe judgement, began to beseech and adure *Cæsar*, that it would please him to be chief and prefever of the Empire, of the which he had set down so many goodly and happy Foundations. Immediately they ordained that *Cæsars* Guard should have twice as much pay as they had before. *Agrippa* was of opinion, that they should cashier the *SPANISH* Guard; and *Cæsar* in their place should choose a Guard of *ALBANES*, knowing well that in those great bodies there was little malice hidden, and lesse subtilty: and that they were a People that tooke more pleasure to be commanded, then to command.

He being thus established in his Empire by the consent of the Senate and People, to the end they should not thinke he would lift himselfe up above measure, or to give sure footing to a perpetual Monarchy: he would not accept the charge to provide for the affaires of estate, and the Government of the Provinces, but for the space of ten yeares: with condition to give up his charge before this terme, if things were sooner settled in their full estate. First therefore, he left a part of the Provinces unto the Senate and People, to take care for the Government of the same: and for himselfe, he kept those that were not yet in order, and in the which he should be driven to make Warre. In those that were quiet, he established Pro-Consuls: and for others, he governed them by his Lieutenants, which had their lesson, according unto the which they were bound to be directed. Among other Lawes they were forbidden to leavy any Money, or to gather men of Warre together, or to assaile any Province, without the commandment of the Senate, or of *Cæsar*. That forthwith when they sent any Successours, they should leave their Government, and repaire to *ROMÆ* within three Moneths. He appointed also unto the Pro-Consuls a certaine somme of Money to beare their charges for their Horse and Carriage of the stuffe. Furthermore he established a Law, that the Pro-Consull or Governour should not go to his Province appointed him, till the end of five yeares after his Commission granted him: to the end that they which were convinced for taking of Money corruptly, should pay to the Provinces the Fine they should be condemned in: and he deprived them of all estates and honours which through their evil behaviours had been condemned in such Fines. And further, he would not that the Officers that had to deale in his affaires should have any Authority, but to demand their Stipends and Money which the Provinces were bound to furnish. And because he would beautifie and adorne *ROMÆ*, as *Augustus* the Majesty of the Empire required, he raised up many common buildings, and repaired many that had been left unfinished or ruined, leaving the Names of the Founders. His Buildings among other were the Temple of *Apollo* in the Palace, with the Porch, and a Library of Greeke and Latine Books. Also the Monuments, and the Parke, for the Walkes and Pleasure of the People of *ROMÆ*. In his seventh Consulship, certaine Senators propounded that they should call him *Romulus*, for that he having preserved the City of *ROMÆ*, it was as much bound unto him, as unto the first Founder. But he would not accept of that Name. Wherefore *C. Munacius Plancus* bethought himselfe of another, the which was given unto him by common consent of all, and he held it to be his death: as also we will call him from henceforth in all that remaineth to be set down of his deeds: to wit, *Augustus*. He not to seeme unworthy of this Name, and to carry himselfe so, that no man should repent his change of Government, began diligently to set his hand to these affairs. He wisely reformed the ancient Lawes, and made new that were very necessary. To make sure worke in these affaires, he chose from six Moneths to six Moneths fiftene Senators that had been Consuls, and did privately acquaint them withall that was requisite to be done for the preservation of the quietnesse of the Common-wealth, giving order that nothing should passe but Common should be searched and examined to the bottome: saying that he would give the People Lawes which

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which they should all allow, and that he would not be his owne Judge alone. Afterwards he reformed the Assemblies of the City, where all things were carried by Suites, Presents, and Violence. He then restored the People their right, by Voices to choose the Magistrates. And to cut off all Suites, he forbade them to make any Rolle of Suites Names, but of those that had laid down great Summes of Money, to the end that being convinced of their Suites, they should be put to their Fines: adding also this ignominy, that such should be deprived of all Estates and Honours for the space of five yeares. And furthermore, he finely hindred the bad practises in Elections, giving order that none should be put in nomination but such as were vertuous and of good reputation. He left unto the Magistrates their charges whole, and did alwaies require in all his Consulships that they should give him two Companions: howbeit the Senate would never agree unto it. The yeare before, he had reduced the number of Senatours to six hundred, all honourable men. At that time also he re-established the ancient Order and Dignity: ordaining that the Senate should have the superintendency of the Treasure, and of all the revenues that belonged to the People of Rome. That all the expences for the Common-wealth should be made by their Ordinance. That the Senatours should have the hearing of all crimes of treason, conspiracy, ambushes, and offences to his Majesties Person: and that it should pertain to them to give entertainment and answer that should be fit, to Ambassadors of Nations. When in matters of importance he asked the advice of the Senate, instead of coming to the Prince of the Senate according to the accustomed manner, or to him that was appointed Consull, or to other Senatours by order: he made choice of any one of them which he thought good, to the end that every one should give attentive eare, and be ready to deliver his opinion: and not to hold his head down in his Rancke, and content himselfe to be of other mens minds. He ordained also, that the whole body of the Senate should not assemble but from fifteen dayes to fiftene daies: howbeit that in ordinary matters the Magistrates should thinke of that that were expedient. In the Moneth of September and October, the Senatours were not bound to meete, but only foure hundred drawne by Lot: who might establish any Decree. And as for himselfe, to honour this Company the more, the day of the Assembly he never saluted any of the Senatours apart, but all of them together in the Councell-Chamber when they were set, and all of them Name by Name, the one after the other. If he would go out, and that he said, he would detain the Company no longer, he bade them farewell in the same manner that he had saluted them at his coming in. He ruled justice also civil and criminal, and willed that amongst other things the Criminals accused by certaine Enemies, should be set at liberty: with condition notwithstanding that they should be brought to Prison againe, if the Accuser did submit himselfe to receive the like punishment as the offender, if it were found he had endangered him. Moreover, he made provision for common workes, and reparations of Bridges, Canseys, and High-waies: And because he was determined to make a Voyage into GAULE, he established *Messala* Governour of ITALY and of ROME, for feare left any trouble should happen in his absence. But this place being troublesome unto *Messala*, he besought *Augustus* he would discharge him: and therefore *Agrippa* was substituted, who rid all ITALY of a great number of Theeves and Robbers on high-waies, and stayed the Courses of many other troubles of the State.

Augustus care for Election of good Magistrates.

Augustus his justice toward those that were falsely accused, and toward Slanderers.

Italy freed from Theeves and Robbers.

Augustus maketh Peace in France, and divideth it in foure parts.

The affaires of ROME and ITALY being in so quiet estate, understanding that ENGLAND was full of sedition, SPAIN next unto the Mountaines *Pirenei* in armes, and GAULE ready to rise: he opened the Temple of *Janus*, and tooke his journey to give order for all. But the Ambassadors of ENGLAND prevented him, and promised Tribute. Then he went to GAULE in NARBONE, to draw nearer to SPAIN. And so holding on his journey to NARBONE, he pacified the GAULES, he made an exact numbering of all the GAULES, of their Goddes, Possessions, and Slaves, and caused the Rolles to be brought unto him. He established Lawes and Customes in every place, and divided GAULE into foure parts: of the which the first part was called NARBONNE, which extendeth it selfe from the River of *Var* unto the Mountaines *Pirenei*; *Aquitaine* the second, unto the River of *Garonne*. The third, GAULE *LYONNOISE*, unto the River of *Seine*. Then GAULE *BELGICA*, bordered with the River of *Rhin*: and rated all the GAULES at ten Millions of Gold for a Tax. Now there remained no more for him to do, but to bring SPAIN to order: in the which the ROMANS had made continuall Wars the space of two hundred yeares together. Neverthelesse the CANTABRIANS and ASTURIANS (which are the *BASQUES*) and other People neighbours dwelling in the Mountaines, they neither cared for *Augustus*, nor for the Empire: for they were ever in armes, and made incursions upon the Allies of the People of ROME, and did them great mischief: who complaining unto *Augustus* of the great necessity they were brought unto, he being neare unto them, came to aide them: and found the CANTABRIANS besieging of a Fort, having taken the Town by it called *SAGESAME*. He charged them home with such fury that he left them dead in the place, after they had valiantly defended themselves. Afterwards he divided his Army into three parts, and environed the Countrey of the CANTABRIANS, who made head for the space of five yeares, and did marvellous great hurt to the ROMANS: and if the straights whereby they might easily enter into their Countrey, had not been discovered unto *Augustus*, they had sent him home againe to ROME with shame. But having found the way to surprize them on every side, he made a cruell Warre upon them, putting all to fire and bloud. They retired with speed to one of their highest Mountaines, with all that they could carry with them. The ROMANS perceiving that it was too hard a match for them, if they should go thither to set

set upon so warlike a Nation, and that could not be subdued by force: they made Forts in the midst of the Mountaine, and placed a strong Guard there, to the end to famish the CANTABRIANS, and by that means to bring them to reason. But they on the other side, instead of yeelding themselves, did abide all the miseries that any man can possibly thinke of: and it came to that passe, that even to sustaine nature the strong Sonnes killed their old Fathers, the Mothers their Infants, and the young men did devour the old, eating up their Fieih. Upon this evil, there followed another, to wit, discord among them. Some would yeeld, others were of another minde. The former alledging, that they must needs submit themselves to the mercy of the ROMANS: the other, that they should make a desperate fallie upon the Enemies Campe, and so sell their lives. Their contention waxed so hot and violent, that the CANTABRIANS thrust out ten thousand of the ASTURIANS with their Wives and Children, and compelled them to defend along the Forts made by the ROMANS: whom they intreated with the teares in their eyes to make them Slaves, and to give them somewhat to eate. *Tiberius* then one of *Caesar*'s Lieutenants, would not suffer them to be received, to the end to famish the one by the other, and to end this Warre without any bloodshed. This poore People being deprived of sustenance and hope, and being afraid they should yet endure greater evils, began to powne a venomous Hearbe like unto Smallage, and poysoned themselves. The young men killed themselves running one against another with their Swords in their hands. The others, to the number of three and twenty thousand, came downe in a most miserable estate from the top of the Mountaine, and yeelded themselves to the discretion of the ROMANS: who set aside ten thousand of the strongest of them, to serve them in the Warre which they intended to make against the ASTURIANS. The rest were sold by Troopes, with condition that they should be carried farre from their Countrey, and that they should not be made free, before they had served them as Slaves, the space of thirty yeares. They disarmed ten thousand of them: which they bare so patiently, that many killed themselves with their owne hands, esteeming their life nothing without Armes. They say, that a little Childe with a Dagger killed his Father and Brethren that were chained together, and that by the commandement of the Father: and that a Woman did the like to some of her kinsfolkes. And that many of these Mountainers accustomed to rob Passengers, being upon the gibbet, sang out Songs aloud, even at their death, shewing a joy and marvellous courage. *Augustus* being then in those parts, gave leave to the Souldiers of his Guard of SPANIARDS to depart into the Territory of the GASCONS with great Presents, and Priviledge to enter in rancke amongst the ROMANE Legions. He built SARAGOUSSE, and other Towns, which he replenished with Souldiers, to bridle the courses and tumults of the CELTIBERIANS: and afterwards made a stone Bridge over the famous River of *Eber*. Then having overthrowne the CONISCES, friends of the ASTURIANS, taken their head City, and put all the Inhabitants thereof to the Sword: he set upon the ASTURIANS, who being environed of all parts, and choosng rather to die then to be made Slaves: burnt, killed, and poysoned themselves, and with them many other of their neighbours. There were some of them yet left alive, with whom the CANTABRIANS joynd and other their neighbours, and that a long time. These People had this custome, that all goods were common amongst friends, and when one of them came to the other, he received and used him as himself: and so also in adverstity they ran one fortune, or else killed themselves immediatly after their friends were dead. Among them were certaine loose People gathered together out of divers parts, who resolved all together to go charge the ROMANS, and came to fight with such a fury, that nothing but the night could separate them, having lost many of both sides. The next morning they began to joyne againe with more violence then before, and the fight continued even till night, that the ROMANS obtained the Victory: but they confessed, that they never encountered with such cruell Enemies. They that were left alive fled into a Towne, in the defence whereof they made themselves all to be killed, rather then yeeld to themselves. *Augustus* built certaine places there in that Countrey, which afterwards by time were much enlarged. In this selfe same yeare of his ninth Consulship, *Terentius Varro* his Lieutenant subdued the SALASSIANS, which are those of the Vale of *OSTRE*: he disarmed them, sold the young men by the drum, gave part of the Territory unto the Souldiers Prætorians, and built there a City called *AUGUSTA PRÆTORIA*. *Vincinius* also appeased some troubles in GERMANY, and made Warre very fortunatly in divers places. By means of which Victories, *Augustus* was called the eight time Imperator, as much to say, as soveraigne Captaine: and they suffered him to wear from that time forth the first day of the yeare, a Hat of Lawrell, and a Robe of Triumph. At his returne he shut the Temple of *Janus* the fourth time, married *Cleopatra* (the Daughter of *Antonius* and *Cleopatra*) unto *Juba* the Story-writer, overthrowne by *Julius Caesar* in AFRICK, with a part of MAURITANIA, and of GETULIA, to reigne there. He reduced into a Province GALLOGRECIA and LYCAONIA, which made a Portion of a Kingdom: and by reason of his sicknesse not able to be present at the marriage of his Daughter *Julia*, whom *Marcellus* married, the Son of *Octavia* his Sister, he left all to the charge of *Agrippa*, and went to ROME. There being chosen Consull the tenth time, the Senate gave him absolute power over the Estate and Lawes, to make and undo them at his pleasure. They did him greater honours then before, and gave *Marcellus* his Nephew before his time great Offices in the Common-wealth; and to *Tiberius* his Wives Son. He in token of thankfulnessse, gave to every one of the People ten Crowns apiece. Whilest these matters were in hand, the CANTABRIANS and their neighbours revolted, by subtilty, caught some of the ROMANS and cut their throates. *Ælius Lamia*, Governour in those parts, to be revenged of this outrage, put all the whole Countrey to fire and bloud, destroyed some

Augustus maketh War with the Cantabrians, and bringeth them to extreme famine and misery.

Augustus warring against the Asturians, driveth them to extremities. All goods common amongst friends.

Augustus liberality towards the People.

Townes, and sold their young men by the drum. To be short, he followed them so hard, that he brought them in subjection. *Ælius Gallus* Governour of *Ægypt*, almost about the same time being sent by *Augustus* commandment with ten thousand men, five hundred Souldiers of *Hercules* Guard, and fifteene hundred *NABATEANS*: under the Conduct of a Noble-man of *ARABIA* called *Syllemus*: he did nothing to be accounted of, but discover the Countrey. But having lost the most part of his men within the Defarts where this *Syllemus* brought them, and overcome the *SABEANS* in a Battell, he was enforced to retire. Afterwards this *Syllemus*, for that he killed his King *Obodas* by Treason, he was taken Prisoner, and beheaded by the Decree of the Senate.

Augustus being Consul for the eleventh time, the Plague was in *ROME*, and for himselfe he was grievously sicke, but restored againe to health by *Antonius Musa* his Physician. The People therefore caused a Statue to be set up to this *Antonius*, the Senate did him great honours, and in favour of his Profession, gave immunity to all others that from that time forth did practise Physick. Furthermore, by many Ceremonies they did shew the joy they had for the health of *Augustus*: and specially Fathers of households dying, expressly commanded their Children to bring their Sacrifices to the Capitoll with a Title in great Letters, saying: THAT AT THE DAY OF THEIR DEATH THEY LEFT *AUGUSTUS* IN GOOD HEALTH. It was also ordained that from that time forth they should never put any man to death, as often as *Augustus* entred into the City. Shortly after he did associate with himselfe *Calpurnius Piso* in the Consulship, who had followed the party of *Pompey* and of *Brutus*. Afterwards when he was gone from *ROME* into the Countrey, he made *Lucius Cestius* his Deputy for him, an inward friend of *Brutus* and of his memory. Whereat the Senate marvelling, by Decree made him perpetuall Pro-Consull of the *ROMANE* Empire, Tribune of the People, and gave him power to assemble the Senate as often, and when it pleased him. The People would have compelled him to have been Dictator: but he bowing a knee, casting down his long Robe, and shewing his breast, besought them to discharge him of so odious an estate. In the meane time he accepted the Decree of the Senate, and the charge to cause Corne to be brought in, because of the dearth that chanced in *ROME*. In the which he served his turne by *Tiberius* created Questor at the age of nineteene yeares. As for *Marcellus* his Nephew, he was chosen *Ædilis Curiulus*, who aided him to set forth all the magnificent pompe of Plaies, which he caused to be plaied before the People. Every man judged that he should be the Successour of all his power: but this young man of great hope, died shortly after, to the great griefe of every man: and no man can tell whether it was of naturall sicknesse, or of Poyson given him by the practises of *Livia*. A little before his death, *Agrippa* impatient to beare the rising of this *Marcellus* whom he despised, went into *ASIA* under colour of another Voyage. They say that *Augustus* much troubled with sicknesse, returned to his first consultation, to put the Common-wealth againe into the hands of the Senate and People: and for this cause he called for the Senators and all the other Magistrates: unto whom he gave an account of the Empire: and that was a little Booke containing the numbering of all the Riches, Towns, Provinces Allies, Legions, Armies by Sea and by Land, of all the Kingdomes and Countries tributary, of all the Customes of the Empire of *ROME*, that which was necessarily to be leaved or releafed. But being somewhat amended againe, he changed his minde. And furthermore, having given Audience to the Ambassadors of *Phraartes* King of the *PARTHIANS*, which demanded a Son of his brought by *Tyridates* unto *Augustus*, he sent backe the Child, and suffered *Tyridates* to remaine at *ROME*, where he sumptuously entertained him. By this means he kept himselfe in friendship with the one and the other, and held the *PARTHIANS* in suspence, to the end they should alter nothing. At the beginning of the next yeare following, under the Consulship of *Marcus Claudius Marcellus*, and of *L. Arruntius*, the Famine increasing at *ROME*, he wisely provided for it. And then the People would constrain him by force to accept the Dictatorship, and threatened to set the Palace on fire and to burne all the Senators in it, if they refused to allow this Decree. He would none of the Office of Dictatorship, and did refuse also to be Censor, although that Office had been voide the space of twenty eight yeares. But for as much as *Munacius Plancus* and *Emilius Lepidus*, who were chosen Censors, deserved themselves to be censured, because of their discords, *Augustus* without the Name tooke upon him to discharge it: and provided to reforme infinite disorders that were in *ROME*, in Apparell, Countenances, Companies, and in the Fight of Fencers at the Sharpe. At the same time *Fannius Capio* and *L. Murana*, having conspired against him, and being discovered by *Castricius*, were taken as they thought to have escaped, and put to death. In the meane time the *ASTURIANS* and *CANTABRIANS* still intreated by *Carisus*, they rebelled, but were overcome in a set Battell, and the prisoners sold. The *CANTABRIANS* preferring death before servitude, killed, burnt, and poisoned the one the other. The *ASTURIANS* being overcome the fourth time, did submit themselves, and their Armes were taken for them in the same time. *Petrinus* Governour of *Ægypt*, followed with ten thousand Footmen, and with eight hundred Horfe, went to make Warre with the *ETHIOPIANS*, which dwell under *Ægypt*, who had invaded and ruined certaine Towns, overthrowne and carried away the Statues of *Augustus*. Thereupon he pursued them, and made them flie before him: tooke certaine places upon them; and pierced far into their Countrey: so that he informed their Queene to send her Ambassadors unto *Augustus* (then wintering in the Isle of *SAMOS*) to pray Peace, which he granted them paying Tribute.

At the beginning of the Spring, he prepared himselfe to give order for the Affaires in the East: but because they that bent themselves for the Consulship had almost put the City in Alarme, and that

The People of Rome are glad for Augustus health,

Marcellus Augustus Nephew dieth, to the great griefe of all men.

Augustus reformeth many disorders in Apparell, Companies, fight of Fencers, &c.

in the end, notwithstanding the Order he had set down, the People had chosen men whom *Augustus* feared: through the advice of *Mecenas*, he made *Agrippa* come againe to governe *ROME* in his absence, and married unto him his Daughter *Julia*, *Marcellus* Widow. Now whilst *Agrippa* gave order for the Affaires of the City, *Augustus* tooke Sea, and having provided for the Affaires of *SICILIA*, he went into *GREECE*, did much good for the *LACEDÆMONIANS*, and to the contrary, repressed the pride of the *ATHENIANS*, from whom he tooke away the Tribute they had leaved of the Isles *ÆGINA* and *EREYRIA*. In the meane time, though he made little account of strangers ceremonies, yet he made himselfe to be received into the Fraternity of Mysteries: and the Ambassadors of *PERSEA* having caused the Temple of *Jupiter Olympian* to be finished, begun of long time at *ATHEENS*, they ordained that it should be dedicated to the Spirit of *Augustus*. Being passed from thence into *ASIA*, he gave order to his Provinces and those of the People of *ROME*: punished the *CYZICIENS*, that had killed the *ROMANE* Citizens in their Town. He imposed a Tribute upon those of *TYRE* and *SIDON*, who had dealt badly, and brought them into the forme of a Province. He did much good unto the Towns that had been faithfull unto the Common-wealth: to some of them he gave the right of Burgeship of *ROME*; and to others the same rights and Priviledges which the naturall Citizens of *ROME* had. He built up againe the Cities of *LAODICEA*, and of *THIATIRA*: he set them up of the Isle of *CHIO* againe, afflicted before by an Earth-quake; he did exempt them from all Subsidies for six yeares. He restored certaine Realmes unto their Kings whom he had subdued: or else he did establish others anew, who came to attend him at his Court as Subjects, without any signes or tokens of Royall Dignity. He sent *Tiberius* into *ARMENIA*, to install *Tigranes* unto his Royall Throne againe, having been driven out of it. *Tiberius* returned thither, and having fought with the *ARMENIANS*, he gave them *Artauades* to their King, who ruled not long. *Phraartes* King of the *PARTHIANS* being afraid they would set upon him, was very careful to get all the *ROMANS* together, which were taken after the overthrow of *Crassus* and *Antonius*; whom he sent every man of them unto *Augustus*, with all the Standards and Ensignes, and also his Son and Nephews for Pledges of his faithfull friendship unto the People of *ROME*. *Augustus* granted him Peace, and then he came into the Isle of *SAMOS*, comforted *RHODES*, replenished *CORINTH* and *PATRAS* with a great number of men enfranchised, whom he made Burgeses of *ROME*. In this place also there came unto him Ambassadors from *Porum* and *Pandion*, two of the mightiest Kings of the *INDIANS*, who prayed alliance and friendship with him, and brought him very rare Presents. There came with them a Philosopher of *INDIA* called *Zarmanus*: who being brought to the City of *ATHEENS*, burnt himselfe alive, as one *Calanus* did in the time of *Alexander* the Great.

In this meane space the City of *ROME* was full of great trouble by the practises of *Egnatius Rufus*, who by force would needs be chosen Consul in *Augustus* place being absent: who gave not him his voice, but named *Lucretius Vespillo*, escaped from the Proscription, as hath been spoken of before. But this put him in such a rage, that he conspired with *M. Genucius*, and *Plautius Rufus* to kill *Augustus*. But they being discovered betimes, were imprisoned and executed by Decree of the Senate: who made infinite numbers of honours unto *Augustus* at his returne: howbeit he would not accept them all, but carried himselfe very modestly in every place where he was. The People chose him Censor for five yeares, and perpetuall Consul: and at his request they granted Triumph unto *Cornelius Balbus*, although he were no *ROMANE* borne (for he was a *SPANIARD*) by reason of his notable Victories he had obtained, as Lieutenant of *Augustus*, upon the *GARAMANTES*. *Agrippa* on the other side was sent into *GAULE* troubled by the invasions of the *GERMANS*, whom he ordered well enough. Then he led his Army into *SPAINE*, troubled with the rebellion of the *CANTABRIANS*: the which came thus to passe. The Prisoners *CANTABRIANS* whom they had sold by the drum, by a complot they made together, cut their Masters Throates, and then fled into their Countrey, where they solicited others to take armes, got their Fortresses into their hands, and set upon the *ROMANE* Garrisons, *Agrippa* could by no means bring his Souldiers thither, whether that they desired to take rest, or that the resolution of the *CANTABRIANS* did astonish them. But after that he had brought them to his hand, he marched directly against the Enemies: who had the better at the first encounter, and the *ROMANS* were well-beaten. But they being rebuked and punished by *Agrippa*, who gave them Barley for Wheate, he returned again to fight. But then the *CANTABRIANS* that bare armes were all cut in pieces, the rest disarmed, and drawn from the Mountaine to dwell in the Plaine. *Augustus* was saluted Emperour or soveraigne Captain, because of this Victory: but *Agrippa* modestly refused Triumph, and within a while after he overcame the *PANNONIANS* also. The year following, the *GETES* and *DACES* being at civil Wars, *Lentulus* that had subdued them before, counselled *Augustus* not to lose this occasion: for he might easily subdue these barbarous People being thus divided. But *Augustus* not being of the minde to make any Wars at all with any Nation, without great and just cause, (although there were more hope of gaine, then appearance of losse,) he answered: There was no cause for him to do so: adding also, that those that fought a little gaine with great losse and danger, were like unto those that would angle with a golden Hooke, the which breaking and falling into the water, no Fish is worth the value of it. And therefore that the barbarous People were to be left to their own miseries: and that by their blood-shed, by their own Companions, they were more then enough punished for the ill they had done to the *ROMANS*, who ought not to begin first to do evil.

In the same yeare *Augustus* being very desirous to put his hand to the reformation of abuses

Augustus sail-eth into Greece and into Asia, and what he did there,

Agrippa is sent to appeale troubles in France and Spaine.

Augustus would not make War without great and just cause.

*Augustus re-
formeth abuses
and disorders
in Rome.*

*Augustus severe
against Adul-
terers and Bug-
gerers.*

*Augustus
punisheth a
Roman Knight
for disabling
his Son.*

*Divers Rebels
subdued.*

*The covetous-
ness of Augu-
stus his sollici-
tude cause of
great troubles.*

*Drusus sent by
Augustus over-
cometh the
cruel Rhetians.*

in ROME, and that effectually, he joyned with him his Nephew *Agrippa* in the State of a Cenfor, and did establish him Tribune for five years. First of all he began to correct some disorders that were in the Senate, he reformed the Knights, Spectacles, and Plaies, and the manner of Suites for publique Offices. He set Fines upon thier heads that would not marry, and bestowed much upon them that had Wives and Children. He gave unto *Horatius* five and twenty thousand Crownes, to procure him to take a Wife, that he might raise up issue to that Noble house and Family of the *Horatians*. He ordained also that Maidens should be twelve yeares old at the least before they married, and suffered them to kill Adulterers taken with the fact, without punishment, condemning the Sodomites without remission. And for Military Discipline, he looked very carefully unto that. And because a Knight of ROME had cut off his owne Sonnes thombes, for that he should not go to the Warre, he made him to be sold by the drumme, and all his goods. But because the Regrators were greedy to size upon them, he made them cease the sale, and put the Knight into the hands of one of his bondmen enfranchised, and was contented to drive him out of ROME. Furthermore he procured that the Senate should not be kept but with great reverence: that the Senatours should come together as into a Temple of Devotion, and that no Decree should passe, but in the presence of foure hundred Senatours, if it might be: that no man should be made free of ROME, but upon great consideration. For the rest, he and *Agrippa* gave the People the pleasure of secular yearly Games, which had not been seene an hundred yeares before. But he took very great care that there should be no infolencies be committed. He punished the Players in divers sorts, that behaved themselves more licentiously then became them. And when one of them amongst them called him Lord, he shewed the People with his voice, his eyes, and his hand, that he was not well pleased withall: and the next morning he published a sharpe Edict, forbidding all Persons expressly to say so, and would never suffer that any of his should give him this Name. But these Playes being ended, he adopted *Caius* and *Lucius* the Sonnes of *Agrippa*. In all this great business, the SICAMBRIS, USIPITES, and TENCHTERES, People of GERMANIE, surpris'd certaine ROMANES in their Territory, hanged them up, passed over the Rhein, spoiled GAULE, overthrew certaine Horsmen, and following their purpose, overcame *M. Lollius* Pro-Consull of GAULE, and tooke away an Ensigne from him. Yet though he were a man of small action, and very covetous: nevertheless he was revenged of them, and coming upon the Invadors, fought with them, and drave them beyond the Rhein. On the other side, *C. Lentulus* made Warre with the DACES, and killed three of their chiefe Leaders with a great number of men: and afterwards he established a Garrison by the River of *Danuby*, to stop the incursions of this wilde Nation. *Augustus* seeing these troubles, disposed of the Affaires of ITALY to go into GAULE, to rid himselfe of these griefs, and by his absence to make his presence more honourable. At that same time, divers People inhabiting upon the River of *Danuby*, rebelled: but *Augustus* Lieutenants bestirred them so well, that they were all compelled to seeke Peace. At that time also all GAULE was in commotion, and that in divers forts. But the covetousnesse of *Licinius Enceladus*, made free, and sollicit of the affaires of *Augustus*, was cause of all this mischief. For he having commanded the People to furnish the Tribute for every Moneth, he had put fourteen Moneths in the yeare for twelve: So being accused to his Master for Money ill gotten, although all the world cried out of him, yet he found the meanes to escape well enough. For after he had gotten an infinite Masse of Gold and Silver together, he brought it to *Augustus*, saying, he had never other intention but to take from the GAULES the meanes to rebell. For all this *Augustus* withdrew him from thence, and sent *Tiberius* thither to settle all things in good estate againe. Almost during these commotions, and outrageous dissensions, the RHETIANS, neare unto the Lake of *Comè*, brake into GAULE CYSALPINE, and took out of ITALY store of booty. They were a People separated from all others, and so cruell, that having taken any place from the ROMANES, they killed all the Male Children, and further, did aske their Soothsayers of Women with childe: and if they said she was great with a Boy, they presently ran her through, and killed her and the fruite of her Wombe. *Augustus* would not endure these outrages, but sent *Drusus* the Sonne of *Livia* against them: who drave them out of ITALY, having overcome them in a set Battell, neare unto TRENT. They say that their Women shewed themselves so cruell in this Fight, that their Darts failing them, they rooke their little Children by their legges, and did most barbarously force themselves to smite their Enemies in the face. Those that were driven out of ITALY would have entred into GAULE, but they were repul'd by *Tiberius*. In the end, these People and their Allies were constrained to submit themselves.

Augustus sent a Colony unto NISMES in LANGUEDOQUE: and made them free Burgessees of ROME. It is thought that he sent another unto ARLES, of the sixt Legion: and one of the second unto ORANGE. Some make report of these Colonies in the time of *Tiberius* *M. Agrippa* on the other side, he gave order for the Affaires of ASIA, and of all the Orient, where he behaved himselfe so well, that all that were friends to the People of ROME, were of better courage then before, and all their Enemies so valiantly suppressed, that *Augustus* was saluted the tenth time soveraigne Capitaine. But *Agrippa* after his wonted manner, would have no Triumph: which was the cause of the losse of this custome, and others following his example, were contented from thenceforth with the Ornaments of Triumph. But of another side, the PANNONIANS, the GENOUSES, and those of PIEMONTE rebelling, they were subdued by the Lieutenants of *Augustus*: who builded two Cities in testimony of his Victory against these two last People: whereof TURIN (called *Augusta Pretoria*)

toris) was one, and GENOA the other.

Augustus having pacified GAULE, stayed the invasions of the GERMANES, and quenched the rebellion of SPAIN: he left *Drusus* with authority and his Army upon the Rheine, and came to ROME as *Agrippa* did out of ASIA, and became extremely sicke of the Gowt. *Lepidus* died at the same time, to whom *Augustus* succeeded in the estate of chiefe Bishop, and made sumptuous Spectacles and fights unto the People. He burnt all the Bookes of Divination and Prophecy, except those of the *Sibylles*: and yet he kept them not all. He reformed the Kalender, and ordained that there should be no Leape yeares for twelve yeares following. He suffered that the sixt Moneth then called *Sextilis*, should be called *Augustus* after his Name. All that yeare was spent in Plaies and Pastimes, saving that *Augustus* (having been sicke) caused all that he had done in his Government to be rehearsed before the Senate. He tooke a review of the Senatours, and confirmed his Nephew *Agrippa* in the estate of a Tribune for five yeares more. But shortly after, this great person being returned from a Journey out of PANNONIA, whither he was gone to prevent disorders that were likely to be renewed, he fell sicke and died, before *Augustus* could come in time. That was a marvellous griefe unto him: and not knowing now on whom he should bestow his Daughter *Julia*, in the end he chose *Tiberius* his Wives Sonne, and married them together, but they continued not long in good termes together. From thenceforth *Tiberius* and *Drusus* dealt almost in all the Affaires of Warre, and *Tiberius* especially after the death of the other: of whom we shall speake to best purpose in the Life of *Tiberius*, yet we will briefly note it here: So then *Tiberius* went and made Warre in PANNONIA, risen by means of the death of *Agrippa*: yet he made an end of it, killed some of them, sold and subjected the rest: and compelled all that People to submit themselves unto the People of ROME. *Drusus* on the other side made Warre in High and Low ALMAINE, and brought the most part of these Nations unto some reason: and afterwards he returned to ROME: where *Augustus* held so straight a hand to bring the Senate to order, that there were few men desired to be of the Senate, and many to the contrary that gave up their Offices. But *Augustus* compelled those that were of age, of quality and sufficiency, and gave order also that the Dignity of the Tribunes of the People should remaine entire: suffering those notwithstanding which had this Office, their time expired, to be amongst the Senatours, or with Knights. As for the Towns of ASIA afflicted with the Earth-quake, he payed of his owne to the Common-wealth, the yearly Tribute which they ought. And for the regard of those which were of his Provinces, he freed them from all Imposts for six yeares, and gave them of PALESTINE a great quantity of Corne, which sustained great want and famine. In the meane time *Drusus* passed over the Rheine, made war with the USIPITES, SICAMBRIS, TENCHTERES, CATTIANS, CHERSIANS, and SVAUBIANS, whom he overthrew in divers encounters: and especially in a great Battell, where were killed a very great number. For these People were gathered together with such a confidence of Victory, that they had already made agreement among themselves for division of the booty. But specially at the last Battell, the CHERSIANS should have the Horse, the SVAUBIANS: they should have the baggage, and the SICAMBRIS the Prisoners. And yet to binde themselves more straightly together, they burnt twenty Centeniers of the ROMANES. And this was the cause that the Battell was so long and cruelly fought betwixt them: yet in the end the Victory remained to *Drusus*, who gave the Prisoners and all the booty to the Souldiers, making the Horse, baggage, and captives to be sold to them that would offer most. All the Field for a great league and a halfe of length was strewd with dead bodies, and they found in the Enemies Campe great store of Iron Chaines prepared by them for the ROMANES: howbeit they served for them. *Drusus* sent up a token of Triumph, and was called *Imperator* of his Troopes in the Field where the Battell was pitched. Afterwards he built above fifty Castles upon the Rivers of *Meuse*, *Visurge*, and of the Rheine. *Tiberius* on the other side was in DALMATIA, where he brought them under that role in armes against them. The Triumph of *Oyatius* was decreed to them both, and *Augustus* was saluted by the Senate *Imperator* or soveraigne Capitaine, and this for the twelfth time. But in these businesses, the Warre was hot in THRACIA, and more then ever before: all the Provinces being in rebellion under the Conduct of *Bulgades*, who had killed the King *Rhacuspole*, an Ally of the People of ROME, driven out his Uncle and Lieutenant *Rhymetacles* out of THRACIA into CHERONNE SUS. *L. Piso* Governour of PAPHLAGIA went against them, and at the first encounter had not the advantage, but in the second he overcame them utterly. *Drusus* having made a Voyage to ROME, to celebrate the birth day of *Augustus* in great magnificence, whilst his Troopes reposd themselves in their Garrisons, about the Spring he returned into GERMANIE: overcame the SVAUBIANS, gave them a King: then he invaded the Countrey of the MARCOMANNES, fought with them divers times, killed a great number of them, and made all the rest subject to the ROMANES. Because of this Victory, and of that of *Piso*, *Augustus* was called *Imperator* the thirteenth time. Almost in this time he put *Procus* to death in prison, one that he loved best of all his bondmen made free: being convinced of many Adulteries. He made the thighes of his Secretary *Thallus* to be broken, for the summe of an hundred Crowns which he took for shewing a secret Letter. In this meane time *Tiberius* continued War in DALMATIA and PANNONIA, moved through the great Imposts, whereof the People complained: but in the end he subdued them, and built many Castles upon the River of *Danuby* to stay the invasions of the Enemies. *Piso* ing secrets of also in THRACIA overcame the MASTIANS, and BASTARNES, and brought away a great State number of Prisoners, who bit their Iron Chaines for anger, and most impatiently did beare their servitude.

*Augustus re-
turning to
Rome, succeed-
eth *Lepidus* in
the estate of
chief Priest.*

*Agrippa, Au-
gustus his Ne-
phew dieth,
and *Julia* his
Widow is mar-
ried to *Tiberi-
us*.*

*Drusus over-
cometh the
confident pre-
sumptuous
Rebels.*

*Procus an
Adulterer put
to death by
Augustus.*

*Thallus punish-
ed for disclo-
sing secrets of
the State.*

virtude. *Drusus* made the *CATTIANS* subject also, then he came to *LEONS* to meet with *Augustus*: from whence they both returned together into *ITALIE*. They had a custom also that yearly on the first day of *January*, (though *Augustus* were absent) all the *Senatours*: Officers of Justice, and others of meane estate, brought him New-yeares Gifts to the Capitoll: and also every one cast a piece of Gold or Silver into the Lake *Curtius*, for a Vow that they had made to his health. He did bestow all these New-yeares Gifts to buy many rich Statues of the gods, which he set up in all the crosse Streets.

In the five and thirtieth yeare of his Principality, under the Consulate of *Drusus Nero*, and of *Quintus Crispinus*, *Drusus* having subdued a great part of *GERMANY*, and preparing to go further, a Vision having the shape of a great Woman, that spake bigger and louder then a mans voice could do, said to him in Latine: Go no further: which was a signe of his death, the which followed incontinently after. This young Noble-man of an excellent hope, being but thirty-yeares old, *Augustus* had put him in the Rolle of his Heires, and made an Oration in his praise. Afterwards all the charge of the Warres of *GERMANY* was committed unto *Tiberius*. And for *Augustus*, he being the same yeare called for a Witnesse in certaine Causes, did patiently suffer any man to aske him, or refuse him, as he had oftentimes done before. One day as he spake in full Senate, one of the *Senatours* told him: I understood nothing: another, I would speake against it, if I might be heard. Another time being weary with the contestations of certaine Pleadings, he went in choler out of his Seate. But some began to say unto him, that it was lawfull for *Senatours* to speake freely to any matter that came before them: and that no man was ever offended for the Replies or contestations of any man.

Nanius Asprenas, one of his greatest friends, was accused by *Cassius Severus* to have poisoned an hundred and thirty bidden Guests at a Banquet. *Augustus* did not recommend him, but let the *Senatours* alone, who banished *Cassius*. An old Souldier upon complaint being brought before the *Senatours*, and in danger of his life, besought *Augustus* to helpe him. And when he had given him an Advocate to defend him, the Souldier opened his breast, and shewing him the markes of the wounds which he had received in the Battell of *ACTIUM*, said unto him: But I beseech thee *Augustus* consider that I have received these wounds here upon my body for to defend thee, and would put no other in my place. *Augustus* moved with these words, appeared in justice, and pleaded this mans Cause, the which he wanne. Sonne after he was saluted soveraigne Captaine for the fourteenth time; because of the Victories which *Tiberius* and *Sextus Apuleius* had obtained in *GERMANY*, and in *ITALIE*. And the authority which had been given him for ten yeares over the State of the Common-wealth being expired, was continued unto him for ten yeares following. Then he did greatly enlarge the bounds of the Territory of *ROME*, and having advanced *Salustius Crispus* (the Sonne of the Historian) unto the place which *Mæcenus* held, the *ROMANS* Knight, his faithfull friend and principall Counsellor, deceased in those daies: and by *Tiberius* continued to bring the *GERMANS* under: for the Victory of whom, and also for that he had subdued all the People inhabiting alongst the Alpes the Senate had set up a token of Triumph, and granted Triumph to *Tiberius*.

Under the second Consulate of *Claudius Nero*, and of *Calpurnius Piso*, *Caius* and *Lucius* the young Sonnes of *Augustus*, were called young Princes, and appointed Consuls, although they were but of tender yeares, and under fourteene yeares old. This pleased *Augustus* greatly, though he fained to take no pleasure in it. Furthermore, he then made an Edict touching slanderous ly-bels, declaring who should have the hearing of those crimes, and how they should be punished: although he himselfe cared not much, and patiently suffered they should gibe at him, contented to answer by open defence, unto the reproaches and mockeries they made of him. They scattered abroad one day in the Palace many bills of Paper of cruel injuries against him. This moved him not at all, neither did he trouble himselfe much to answer it: but instead of searching it out, he did advise that hereafter they should have an eye upon those, that by little Bookes or Epigrams published (under false Names) scandall against any man. *Tiberius* wrote a round Letter to him one day, to the end he should carry a straighter hand upon that: but he sent him these words, I pray thee my friend, let not thy youth over-rule thee in this matter, nor be not so hot, though I be evil spoken of by some. It is enough if we gaine this point, that no man can hurt us. Afterwards he divided the City of *ROME* into fourteene Regions, and two hundred and ten Streets, and in every of them he established Officers to see that all things should be maintained as they ought to be, and to report unto the Prince any memorable thing that should happen. He provided for the violence of fire, he built up the Temples that were burnt or ruined by time: and gave at one time unto the Temple of *Jupiter Capitoline*, for the renewing of the same, sixteene thousand Pounds of Gold, and of rich and costly Pearles, to the summe of twelve hundred thousand Crownes.

Now *Caius* and *Lucius* his young Sonnes growing apace, and *Julia* his Daughter beginning to be too well knowne for her wantonnesse: *Tiberius* that could no longer endure her, nor these two young Princes (and because he would have the *ROMANS* a little long for him) he demanded and obtained leave with extremity, threatening to kill himselfe with famine, if they did not grant him: and so went to study at *RHODES*. In the meane time *Augustus* provided for the Affaires of *ISTRIA*, divided *ITALIE* into eleven Provinces: and because he doubted they did envy his greatnesse, he chose nine *Prætorian* Cohorts for his Guard, of the which he kept three of them.

them in *ROME*, lodged here and there in houses, so long as they were in their quarter: and the six others were quartered in the next Villages unto it. He also erected new Offices, to impart to so many men more the honours and charges of the Common-wealth. At the same time when before the Senate they did object many crimes unto *Amilius Ahiannus*, and amongst other things that he spake ill of *Augustus*: he returning to the Accuser, said unto him as in choler: *Augustus* his patient forbearing of ill tongues. Prove me that, and I will make *Ahiannus* know that I have a tongue: for I will say more of him, then he hath spoken of me. He made no further inquiry afterwards, and shewed himselfe very gentle and courteous also unto *Cassius* of *PADUA*, a man of a meane estate: who having spoken openly at a Table, that he lacked no good will nor courage to kill *Augustus*: he contented himselfe to impose this onely punishment upon him, as to drive him out of *ROME*. From his eleventh Consulship unto the twelfth, there passed seventene yeares: all which time he divers times had refused his charge: but now he demanded it, and obtained it. His intention was to advance *Caius* his little Sonne to great Dignity, whom he caused to be proclaimed, young Prince, and sent him to see the Provinces and Armies, in the Title of a Pro-consull. Then he commanded him to go into *ASIA*, having given him for Governours *Lollius* and *Sulpicius Quirinus*. He himselfe in the meane time remained at *ROME*, where he established extraordinary Guards, under colour to keepe Theeves and masterlesse men from offering violence, whilest the Armies abroad were farre off. The yeare following, *Caius* having travelled in divers parts of the Orient, made Peace with *Ptraeus* King of the *PARTHIANS*, and brought away hostages for assurance thereof, the Kings three Brethren, and all the Princes of the blood. The which was practised by the means of the Queene *Termoda*, borne in *ITALIE*, who being sent by *Augustus* for a Gift unto *Ptraeus*, he fell so in love with her, and held her in such high estimation, that after she had brought him a Sonne called *Ptraeus*, he received her for his lawfull Wife. She being desirous her Sonne should possesse the Crown, drave the right Heires farre off by means of this Peace. And at the end of certaine yeares, *Ptraeus* who entertained it, killed his Father, and possessed the Kingdom. But he was not long in quiet possession, for the great Lords conspired against him, and tooke from him his life justly punished. He sent him Pro consull into *SPAIN*, but he fell sicke by the way, and stayed almost a yeare at *MARSEILLES*. Though these two Brethren were farre enough off *Tiberius*, who kept himselfe as a simple Scholar at *RHODES*, yet they loved not him greatly, nor he them: for which purpose, the proesse served not much against their Mother *Julia*, banished because of her adulteries into the Isle of *PANDATARIE*. Shortly after, her Daughter also called *Julia*, married unto *Lucius Paulus*, was also convinced of the same crime that her Mother was: and was banished unto another Isle of the Sea Adriaticke, called *TREMER*. This affliction so neare unto him, marvellously grieved *Augustus*, who could not beare it but in mourning, and pining himselfe with sorrow. Then all the Provinces of the *ROMANE* Empire being in Peace, *Augustus* shut up the third time the Temple of *JANUS*: and the King of Kings, the Saviour of the World, being borne of a Virgin in *JUDEA*, appearing amongst them, shut up the Oracles of all the Painim gods, as the Oracle of *DELPHES* a Christ Warre astonished, caused a great Altar to be set up in the Capitoll with an inscription, signifying that it was, *The Altar of the God first borne*. The yeare following, to stay the violent course of great usuries, and to raise up againe many Families decayed, he put into the Exchange two Millions and a halfe of Gold: that is to say, five and twenty hundred thousand Crownes, and suffered private men to take of it for three yeares without Interest, putting in pawne into the Exchequer Lands and Possessions being twice as much worth as the Principall: and condemned the Usurers that had taken Interest more then *Julius Cesar* had ordained, to pay foure times as much: and deducting out of the Principall that which had been paid over and above the Tax of the Law, he gave the Debtors three yeares space to pay it, at three equall times from year to year. He made provision also for distributing of Corne, and brought it to twenty hundred thousand heads of those that should come to have any of it: and did wisely remedy divers discontentments of the People. Shortly after, *Lucius Cesar* being sixteene yeares of age, died at *MARSEILLES*: which was the cause that *Tiberius* being reconciled for some other occasion with *Caius*, he obtained leave to returne from *RHODES* to *ROME*, with condition (for so *Caius* will) that he should meddle with no affaires of estate, that he should remaine yet the rest of the yeare at *RHODES*. As touching *Augustus*, he laboured to recreate himselfe with his friends, and did willingly see Learned-men, and amongst others, *Titus Livius* that renowned Historian; the Poets, *Virgil* and *Horace*, but especially *Virgil*, who was one of his most familiar friends. Which *Augustus* visit maketh men thinke that *Ovid* committed some great fault, since he was a banished man so long, and that he could obtaine no grace, though the greatest men were Suiters for him. And yet the Historians say, *Augustus* was not angry, as appeareth by the fact of *Timagines* the Historian, having dispersed abroad some pleasant by-Names against *Augustus*, *Livia*, and their familiars, wherest every one of them laughed, it was so pleasant an encounter, *Augustus* was contented to advise him to moderate his tongue from thenceforth, and did onely forbid him his house and familiarity, suffering him to waxe old in the company of *Afinius Pollio*. He did greatly support some also that were accused to have sealed a false Will, and mingled with the markes of condemnation and absolution a third, pardoning all those that it should seeme had through ignorance sined in this fact. One being evidently convinced to have killed his Father, was even at the point to be sewed up

in a Leather Sacke, according to the custome, and throwne into the Sea: but *Augustus* desirous this curst wretch should not be thus handled, put the answer in his mouth, in saying unto him: Surely I beleve thou hast not killed thy Father. The Sonne of *Tarius* being charged to have conspired against the life of his Father, *Augustus* was sent for into *Tarius* house, to counsell him what were best to be done: he gave the Father counsell to banish him farre off from all knowledge. And when *Tarius* would have made *Augustus* his Heire, he refused it, and ordained that the Son should be banished unto *MARSILLIS*, and that during his Fathers life he should have a Pension to maintaine him withall.

Tiberius returned to Rome, and came dieth.

In the foure and forty yeare of the Monarchy of *Augustus*, *Tiberius* having been absent the space of eight yeares, he came againe to *ROME*, where he lived, and medled with no matters. But that held not long: for in the same yeare *Caius*, upon whom *Augustus* principally looked, died in *LYCIA*: and some say, that *Livia* knew well enough of what death: for the greatly desired the advancement of her Son *Tiberius*, knowing that *Augustus* did not greatly love the last Son of *Agrippa* and *Julia*, by reason of the rudenesse of his nature. *Augustus* tooke the death of his Son *Caius* very unpactly. He made his Schoole-master and domestick Servants to be drowned: and furthermore, he disposed all the Forces of the Empire and the Legions amongst the Provinces in commodious places as well by Sea as by Land. Afterwards he obtained the Tribuneship for *Tiberius* more through the procurement of *Livia* then otherwise: although in the end he was content to advance him, to make his memory to be so much the more desired, when they had made proofe of his Successour, whom he knew better then any other, and never spake any thing well, but he spied alwaies some croffe thing in him of a dangerous nature he had. And yet some judge, that *Augustus* did repute the Vertues in *Tiberius* to be greater then his Imperfections, considering also that in the Oration he made, his words tended to this end, that he adopted *Tiberius* in favour of the Common-wealth. But before he would declare this adoption, he compelled *Tiberius* to adopt his Nephew *Germanicus* the Son of *Drusus*, and he adopted with *Tiberius* *Agrippa Posthumus*, the Son of *M. Agrippa*. Then to prevent the plots of some of the chieft of *ROME*, he made *Tiberius* to be chosen Tribune for ten yeares following. That was the cause that in *ROME* they began to speake well of *Tiberius*, whom they saw by that meanes somewhat stepped into *Augustus* place so soone as he should happen to die. Furthermore, at the instance of the People of *ROME* and *Tiberius* himselfe, *Augustus* tolerated the banishment of his Daughter *Julia*: howbeit for no intreaty he would ever revoke her againe. So after the decease of *Augustus*, she was destitute of all helpe, and *Tiberius* made her die for want in an unknown place.

Julia an Adultress, through want dieth in banishment.

The yeare following, *Valerius Messala*, and *C. Cinna* Grand-child of the Great *Pompey*, were elected Consuls. *Cinna* that tooke part with his Cousins, was taken prisoner, and brought to *Augustus*, who gave him life and advanced him. This notwithstanding, he was afterwards attainted and convinced to have conspired against the life of *Augustus*, whom through the counsell of *Livia* he sent for into his Chamber, and gently rebuked him for all the good deeds he had done to him: pardoned him this last offence, and afterwards raised him to the Dignity of a Consul, being sorry that he durst not demand it. After that, *Cinna* became his faithfull friend and servant, and bequeathed all his goods by Will unto *Augustus*, against whom never any man conspired more. His Lieutenants in *AFRICK* obtained some Victories, and *Tiberius* continued the War, in *GERMANY*, from whence he oftentimes returned to *ROME* to keepe himselfe in *Augustus* good favour. Who having limited the pay, recompence, commodity, and time that the Souldiers should have, he procured for some time the good of the Common-wealth, which had continued longer in prosperity, if his Successours had better entertained Military Discipline. Afterwards to resist the mutinies of the People by reason of famine, he established Corps de guard in all the places of *ROME*, and drove out a multitude of unprofitable mouthes. And when *Corne* came againe to the ordinary price, he was about to abolish the distribution of *Corne* which the Common-wealth made: because that the People trusting unto that, made no reckoning to plow their Land. At the same time many Towns in divers Provinces were inclined to rebell, which caused the Senate to make a Decree, that the Governours of Provinces should command two yeares one after another, and should not depart thence till their Successour were arrived. The *ILLYRIANS* also began to rise, but they were suppressed immediately by *Valerius Messalinus*. For *GERMANY*, all the while he was subject under the name of the *ROMANES*, except the *MARCOMANNES*, and their King *Maroboduus*, a valiant and wise man, that kept himselfe and his People in good Discipline, having alwaies an Army ready of threethou and ten thousand Footmen, and foure thousand Horse, all the which he trained and put in readinesse against his neighbours, to defend him the better against the *ROMANES*, if they came to assaile him. *Tiberius* prepared himselfe with twelve Legions to make Warre with him, but being constrained to go against the *ILLYRIANS*, he made a agreement with *Maroboduus*, that sought peace and quietnesse, and so marched where necessity called him. For the *ILLYRIANS*, to the number of eight hundred thousand men and upwards, rose in manner all at an instant; and mustered up in short time, with such order in their affaires and Warlike exploits, that they posselt and brought in subjection almost all *MACEDON*, and put *Augustus* into a marvellous perplexity, because they prepared themselves to come into *ITALIE*. Hereupon *Tiberius* is chosen to go against them, the which he did with so good direction and Warlike judgement, that he dispersed their Army. But now concerning the Countrey of *THRACIA*, there the Army of the *ROMANES* was put to flight: yet taking heart againe, they returned to meet with their Enemies, and obtained an honourable Victory. For which cause they called *Augustus* Imperator or soveraigne Capitaine the sixteenth time. The *ILLYRIANS* made head againe

Augustus expelled drove out of the Common-wealth.

Divers rebellions appeared.

The *Thracians* overthrown by the *Romanes*.

againe better then before under the conduct of *Bato Desfidates*, they made violent and strange invasions, and *Tiberius* never came against them. Whereupon *Augustus* conceiving an evil opinion, dispatched *Germanicus* the sonne of *Drusus*, to go into *ILLYRIA* with a compleate Army. On the other side *Agrippa Posthumus* shewed himselfe so insolent, and committed so many follies, that *Augustus* could no longer endure them, and therefore he disavowed and disinherited him, confiscated his goods, and confined him to *SURRENTUM*: where being more audacious then before, he banished him into the Isle of *PLANASIA*, near unto *CORSICA*: and caused the Senate to make an ordinance that he should remaine there till his death. By this means every man began to regard *Tiberius*, who was also declared the son and colleague of *Augustus* by decree of the Senate, who committed unto him all the Armies and Provinces of the Empire. *Livia* his mother did helpe him greatly in all these affaires. Furthermore he would not stir out of *ILLYRIA* untill he had made an end of this war, which continued three whole yeares.

Agrippa Posthumus for his follies and insolencies banished.

Now at the arrival of *Germanicus*, the chieftains of the *ILLYRIANS* came suddainly to assaile the Campe of the *ROMANES*: who faining to be afraid, staid till the enemy came to charge them in disorder. Then they came out with fury against them, killed a great number of them, and made the rest to flie. *Germanicus* wan another battell against the *DALMATIANS*, and pursuing his victory, he followed them so near at the heels, that they submitted themselves and demanded peace. By reason whereof they gave *Augustus* the name of Imperator the eighteenth time. *Bato Desfidates* came to salute *Tiberius* set in his tribunal chair, without holding down his head, or any imbasing himselfe: and being asked why after so many battels lost, he did yet rebel againe? he answered boldly againe, that the *ROMANES* were the cause of it: who instead of shepherds had sent them Wolves to keepe their flock. Peace was granted unto the *DALMATIANS* upon certain conditions. And as for the *BREUCIANS* which continued their war, they were overthrowne in many encounters, and at the length brought to subjection by *Plantius Silvanus*, who triumphed. Their King *Bato Bencus* had betrayed and delivered unto the *ROMANES* another great Capitaine of the *ILLYRIANS* called *Pinnetes*: and afterwards he was delivered himselfe by his owne men unto *Bato Desfidates*, who killed him with his own hand: and then fortified himself in *DALMATIA*, where having made head almost a year and a half against the Armies of *Tiberius* and *Germanicus*, he won and lost many battels: at the last, being able to hold out no longer, he sent his son to demand peace of *Tiberius*, promising to yeeld himself and his into the hands of *Augustus*. He obtained safe conduct, and came by night unto *Tiberius* Campe: who gave him very gracious entertainment, and many rich presents. Afterwards he made him be brought to *RAVENNA*, and was also gently used, because that in an encounter where he was inclosed, and in danger of his life, he had given him means to escape and save himself. And because of the divers victories obtained by *Germanicus* and *Tiberius*, *Augustus* was saluted for the nineteenth and twentieth time Imperator or soveraigne Capitaine. And for the *PANNONIANS*, their young men that had so many times threatned *ITALIE*, were constrained to bring all their Armes together on a heap, as they were commanded, and to fall on their knees before *Tiberius* to demand peace of him. He received them into grace, and sent them home to their houses, disposing his Garrisons in strong places, under the charge of *Marcus Lepidus*. The glory of *Tiberius* was yet more noble, and the anguish of *Augustus* increased by the overthrow of *Quintilius Varus*: who being gone to assaile *Arminius* Prince of the *CHERSSIANS*, was inclosed in Marishes, and utterly overthrowne with three *ROMAN* Legions that were slaine in the place: and for himselfe, fearing to fall alive into the hands of the *CHERSSIANS*, he killed himself with his own hand. The victors did never so cruelly handle the *ROMANES* as those whom they might know were common counsellors and pleaders. For at the beginning when *Varus* came to command their Countrey: where they knew not what proceesse meant, he perswaded himselfe he should tame them well enough, using the same forme and order of proceffe there amongst them, as they did at *ROME*. So he had a judgement feat, and all matters were pleaded before him. Some of them amongst the rest very subtil, seemed to esteem much this pleading; and to bring him asleepe, they of purpose moved occasion of proceffe and suite one against the other: and then they went before him, and by the *ROMANES* themselves whose tongues they borrowed, they demanded justice. Then they rejoiced not a little when they could catch any of these Counsellors: for they put out the eyes of some of them, cut off the hands of others of them; and they say, that they cut out the tongue of one, and afterwards sewed up his mouth: and he that held the tongue in his hand, said unto him: O viper, at the last yet thou wilt leave whistling. *Augustus* was so astonied at this losse, that at times he would beat his head against the wall, crying out, *Varus*, give me my Legions. Certaine yeares after, *Germanicus* buried the bones of the *ROMANES* that were killed in this overthrow. The yeare following *Tiberius* returned into *GERMANY*, and to keepe the passages of the Rhein, *Augustus* served his turne with the slaves enfranchised, which caused afterwards great confusions and seditions in the *ROMAN* army. In all these stirs, two men of no worth, called *Andasius* and *Epicadus*, conspired to take away *Julia* the daughter of *Augustus*, and *Agrippa Posthumus* from the places where they were, and to bring them to some Legions, to alter the estate. But they were soon discovered, and punished for their rashnesse. Some others also committed the like fond enterprises, but they vanished away without any effect.

Germanicus overcometh the *Illyrians* and *Dalmatians*.

Oppressors casters of rebellion.

Quintilius Varus overthrowne.

The *Roman* Counsellors cruelly handled by their enemies.

Andasius and *Epicadus* seeking to restore *Julia* and *Agrippa*, are punished.

Furthermore, *Augustus* being now old and broken, beganne to leave all great companies, cashiered his Guards, and sent them to Garrisons far off, to the end they should not go about to make change. He gave commandment that the *GAULES* and *GERMANES* should depart the City by a day prefixed. In the mean time *Tiberius* having divided his Army into four parts, entred into *GERMANY*,
O o o o about

Augustus entered the people bountifully.

Augustus fall sick and die, appointing Tiberius for his last Will.

Augustus died according to his desire.

Augustus liberality at his death.

Divers speeches went of Augustus after his death.

about five and twenty leagues into the Country beyond the Rhein, and put all to fire and blood: then he retired fearing some encounter of *Varus*. Touching *Augustus*, he qualified some strict Laws against the unmarried, the gifts of husband to the wife, the banquets and suits: he did forbid the Divines to answer the vain question of those, that would know how long they should live: and he suffered the Knights (if they were challenged) to fight at the sharp. *Germanicus* being returned to *ROME*, obtained the Consulship, and *Tiberius* triumphed of the *ILLYRIANS*, *PANNONIANS*, *DALMATIANS*, and *GERMANES*: followed with his Lieutenant *Germanicus*, *Vibius Posthumus*, *Plantius Silvanus*, and *Marcus Lepidus*, with triumphing robes. But before he went up to the Capitol, he went out of his Chariot, and fell down on his knees before *Augustus*. Then he made a dinner for all the people, and had a thousand tables set up for them, and gave to every one of them seven crowns and a half. Under the Consulship of *C. Silius*, and of *Munatius Plancus*, *Augustus* having obtained ten years with *Tiberius* to provide for the affairs of the Commonwealth: to the end to quench many false rumors, about sixteen moneths before his death, he made his Will, and gave it to the Vestal Virgins to keep. Because his sickness kept him from coming to the Senate, he prayed the Senators to thinke of some means to entertain the men of war. Which they having well considered, found no better means then that which he himself had found out, to wit, of the twentieth part of the inheritances: and they all agreed unto it. The next year following, he went (as they say) to see *Agrippa* in his Isle of *PLANASIA*, the which troubled *Livia* much for she knew what was past. At the same time he and *Tiberius* tooke muster of the *ROMANE* Citizens, and shortly after he fell sicke, whereof they recite many causes. But thereupon he went into the Country unto some places of pleasure, where he mended a little, and passed the time away pretily merry, carrying *Tiberius* with him, whom he would have brought on his way to *BENEVENT*, from whence he went into *ILLYRIA*. At his returne his sickness increased, that he was faine to stay at *NOLA*, and sent for *Tiberius* and talked with him a long time very privately, and after that did never any thing of importance: although the Historians do not agree whether *Tiberius* was come before his departure or not. For *Livia* had set spies in the house he lay sick in, and on the high wayes, giving it out abroad that *Augustus* was well: and on the other side sending messages upon messages unto *Tiberius*, same spreading it abroad that *Augustus* was dead, and that *Tiberius* held his place. *Augustus* being at the point to give up the Ghost, made himself to be combed, and speaking to his friends, asked if no body made any noise without. So he exhorted them to rejoyce with him, for that he had so happily played the Comedy of this humane life. Then having sent them all out of his chamber, he asked if *Livia Drusina* daughter were in health: and so embracing his wife, said these words unto her: Farewel *Livia*, behave thy self well, and remember our marriage: and suddainly went away, making a sweet end, which he alwayes desired as often as he heard talke of those that died quietly. He died in the same Town, and in the same chamber that his father *Octavianus* died in, and lived near unto the age of threescore and sixteen years. His corps being brought to *ROME*, the Vestal Virgins brought out his Will and Testament, by the which he appointed *Tiberius* his heire, and gave him three parts of his goods, and his wife *Livia* the fourth part. Furthermore he gave to the people of *ROME* twelve hundred and fifty thousand crowns: to the five and thirty Tribes, thirteen hundred, seven and thirty thousand, five hundred crowns: to every one of the Pretorian souldiers twenty five crownes, to those of the Town twelve crowns and a half. There were other legacies to be paid within a year, and he said, that all his legacies performed, he left his heirs four millions of gold. Within twenty yeares before his death, he did inherit of his friends goods which had made him their heir, about thirty five millions of gold: howbeit that he had spent all that, with two patrimonies of his owne, for maintenance of the Common-wealth. With his testament there were three little libels or edicils, the one shewing what he would have done at his funerals. The second was a brief of all his actions, which he commanded should be graven in copper tables before his tombe. The third contained the state of his revenew, and of the principall affaires of the Empire. He had added to them also the names of the enfranchised bondmen and of the slaves, whom they might bring to account, and therewith he advised them to keep the limits of the Empire which they had at that time. They carried him with great pomp into the field of *Mars*, where he was reduced into ashes, which they closed up in his Sepulcher built in his sixt Consulship, after all these ceremonies the Senate appointed him a temple and divine honours, and he was placed in ranke with the gods. To make his honor yet greater, one *Numerius Atticus* that had been Prætor, a man of great authority in *ROME*, was enticed by *Livia*, who gave him five and twenty thousand crownes, to swear before all the people, that he saw *Augustus* carried up into heaven. After his death, many speeches were diversly spoken of his life: some reproving him, as much as others commended him. But his successor made him oftentimes to be lamented. And so he was wont to say of *Tiberius*, that he should leave to the *ROMANS* in succession of the Empire, a successor that never consulted twice of one thing. And as he was a happy Prince in all his enterprises, and that by his Lieutenants had done an infinite number of worthy exploits against the enemies of the Empire: so in his life amongst his friends he shewed himself very gracious, pleasant, and well disposed in company: being learned, eloquent, and sententious in all his talke. And to conclude, such as the Empire of *ROME* had never any *Augustus* but him alone.

The end of Octavius Cæsar Augustus Life.

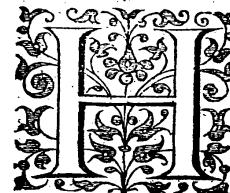
THE LIFE OF PLUTARCH.



Ann. Mund.
4053.

Post. Christ.
104.

Thy precepts are a Crown of purest gold
To Trajan deem'd the glory of mankind.
In hands, and hearts, if great men would thee bold,
Vertue should rule, and vice should go behind.



Having undertaken to gather the Lives of *Plutarch*, and of *Seneca*, as they themselves are amply shewed in their Workes, the which in despite of the fury of an infinite of strange accidents have yet remained whole and in reputation until this present time: first, this thought hath possessed me before, that some man marvell, how, and wherefore I do joyne Philosophers, quiet men, and friends of Solitarinesse, unto so many Noble and Worthy Warriors. Wherein it seemeth I wander too farre off from the principall intention of *Plutarch*, who was so willing to honour the Muses, joyning into one body so many members and parts of Histories offered unto the posterity, that in the meane time he hath accompanied, and as it were environed them.

With Darts, and Targets of Mars redoubtable.

But I hope, that if those (which thinke strange of my doings) will but at leisure, with a reposed eye, looke upon the Lives before: they shall find that I have not gone so farre from the right meaning, as at the first might be judged. For, besides that the Lives of some Orators; especially of *Demosthenes* and of *Cicero*, are seen amongst the others: you shall finde few Noblemen represented by our Author, but that they have as carefully handled bookes, as their swords. And if some seem to be so much given to Armes; that they have left the study of learning behind them, yet we may see that they have loved Philosophers; and that they themselves have earnestly and effectually reasoned of Philosophy, in time of warre and peace. And whereas *Plutarch* hath mingled some with virtuous men, some (I say) which have done infinite hurt to themselves, and to all the world, during their lives, and whose names are detested at this day by those themselves which follow their execrable doings: his intention was not to place them in the Theater of Vertue, as if they had deserved it; but as Learned Painters finely apply cloudy and dark colours in their tables, to the end that the lively and fresh colours should appeare more beautifull, and as it were imbossed; so in intermingling the strange excesses of some *GREEKS* and *ROMANS* amongst so worthy Acts of others, he hath so fitly mingled the sweete and profitable together, that it is not possible to be better. But if my two Philosophers (since I have begunne to qualifie them thus) were contented to shut up themselves in some Schoole or Study; and to do nothing else but declaime and fashion some Scholars.

The reason why the Lives of Philosophers are joynt with the Lives of Warriors. Why *Plutarch* wrote the lives of some vicious men amongst the virtuous.

it may be indeed I should better have left this enterprise unto some follower of *Diogenes Laertius*, that would describe the Sects of Philosophy, and the principal founders of the same. Now there are here two personages, which (as the soule within the body) have through their notable counsels given motions unto great and mean men in their time, and by other mens eyes and hands have done infinite things in the society of mans life, unto the which they serve at this day with their precepts and goodly instructions, without the which the exploits of others should be partly buried and abolished, as those have been of so many other men that came before and after. They be the two Schoole masters and counsellors of two Emperours. They be men that beside their study have borne great and honorable Offices, in the which they have so carried themselves, that by their actions a man may gather, that knowledge is a great prop and stay to a vertuous man. If they have not worn Armour and commanded Armies: if a man see them in a long Gowne, and their bookes in their hands, they lose not therefore their glory which so many wayes recommendeth them at this present, having lift up learning in honour, and furnished strong Armes, by means whereof all Princes may wisely and happily maintaine their estates against the fury of warres, and under the quiet government of peace. As to the contrary, when violence alone would rule, and that men thought there was no need that our spirits should be kept in and directed by the exhortations of Philosophy, confusions came on in heapes, which ruined and overthrew that which they thought had been suret set in the ground. Moreover, I did not beare my selfe in hand that I could attaine to that, as to represent *Plutarch* and *Seneca* in their becoming comeliness. They themselves could have done that, and in their writings there are draughts very agreeable to their gravity. But as we do not willingly take the Penfill to paint our selves, but to please our selves, the discourse of our thought sufficeth. In like manner also these goodly spirits, being contented to be knowne by the glasse of their vertue which followeth them, they leave every body to thinke of their deeds and words that which is meet. Amongst all the books that serve for the use of mans life, next unto that which concerneth the Sovereigne good we hope for in a better place then this world, I thinke there are none more profitable nor necessary to all sorts of men, then Histories. And amongst Histories, those of men which have been brought to honour and place of Government in the Common-wealth: and among such men, those that have brought their deeds and sayings to some commendable end. Wherefore I will not enter into disputation nor conference of stories, nor mingle the Scriptures with the prophane, or confound the discourse representing men destitute of the knowledge of the true God, with the holy and admirable considerations of the life of them which have been lightned with the happy and supernatural light. That requireth a whole booke, and separated from this present worke; our purpose being otherwise bent. But as in the former lives I was desirous to waken the good spirits of our Nation, and by the interjection of some of my concepts to induce them to do better, I do the like also in these two, attending the commodity to set forth others, if the Author of life do permit me.

Michiefes that follow the want of instruction by Philosophy.

The profit of Histories.

Why *Plutarch* life is set before *Seneca*.

The end or scope of the doctrine of *Plutarch* and *Seneca*.

Now before we proceed any further, for as much as *Seneca* was long time before *Plutarch*, some might also require another order in my discourse. Notwithstanding, as *Plutarch* doth ordinarily place the *Graeces* before the *Romans*, and that for the matter of their lives there is no need otherwise for a man to trouble himselfe much about the disposing of them; and that those which be dead do not quarrel together to know who shall go before or behind. I have thought with my selfe, that I might beginne this worke where I thought good, without binding my selfe too curiously, either to the order of time, or to such other circumstances. For if any man be offended, I will alledge that unto him which was spoken unto one displeased because his horse was painted standing on his feet, which he would have had lying on his backe and his feet upward: Turne the other side upward, and you shall be pleased. Even so is it in his choice to reade such a Life first as he thinketh good, and to turne the table at his pleasure, no man being constrained to come into the closet of the Muses, but at his owne will, and by the gate which pleaseth him best. It could have been contented to have offered *Plutarch* onely, or left him hidden in his workes, the true and durable treasures of his glory: but having been solicited to shew some patternes, I was unwilling to let him go alone. Now, I cannot cast mine eye upon that personage, but *Seneca* doth also present himself unto me, for many reports and agreements that are between them. For, besides that nature hath brought them into the world in the revolution of one Age, both came out of a strange Countrey to Rome: both of them were rich and of great power, Masters and Teachers of two Emperours, which did enrich and advance them to honour, and great Offices in the Common-wealth. In regard of their Learning, although the one of them was a Sect impugned by the other in divers respects, yet they both tended to one end, although it was by divers wayes, to wit, to drive away vice and vanity out of the hearts of their disciples, and to plant in them the love of Vertue, the contempt of death, and of the world, with so sound reasons, and so well combined the one to the other, that it is impossible to enter into a Schoole of the Heathen better ordered then that of these two, to learne (as we ought) to be athamed of dishonest things, and to exercise those that be honest and vertuous. But as touching other agreements and dissimilances which may be noted as well in their life and behaviour as in their doctrine, peradventure it shall be better to reserve it to fitter place, or to leave the discourse unto the studious Readers, who advisedly considering this little which we presently present unto them, and joyning thereto the writings of the one and the other, shall know what Authority and Art these two wise men have to draw the most ignorant and foolish to the love of Vertue. Also that their stile, with their pertinent and plaine manner of discourse, is accompanied with

with great gravity and forcible reasons, to make men confident to believe them. If the one flow sweetly, and almost alwayes maintaineth himselfe in the same: the other in his wanderings and rollings about can well reforme his errors, and come to it againe in time, and then go on better then when he first beganne. *Plutarch* useth a world of reproaches and hookes to pull downe vice. *Seneca* seemeth to provoke him to the combat, and when he ferreth upon him, it is by taking him by the choller and shaking him in all parts. The one seemeth to be a company of light horsemen charging very swiftly, and at divers wheelings and returns: the other, to a battallion of footemen well set in order, affailing resolutely, and not removing out of the place before he hath wont the victory. The opinions of *Plutarch* are handled with Platonick inductions, enriched with examples, with similitudes, with quicke sentences, and gracious recitals, which force the reader to yeeld. *Seneca* drawing that which is praise-worthy from the *Stoicks*, and from *Epictetus* also goodly instructions, as the Bee finely draweth from the herbe of bitter juyce that which maketh sweet hony, differing somewhat from the common use, he maketh a very profitable and sure harbor wherein a heart ill settled may repose it selfe. The one speaketh as a friend, the other as a master: and both with such a grace, that whether they give good counsell, or that they command, the eares and hearts do bow at their voices. Infomuch that the wicked are constrained in reading of these Philosophers to acknowledge, and plainly to heare within this grave Schoole, a million of truths which condemneth them: and I cannot tell with what hidden force (as the Adamant draweth iron) they feel themselves to be carried that way, unto the which the learned instructions of these two Philosophers do direct them, to delight in them even with mourning, and to confesse, that these be the persons of whom men may learne to be lesse vicious, and more vertuous. Good men also they gather there as sweet fruite as possible may be, for remedy against so many cruelties of this present life. And although they find their true and perfect contentment in a far better Schoole without comparison, yet so it is, that in this Schoole here they understand things which afterwards makes the other more acceptable and more honourable. Now for as much as afterwards we have mixed the memories of their lives with divers particularities, which will make us see a part of the comparisons that may be noted betweene them, let us beginne with *Plutarch*, and consider his Life principally by the instructions which he himselfe hath left, and namely in many places of his Morall and mingled workes.

The forcible effects of them, in vicious and vertuous men.

Pausanias, in the ninth booke of his description of *Greece*, saith, that there ran a common rumor abroad among the *Thebans*, that *Cadmus* the sonne of *Agenor* coming from *Delphes* into *Phocide*, was guided by a Cow marked in both her flanks with white spots in forme of a full Moone: and that the Oracle commanded him to stay with his Troopes in that place where the Cow should lye downe. Which came to passe in the territory afterwards called *Boeotia*, because of this Cow. At the beginning of the same booke he saith, that *Boeotia* tooke the same name of *Boeotus* the sonne of *Iron*, and of the Nymph *Menalippe*: which should seeme repugnant. But the one and the other opinion may well agree, if we say that *Cadmus* being come into that part of the Countrey, *Boeotus* that had a charge in these Troopes, and remaining there after the others, left his name to all the territory which is neare neighbour to *Attica*, but in a thicker aire because it standeth betwixt two mountaines, and that the Countrey is more Northwards. So that the *Athenians* were ever thinner in body, and of livelier spirit: and the *Boeotians* to the contrary, fuller of flesh, and duller of wit also. From whence came many flements of laughter against the masse and weight of their understandings, and they made Proverbs dispersed in Greeke and Latine bookes. Yea the Poets themselves, and *Eubulus* among others, do flout the *Boeotians*, that they are great feeders, and love to speake much: which agreeth very well with the rest of their manners. *Plutarch* also himselfe in his first treaty of eating of flesh, noteth somewhat of that. Nevertheless, of such a Countrey came *Pelopidas*, and other excellent men, but namely him of whom we are now presently to speak of, no simple nor sottish man: but as

Midst bushes, and the thickest of the thorne
The flowers of tendrest violet are borne:

Even so out of a Countrey accustomed to bring forth fat men, as they say, and fitter for war then learning, came *Plutarch*, borne in the City of *Cheronea*, near unto *Lebadia*. In old time (as *Pausanias* saith) it was called *Arne*, because of *Arne* the daughter of *Eolus*. But afterwards because it flood evil, and looked towards the West, *Cheron* the son of *Apello*, and of *Thero* the daughter of *Phylas*, caused it to be new built, and turned to the East, to make it more wholesome and habitable. Upon which occasion, in token of thankfulness for the good act of the founder, it was ever after called *Cheronea*. And although for many memorable accidents this Towne is noted in Histories, yet do I not know any thing that hath so much kept up the memory of it untill this present, as the name of *Plutarch*, whose ancestors, men of a noble race, maintained themselves from father to the son in honourable office and place of charge in their little Common-wealth, untill the time of *Nicarchus* his great Grandfather, who lived in the time of *Augustus Caesar*, as *Plutarch* reporteth in the life of *Antonius*: where he saith also, that all the Citizens of *Cheronea*, not one excepted, were compelled themselves to carry upon their shouldiers, a certaine measure of Corne to the sea coast, which is before the Isle of *Anticyra*: and yet they were driven forward, whipped with many a sore lash. Again, as they were preparing for a secon journey, and that every man had his burthen ready, newes came that *Antonius* had lost the battell before *Actium*, which saved *Cheronea*. For *Antonius* commissioners and soldiers fled immediately, and the Citizens divided

Plutarch came out of *Cheronea* a City of *Boeotia*.

Plutarch descended, and education.

The amity and love of Plutarch and his brethren.

Ammonius Plutarch's Schoole-maister.

The old custome of teaching youth.

Plutarch learned the Latine tongue in his latter years.

divided the Corne amongst them. *Nicarchus*, amongst other children had *Lamprias*, a learned man amongst those of his time, and of whom *Plutarch* maketh often mention in his books, where he speaketh of talke at the table: how that he had been in company with other learned men at many feasts, where there was no talke but of learning and matters of Philosophy. He speaketh also of his father, the sonne of *Lamprias*, now expressing his name although he representeth him discoursing of many points of Philosophy, and namely in the bookes above mentioned. Of this Philosopher then the sonne of *Lamprias* were borne many children, and amongst others *Plutarch*, *Timon*, and *Lamprias*: all which three were very carefully brought up and instructed in the liberal sciences, and in all the parts of Philosophy: unto the which, they shall ever see an humble reverence towards their grandfather and father joyntogether, and amongst themselves a fast and pleasant friendship, as may be gathered in many places out of their table talke. Whereupon in respect of the grandfather and father, I remembered that *Plutarch* in those bookes speaking of his grandfather, he makes alwayes honourable mention of him. And as for his father, in the instruction of those that deale in affaires of the estate, he reporteth that he being young was sent with another in embassage to the Pro-consull, and his companion remaining upon some occasion behind, he went thither alone: and executed the commission. And at his returne, as he would have given the Common-wealth account openly, and have made report of his charge and Embassage, his father rising up alone, forbade him to say, I went, but we went; and I spake, but we spake: and so commanded him to make his report, alwayes joyning his companion with that he had done. We see in the treaty of brotherly love, how heartily he loved his brother *Timon*, when he said in these words: For my selfe, although fortune hath shewed me many favours, which deserve that I should be thankfull to her for them, yet there is none that maketh me so much bound to her, as the love and good will my brother *Timon* hath borne, and doth beare unto me in all things: the which no man can deny to be true, that hath but a little frequented our company. And in his talke at the table, bringing in his father and brethren with many others, or together, resolving divers questions of Philosophy, he representeth men that with a grounded knowledge had joynt a sweet behaviour, and a wonderful good understanding, and namely the young *Lamprias*, who was of a pleasant nature, and loved to be merry. *Plutarch* then having a father that loved learning and vertue, was in a good houre put out to learning, whereunto he was wholly inclined. And amongst other good masters, he met with *Ammonius*, an *EGYPTIAN* born, faith *Eunapius*, who having with great praise taught in *ALEXANDRIA*, he did also visit the Cities of *GREECE* wherein learning did yet flourish, and tarried a great time in *ATHENS*, respected and well beloved of every man. In the latter end of *Themistocles* life, *Plutarch* sheweth that he was a boarder and lying in *Ammonius* house, and in talke at the table he brought him in, either disputing, or teaching his Scholars. So the custome to teach the youth at that time was very fine and easie, to give children a tast and learning of vertue: for as the Tutors employed part of their time to discourse in the presence of their disciples, they occupied them in the same exercise afterwards, and made them declare, and say their opinion of divers matters: so that in few weekes, by way of sport and recreation, they had runne through the secrets of Philosophy. Unto the which they joynt also, besides their compositions and particular exercises, their familiar talke and recreative disputations in their walkes, at their suppers and feasts, where nothing else could be heard but that which made the young men wise and vertuous in a short space. That may be gathered out of *Plutarch's* writings, and out of those especially where he speaketh how children should be taught, of the lecture of the Poets, how they should heare, his talke at the table, and a good number of declamations dispersed in the midst of his Morall workes. In this place I remember that which he himselfe spake in discourse, how a man should know a flatterer from a friend, touching the direction of this his Tutor. Our master *Ammonius*, faith he, perceiving in his lecture he made after dinner, that some of his disciples and familiars had made a larger dinner then was fit for Students, he commanded one of his servants, a freeman to beate his owne sonne: he could not (faith he) dine without vinegar. When he had spoken that, he cast his eyes upon us: so that they which were indeed culpable, found that he meant it by them. We may see also in the first and second question of his third booke of talke at the table, how ready this Philosopher was to sharpen the spirits of young men that frequented him. Thus therefore *Plutarch* having so good a helpe, in few yeares he profited greatly in the knowledge of all the parts of Philosophy, and never went out of his Country, nor travelled to understand strange languages, although the Latine tongue was common in *ROME*, and in divers places of the *ROMAN* Empire: which extended it selfe into *GREECE*, and beyond, as *Plutarch* noteth in the end of his Platonickall questions. Without notwithstanding that he ever profited much in the knowledge of any other tongue, saving in the knowledge of the *GREEKS*: the which also hath a taste of his Philosophy of *BOETIA*. He doth also confesse in the beginning of the life of *Demosthenes*, that whilest he was in *ITALIE* and in *ROME*, he had no leisure to study, nor to exercise the Latine tongue, as well for the businesse he had then in hand, as to satisfie those that frequented him to learne Philosophy of him. So that very late, being well stepped on in yeares, he began to take Latine bookes in hand, wherein there happened a strange thing unto him, but yet true notwithstanding: that is, that he did not learne nor understand things so much by the words, as by a certaine use and knowledge he had of things, he attained to the understanding of the words. But furthermore (they are his owne words) to know how to judge well, wherein consisteth the beauty of the Latine tongue, or to speak it readily, or to understand the figures, translations, and the fine knitting of simple sayings one with the other, which do adorne and beautifie the tongue, I thinke well (said he) that it is a goodly thing and

Sciences of old learned in the mother tongue

and pleasant: but withall it requireth a long and labourfome exercise, fit for those that be at better leisure then I am, and that be yet able for age to attend such finenesse. That which is above spoken of, sheweth that in that time they learned Sciences in their Mother Tongue, so that even from their Cradle children beganne to enter into the Schoole of the Muses, and pierced into the goodliest secrets of the same, having in their owne Tongue the Arts and goodly disciplines discovered even to the bottom: whereas presently the best of our age stealeth away in learning of words, and when we should enter into the knowledge of things, our memory is over-wheled, and judgement altered with an infinity of objects, which (like divers sawces) have most times altered our right taste. In somuch that almost commonly we see, that we delight for the most part to heape together letters upon letters, and after a great provision of strange words, we find our selves children, and void of the true knowledge of things. But now to come againe to *Plutarch*, as touching his sufficiency and his advancement in Sciences, we need not speak of them in particular, considering that his writings doe sufficiently prove them, and that we have also spoken something in the preface of his Morall workes.

Now, as his good fortune made him meet with excellent masters, and men very careful to manure so noble a spirit: so he for his part answered their hope very sufficiently, shewing himselfe even from his infancy to the end of his life wholly given to study, with an earnest desire (but well governed) to keepe his body in health, to content his mind, and to make himselfe profitable along time to himselfe, and to others also. Which was no hard matter for him, having been carefully brought up, even from his cradle, and so well governed, as was requisite to maintaine himselfe long in strength: his fathers house and table being a Schoole of temperance and of frugality. Considering furthermore that talke with learned men was very necessary for him to attaine to that which he pretended: and having a mind desirous to excell in all things, he travelled into *EGYPT*, and talked there of all the ancient doctrine with the wisest men, whereof afterwards he made a collection and intialed it, of *Isis*, and *Osiris*: which is yet left unto us, where he sheweth himselfe to be well studied in the divinity and Philosophy of the *EGYPTIANS*. From thence he returned againe into *GREECE*, and visited the Townes and Universities where there were any Philosophers, and frequented them all, to gather together the goodly instructions which he hath left us. Moreover he began to make collections, and culled out remembrances not onely out of the bookes already published, but also of the notable talke and discourse which he understood of the one and the other: also of Registers and Authentickall instruments kept the Townes where he came, whereof afterwards he did most artificially frame the most part of his workes. And pretending such a laudable end, the better to establish his contents, and to speake with a more commendable authority and good manner: he made a journey unto the City of *SPARTA*, of purpose to see the papers and memories of all the government of this goodly Common-wealth, and of their Law-makers, Kings, and *Ephores*; and gathered together all their notable deeds and sayings so carefully as could be possible even to the least words of the simple souldiers and women of *SPARTA*, together with all their customes, ordinances, ceremonies, and fashions: to live in common, and particularly, in war and in peace. He did the like in divers other Common-wealths, as his lives, and the demands of things pertaining to the *GREEKS* and *ROMANS* doth amply prove it: without which collections also it was impossible for him to have left in writing such particularities, and he could not but of necessity have had communication with a great number of men lovers of Antiquities. Unto that he joynt a courious search of Statues, Mettals, Inscriptions, Paintings, Tables: also of Proverbs, Epigrammes, Epitaphs, Apophthegms, and other ornaments of History, to leave nothing behind him. And being continually almost in the company of learned men in all professions, it seemeth his memory was alwayes bent to gather, and his judgement occupied to discerne that which was to be rejected or retained. By which meanes he saw himselfe in a short time advanced to the knowledge of all things: moreover he had in his hand goodly briefes and collections, with the which he finely holpe himselfe, and afterwards made a good part unto his friends and posterity. He himselfe at the beginning of his booke treating of the contentment and quietnesse of the mind, makes mention of the memories which he had of long time made for his own use. So that out of this rich closet he hath drawne the excellent peeces which have remained unto us, and which shew how much we have lost being deprived of them that are no more to be found, and the which time hath dispersed, or utterly consumed.

Now though that in generally it may be said, that this man was ignorant in no Learning, nor of the goodly secrets of Nature: yet this word we must adde to it, that whosoever shall duly consider the entrance, continuance, composition, binding and inclosing of his Discourse, be it that he Write an History, or that he by any Treaty apart will put backe vice, and make Vertue to be beloved: be it that he sport himselfe in clearing the difficulties of naturall Philosophy, or of the Mathematickes: be it that he beginneth to confute some disputation against those whose opinions he disproveth: we shall find in his writings an exact and easie method both together, his proofes sound, and his inductions pleasant and agreeable to all sorts of wits, and of such pithy discourses, so that of force we must confesse, that this person had been most excellently directed in his studies, considering that in speaking after such an easie manner, he presenteth so profound instructions, and I cannot tell what, where there is alwayes somewhat to be learned. Furthermore, seeing divers Sects in credit in his time, it seemeth he had a good will to sound into the depth of the value and error of them. Then reaching higher yet, he hath searched out the opinions of the first Sages. So that the *Pythagoreans*, *Platonians*, *Epicureans*, *Stoicks*, and *Peripateticians*, with their precepts have been very familiar with

Plutarch given to study.

Plutarch's travels.

Plutarch's book of contentment and quietnesse of mind.

Plutarch's method of writing

Plutarch foundeth into the depth of Sects and converteth with learned men.

with him. But being not content with turning over the leaves of their Writings, and seeing to the end all that which the natural Philosophers have thought of the secrets of the world: yet would he familiarly frequent those whom he understood to be practised in Sciences, and confer with them, understand their reasons, and be thoroughly resolved of them: and at the length obtained his desire, as his bookes make mention. That was accompanied with a continuall reading of all sorts of good Authors, as well to amplify his collections, as still more and more to enrich his memory, and to polish his judgement; as may be noted in his Workes three severall Excellencies of his spirit. For some of them are certaine declamations made in the Schoole, and by way of exercise, as we have shewed them, placed at the beginning of the same: to that if he would have taken the paines to have reviewed and smoothened those peeces there, they would have seemed to be other then they were. But we perceive that he left some imperfect, not thinking that that (which served not but for a prooffe of some thing better laboured) deserved to come to light. There are also some other discourses better polished, yet in such sort notwithstanding, that it plainly appeareth, he might have amplified them and made them better. And there be other peeces, unto the which it may be said, he hath put his last hand: as are his Lives, and the most part of his Morall workes, written at leisure, very advisedly, considered in all understanding and to divers recreations. He could have done the like in all, and with the like stile have raised his Writings to their perfection: but having as it were more exprefly stayed himself upon some, he hath shewed therein the disposition of his studies, and with what discretion he spent his time.

Plutarch lives
and morall best
polished.

Plutarch a fol-
lower of Plato,
and an enemy
to the Epicures
and Stoicks.

Plutarch bodi-
ly exercises and
his skill in
Physicke.

Plutarch's so-
briety.

Plutarch igno-
rant of the true
God.

Now, though he had tasted of all the Sects of the Philosophers, yet you may perceive that inclining to the *Platonians* (for he greatly revered *Socrates* and *Plato*, whose birth-dayes he did yearly celebrate) he neverthelesse shut himselfe within the bounds of modesty of certaine *Academicks*, being content simply to propound the things, but to leave them to the judgement of the Readers, forcing no man. Furthermore, we see with what diligence he had turned over the leaves of the Writings of the *Epicureans*, and of the *Stoicks*; against whom he stoutly opposed himselfe. But Morall Philosophy was his chiefe end: for the Rationall, the Naturall, and Mathematicks (the which he had greatly studied) they were but simple pastimes in comparison of the other. Whereupon may be discerned, that having received in himselfe a singular pleasure of such study, he alwayes sought to print the same desire and contentment in the thought of all men, leaving the speculations and pricking questions: onely tending to this good, to bring wisdom into the houses, to establish it in the Thrones of Kings, to make it go in the streets, to lodge it in the eyes and eares, upon the tongues, and in the bottome of the hearts of all men. See here what his thoughts have been, which he could well digest afterwards: so that it seemeth he was altogether given to that. Now though he was occupied in meditations and so excellent workes, he forgot not therefore any thing that was requisite for the exercises of his body, such as men used at that time, to keep their spirits in strength, as also more joyfully to passe over so many other crosses as our life is assailed withall. And we may see also in the precepts he hath written of health, that albeit Physicke was not his profession, neverthelesse he learned that which was the principall for his owne private good. For in that booke of his, he speaketh reasonably of the use of meats, and sheweth from what meates we should abstaine. Afterwards having declared in what sort one should use his appetite and the pleasures of the body, he condemneth the excessse of drinking and eating, he teacheth how to prevent sickness, setteth downe remedies, Treatch of Diet, and of signes of sickness, and of the true wayes how to keep health. And thereupon he commeth to reason of the exercises and diet of Students, laying that open which we should most carefully observe therein: which maketh me beleieve, that he having knowne so well what was fit for the preservation of the body, he did wisely helpe himselfe: as also even to very old age he hath borne Office in the Common-wealth, and alwayes carried a body and minde lusty and ready to take paines, having had this wisdom, to consider well his nature and disposition: also to take such meates and drinckes as were good for his stomacke, and to use them soberly, and keeping his body in good state by commendable exercises and nouriture, to make himselfe profitable a long time for humane society. It is true, that he being a grave man, raised to honours, and a Philosopher by profession, his chiefe exercises of body were to walke with other learned men, where without contention of words, he alwayes decided some points of Philosophy. Furthermore he loved to talke at the table, and to mingle pleasant grave matters with some new device: so wittily and sweetly to entangle and divide the course of his life, being no crabbed nor sullen person, but pleasant, and whose company was troublesome to none: and otherwise as sober and discreet in his talke, as he was in drinking and eating.

So then his manners, as well alone, as with his friends and openly, do shew, that truly he had a good soule within a body well tempered. Now I do not enter here into the examination of the ridiculous opinions of *Plutarch* in matter of Religion, being sorry that so rare a spirit hath been so miserably environed with the darknesse which was at that time in the most part of the Towns and men of *Greece*, and especially among so many wise men, strangely ignorant and dull in respect of the knowledge of the true God. If we had not been warned betimes by the true and onely wise men taught in the Schoole of eternall wisdom, of such a judgement of God upon the wise men of the world, who have been confounded in their discourse, when there hath been question of the honour due to our soveraigne Lord: then we might have been affronted, and remained as men cast away. And whereas so many great wise men have erred in their wayes, that will not excuse them before their Judge, as if he had kept the light from them. For, since that which may be known of his eternitie and omnipotent power, hath been revealed unto them in nature and in Philosophy: staying a man upon

upon himselfe, or upon other creatures, and forsaking the only Creator, they condemne themselves by their own words and writings. Now to come againe to *Plutarch*. He having been *Apollos* Priest, as himselfe confesseth, and from his youth suckled with the foolish dorings of the *Greeks*: I do not finde it strange, that many absurd opinions and without good ground (yea wicked and pernicious) are scattered in his disputationes, touching the default of Oracles, of the Religion of the *Jews*, of the inscription of the letter *E* in the Temple of *Delfus*: why the *Pythia* doth no more give her Oracles in verse; and in many places of the Lives and workes, in the which he openly inclineth to the superstitions and Atheismes of the *Pagans*. There he sheweth a conscience evil informed, and a man running very swiftly out of the right way. By the same meane a man may plainly note that in matter of supernatural and divine Philosophy, another manner of light then that of our corrupt understanding is wholly required, not being possible that a man left to his own wit can comprehend the things which are of God: because they are discerned after a fashion meerly unknown unto him, and of the which he cannot be partaker but by a speciall grace, and which nature doth not bestow upon him, but he which hath made and reformed nature. It is no marvel then if *Plutarch* should be misled, that hath had so many instructions and masters strayed from the way of Eternal Truth, and whose predecessours were drowned in the bottomlesse pit of ignorance. Yet notwithstanding, in the midst of that darknesse he hath had so much light, that he seemeth, at times, to note and condemne the Labyrinth of error, as a man that hath lost his way in an horrible darke night, should from one time to another be directed rightly by the light of the flashings of lightning. For some do gather by his discourse of the Cessation of the Oracles, and by other places, that he did acknowledge one God, and very liberally condemned many old and new superstitions, unto the which both himself, and others his like, did cleave, rather by custome for fashions sake, and to please the people, then for any opinion they had that they were ought worth. But as I have said, my intention is not to judge this person nor his deeds: considering that besides the matter I touch (every where, where he goeth out of the way) he confuteth himself sufficiently: wipeth his discourse of superstition, and the seventh Chapter of his first booke touching the opinions of the Philosophers, where he will dispute of the Eternal Providence: and the third question of the second booke at talke of the table, making mention of the egge: and the last question of the fourth booke, where he medleth with speaking of God, and of the ceremonies of the *Jews*. In the mean time, and in the midst of this great blindness, they see in *Plutarch* a heart that is enemy unto vice, and a friend of good manners. Let a man see him in his Family, in the Schoole, in Banquets, with his friends, and openly: behold, there is a grave man modest in behaviour, sharpe, learned and pleasant in his discourses, offending not hurting no man. If he spake of vice, he letteth out the filthinesse, and seantly maketh the patient cry. If he spake for vertue, it is with such efficacy, that every man may know he spake of the abundance of his heart. He is a good father of a house, a wise Schoole-master, a grave Historian, a brave Politician, an excellent Philosopher, a good Writer to imitate: and furthermore, a faithful, profitable, true, and a joyfull counsellor and friend. His plainnesse, simplicity, and grave modesty shineth in all his writings: his vertue, accompanied almost ordinarily with all other things, which we need not speak of particularly, neither to unfold the life of our Philosopher from one part to another to see his uprightness, integrity, gravity, sweetnesse, constancy, force, prudence, temperancy, and liberality: that may be truly spoken of him, which had been long time before applied in the Theaters unto *Amphiarau*, and to *Aristides*:

Plutarch where-
in he is com-
mendable.

He little cares to seeme upright, but Striveth so to be,
In deepest thoughts preferring vertue still:
Whence day by day, proceeding we do see
Wise counsels, that without respect, true honours Lawes fulfill.

In testimony of his sweete Gravity, and of part of his thoughts, I will alledge some words couched in his owne discourse against Choler. As for me, said he, If I have done well or evil I know not, not by that meane I have rid my selfe of Choler. As the *Lacedaemonians* did in old time, who to learne their children not to be drunke at all, shewed them their slaves being drunke: so do I consider the effects of Choler in others. And afterwards he addeth more, that a man should accustome himselfe to bear many of his wives words, and of his familiars and friends, which do reprove us for that we are too gentle and soft. And this was the chiefe cause (said he) why I was so often angry with my servants, fearing they would waxe worse for want of reproofe and correction. But I observed my selfe at the last, though late, that first I were better by patience and pardoning them, make my servants worse, then to hurt my selfe by sharpnesse and choler, seeking to reforme others. I considered also with my selfe, and remembered (said he) that as he which teacheth us to shoote in a Bow, doth not forbid us to draw, but to faile in drawing: so he that teacheth us to punish in time and place, moderately, profitably, and as we should: doth not let us but that we may punish, I do labour all I can to withdraw, and utterly to banish all choler: principally because I would not take from them that are punished, the mean to justifie themselves, and to hearte them. For time bringeth, in the interim to the passionate mind, a delay and forgetfulnesse, which dissolveth it: in which space the judgement of reason findeth both the meane and the measure to give reasonable correction. And besides that, they give the party punished no place to resist the punishment, if he be not corrected in anger and choler, but convinced for that he had well deserved it. And (which were

Plutarch
speeches a-
gainst choler.

were yet more unseemly) they shall not finde that the servant punished speaketh more justly then his master that punisheth him. Touching this purpose, I will remember the pleasant report which the Philosopher *Taurus* made of *Plutarch*, as *Gellius* reciteth it in the sixe and twentieth Chapter of the first booke of his *Nights Attiques*, as some man hath heretofore expressed it in our language. A slave, a vile and vicious man (but yet that had his eares somewhat instructed with bookes and disputations of Philosophy) having been stripped naked for some fault he had done, by the commandement of his Master *Plutarch*, whilst they were whipping of him, he grumbled at the first, that it was without reason, and that he had done nothing: but in the end crying out amaine; and injuring his Master, he told him that he was no Philosopher as he bragged himselfe to be: and that he often heard him say it was a fowle thing to be angry, yea that he made a booke of it: and that now (overcome with Choler) in making him be beaten so cruelly, he utterly belied all his Writings. Thereupon *Plutarch* coldly and quietly answered: Why, how now Roister, said he? whereby doest thou thinke that I am angry at this present? My countenance, my voice, my colour, my words, do they give thee any signe that I am angry? I do not thinke I have cruell eyes, nor a troubled face, nor any fearful crie. Do I blush? do I fume? doth any thing escape me that I should repent me? do I stampe? do I rage? For to tell thee truly, these be the shewes of Choler. Afterwards he turned to him that whipped him: saying, Forward with your businesse, whilst he and I do reason the matter. Furthermore, we may easily gather what *Plutarch* was amongst his friends, from the nine bookes containing the questions decided at the table. And for his disputations against the *EPICUREANS* and *STOICKES*, they shew that this person for the regard of his actions concerning the Common-wealth, having respect unto those whom at that time he made his Judges, and to the posterity into whose hands his writings might come hereafter, he alwayes carried himself in such a modest gravity, that they could require no more of him. And if sometime he did feelingly touch some, as *Colotes*, and *Herodotus*, it was not in vain. Also he alwayes used termes which witnessed that he had an upright soule. To be short, it appeareth every where that his passions were marvellous well stayed. And if any of them were furious or violent, he could tell in time and place how to reforme them by the precepts of Philosophy, leading (as is said) a life without blame of men. But above all the rest, when any discourse or disputation drew him into it, to speake of shamefull or dishonest things, he did convey it with such discretion as it cannot be amended: whereof we need not to bring forth examples dispersed in his writings, and especially in the Dialogue of Love, seeing that being concealed it doth no hurt, as also remembered or too expressly revealed, it cannot but hurt the eyes, and an honest thought.

Furthermore, *Plutarch's* study of Philosophy tooke not away the care he had to live with some profit amongst men, nor made him to disdain the meanes which his predecessors had left him. But as he came of a noble house, and with time being advanced unto office and charge in the Common-wealth, greatly esteemed of *Trajan* the Emperor, and of the Noble men of *ROME*, he saw he had goods enough to live at ease: whereof notwithstanding he never made such account as that he would forget study, and intangle himselfe in the snare of the love of riches, in the which so many miserable foules have been engaged unto death. His meanes served his turne to maintaine himselfe among his friends, and to bring up his children: for he had many of an honourable Lady which he married, and loved most dearly. Amongst his other sons, himselfe maketh mention of *Autobulus*, of *Plutarchus*, and of *Charon*, who died a young infant, and some others whom he nameth not at all. Also of daughters, two of the which were married to *Firmus*, and unto *Craton*, learned Philosophers: and *Timoxene*, who died very young. As for *Autobulus*, he married in his fathers life time, and it is not well knowne, whether *Senius* of *CHERONEA*, a Philosopher of the Sceptes, who lived in great honour in the Empire of *Antonius*, was his sonne, or the sonne of *Plutarchus*. That which I am now about to speak of, may be gathered out of divers places in the workes of *Plutarch*, and specially of the discourse at the table. And in the consolation which he wrote to his wife upon the death of their daughter, they may note that she was an honourable Lady, modest, and vertuous, well attended on with women and servants, and otherwise loving to her children, and bearing great reverence unto her husband. That the house of *Plutarch* was very well governed: that he had a great number of kinsfolkes and friends. And in other places of his booke intituled *Symposium*, and other Treaties, we may know that his Sonnes and Nephews were studious and learned, and specially in the sixt question of his eight booke of talke at the table, speaking of his youngest children: who because they tarried somewhat longer at the Theater then they should have done, to see and heare the pastimes they made there, came by that means late to supper: is shewed sufficiently that they now began to follow the fathers steps. And there appeared in no part any evil touch amongst these persons, but as *Plutarch* did converse in a singular reverence, friendship and gentleness with his Grandfather, his Father and his brethren, we are to judge the like conversation with his Wife, his Children, and his Nephews: as also they being in so good a Schoole, could not fail but every day to go forward in the knowledge and practise of vertue.

But as a fontaine hidden serveth to no use, so it had little prevailed *Plutarch* to have seen, read, and gathered so much together, unlesse he had made little streames run from such a lively and goodly fontaine, unto such places where his vertue might shine more then in any other parts of the world. That was *ITALIE*, and the City of *ROME*, the seate of the Empire, and where (notwithstanding the disorders brought in by former warres, and by the dissolutions and tyrannies of some Emperours) there were many learned men, and in the Emperours Court also some counsellors,

Signes of anger.

Plutarch ruled well his affections.

Plutarch's children.

Plutarch's house well governed.

Where *Plutarch's* vertues most shined.

and other persons of authority which loved vertue. Now *Plutarch* having begun to advance himselfe in *GREECE*, about the time of *Vespasian* and *Titus*, it seemeth he came to *ROME* immediately after the death of *Titus*, under *Dominian*, as well to make profession there of Philosophy, as also that he might more nearly know the ancient government of the Common-wealth, and to increase his collections, from the which proceeded afterwards infinite particularities inclosed in his works: but especially the Lives of the noble *ROMANS* compared with the *GREEKS*. For my part, I thinke *Plutarch* was drawn to *ROME* by meanes of some friends he had there, especially by *Sossius Senecio*, that had been a Consul, who was of great estimation at that time, and namely under the Empire of *TRAIAN*. And that which maketh me thinke so, is because of *Plutarch's* own words, who saith in the beginning of his first booke of his discourse at the table, that he gathered together all his reasons and discourses made here and there, as well in *ROME* with *Senecio*, as in *GREECE* with *Plutarch* and others. Not being likely that he would have taken the pains to have made so long a voyage, and to have come to such a City where he understood not their vulgar tongue, if he had not been drawne thither by *Senecio*, and such other men: as also in acknowledgement of the good turnes and honour he had received by such men, he dedicated divers of his books unto them, and among others, the Lives unto *Senecio*, and the nine volumes of his discourse at the table; with the treaty, How a man may know, that he profiteth in vertue. Now for the time, considering what he saith in the end of his booke against curiosity, I suppose that he taught in *ROME* in the time of *Titus* and of *Dominian*: for touching that point, he maketh mention of a noble man called *Rusticus*, who being one day at his lecture, would not open a letter which was brought him from the Emperour, nor interrupt *Plutarch*, but attended the end of his declamation, and untill all the hearers were gone away: and addeth also, that *Rusticus* was afterwards put to death by the commandement of *Dominian*. Furthermore, about the beginning of the life of *Demosthenes*, *Plutarch* saith, that whilst he remained in *ITALY* and at *ROME*, he had no leisure to study the Latine Tongue: as well for that he was busied at that time with matters he had in hand, as also to satisfie those that were his followers to learn Philosophy of him. He doth not tell what matters he had in hand besides his profession: but following that which *Swidas* and others spake of him, that he was near to the person of *Trajan*, and had the honour and place to be his Schoole-master and Teacher, or, at the leastwise, one of so many learned men as this Prince made much of, as some story writers do testifie, he was honoured and advanced to some charge or government: which, I thinke, is that he speaketh of in this place. Now furthermore, his chiefest labour was publickly to teach all the parts of Philosophy, mingling in his declamations and lectures a diligent and curious search of all that the ancient Philosophers, reasonable, naturall, or morall, of what sect soever they were, had treated of: as appeareth by the writings, which are as summaries of his lessons and Orations he made with his owne voice. His speech doth not flow so as that of many other Philosophers, Orators, and Greeke Historians, but being come later, and in a more rude and harsh world, his style also is more hard, briefe, enforced, and Philosopher like: ayming at this marke to instruct the minde first, not tarrying to tickle the eares much, though he did fill and content them learnedly. But the flowing sweetnesse we taste in *Plato*, in *Xenophon*, in *Herodotus*, and in some other, wanting indeed in *Plutarch*, is supplied and recompensed in him by infinite stories, sentences, similitudes, and notable particulars which he borroweth of others, and whereof he composeth a worke so well divided, so rich, and so pleasant, by reason of his variety, that it is not possible to read bookes of a more gentle and profitable reading, amongst all the Historians, and Philosophers, *GREEKS* or *ROMANS*. If *Plutarch* then doth at this present content all sorts of men, what may we thinke he did with his lively voice? but after the example of this *Hercules* of *GAULE*, which held his auditors eares fast chained to his tongue: so hath he by his goodly documents, moved an infinite number of men, to leave vice, and to cloath them with the love of vertue.

So he having continued these exercises for some years, being heard and visited of all sorts of men, grew to be of such reputation, that the greatest persons began to seek him and to make much of him, yea to thinke themselves honoured by his friendship: as his books dedicated unto some of them do sufficiently testifie it. And touching the access he had about the person of *Trajan* himselfe, it may be gathered from the beginning of this goodly collection of Apophthegmes, which he dedicated to this great Emperor, what was his intention: that is to wit, to serve for the good of all the *ROMAN* Empire, giving wholesome instructions unto the head thereof. For he wisely judged, that in ruling the thoughts of that man, it was to give Physicke at once unto all the subjects of that great Monarchy. The same being a common thing, that

Subjects and Kingdoms commonly do chuse
The manners that their Princes daily use.

It is true that such instructions, in respect of *Trajan*, do onely concerne his person and Politicke affaires. For as touching the onely true Religion, it was meere unknown of *Plutarch*; and rudely persecuted under the Empire of *Trajan*: who notwithstanding in the end being softened by the precepts of morall Philosophy, and through the advertisements his deputy governors gave him, and namely *Plinius secundus* governor of *BITUNIA*, of the innocency of the Christians: or rather restrained by the secret providence of our sovereign Lord (who excellently strengthened his, put the Oracles of the lying spirit to silence, and overthrew Idolatry in most places) he carried himselfe more gently, and did forbid to vex and trouble then any more, whom before they had pursued with all sorts of cruelties. Furthermore, I thinke that it was in favour of *Trajan* chiefly, that *Plutarch* made

What moved *Plutarch* to come to *Rome*.

The reverence a noble man gave *Plutarch* at his lecture.

Plutarch's style.

Plutarch's reputation.

Good instruction of a Prince, is of great importance.

Trajan forbade the persecuting of Christians.

So could he well acknowledge the good he had received of *Plutarch*, being a noble and bountifull Prince, as hath bene said here-before. For, besides the great honour he had done him at Rome, by having made him a Confull, he commanded (as saith *Suidas*) that all the Magistrates and Officers which were in the Province of SLAVONY, should do nothing but under his Authority. If we had the Bookes of *Marius Maximus*, of *Fabius Marcellinus*, of *Aurelius Verus*, and of *Statius Valens*, which have written the Life of *Traian*: we might easily draw on this matter further, the which *Suidas* (according to his stile) is contented to touch in one word. And *Dion* who was a GREEKE, a man very forgetfull for an Historian, and that in some places shewed he had no great judgement: he seemeth to have suppressed the name of *Plutarch*, as though he had bene offended with the same obtained by this man. Or else, if one will take things in good part, as I incline unto it, it may be he thought he needed make no mention of one whose Writings made him to be knowne sufficiently. Yet furthermore, I do not finde that *Plutarch* was in SLAVONY at all, and if so be that he made any Journey thither, I thinke he tarried not long there: because it appeareth in divers places of his Workes, that his abode was most in ITALY and in GREECE. And for his honourable charges committed unto him, that should not be thought very strange, if we consider the merits of *Plutarch*, the names of *Traian*, and the good will that *Sossius Senecio* (one of the principall men of Rome, and of the chiefest favourites of *Traian*) bare unto *Plutarch*. For he that was in so great credit with his Master, would not forget him whom he loved above all other men: wherein he lost not his time, forasmuch as the Statue that was set up for him, and that which *Dion* and some others do briefly paffe over, do not commend *Sossius*, as do the Prefaces of Honour, and the Bookes which *Plutarch* dedicated unto him. The which we neede no more rehearse, then to write over againe the Epistle of *Plutarch* unto *Traian*, the which is written in Latine, as *Amyot* sheweth in his Preface of the Lives: where he hath inserted the Epistle at length, because he thought it wisely and gravely written, a Briefe worthy of such a Philosopher as *Plutarch*. That which *Cuspinianus* saith in the latter end of the Life of *Traian*, seemeth to touch this: speaking also, as if it had bene exprest out of Greeke into Latine. But time hath deprived us of that, and of many other goodly pieces of the self-same, as we have somewhat spoken of it before in the beginning of the Morall Workes. Now he hath written nothing touching his behaviour in his publicke Charge, but contenteth himselfe to speake a word sometime passing by, because he made no account of any thing but of Philosophy, through the helpe whereof he assayed to make himselfe and others wiser, and more vertuous every day then other. Being a thing very likely, that such a man as had so painfully considered of the state of the World, and of all sorts of publicke Governments, and had joyned his studies with so great experience: that he hath happily managed the charges that were committed unto him. To conclude, to live as we should amongst men, the speculation and knowledge of things being joyned with the practice of the same, do bring forth excellent effects: whereas those that do content themselves with the simple Theoretike, and others that follow Exercise, contemning the true understanding of the Causes and Grounds of Affaires, as Philosophy doth shew them, they oftentimes fall into wonderful difficulties.

For *Plutarch*, though he tarried a long time in ITALY, and in Rome, yet that tooke not away the remembrance of the sweete aire of GREECE, and of the little Towne where he was borne: but being touched from time to time with a Sentence of an ancient Poet, who said, that

*In whatsoever Country men are bred,
(I know not by what sweetnesse of it led)
They nourish in their mindes a glad desire
Unto their native homes for to retire:*

Plutarch returneth into Greece his Country.

The end and scope of *Plutarch's* Lives.

He resolved to go backe into GREECE againe, there to end the rest of his daies in rest and honour amongst his Citizens, of whom he was honourably welcomed home. Some judge that he left Rome after the death of *Traian*, being then of great yeares, to leade a more quiet life. So being then at rest, he earnestly tooke in hand that which he had long thought of before, to wit, the Lives: and tooke great paines in it, until he had brought his Worke to perfection, as we have done at this present: although that some Lives, as those of *Scipio Africanus*, of *Metellus Numidicus*, and some other are not to be found. Now himselfe confesseth in some place, that when he began this Worke, at the first it was but to profit others: but that afterwards it was to profit himselfe, looking upon those Histories, as if he had looked in a glasse, and seeking to reforme his life in some sort, and to forme it in the mould of the vertues of these great men: taking this fashion of searching their manners, and writing the Lives of these Noblemen, to be a familiar haunting and frequenting of them. Also he thought (said he himselfe) that he lodged these men one after another in his house, entering into consideration of their qualities, and that which was great in either of them, choosing and principally taking that which was to be noted: and most worthy to be knowne in their sayings and deedes. In summe, he declared that by continuance of reading ancient Histories, and in drawing out the Lives which he hath written, and retaining daily in his understanding the memorable things of the most honest and vertuous men of times past, he instructed himselfe, and prepared him to lay aside all evill, foolish, dishonest, or spitefull conditions, if by chance, by often frequenting their company he must of necessity keepe, he learned any evill touch: the which he did reforme, turning his quiet thought, not stirred with any passion at all, to the consideration of so many goodly examples. Now because that some might object unto him, that for the finishing of so great a piece of worke, he could not have made choice of a fitter place then Rome: or rather that being a man given to his

Booke

Booke as he was, he should have left that Worke unto some other that had seene more. This objection being of some weight, he answereth it at the beginning of the Life of *Demosthenes*, and saith: That to attaine to true felicity, (whereof the greatest part consisteth in the manners, qualities, and condition of the soule): it maketh no matter whether a man be borne in an obscure Towne and of small name, no more then if he were borne of a foule or little Mother. For it were a mockery to thinke that some small Townes or little Islands could notwithstanding bring forth good Poets and excellent Players of Comedies: and that they could not in like sort bring out an honest, just, constant, wife, and noble or worthy man. And although we have reason to thinke, that Arts and Sciences invented to make things necessary for the use of men, or else to win a name and reputation, are made and counterfeited in poore little Townes: so we must also thinke that Vertue, none otherwise then a strange Plant, can take soote and roote in any place, where it meeteth with a good nature, gentle and patient to endure paines. Wherefore if we come to commit an error, or that we live otherwise then becometh us, we must not accuse or blame the meannesse of our Countrey, but justly attribute the fault to our selves. It is true (saith he) that he that hath undertaken to frame a piece of Worke, or to write any History, in the which many things should be put, not familiar in his Countrey, and that they finde notwaies at their hand every where, but strange for the most part, dispersed here and there, and that must be gathered from many places and divers Authours: in truth he must first and before all other things dwell in a great and noble City, full of People, and a great number of men loving goodly and honest things, to the end there may be store of Bookes, and that in searching up and downe, and hearing them tell with lively voice many things, which other Story-writers peradventure have left unwritten; and that shall beare so much more credit, because they are fresh in memory of the living: he may make his Worke compleat and perfect in all things, and not wanting many things that should be necessary for it. Having made this Preface, he excuseth himselfe, that he could not profit so much in knowledge of the Latine Tongue, as he desired, and sheweth how he did helpe himselfe. But forasmuch as it is in this Worke of his Lives that *Plutarch* hath most shewed his sufficiency, whether you consider the length of the Worke, or try with what judgement he hath proceeded: peradventure it will not be hurtfull to speake somewhat of it, beside that which hath bene spoken by this Translator in the Preface. I do not enter here into commendation of History in generall, nor we neede not apply that unto *Plutarch*, which *Cicero* and many others have spoken. For if ever there were of the noble GREEKS and ROMANS, is an assured testimony of many hundreds of yeares, a Sunne of Verity, a Life of Memory, a true Mistresse of Life, and an excellent Messenger of Antiquity. And as the Stone called the Opall, sheweth many orient colours above all other precious Stones: so do the Lives of *Plutarch* make an abridgement of all the best things contained in the Greeke and Latine Histories. For there are seene worthy examples of Vices and Vertues, and infinite number of Maximes, and notable Precepts touching the duties of every one: their Vertues and Vices. Now although *Plutarch* in the ignorance and blindness of the true God, could not (no more then other prophane Historians) touch the true end of History: yet we may note some admirable thing in him in that respect. Since History (which containeth in it an infinite number of particular deedes and honourable actions, as the Collection of the Lives of *Plutarch*) is a goodly glittering Glasse or Table, within the which may be discerned the wonders and admirable working of Divine Providence. For to comprehend that well which God and men do, there are three things to be considered in every History: to wit, the men whereof there is question, the things worthy of memory, and the circumstances; keeping this ground against the Epicureans and Enemies of mans life: That there is a God-head and Supernaturall Power which governeth and maintaineth the World, wherein nothing happeneth by chance, but all is guided by a most wise disposition of the same, for the preservation of Families, of Civill Policy, and of a Company, and happy Congregation that shall be taken out of this World into a better. A wife and learned Historian must have an eye upon these three things, for to apply them unto three other Vertues that ought to shine in him: Verity, Moderation, and Eloquence. Forasmuch as if he set out Fables, or if he talke to no purpose, and make Discourses at pleasure, or if he be troublesome in a Speech not coherent and hanging well together: then he deserveth no more the name of an Historian. As for these Vertues, I do assure my selfe that every man of judgement will agree, that they are readily to be found in *Plutarch*, accompanied with a sweete gravity that alwaies pleaseth the Reader, and giveth him at a hundred times reading as good a favour and taste of him as at the first. Let a man looke upon Stories that have nothing in them but the Name, and upon so many Bookes ill composed, of the which *Europe* is full: they finde that the parts necessary to be observed in the persons, is nothing at all regarded: that those which thinke to represent others, they do fable them after a strange fashion. Thereupon the affections and passions, the hatred, the envie, evill speaking, false reports, flatteries and lies, present themselves so untowardly, that they marre all. To the contrary, we see *Plutarch* very exact in that respect. It sufficeth me to touch the things passing by: whether he shew the vices or vertues of great or meane persons, he doth it in good termes, without aggravating or making it lesse. He taketh no manner of pleasure to speake evill of any, but wisely hideth that whereof we ought not to speake but with shame and compassion of mans infirmity. And he is more inclined to commend the good in vicious persons, then too much to set open the shops of their wickednesse. But if necessity enforce him unto it, it is with such manifest proofes, that others which are wicked, seeing him wash the head of their Companions,

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they

these words: I answer them that reprove me when they finde me present in our Towne, to see them measure, and tell bricke, and tile, stones, sand, and lime which they bring: that it is not for my selfe that I build, but for the Common-wealth. And in this Treatise, Whether an old man should yet deale in the Affaires of Estate. Thou knowest (saide he, writing unto *Euphanes*) that there are many Pythiades, that is to say, many tearmes of five yeares that I do exercise the Priesthood of *Apollo Pythian*: yet I thinke thou wouldest not say to me, *Plutarch*, thou hast sacrificed enough, thou hast made Processions enow, thou hast led many Dances: and now that thou art old and ancient, it is time thou leave thy Crowne off thy head, and abandon the Oracle, because of thy age. At the beginning of the eighth Question of the Sixth Booke of his Discourse at the Table, he mentioneth his Office of being Mayor of the Towne of *CHERONEA*. To conclude, even to the end of his life he shewed in his deeds, that which he excellently handled in his Writings: which is, that there is nothing letteth old men to serve and profit their Common-wealth in divers sorts of Government, whether it be with good words, with good counsell, with liberty and authority to speake boldly, and with grave respect, as the Poets say. For they are not the feeble, nor the hands, nor all the strength of the body onely, which are the parts and good of the Common-wealth: but they are first of all and principally the Soule, and the beauties thereof: as Justice, Temperance, and Wisdome; the which coming late to their perfection, it were to no purpose they should enjoy a House, Land, and all other Inheritances of his Citizens, and that it could receive no more any profit by them for the good of the Common-wealth, because of their long time, the which doth not so much deprive them of strength & ability to do service, as it doth increase them with sufficiency and knowledge of faculties requisite to command and governe. Furthermore *Plutarch* having lived alwaies honourably even to old age, he died quietly among his children and friends in the City of *CHERONEA*, leaving in his Writings an immortall favour of his Name unto Posterity. Besides the honour his Citizens did him, there was a Statue set up for him by Ordinance of the People of *ROME*, in memory of his Vertues. Now furthermore, though time hath devoured some part of the Writings of this great man, and diminished some other: nevertheless those which remaine being a great number, have excellent use to this day among us. Howbeit, having met with some fragments in *Stobaeus*, of some Treaties which are not to be found any more, I thought it would not mislike the Reader to cull out some pieces to present them unto him, to shut up all this Discourse. Wisdome, saith he, (in the Booke of the profit which knowledge of the time to come bringeth) consisteth not in shew, but in affaires, before a man setteth to his hand: and sheweth how he should come before them, and receive them when they be offered him: for it considereth the things to come. The body hath no eyes but before, the backe seeth nothing at all: but wisdome by helpe of memory, seeth even the things that are past and gone. It is the Secretary which alwaies remaineth and abideth within, as *Plato* saith. It is the part or instrument of the Soule which taketh hold of things past, keepeth them, and layeth them up safe, making a circle, within the which that that is past joyneth with the thing present, and will not suffer it to extend it selfe beyond compass, and to passe the bounds of Nature and knowledge. Of the Booke against pleasure. Pleasure undoeth the body, and daily maketh it tender by deliciouseffe, the common use whereof cutteth downe the lustinesse and consumeth the strength, so that weaknesse and sicknesse do abound, and in youth they begin to waxe old. Voluptuousnesse is a Beast that maketh men Slaves, but yet no savage Beast: for if he did openly assaile any body, there would soone be an end: but she is so much more dangerous, because she hideth her ill courage, and taketh upon her the habit of good will. We must shun her therefore for two causes, the one, that she should not hurt us, the other, that she should not seduce us. Let us no more call voluptuousnesse honest pleasures, but rather acknowledge that they be troubles, services, and duties: and esteeme the rest as shamefull and violent things, which by their diversity flatter us, and in the meane time finely hurt us. Now our selves and affaires ought to be subject to the same Law that the brute Beasts are, to the end that when we have satisfied our desire, we have no new minde to covet further, but that our moderate pleasures be contented when they have things necessary. Is there any man that will commend Traytors? Now pleasure is even such a one; for she betrayeth all that dependeth upon Vertue. Doth any body esteeme Hangmen much? See notwithstanding what it is to follow sensuality, which tormenteth and renteth asunder all moderate things. Will any man commend avarice? Voluptuousnesse is as unsatiable as the love of Money. What pleasure can we take of a Beast that destroyeth us by flattery? I aske, why dost thou not play the foole and knave in the presence of all men? To the contrary, thou fliest, and bearest reverence to thy selfe, abusing thy selfe in the night and darknesse which cannot depose against thee. No man seeketh to hide him that doth well, nor is afraid of the light that is round about him: but rather to the contrary, he would all the World were become a bright Sunne, to give light to all the parts of the good Works he doth. But if he happen to commit any fault, he doth all his possible endeavour to hide it, and blameth his passion. Now let us take away the veile, and openly muse upon these pleasures. They make us drunke, even to lose our senses: they continually make knaves and drowfie lubbers to follow Harlots when they should labour: Enemies of mans life, neither caring for Father nor Mother, voide of all reverence unto the Lawes. In the Booke that treateth, how Women should be taught and learned. It is no easie thing to hide this ignorance, saith *Heraclitus*: and much lesse then when he hath drunke more then ordinary. *Plato* saith also, that the thought is discovered by Wine: as much as to say, after a man hath drunke too much. *Sophocles* blamed *Aeschylus*, because he wrote his Tragedies when he had drunke out of measure: for, saith he, though *Aeschylus* doth well, yet he knoweth not what he doth. *Pythagoras* being asked how it

Old age no hindrance unto men to profit their Country.

Plutarch's death

Wisdome.

Pleasure wherein dangerous.

Pleasure a traytor and a Hangman.

Drunkenesse a discoverer of secrets.

could be brought to passe, that a Drunkard should abstaine from being drunke? If he remembered, said he, oftentimes what he did when he was drunke. It is a common saying in every mans mouth, Let not the childe have a knife. And I say, Keepe riches from a childe, and ignorance from a man. Of the Booke of accusation. *Hippias* said, there was nothing so intolerable as accusation, because there was no punishment ordained by Law for Accusers, as there was for Thieves: although they stole friendship from men, which is the goodliest Riches a man can have. So that an outrage of fact, though it be great, is lesse then accusation, which doth much more hurt because it is hidden. Of the Discourse or Epistle of friendship. He is a true witness of the truth, that is not bound by benefit unto him that bringeth him forth, and that speaketh before the Judges without exception of person. We must win love by gentleness and bounty, rather then by meanes: and for the Common-wealth, wisdom and gentleness should be joyned together. *Agrippinus* in his Government, attempted to perswade them whom he condemned to lose goods and life, that it was expedient for them they should be condemned. For, said he, I do not pronounce sentence against you, as a Thiefe passing by should say, Deliver thy purse, or thou art dead: but I do that as your Tutor, and one that hath a care of you: like unto the Physician that comforteth his Patient from whom he would cut some member, and perswadeth him to be ruled. *Cottus King of THRACIA* was very cruell unto his Subjects: and when one of his familiars told him, That is called fury not Kingly Government. But so it is, answered the King, that this fury of mine maketh my Subjects wise and quiet. Of the Booke against the strength of the body. Dost thou thinke the strength of the body to be so great a happinesse, that thou wilt conclude that Nature which hath given more strength to Beasts then to men, should be Mother to them, and Step-mother to the other? Dost thou thinke it is by reason of the massiveness or weight, or by the swiftnesse, or strength of the eyes? The true strength of men consisteth in discourse of the soule, by meanes whereof he hunteth in the Forests, and taketh the Elephants in a snare: he rideth Horse and breaketh them, he bringeth Oxen subject to the yoke, he beateh downe Birds with bolts, and catcheth with angles Fish that lie hidden in the bottome of waters. There is his strength which is seene much better, when he considereth at his ease, the roundnesse of the Earth, the breadth of the Elements, and the revolutions of the Stars. Such were the worthy Exercises of *Hercules*, and who had not rather be *Ulysses*, then *Polyphemus* the *CYCLOPIAN*? Also when one spake much in commendation of a venturous and hardy man, as if he had bene some brave Souldier: There is great difference, said *Aratus* the *SICONTIAN*, betwixt esteeming vertue, and regarding life nothing. Of the Booke of Divination. It is most apparent that from the beginning Necessity invented and polished certaine Arts, which she doth keepe even till this present. It is she that hath taught all things. For, is there any thing that necessity hath not thought of? she hath brought forth the occupation of weaving, of building, the art of Physick, tilling of the ground, and all that belongs unto it. There be other crafts also found out, I cannot tell by what pleasure: as Perfumers, Apothecaries, Cookes, and others that serve for ornaments of the body: also Painters. Againe, there are Sciences which men seeke, learne, and teach, because of the probable and apparent reason which they discover, and for the beauty of them: as Arithmetick, Geometry, and all others consisting in measures and proportions, then Astrologie. And yet though we contemne them, nevertheless because of their excellency, we are constrained in some sort to know them, said *Plato*. Of the Treaty, That Love and Judgement are divers things. Some say, that Love is the faculty of the soule, which we call understanding: others, that it is a concupiscence or voluptuousnesse: others, that it is a madnesse: and there are that thinke it is, I cannot tell what divine agitation of the soule: and others that make it a god. This disputation hath made that some have judged, and rightly, that from the beginning, Love is a simple desire or lust: but if it exceed, it is fury. Also that friendship doth resemble it. If Love be despised, it begetteth melancholy: if it increase as wished, he that is possessed withall, hath a thousand conceits and fantastickall imaginations, and doth imagine all the greatnesse and favours of Heaven and Earth. And this is the reason why the Poets say, that Love is a Torch: and the Painters, Potters, and Statuaries do represent it in that estate. For that part of the fire which doth give light, is very pleasing, profitable and commodious: but that which burneth, bringeth nothing but trouble and sorrow. Like as it is a good thing to reprove and admonish our friends, and such as belong unto us, whilst they be in their right wits, and capable of judgement and understanding: so to the contrary, if they be light-headed and distraught of their wits, we do not use then to reason and conteit with them, but we rather do yield to that they say. So must we freely and lively reprove them, that commit a fault through choler or covetousnesse: but as for Lovers, they must be excused because they be sicke. And therefore from the beginning, it were the best way not to suffer Love to take roote in them: if it do, repaire then to the Altars of the gods that give remedie, as *Plato* saith, that is to say, keepe company with wife men. Drive this Beast far from thee, before his teeth and nailes do grow: if not, thou must fight with the evil when it is great and full grown, the which thou didst imbrace in thine infancy and youth. But which are these teeth and nailes of Love? Suspition and Jealousie. Now some will say to me, that there is also I know not what, a thing that draweth, and is pleasant. So had this famous *Sphinx* wings of divers colours, very pleasant to behold: for when he turned them to the beames of the Sunne, they shined like Gold: and when he was against the clouds, one would have said it had bene azure mingled with yellow and red, like the Rainbow in the Element. Love after the same sort hath in it (I know not how) a gracious, gentle, and faire shew. But it destroyeth men, overthroweth houses, dissolveth marriages, and confoundeth great Capitaines, without propounding of hard Enigmas or Questions to

Accusation.

A true witness.

How to win love.

Strength.

Necessity mother of arts.

Love:

When to admonish our friends.

The teeth and nailes of the beast Love.

Love not easily removed.

Corporall beauty soone vaniseth away.

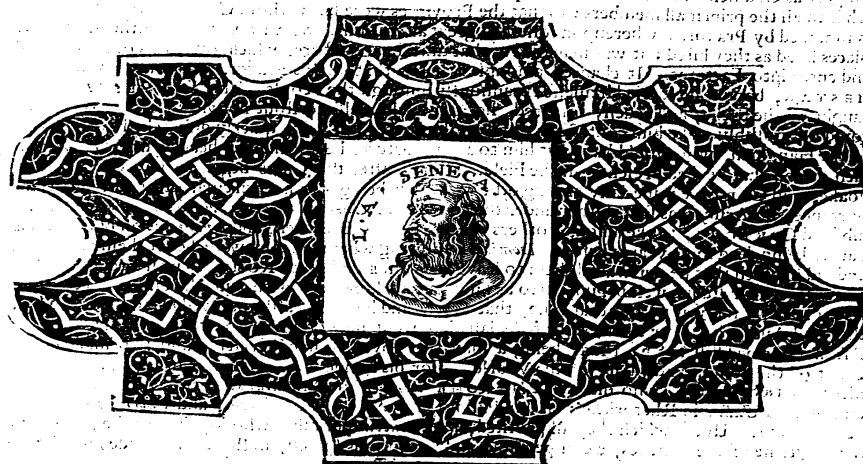
True Nobility, wherein it consisteth.

to be resolved: but himselfe being so taken that he cannot be freed. For example. If one asked: What is that which at one instant loveth and hateth, flieth and pursueth, threatneth and prayeth, angreth and flattereth, taketh and leaveth, laugheth and weepeth with a breath? it is a knot which one cannot easily undo. Furthermore, the *Sphinx* had many things devised for pleasure, mingled in the midst of his Enigma. For though an old man go with a staffe, yet he hath not three feet: and the little childe is not a beast with foure feet, although he creepe of all foure, helping his weake legs with his two hands. But there be no such Enigmas in the passions of Lovers. They love and hate; desire the thing absent, and feare the thing present: they flatter, and do injury: they die, and kill themselves for the thing they love: they desire not to love, and yet will not leave to love: they repent them, and waxe blinde: they become wife, and yet cast themselves away: they will command, and yet yeeld themselves slaves. And therefore it is that such a passion is holden for a pure rage: as also *Euripides* doth confesse it. Now Love is not begotten upon a sudden, nor doth not invade all the person, as choler doth: but it kindleth by little and little, as a little fire. It slip-peth in softly, and when it hath possessed the soule, it dislodgeth not easily: but we see it sometimes lusty and fresh even in old men that have white haire. If it cease, and begin to coole by succession of time, or that it be dead by some accident, it doth not altogether leave the soule, or the substance of his fire consumed: where the markes of his heate passed are to be seene, as if lightning had passed thorow there. As for the sorrow past, and the choler after it is quenched, there is no sparke left in the soule, but they perceive that the inflammation of the passion which made a great noise is quiet: but the bitings of Love, albeit the Beast be gone, do not therefore lose their venom, but the inward wounds do renew and refresh themselves againe. To be short, no man knoweth what such a passion meaneth, nor how it cometh, nor from whence it slipped into the heart. In the *Booke where he disputeth for beauty*. Are not men compounded of body and soule? Is the one enough for us without the other? How could that be? For if the body were not governed by the soule, it would not live, and the soule had neede of a place to be kept and lodged in. Since then both the one, and the other are adorned with gifts proper unto them; the soule with justice, temperance, and wisdom: and the body with force, beauty and health: were it not to be wondered at, if one despised that which concerneth the body, and that he made no reckoning but of the goods of the soule? Corporall beauty is a worke of the soule, which maketh a present of this gift to the body. For when the soule is gone, there remaineth nothing good in the body. The strength, the colour, the sight, and the voice do vanish. To conclude, the body being abandoned of his ancient inhabitant, there is nothing left that is amiable. Thou therefore that accusest Beauty, unawares thou speakest outrage to the soule, which is cause of this beauty. *Aristotle* to one that asked him, why a man did love faire things, answered: It is for a blinde man to aske such a question. *Diogenes* called faire Curtizans, Queenes, because many do execute that which they command. Of the *Booke against Nobility*. What do we thinke that Nobility is, but Riches gathered together by Ancestors, or some Honour attained unto long time before? whereof the one nor the other proceedeth not of our will: but the one cometh by unconstant Fortune, the other proceedeth from the disorders of the World. So then this proud name of Nobility floweth from two strange springs. Now Riches maketh not those that are borne like unto them: but Vertue proceeding from the sincere habitude of the Spirit, is planted in the Race of the vertuous, and doth make them truly noble. In this is true Nobility, to wit: the conformity unto vertuous manners. But I pray you, King *Midus* Riches, were they more rich then the poverty of *Aristides*? although he left not wherewithall to defray his charges of Funerall. To the contrary, King *Midus* Tombe passed for magnificence all the Riches of the World: but Nobility is not inclosed in Gold nor Silver. Vice is rightly compared unto fire: for when either the one or the other wanteth nouriture, it goeth out. But the basenesse of the Race of *Socrates* the Philosopher, the Sonne of an Image-graver, and of a Midwife, is it not more noble then the glory of *Sardanapalus*? Thou shouldest not thinke *Xerxes* more noble then *Cynegyrus*, who had one of his hands cut off fighting for his Countrey: since the other fled to save his life, being a King environed with cowardinesse. Of the *Treaty against riches*. Hunger never gave any man cause to be an adulterer: nor want of Money hath made any man dissolute. Poverty is a kinde of temperance, and neede may be called a summary observation of the Lawes. *Arceflanus* said, poverty was rude, no lesse then the Isle of *Itinaca*: but furthermore, a good nurse for children: because it did use them to frugality and abstinence: and at one word, it is the healthfull Schoole of Vertue. Thus have you some fragments of our Philosopher, of the which as of the rest of his Workes, we desire that all may learne to be vertuous.

The end of the Life of Plutarch.

THE

THE LIFE OF SENECA.



Ann. Mund.
3967.

Post. Christ.
20.

A knowledge that dash many errors flie,
A life resisting vices payes our breath:
A death, in death, that conquer'd death by death,
O Seneca, are fruites of thy Philosophy.



Spain is divided by the Geographers into three severall parts, of the which one of them abutting upon the Straights of GIBRALTAR and the Mediterranean Sea, called by *Strabo* TURDITANIA, was in old time the best inhabited. And albeit he doth confine it into two thousand furlongs in compass, yet he saith that in his time they made account of two hundred Townes within that circuit, which at this day is called ANDALYZIA, having taken the name of the VANDALS, which have dwelt there since the ruine of the ROMANE Empire. In this part of SPAIN was (and yet is) situated upon the River called of the Ancients Bætis, and at this day Guadalquivir, (that is to say, the great River, by reason of his long course) the City of CORDUBA, or CORDOVA, which was in old time one of the most famous Cities of SPAIN, built by *Marcellus*, and inhabited with noble ROMANS, as *Plinius* and *Strabo* do witness. This place amongst others was a feed-plot or garden of good spirits, and men given to study. Among other honourable Families of that time, was that of the *Annæans*, which besides their Nobility loved Learning, specially since the Father of *Seneca*, whose life now we write. He was a simple Gentleman bearing no charge in the Commonwealth, for that he had no spirit in him to embrace such burdens, and gave himselfe most to Learning, although otherwise he left not his Sword, being a Knight as many other PATRICIANS in the Province where he was. With his Armes he joynd the Profession of Learning, but specially of Eloquence, in the which he excelled the most in his time. He married a Lady called *Elbia*, of whom he had three Sonnes, the eldest bearing the name of the Father, to wit, *Lucius Annæus Seneca*. The second, *Annæus Nonatus*, afterwards called *Julius Gallio*. The third, *Annæus Mella*, Father of *Lucan* the Poet. The Father was very carefull to have his Children well taught and brought up, but the eldest especially, who with time gave himselfe wholly unto Philosophy. For *Gallio*, besides his Learning, he was raised up to some publicke Dignities at Rome. *Mella* on the other side, he cared not for advancement, and therein he followed his Father, as we will shew hereafter more at large. *Seneca*, of whom we have presently to speake, was borne as it should seeme, a little before the death of *Augustus Cæsar*. For himselfe writeth in the hundred and ninth Epistle unto *Lucilius*, that he was a young man when by the commandement of *Tiberius* the Ceremonies

The Family
and Race of
Seneca.

Seneca's Father

His Brethren.

In what time
Seneca was
borne.

of

of the Strangers Religions were driven out of ROME: the which *Cornelius Tacitus* in the second Booke of his Annals laid to have happened in the fifth yeare of *Tiberius*. But of this we will speake more hereafter, treating of the Writings of *Seneca*. Furthermore, the occasion why himselfe and his Brethren came out of SPAIN to ROME, was this. About the tenth yeare of the Reigne of *Tiberius* Empire, matters began to be troublesome in divers parts of the Dominion of ROME, by reason of the cruelties and infolencies of this Prince: who having about him *Sejanus*, and some other dangerous Counsellors, he shewed his disposition more then before. The sicknesse of the head floweth into all the principall members: so that the Provinces were left without Governours, or else were tyrannized by Prætors: whereupon followed great alterations. SPAIN amongst others, in many places lived as they listed: it was managed at that time by Exactors, which caused People to rebell and enter into Factions. It chanced amongst others, that *L. Piso* Prætor, was killed by a *TERRESTIAN*, because he carried himselfe tyrannously amongst the People. This *TERRESTIAN* being caught by the backe, and cruelly tortured, he shewed himselfe so stout notwithstanding, that they could not possibly make him confesse any of his Associates. But being quickly dispatched by the hands of the Hangman, who would have put him to a new torture, he knocked his head against a stone with such force, that he died presently in the Field. Shortly after the Cities began to be weary of their yoke, and *CORDOVA* specially amongst others, which being of the principallest and of great importance, an Army was sent thither under the conduct of *Cneus Domitius Anobarbus*, who having subdued *CORDOVA*, tooke amongst others *Seneca*, his two Brethren, and *Lucan* his Nephew, their Father being dead some yeares before. *Domitius* knowing what men they were, he set them at liberty, and did so much that he perswaded them to leave SPAIN and go to ROME, as well to continue and to advance their studies well begun, as to be knowne and honoured with publicke Office. Now the state of SPAIN was such at that time, that *Seneca* and his were easily perswaded and won by him that had Authority over them, and at the last they went into ITALY. Some thinke that *Annas Mellæ* remained still in SPAIN, being a man that loved to live privately, and that made no account of the honour and vanity of the World. For his Sonne *Lucan*, he was brought very young after his two Uncles, who did heare at ROME *Pomponius Mævidius*, *Julius Higinus*, *Celsius* and *Africanus Gallus* in Rhetoricke: and in Philosophy, *Socio Alexandrinus*, and *Photinus* a Stoicke, very famous. Under which they all profited, and *Seneca* specially, who joyning to the gravity of the Doctrine of the Stoickes, a compendious and sententious speech, in short time made himselfe to be knowne.

The great constancy of a Spaniard.

His Masters at Rome.

Seneca wife and eloquent.

No danger in silence.

Caligula a contempter of Arts

Domitius in danger by his eloquentnesse.

Now having remained a space shut up in Schooles, or hidden in the company of some learned men, whom he hearkened unto, and familiarly frequented, he was put forward at the beginning of the Empire of *Caligula*, by *Cneus Domitius* (who had married *Agrippina* the Daughter of *Germanicus*, and little Daughter of *Tiberius*, of whom *Nero* was borne, nine Moneths before the death of *Tiberius*) and began to shew himselfe openly, pleading before the Senate with great grace: for from that time forth he was esteemed for one of the wisest and most eloquent men of ROME. By means whereof his credit increased from day to day. But as prickles be hidden under Roses, and where men thinke to win Honour, oftentimes they get repulse and contempt: the revolution of mens Affaires flourishing, yet marvellous brittle and subject to fall: So *Seneca* proved that his eloquence profited others more then himselfe: and that as sometimes it is a wiser paye to keepe the Sword in the scaberd, then in the hand: even so

The hire of silence doth no danger threaten.

The Emperour *Caligula* was a Prince that cared little for Liberrall Sciences, yet he was very curious to speake well, having words at commandement, and esteemed eloquent among others: specially if sometime he disposed himselfe to speake against any man, the words and whole sentences did increase in his mouth, with such an accent and gesture, that they heard him and knew him afar off, and sometimes he threatened men with the force of his tongue. This quicknesse and vaine eloquence of his, made him (besides that he had an ill shaped head) wonderfull presumptuous. For there was never a learned man and eloquent in all the ROMAN Empire, but he would prefer himselfe before him. And those that directly or indirectly went about to crosse him, they put themselves in manifest danger: witness that which happened to the Oratour *Domitius Afer*, and unto *Seneca*. *Caligula* bearing ill will a long time unto *Domitius* for some light flight he had unto him, *Domitius* was accused before the Senate: where *Caligula* made a long Oration written, and therein laid open all his sufficiency, to shew himselfe better able then *Domitius*, esteemed one of the best spoken men at that time. Now his purpose was to put *Domitius* to death, if he had studied to answer eloquently. But *Domitius* easily discovering this dangerous resolution, made no reply, nor excused himselfe, but said he was astonished at the Oration of the Emperour: and feigning that the babbling of *Caligula* had ravished him, he made a briefe repetition, as if he had come thither to hearken. Then having magnified his Discourses, and being commanded to defend himselfe, he began to lament, and to crave grace, and kneeling downe besought *Caligula*, being more afraid of his word then of his hand. *Caligula* wonderfull joyfull of this honour, and thinking to be Eloquence it selfe, received *Domitius* into grace. *Seneca* taking no heede otherwise to that matter, and having at that time the free spirit of the Stoickes, within few daies after he fell almost into the like perill or greater danger then *Domitius*: he knew that *Caligula* did beare him ill will, and did also speake evill of him amongst his friends: and did compare him in his talke to gravell or sand without lime, as if he would have said, that there was neither good band or consequence

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in *Seneca's* Discourse. And to conclude, that he was but a jangler. But *Seneca* being carried away with the glory he had wonne, which pleased him well, continued notwithstanding to be in the Senate. Inomuch that one day having a Cause to pleade before *Caligula*, he behaved himselfe with such a grace and vehemency, that all that heard him esteemed him more then they did before, *Caligula* onely excepted: who being vexed, and as it were pierced through with eloquent words of *Seneca*, (he having in the meane time let fall no word to offend *Caligula*, but went on roundly with his matter) he was even at the point to put him to death, and then had executed his thought, had it not bene for a woman he kept, who perswaded him not to do it, assuring him that *Seneca* had a disease that would soone dispatch him out of the World. But after that, *Seneca* forbore, knowing with whom he had to deale. And soone after *Caligula* being slaine by *Chærea*, and *Julius Sabinus* his Uncle (Sonne of *Drusus* and of *Livia*) called *Claudius*, was chosen Emperour, at the beginning *Seneca* came againe into his former credit and fame, and continued it for some yeares: but at the last he was banished ROME for this cause. *Claudius* was a Prince of small judgement, and carried by certaine Minions and Parasites of the Court, and by his Wife *Messalina*, one of the most shamelesse women that ever was. This woman wholly possessing *Claudius*, caused men and women of all qualities to be put to death and banished, as the thought good: and those above all others that went about to hinder the course of her strange waies. Among others she did beare *Julia* the Daughter of *Germanicus* ill will (as *Dion* reporteth) because *Julia* did not regard nor flatter her. Furthermore *Julia* was a very faire Lady, which made *Messalina* jealous, who by little and little, found the means to accuse this Lady of many crimes, and specially of adultery: and made her be banished, then put to death immediately after. *Seneca* was carried away with this tempest, as culpable of the faults pretended against *Julia*. Some thinke that *Julia* is this *Agrippina* Mother of *Nero*, whom *Claudius* married after the death of *Messalina*, and that she was banished from the Court but for a time onely. The which is very likely, as also *Cornelius Tacitus* seemeth to incline to that opinion. But for *Seneca*, it is hot onely in one place, but in many, that *Dion* and others do accuse him, that he had bene somewhat bold with *Agrippina*, as if the credit he had in the House of the late deceased *Cneus Domitius*, had given him the boldnesse to defile the bed of his Benefactor, dead a little before *Tiberius*. Furthermore, he was banished into the Isle of *CORSE*, where he remained about two yeares: during which time he earnestly disposed himselfe to the study of Philosophy, with singular contentment and quietnesse of minde, as may be gathered out of the goodly Discourse he wrote, and sent unto his Mother *Helbia*, who did hardly beare this banishment of his. But he did comfort her, and by lively Reasons shewed her, that his entertainment was not grievous unto him, but that Philosophy had strengthened him after an excellent fashion, against all the assaults of Fortune. Whilest he was in this profitable solitarinesse, *Messalina* continued in her wantonnesse with such an impudent and hot fury, that without the testimony of so many worthy Historians, it were impossible to believe that the Wife of an Emperour durst once have thought to have committed the thousand part of the villanies unto the which she had given her selfe over to the sight and knowledge of all the World. Inomuch as in the end in the day time, within ROME, in presence of many persons of quality, and in the sight of all the People, *Claudius* being no further off then *HOSTIA*, the married with great pompe an Adulterer called *Silius*, a Gentleman of ROME, with all accustomed Ceremonies and Solemnities. She made a Feast, and held *Silius* for her Husband. *Tacitus* in his Annals reporteth these things at large. Now though *Claudius* was so foolish before, and then too, that he perceived not that which all others saw so openly: in the end being wakened by *Narcissus* one of his Minions, he put *Silius* to death, and some others culpable of this strange excess. And for *Messalina*, she had almost come againe into grace, but in the end she was killed by the commandement of *Narcissus*. After *Messalina* was executed, the three Minions of *Claudius*, to wit, *Narcissus*, *Calistus*, and *Pallas*, they layed their heads together to give their Master a Wife. But in the end *Pallas*, that pleaded for *Agrippina* the Widow of *Cneus Domitius*, little Daughter of *Tiberius*, the Daughter of *Germanicus*, and Niece of *Claudius*, carried it from them; the reasons he propounded had so much more force, being accompanied with dainty sugred words: who under the colour of a Kinwoman, came often to visit her Uncle, and she flattered him so bravely, that she being preferred before others, and not yet married, she did already use the authority and power of a Wife. And out of hand, immediately after the Marriage was solemnized with her Uncle *Claudius*, she advanced *Domitius Nero* her Sonne, and the Sonne of *Cneus Domitius*. Furthermore by her practises, *Othavia* the Daughter of *Claudius*, and of *Messalina*, betrothed unto *Sillanus*, was promised and afterwards given unto *Nero* for his Wife. Who being yet very young when his Mother married *Claudius* (and but eleven yeares old onely) it was in question to get him a good Master and Tutor to teach him his Booke betimes, and to traine him up in Affaires of Estate. *Agrippina*, a woman of a marvellous spirit, and that plotted great things, as the effect shewed afterwards, as *Tacitus* hath wisely noted: she resolved to have *Seneca* called backe againe, and immediately obtained his grace of the Emperour. She did this to divers ends, the one was to have a man of great authority and bringing up about her Sonne, to the end to maintaine *Nero* under the shadow of so great an appearance, untill the time of his advancement were come. The other, to make the remembrance of *Messalina* the more odious, who had bene the cause of the banishment of *Seneca* to put backe *Britannicus*, the Sonne of her, and Brother of *Othavia*, and by that means to have men at her commandement, little affected unto *Claudius*. So then *Agrippina* over-ruling *Claudius* at her pleasure, she did not onely obtaine the repeal;

Seneca indangered by reason he was well spoken.

Seneca banished from Rome.

Seneca bold with *Agrippina*.

Seneca suffered banishment patiently.

Messalina impudently went on.

Messalina put to death.

Agrippina married to *Claudius* the Emperour, and *Othavia* betrothed to *Nero*.

but

but also the Prætorship for *Seneca*, whom they sent for quickly, and he returned to ROME with great Honour, to the contentment of high and low.

Seneca Neroes
School-ma-
ster.
Agrippina, as
covetous, so
ambitious.

Immediately after he was arrived, *Claudius* received him graciously, made him a Senator, and installed him in his Charge. Afterwards being called into the Palace of the Emperor, *Domitianus Nero* is given him in charge, with great promises of *Agrippina*, who had two vices common to such persons. The one was, that she was set on fire with extreme covetousness to get Money, under colour that she layed a foundation in store to helpe to maintaine her Estate. The other, that she gave largely unto those whom she knew meete for the advancement of her Sonne, whom she would raise up to be Emperor whatsoever it cost her, yea were it her owne life: as appeared by her answer to a wife man whom she had asked what should become of the future Greatness of her Sonne *Nero*. For that he having answered her, that he might be Emperor, but it should be to her undoing: Let me die then, said she, so he may reigne. *Tacitus* writeth that *Agrippina* thought the People would rejoyce at the returne of *Seneca*, because of the great fame of his Knowledge: and also procured this good, to the end that the infancy of *Domitianus* might grow untill his adolescence under such a Master, and she to use his counsell, to attaine to the greatness of command which she hoped for. *Seneca*, instead of continuing in his solitarieffe, and not remembering that

*Who entrest Tyrants House, doth become
A Slave, though he thither a Freeman come.*

He to the contrary, thinking he had found the meanes to shew the effects of a Philosopher (the wit of man, yea of the wisest, is so snared in darknesse upon darknesse, when there is question of the troubles of this life) went and engaged himselfe in the service of *Agrippina*. And although for a time he bridled the youth of *Nero*, and did withstand certaine disorders, yet in the end he was constrained to leave all, and suffer the fierce streame to run, having desired (but too late) solitarieffe: and with lesse Goods and Honours of the World, more Liberty, and quietnesse of minde. Now, as he himselfe knew very well, and did excellently teach it unto others, that so as Megrimms and paines in the head are not healed by a Crowne or Royall Band, neither to the contrary, is good health, nor the good state of a man lost, though he be not a great Lord: so this greatness in the which he saw himselfe highly lift up in a short time, did nothing else but increase his cares, wherewith he found himselfe bound, as with strong chaines to the end of his life. And though he did shake them, and at times had proved to breake them, yet he could not possibly unloose them: and in the end there was no way but he must perish under the weight

*Senecas great-
nesse brought
upon him cares
and bondage.*

*Of masse chaines, that of no iron were,
But such as shamesfastnesse did make him beare.*

*Nero tractable
in his youth.*

It is true, that at the first his Charge and Government seemed light unto him. For *Nero* was a young Prince of great hope, and in youth he shewed himselfe gentle, tractable, obeying his Schoolemasters instructions, who delighted to manure this Plant, hoping all the World should have joy of him. But as the Emperours that were before, even in their young age, had made some shew of that which might be expected of them in time to come: *Seneca* also perceived through the goodly appearance of his Scholar, some part of his wilde, naughty, and untoward nature, which he shewed within few years after. Also *Cælius Domitianus* his Father, as some came to gratifie him for that *Agrippina* his Wife had brought him a Sonne: he holding downe his head, answered, that they should not thinke that of him and of such a woman should be borne an infant, but to the ruine and confusion of the Empire. This Prediction was not noted, but when *Agrippina* her selfe felt by the losse of her life, what a childe she had brought into the World, and advanced by so many strange practises, and by the degrees of incest, of blood, and filthinesse, unto the Imperiall Dignity. Now whilest *Seneca* employed himselfe to polish the spirit of *Nero*, and sought to print in his heart the love of Vertue, *Agrippina* carefull of the worldly greatnesse of her Sonne, she followed her purpose, cunningly helping her selfe (as much as she thought fit, to serve her turne) with the counsell of *Seneca*, whom she acquainted not but with the least part of the corruption of her intentions: for she being a cruell woman, and that never received those into favour whom she hated, caused *Lolia Paulina* to be put to death, that had reasoned against her for the marriage of *Claudius*. She caused *Calpurnia* to be banished out of ITALY. And having through *Pallas* credit, who privately governed her, and also kept her, made her Sonne *Nero* to be adopted, who was preferred before *Britannicus*, the right Successor unto the Empire: to the end she would have her Power and Authority to be knowne to the Friends and Allies of the Empire, she caused a number of Souldiers of the old Bands and People to be carried to the place where she was borne, a Towne of the *UBIANS*, at this day called *CULLEN*, upon the Rheine. So that this City was afterwards, and is at this present called *COLONIA AGRIPPINA*. Afterwards, for a new testimony of this Authority, *Caracallus* King of ENGLAND, was led Prisoner unto ROME, and presented with his Wife and Brethren unto *Claudius*: who in presence of the People and of his Guards pardoned them. This King and his Traine went the same time before *Agrippina* (who was set upon a scaffold joyning unto that of her Husbands:) they did her reverence, and thanked her with the same praises they gave the Emperor. Which was found very strange and new, against the custome and fashion of the doing of the Ancients: to see a woman set amongst the Standards and Ensignes of the *ROMANS*. But she maintained that she was a companion of the Empire obtained by her Predecessors. Now those were but slight approaches in comparison of this that followeth. For having caused her

*Caracallus a
King of Eng-
land and his
Queene sub-
mitted them-
selves to Clau-
dius the Empe-
rour of Rome.*

her sonne to be declared to be of sufficient Age, in testimony whereof he tooke the Robe due unto those that were come to mans estate, and obtained that he might receive the Consulship at twenty years of Age: she made him have the power of Pro-consull out of the City, and the name of Prince of the youth. Besides all this, there was great largesse made unto the people in his name, and a summe of money given to every souldier. Also *Nero* himselfe passing to go to the Playes of *Circus*, went apparelled with an Imperiall Robe, and *Britannicus* as he was wont: who remembering so many outrages as they had done unto him, could not containe but must shew some discontentment. And this served *Agrippina* her intention: for she prevailed so much with *Claudius*, that she procured him to banish or put to death all the Governours of his sonne *Britannicus*. And worie yet: he committed him unto men suborned by *Agrippina*; who passing further yet, discharged *Lucius Geta* of his Captaineship of the Guard, *Rafus Crispinus*, servants of the house of *Messalina*, and placed in their roomes, *Burrus Afranius*, a man greatly esteemed for a Warriour, but who knew well enough by whose favour he was advanced. Such was the boldnesse of this *Agrippina*, a great Lady in truth (for she was the Daughter, Sister, Wife, and Mother of an Emperor) but of a spirit compounded of all sorts of mischiefs. We have touched these things passing by, upon the occasion of *Seneca*: who being occupied about his Pupil, was constrained to be partaker of many counsels, of the which he understood not the depth alwayes. But so it is, that *Agrippina* served her turne much by his authority, to advance her business: the which *Seneca* perceived well, but he could not remedy it, for he thought it of too late. Now touching *Nero*, although the free admonitions of his master were barres to keepe him in order, yet the corruptions of that time, and the working of his mother also, begonne by little and little to appeare in him: so that by time he made it manifest, that the good instructions had beaten his cares a little, and troubled his braine somewhat: but that evil had taken too deepe roote in his heart. Furthermore, whilest *Nero* remained so as under the rod, openly there could be noted in *Agrippina* nothing but severity and gravity, no insolencies in her house, otherwise then she thought might serve for the advancement of her affaires: for then, her selfe, as also all her traine, gave themselves over to all dissolution. Now after she had advanced a part of her intentions, *Nero* being sixteen years old, married *Odravia* the daughter of *Claudius*: and to shew that he had learned under *Seneca*, he pleaded many causes of importance unto the Senate, with the praise of all men. Immediately after, a matter happened, that compelled *Agrippina* to looke advisedly unto her affaires. *Claudius* having drunke well at a feast, let these words escape him, that his destiny was first to endure all the mischiefs of his wives, and afterwards to punish them. She being afraid to be prevented, determined to make haste, after she had first destroyed *Lepida* her Cozen Germane, *Lepida* made who wanne the heart of *Nero* by her kindnesse and liberality. These troubles of *Agrippina* gave away. *Narcissus* the alarme, and made him joyne with *Britannicus*. But in these stirres *Claudius* was poisoned by a woman, an Eunuke of his, and his Physician, practised of long time by *Agrippina*, who having disdained *Britannicus* and his sisters a long time, suddenly the Gates of the Palace were opened, and *Nero* accompanied with *Burrus* presented himselfe to the souldiers *PRÆTORIANS*, of whom being saluted Emperor, he was confirmed by decree of the Senate, and afterwards allowed by the Provinces. Then *Nero* made divers Orations penned by *Seneca*, who besides the contentment he had of the high dignity of his Pupil, wrote a pleasant discourse upon the death of *Claudius*, and did intitle it, *Apocolokyntosis*, that is to say, immortality gotten by Mushrommes: because the meate was sprinkled all over with Mushrommes; whereof *Claudius* was poisoned. The which *Nero* afterwards called the meate of the gods, seeing that by that meanes his Father in law was scraped out of the world, and made one of the gods after the fashion of the *ROMANS*. Also *Gallio Senecaes* brother gave *Claudius* a mocke, saying that he was drawne up to heaven with a hooke, slenting at the custome in practise at that time, to draw the bodies of malefactors put to death in prison, with an iron hooke into the River. Such was the end of *Claudius*, rewarded for his incest, and for the injury he did unto his sonne *Britannicus*, to advance a son in law, for to please an ambitious woman, to wit, *Agrippina*. *Nero* being thus raised up, his mother set upon *Julius Silanus* Pro-consul in *ASIA*, who was poisoned because she feared him, for *Julius Silanus* that being the last son of *Augustus*, the people did greatly honour him, and said he should be preferred before *Nero*. On the other side *Narcissus* was hastily compelled to die, although *Nero* was very angry withall. To be short, the knives were drawne, and this woman had shed much blood, if *Burrus* and *Seneca* had not beaten downe the blowes. They being *Neroes* Governours, and agreeing well together in this equall and common greatnesse, they had both alike power and authority, but by divers meanes, *Burrus*, he disposed of all matters military, and was a grave man, but had foure manners. *Seneca* with a pleasant and comely fashion taught this young Prince eloquence. They did carefully helpe one another, and often conferred together what meanes they should use to make *Nero* love Vertue, whereof he seemed to have great beginnings. To hold him in more easily, they let him have his owne will in exercises and honest pleasures, and left him to his disposition to do as he thought good. This young man from his infancy used his wit, which was quick to divers things, peradventure better for a man of some other quality; to wit: to grave, to paint, to sing, to play on the Citherne, to ride horses, and to make verses. That a Prince have all the parts in him, and be furnished with others, is not a thing in it selfe to be blamed, so that the principal do alwayes go before, and that nothing be forgotten requisite for discharge of his Government received of God. Otherwise, as he was justly reproved, that of a wise Physician was be-

Preparations
for *Neroes* ad-
vancement to
the Empire.

*Seneca under-
stood not the
depth of Agrip-
pinas dritis.*

*Claudius the
Emperor poi-
soned by
procurement of
his wife Agrip-
pina.*

*Narcissus put
to death.*

*Burrus and Se-
neca confer to-
gether for *Neroes*
good.*

No dispraise
for a Prince to
excel in other
studies, so he
neglect not the
principal.

Justice only
maketh Princes
great.

A Prince given
to base things
cannot be great

The infolency
of Agrippina
let to Burrus
and Seneca's
consultations.

Nero governed
well in his first
five years.

come an evil Poet: and sometime a great Lord was blamed for that he was too good a Musician; also it was said to a King, that would contest against a player on the Flute; that it was not his craft: so they may answer him that would describe the praises of a Prince: He was a good player at a Tennis, a cunning Workman, a brave Fencer, a fine Dancer, a great Talker: My faire friend, thou dost as if one being about to speak of a man and his contentment, came to tell us that he handleth his feete and his hands finely, and that he hath fine shooes on, and weareth his Hat gallantly: and thou forgett bodies without a soule, and men without vocation, and vocations ridiculous. Agrippina hearing one call the King of Persia, a great King: Why, said he, is he greater then my self, unless it be that he is juster then I am? Nothing surely maketh Kings and Princes truly great but justice. Other things how exact soever they are found, they shall oftentimes meete with more excellent in a poore crafts mans hand, hidden amongst the refuse of the people. The Prince therefore is not desirous of true honour, nor a man that deserveth praise, that is careful to cloath his body sumptuously, and that glorieth to be a Painter, a Graver, a cunning Workman, a Singer, a player at Tennis, a Hunter, a Dancer, and that his house be richly furnished with household stuffe, and himselfe daintily served: and all this while he giveth no order for his speech, his company, and conversation, that therein he be Graver and Wiser then a base and common person, making no account to have the Palace of his Soule Royally appparelled and set forth, as appertaineth to a royal magnificence. But how can a Prince be great, what power of authority soever he have, if he be given to vile things: unworthy of his true greatnesse? and worse then that, if he joyne vice unto these ridiculous things in him? Away with this trash, and take vertue from a great man in the world, you shall see him little in all other things. Little in his gifts and presents: because he will not, or knoweth not how to dispose them. Little in paines, because of his delicatenesse: little towards God, because of his superstition: little unto the good, because of his envy: little unto men, because of his cowardlinesse: little among women, because he is subiect unto voluptuousnesse. For like as evil Workmen, which set up little statues upon great and large bases, do by measure shew the smallnesse of their statues: even so when Fortune lieth up to high estate a man of a weake and little heart, where he is to be seene of all the world; and in the place of the Robe and Staffe of Justice, he is seen appparelled like a crafts man, or an enterlude player: the doth discover, defcry, and dishonour him, making it appeare how he reeleth and stumblith for his lightnesse. Let this be spoken to the purpose of *Neroes* pastimes, who shortly after left all such Comedies, to play terrible Tragedies. And for his small pleasures, although at the first *Burrus* and *Seneca* were weary that this young Prince lived modestly enough: yet we must confesse that some time they gave him liberty to entertaine women, which the estate of his Court of Rome did offer him at pleasure. But that which most troubled them, was the boldnesse of *Agrippina*: who being set on fire with all the passions that may be found in a wicked Governement, had neare about her Palace an arrogant man, and that having forgotten with what condition he came to mount so high, braved all the world, and *Nero* himselfe: who notwithstanding his youth, did very impatiently beare the infolency of this Minion. And yet he bare it, because he would not anger his mother, to whom he spared no reverence, honour, and kindness amongst his Lords: also he called her his good mother, even to give this name otherwise for a watch-word unto the Capitaine. In these beginnings *Nero* made many goodly and well penned Orations, after the manner of *Seneca*, who had a gentle spirit, and meete for the cares of the time. These exercises fashioned *Nero*, kept under his wilde nature, and framed it to the affaires of estate: in such sort, that the first five years of his Empire, he was so finely handled by *Seneca*, seconded with *Burrus*, that the affaires of peace and warre prospered, every man having great hope of *Nero*, who shewed himselfe lowly, and given to vertue. *Seneca* reporteth wondrous in his booke he did dedicate unto him, where he treated of clemency, singularly of this gentlenesse of his. For at the beginning of the second booke he saith, that *Burrus* desirous to hang two Theeves, sued to the Emperour to set to his hand, against whom, and for what causes this execution should be done. This being put off divers times, *Burrus* solicited the dispatch, and being angry, presented the paper unto *Nero*: who with a discontented countenance, and doing it as against his will, he cried out: By my will, I would I could neither write nor reade. See to what end the instructions of *Seneca* served: where I will tell you another story, although it chanced a long time after the first, to shew the credite of the master towards his Scholar. *Nero* having made a pavillion with eight panes wonderfull sumptuous, *Seneca* told him: Thou hast shewed thy selfe in this pavillion that thou art poore: For if thou lose it, thou shalt never have the like againe. As it came to passe: for the ship wherein his pavillion was, was cast away; and *Nero* remembering *Seneca's* words, did bear the losse of it more patiently. Furthermore *Seneca* accompanied *Nero* in the assemblies of Councell, and oftentimes told him in the field what he should do, according to the occurrences: and in divers Orations he procured that *Nero* made protestation of his gentlenesse before the Senate. The which turned to the praise of *Seneca*, in such sort notwithstanding that the people perceived it, and rejoiced at it. So they report that the Emperour *Trajan* was wont to say, that all the other Princes were farre from the first five years of the Empire of *Nero*: as *Tacitus* and others do testifie. In the mean time *Nero* shewed himselfe very liberal unto *Seneca*, and did esteem him as much, or more, then any man in Rome at that time: for he made him a present of great summes of money, unto three thousand Sesterium, which some thinke do amount unto seven millions and fifty thousand Crownes; of the which, part of it yielded him

him great profit at usury: the other part was bestowed upon sumptuous Gardens, houses of pleasure, lands and possessions far off and near Rome: and furthermore a Palace in the City, full of all sorts of precious moveables. For all this *Seneca* waxed nothing the prouder, but fearing fortune, and remembering his old state and condition, sought to keep himselfe upright in the middle of the great combats which were like to come, having upon his armes the unconfort youth of *Nero*, the which in sight began to run to his destruction: on the other side, the ambition of *Agrippina* to fight with all and beat down: this woman being of such a spirit, that she could tarry in no place, but set her self and others on worke. But this credite of *Burrus* and *Seneca*, and their great riches also, especially of *Seneca*, made them to be envied of many, that did blame and accuse them openly. Whereupon *Seneca* opposed the gravity of his manners, and sought by divers writings to strengthen himself more and more: as some of his works, especially the discourse of a happy life, seemeth to be done by him during these alarmes.

Now the beginning of these griefes of *Seneca*, came partly for that he perceived *Nero's* minde so corrupted, that he began to be very dissolute: and partly also for that he discovered that *Agrippina* and her Minions would set upon him and *Burrus* also, which with time would bring them into many dangers. And though for his owne part he was resolute against all accidents, nevertheless the charge and care he had of the affaires of the Empire, and the love which he bare unto *Nero* his Scholar, troubled him exceedingly. Nevertheless as hope entertaineth us in all dangers, attending better, he determined to keepe himselfe upright as long as he could possible, and to expect some other issue in the affaires. *Nero* was enamoured on a bond-woman called *Acte*, which his familiars did endure, alledging they must suffer one evil, for feare a worse should happen: and that so long as he should satisfie himselfe with her, he should not runne after the Ladies of Rome. But *Agrippina* that could not beare with this infolency, beganne to take up her Sonne roundly, thinking she could by her magistrality remedy this well enough. To the contrary, this was to kindle the fire, and to embrace it altogether in this Gille. *Nero* being waxen great, and counsell'd by *Otho* and *Claudius Senecio*, who made the messages of Love, he snuffed at these reprehensions, and beganne to despise his mother, who on the suddain came to change her subtilties. And she had not been so sharpe before in rebuking, but she was now as gentle in yielding, and offered her closet to her sonne for the accomplishing of his desires. This suddaine change made *Nero* and his Minions thinke much of it, inso much as they prayed him to beware of the deceits of this woman, that practised in her heart some villany, *Nero* counterminding her; presenteth his mother with many rich jewels and apparell of great price. But she being suspicious as could be possible, gave them injurious words that brought them. Wherewith *Nero* being offended, and knowing that *Pallas* was the chiefe counsellor of *Agrippina*, tooke his offices from him; which were committed to him by the Emperour *Claudius*. *Agrippina* began then to diminish in reputation, and to slee off the hookes: and coming to *Nero* himselfe, threatned him to take his Empire from him, and to establish *Britannicus*, the lawfull successeur of *Claudius*: and hereupon detested in expresse tearmes the wickednesse she had committed, to bring up a sonne that was so unthankfull unto her: adding moreover, that she would go finde out the Armies with *Britannicus*, so long as they could flee on the other side, this baggage fellow *Burrus*, and this banished pedanticall companion *Seneca* (so did she qualifie him) barking after the government of the world. These threatnings were accompanied with such strange countenances and imprecations, that they troubled *Nero*; besides that *Britannicus* came now to be fourteen years old: and that one day playing, he could say aloud before *Nero* himselfe, that they had taken his Empire from him. Shortly after *Britannicus* was poisoned, and died suddenly, to the great astonishment of *Agrippina* and of *Octavia* also. Afterwards, *Nero* desired to converse so privately with his mother as he did at other times: and began to give ear unto her that would set them further at odds: so that a certaine foole, called *Paris*, having told *Nero* one night that *Agrippina* conspired against him, he was resolved to make his mother to be put to death, and to take from *Burrus* the charge of Capitaine of the Guards. But *Seneca* kept him from that, and after some reasons passed between them, *Burrus* being sent for, to put *Nero* by his choler, he besought him to let him have the charge of this businesse, assuring him that he would put *Agrippina* to death, if she were convinced of any villany. Notwithstanding that every body should be heard speake in their defence, and above all, a mother: adding also that the accusers were not present, and that there was but one accuser suspected. And that he could not justifie, that such an important deliberation should be made by night, and at the Table: and that all that would shew his rashnesse and folly more then any other thing. *Nero* being somewhat pacified, they tarried till day, that they might go to the mother, to know how these accusations fell out. *Burrus* was there by expresse Commission with *Seneca*, and some others, to marke what should be said. But *Agrippina* could so well justifie her selfe, that her accusers were punished: for one of them was put to death, and the rest banished. From that time forward *Nero* beganne to runne riot, as is described by *Suetonius*, *Tacitus* and *Dion*. But the beginning of new and horrible miseries (the other that went before being but light in respect of them) was the falling in love with *Sabina Popea*, the wife of *Otho*, who had taken her away from her first husband *Rufus Crispinus*, a Knight of Rome. *Nero* did the like unto this *Otho*, and tooke from him this Minx that knew the trickes of the occupation. She having gained *Nero* in a little space, prevailed so much with him, that he determined to put his mother *Agrippina* to death.

Seneca in prosperity forgetteth not to thinke of adversity.

An inconvenience suffered to avoid a mischief.

Nero's mother unconstant.

Agrippina threatneth *Nero*.

Britannicus poisoned.

Nero purposeth to put his mother to death.

Nero falleth in love with *Sabina Popea*.

Who hearing of the ill will her Sonnedid beare her, fought by all meanes to get into his favour againe: even to present her selfe so shamefully unto him, that I shame to be the reporter of that which the Historians speake of her. This notwithstanding he preserved in his determination, and commanded *Anicetus* General of the Gallies of *Misene*, to see her drowned: the which was executed in some sort, yet *Agrippina* for that time escaped being hurt, and got to a house of pleasure of hers. *Nero* hearing these newes, more dead then alive, thinking he was undone, sent presently for *Burrus* and *Seneca* to have their advice: and we cannot tell (saith *Tacitus*) whether they were of counsell and privy to this fact, or not. Both of them therefore were a great while and spake not a word, being afraid they should lose time, if they should go about to dissuade *Nero* from that which he was purposed to redouble upon her: and they knew well that the day was come, that *Nero* must needs die, if *Agrippina* were not prevented. *Seneca*, who untill this present time was ever ready to speake, looked upon *Burrus*, as to know of him if he thought good to command the men of warre to do this murder. *Burrus* answered, that the *Pretorian* souldiers were so affectioned to the house of the *Cæsars*, and did so much reverence the memory of *Germanicus*, that they would never enterprise any thing against the life of his children: and that *Anicetus* was to performe his promise, Who without any further thought, demanded and excepted the Commission, which was forthwith executed, and *Agrippina* put to death in her house; where she thrusting out her body to the Centener, who tooke his sword in his hand to kill her, she crieth out: *Ventre miseri*, desiring that the wombe which had borne such a fruite as *Nero*, should be first stricken, and runne through. *Nero* defiled with this execrable murder, added thereto other infinite abominations, especially the putting away and doing his wife *Octavia* to death, a vertuous Princeesse, and that deserved better. Now this is enough that we have touched these things by the way, because they specially concerne the life of *Nero*, who payed his master with an evill reward, entangling him in such wicked counsells. On the other side also it cannot be denied, that *Burrus* and *Seneca* yielded too much to the cruell will of this Paricide. And as for the extremity they feared, there were meanes enough to have holpen it: and we must never do evill, that good may come of it. And what good could come of such an execrable abomination? For though *Agrippina* deserved such a cruell punishment, for so many wicked deeds as she had done, yet should not her Son have had his hand in it; and his counsellors should not have consented unto it, nor *Anicetus* have executed it. As all were much to be blamed for this deed, yet some more then other; so they had all their turne, as *Tacitus* and *Suetonius* do shew particularly.

Burrus dislodged the first, and as least to be blamed for so many disorders, he was spared, in that he saw not the other incredible confusions that fell out afterwards. His throat swelling within, by little and little, he died, his pipes being stopped that he could fetch no wind. Many affirmed, saith *Tacitus*, that by the commandement of *Nero*, making as though they would helpe him, the palate of his mouth was rubbed with poison and that *Burrus* perceived that wickednesse, and when *Nero* came to see him, he would not vouchsafe to looke on him, but turned on the other side. And *Nero* asking him how he did, he answered onely, I am well. This man was wonderfully lamented of the *ROMANES*, because of his vertue, and of the foolishnesse of one of his successours, and of the notable villanies of the other called *Tigellinus*, who was the utter ruine of *Nero*. The death of *Burrus* much impaired the power and authority of *Seneca*: for that the meanes to do good were weake, as having lost the halfe part of their life: and because that *Nero* inclined unto those which held him up in his wickednesse, against the which *Seneca* opposed himselfe as time and occasion would suffer him. But his enemies having the Princes eare, they failed not to set upon this honourable person, because of his age and the services he had done to *Nero*. They did falsly accuse him, saith *Tacitus*, for that he having great riches, and more then was fit for a private man, he did still increase them, and grew greater: and besides did gaine and draw the good will of the people too much unto him. That he had goodlier gardens and more sumptuous houses of pleasure, then the Emperor himselfe. Furthermore, that he imputed all the honour to himselfe for knowing how to speake excellently well: and that he made verses oftner then he was wont, after that he perceived *Nero* tooke pleasure to make them himselfe. That flatly condemning *Nero* his exercises, he mocked him, seeing him ride and mannage horses, and laughed at him hearing him sing. And all this was but to make men believe that nothing was well done in the affaires of the estate, that proceeded not from his invention. Now that *Nero* was come out of his infancy, and in the flower of his youth, that he should leave his master, considering that his ancefours should serve him well enough for great and good tutors: *Seneca* understanding by the report of those that yet somewhat regarded vertue and honour, how these lewd incensers did accuse him, perceiving also that *Nero* withdrew himselfe more and more from his familiarity, which he had shewed in times past, he besought him to heare him, the which having obtained, he said thus unto him, My Lord, it is now fourteen yeeres since I was first called to accompany the great hope that was had of your infancy, and eight eight yeeres since you have been Emperor: during which time you have heaped so much goods and honour upon me, that nothing wanteth to my felicity, but to know how to use them well. To this purpose I will lay before you notable examples practised by men of your quality, not of mine. *Augustus* great father of your grandfathers father, licenced *M. Agrippa* to withdraw himselfe unto *MYTILENE*, to lead a private life: and to *C. Mæcenus* to live at his ease within *ROMA* it selfe, as in some pleasant remote place farther off. The one of them had accompanied him

Burrus and *Seneca* consulted with about putting *Agrippina* to death.

Agrippina put to death.

Nero waxeth worse & worse.

Burrus dieth.

Seneca accused by his enemies.

Seneca Oratio unto *Nero*.

in his Warres, and the other having been beaten and tormented with great Tempests in *ROMA*, had been both, to speake the truth, amply recompenced, as also the great service they had done well deserved it. As for my selfe, I brought nothing that deserved you should be so noble and liberrall unto me, but onely my Studies aourished (if I may be so bold to speake it) in the shadow, and covertly, from whence notwithstanding all my reputation is proceeded, for as much as it seemeth I have been in your Apprentiships: which truly is to me a great reward and rich recompence. But besides all this, you have infinitely favoured me, and presented me with innumerable Goods. Insomuch that I often reason thus with my selfe: It is possible, that I that am but of a simple House of Knights (also dwelling without *ROMA*) should hold the place of one of the chiefeft Lords of *ROMA*? and amongst the most Noble, and those that are noted to be of so great Antiquity; that a new come man as my selfe, hath dared to shew himselfe in place? Where is that Spirit that contented it selfe with Mediocrity? What meaneth he to have so fine and goodly Gardens? What? he walketh by such and such Houses of Pleasures, neare unto the City. His Lands and Possessions are of so great an extent, and his Money bringeth him in such a commodity many waies, that he is full to the throate. For the which there is nothing to be offered, but a defence for my selfe: That I could not refuse your Presents. Now we have, both the one and the other, performed our duty: you, in giving so much as a Prince could give to him that he loveth, and I, in receiving that which a man in great favour might have and take of his Prince. As for my Honours and Estates, envy looketh awry upon me: howbeit (as all other things of the World) she is under the feet of your greatnesse. Yet in the mean time she lighteth upon me, and therefore I have need of helpe. And as in Warre, or otherwise in travelling abroad, if I were weary I would require rest: so finding my selfe in the Travell of this Life now old, and very unmeet for the least Office, since I can no longer support the burthen of my Riches, I do desire to be discharged. Command therefore that your Receivers henceforth do take them and put them into your Treasure. I shall not therefore become poore, but when I shall be rid of those things which blind fold me with their brightnesse, I shall bestow my time in study, which I was wont to employ in my Gardens and Possessions. You are young and lusty, and time hath established you in the greatnesse of your Estate: but we that are your ancient Servants have leave as it were to repose our selves. It shall be also a great honour for you to have raised those to great Office, to whom meane things had sufficed. Unto this *Nero* made answer, in manner as followeth: For that on the suddain I do answer your premeditate Oration, it is because I have learned it of you, that have taught me how I should deale, not onely in things seene farre off, but also in those which are presented upon the suddain unto me. *Augustus* my Grand-father suffered *Agrippa* and *Mæcenus* to repose themselves after their Travels: but it was in such an age, that his authority might maintaine that, and any thing else by him granted: and yet he did not take from the one nor the other any goods that he had given unto them. They got it in the Warres, and with danger of their lives: For *Augustus* spent his youth in Wars: I doe assure my selfe that your armes nor hands would have failed me; if I had gone to the Warres: but as the Estate of my affaires did beare, you have by reason, by counsell, and by instructions raised up my infaney and youth. So will I remember all the daies of my life the good service I have received at your hands. That which you hold of me, your Gardens, Money in banke, Houses in the Countrey abroad, all that is subject unto divers Accidents. And though all together seeme much, yet is it so, that many farre short of your deserts have possessed more. I am ashamed to name bondmen made free, whom men see richer then you: and the cause that maketh me ashamed is, that you whom I should cherish above all others, doe not passe them in Riches and humane greatnesse. Furthermore, you are yet in good age, to governe your Lands and Revenues, and we doe but now enter into managing the affaires of the Empire: but it may be that you esteeme your selfe lesse then *Vitellius*, three times Consul: and commend *Claudius* above me, as if I could not by my liberality give you as much goods as *Volusius* by long sparing hath gotten. Moreover, if our slipperly and unconstant youth sway on one side more then it ought, you reforme it, guiding by your aide and vigilancy that small direction we have. If you bring your Money into my Coffers, if you forsake the Prince, they will not say it is because you are content with little, and seeke your ease: but their talke shall be none other, but of my covetousnesse, and my cruelty. And although they should much praise your moderation in this action, yet it becometh not an old man to seeke honour by doing any thing that should dishonour his friend. *Nero* added to this fine speech, many embracements and kisses, being made by nature, and brought by custome to cover his malice with false and counterfeit kindnesse. *Seneca* (as it is the conclusion of a speech holden with him that commandeth) thanked him: yet he immediately changed his accustomed manner he was wont to use during his former greatnesse: gave them leave to depart that came every morning in Troopes to salute him: turned away from others that offered to follow and accompany him: very seldome times he went into the City, and stirred not out of his house, as if he had been sicke, or troubled after his study of Philosophy. This was the talke betwixt *Nero* and *Seneca*, who having leisure to bethinke himselfe better of the answer of *Nero*, knew very well that his fortune was changed, and that the Disciple was become the Master: yea and that so much more dangerous, for that his cruell courage was wrapped up in so gracious words and countenances, the which a man was constrained to trust; or at the least to make shew of it.

Nero being as it were overcome by *Seneca*, was as cruell and more then before, counsellled by *Tigellinus*

Nero answered to *Seneca*'s Oration.

Seneca changed his former Custom.

Neroes cruel-
ties and beast-
ly outrages.

Christians
falsely accused
and persecut-
ed.

Tigellinus and *Popaea*. First of all then he began to cut off the heads of *Plautus* and *Sylla*, honour-
able men, banished before into *ASIA* and to *MARSEILLES*. He refused, confined, and finally
put to death his Wife, the Princess *Octavia*, using an infamous and strange manner in his proceed-
ings against her. He married the Adulteress *Popaea*, who brought him a Daughter thence soon
after. He counterfeited the Player, always intermixing some new variety with his pastimes.
Afterwards he being present at a Banquet made by *Tigellinus*, in the which were committed all sorts
of villainies, and he himself being defiled with naturall and unnaturall whoredomes and abominati-
ons, within few daies after (a matter incredible, if so many grave Historians, amongst others *Tacitus*
did not assure us of it) he married one *Pythagoras*, as his Husband, which was of the compa-
ny of these Villains, and was solemnly married according to the Custome of other Marriages. The
yellow Veile of the married couple covered *Neroes* head. Soothsayers were sent for, the Joynter
was assigned, the Bed of the Spouse prepared, the wedding Torches were lighted: and to be short,
they saw that openly which the night hideth, when the question of Marriage is in hand with a Wo-
man. Thirdly he set fire on a great number of houses in *ROME*, so as the most part were burnt.
And to cleare himselfe of this wickednesse, he falsly laied it upon the Christians, (being a great
number at that time in *ROME*) that they were the authour of this disorder: inasmuch that they
were set upon with a strange cruelty. And yet as they put them to death, they did a thousand
mockeries unto them, putting Beasts Skins upon them to be torne in pieces with Dogges, or else
they were hanged upon the Crosse, or burnt with a little fire: their Wood-houses, or Stacks of
Wood served to give light in the night. Now though the People of *ROME* were bloudily bent a-
gainst these innocents, yet there were many that had pity of them, seeing honest men tormented,
to satisfie the cruell infolency of *Nero*: who appparelled like a Coach-man, and driving the Horse
himselfe in the midst of these confusions, made the People pastime. Besides all this he forraged
and ranfacked all *ITALIE* with Impositions and excessive Lones, ruining the Towns, and not
sparing also the Temples of *ROME*, of *ASIA*, nor of *GREECE*. It was given out abroad, saith
Tacitus, that *Seneca* (whom *Nero* went oftentimes to visite, to keepe him in breath, and gently to
lull him asleepe) to avoide the suspition that he had been of counsell in this sacrilege, had asked
leave to go to some House of his farre into the Countrey. Which being denied him, he kept his
Camber fasting to be sicke of the Goute. Some have writtten that a bondman of his enfranchised,
called *Cleonicus*, did prepare to poyson him by the commandement of *Nero*: the which he
avoided upon warning given him by him, or for that he feared such a thing, living meanely, eating
such Fruits as were brought him out of the Countrey, and being contented to drinke cleare running
Water if he were athirst. Such detestable wickednesse of *Nero* having of long time offended ma-
ny honourable Persons, which could no longer endure such a Master, they resolved to set them-
selves at liberty, and conspired to kill him one day, when they saw opportunity. The day being
come, one called *Millicus*, an enfranchised bondman of one of the principall Conspiratours, went
to discover to *Nero* what they had comploted against him. This gave a strange Alarme unto the
Emperour, who caused them to lay hands of one and other, amongst which number there was
Lucan the Nephew of *Seneca*, that was a party in this conspiracy, for anger against *Nero*: who
was the cause that his Verses were not had in that estimation they deserved, and commanded him
not to publish them, thinking (but in vaine) that he could make as good. From that time forth
they could see nothing in *ROME* but imprisoning of men of quality, and preparation for execution
which followed.

Nero can soon
finde a flasse
to beare a
Dogge.

*Pompeia Pau-
lina* the Wife
of *Seneca*.

Seneca, that stirred not out of the Countrey, was not forgotten of *Popaea*, nor of *Tigellinus*,
which were the secret counsellors of *Nero* in his cruelties. And *Nero* also failed not to take hold of
this occasion to make away his Schoole-master, whose shadow did torment him. It was not for that
Seneca was partaker of the counsell with the Conspiratours, but *Nero* was glad to finde the meane to
dispatch him with a Sword, since he could not do it by poyson. For one of the Conspiratours called
Natalis (whom *Nero* had pardoned) said nothing else of him, but that he was sent to visite *Seneca*
being sicke, and to complaine because he thought not good that *Piso* (being the head of this enter-
prise, and should be created Emperour after the murder of *Nero*) should come to see him, and
that he would confirme their friendship, frequenting familiarly together: but that *Seneca* had answer-
ed, that their talke and meeting would neither be profitable for the one, nor for the other: and
moreover, that his life depended upon that of *Piso*. *Gravins Silvianus* Captaine of a Band of
Guards, was commanded to go to *Seneca*, to know if he would take any knowledge to have spoken
the words confessed by *Natalis*, and the answer that he made at that time. By chance, or witting-
ly, *Seneca* was come home that very day, and remained in a house of his two small Miles from *ROME*.
The Captaine came thither about night, and placed his Souldiers round about the house: and after-
wards came in, and found *Seneca* at supper with his Wife *Pompeia Paulina*, and two of his friends.
So having delivered his message unto him, *Seneca* answered straight being nothing moved; that
Natalis was indeed sent unto him to complaine in the Name of *Piso*. For that *Seneca* would not suffer
him to come and see him: and that for his sake, he did excuse himselfe as well by reason of his sick-
nesse, as for the desire he had to take his ease. And for those words: that his life depended upon
that of *Piso*, he said he had no occasion to preferre the preservation of another private mans life
before his own. And that furthermore, he gave not his minde to flatteries, whereof he would have
no better testimony then *Nero* himselfe, who had oftner known that *Seneca* was a Free-man, then a
Slave or a Bondman. *Silvanus* returned unto *Nero*, and made report in the presence of *Popaea* and
Tigelli-

Tigellinus, who were very desirous to hear his answer: which being heard, *Nero* asked him, if *Se-
neca* made any show to be willing to die. The Captaine assured him that he perceived no signe of
fearre nor of sorrow, in the words, nor countenance of *Seneca*. Thereupon *Nero* commanded this
Captaine to returne to *Seneca* againe, and to command him to die. (Some thinke that this Execu-
tioner returned in that way he was come, but went another way, to finde out *Femius* Cap-
taine of the Guards, whom after he had acquainted with *Neroes* commandement, he asked him if he
would execute this Commission. *Femius* that was of the number of the Conspiratours, neverthe-
less advised him to obey the Emperours commandement, by a fatal cowardinesse of as many as
were of them. For *Silvanus* that had this commission to go to *Seneca*, was also one of the conspi-
racy, and yet his hand was ready to increase the wickednesse of *Nero*, of the which before he was
desirous and protured to see the punishment. To hide his offence in some sort, he would not, or
durst not returne into the presence of *Seneca*, nor speake to him: but made one of his Centeniers
go into the house to declare the Emperours commandement, which was, that *Seneca* must die. At
that time it was halfe a favour unto those that were condemned to lose their lives, to suffer them
to be put to death, either by themselves, or by any of their acquaintance: which was done in di-
vers sorts. Some pricked their Veines, and let themselves blood, and then went into a hot-house
where they ended. Others swallowed down poyson: Others stabbed themselves in with their
Daggers, or their Swords. It is judged this was done: that they should not fall into the hands of
the Hang-man: for when it happened so, the bodies of the condemned were not buried and their
Goods were forfeited: whereas if they put themselves to death (of the which the most part fol-
lowing the Doctrine of the *STOICKS* were nothing afraid) their bodies should be buried, and their
Wills and Testaments good. Sometimes this choice did cut off the griefs of a more ignominious and
cruell punishment.

Now to returne to *Seneca*. Having heard the Message of the Centener, without changing
countenance, and wholly resolved, he called for his Book of Tables, in the which was writtten his will:
which being denied him by the Centener, turning to his friends, he protested, that since he was let to
acknowledge their merits, that he would leave one onely thing (and notwithstanding the best) yet his,
to wit, the Image of the example of his life, the which if they remembered, they would carry a com-
mendable reputation of honest and vertuous men, for a worthy reward of so constant a friendship. And
seeing them weepe, he sought to appease them, or to stay their teares, now with sweet words, by and
by with vehemency, as if he would have reproved them. To conclude, he did encourage them to re-
maine firme and constant, asking them where was the resolution they had learned so many yeares in
the Schooles and Studies of Philofophy, against all the chances of the world. He added further, that
every one knew well what *Nero* was, what cruelties he had committed: and after that he had so wick-
edly behaved himselfe to his Father-in-law, to his Mother, to his Brother, and to his Wife, there was
nothing left behind for the accomplishment of his cruelties, but to adde to the murder of his Schoole-
master. After he had discoursed such or the like words before them all, and as in generally, he em-
braced his Wife, and having a little emboldened her against this blow, he instantly prayed her to mo-
derate her griefe, and exhorted her to remember how vertuously he had passed his life, and gently to
beare (and with a heart worthy her selfe) the sorrow of the death of her Husband. She for her
part assured him that she was resolved to die, and bad one of them give her the blow. Then *Seneca*,
not to deprive himselfe of that honour, and being touched with the love he did beare her, was con-
tented not to leave to the mercy of the dissolution that then reigned, her whom he had most dearly
loved. I did set before you (said he) the sweetnesse of life: but since your selfe have chosen rather
an honourable death, for my part, I shall not be sorry if you shew me the way. Let the constancy
therefore of so couragious a death as ours, be alike to us both: although the end of your life shall
be more famous. Immediately thereupon, they caused the Veines of their armes to be opened: but
because that *Seneca* had an old body, and thin by eating little, there would no blood come out but
drop by drop, he made the Veines of his legges and hams to be cut. Then weary of such a cruell
butchery, being afraid that his paines would make his Wives heart faile her, or that he himselfe should
grow impatient for so many torments as he endured; he perswaded her to withdraw herselfe in-
to another Chamber: and for himselfe, having to his last gaspe his words at commandement, he
caused his Secretaries that were wont to write under him, to come unto him, and told them there
many notable things in fine termes, the which were published after his death: but time hath ta-
ken them from us for want of Story-writers: although some thinke that that might be kept as
well as other Writings of *Seneca*. Others carrying some envy to the Vertue of this man, have
kept it backe, being loath that the Posterity should enjoy a Table, where the Village of *Seneca*
might be better knowne, then in other places of his Workes. *Nero* that had men coming and going
every minute of an house from *Seneca*'s house to *ROME*, understanding how every thing passed, and
bearing no particular hatred to *Paulina*, fearing also he should increase the blame of his cruelty:
he commanded they should keepe *Paulina* from dying. Wherefore his Slaves and freed bond-
men, warned by the Souldiers themselves, bound up her armes, and staunched the blood, not know-
ing whether she felt any thing or not. For as there are alwaies among the People that take things
at the worst, there wanted not men which thought that so long as *Paulina* stood in feare of *Neroes*
anger, she desired to have the report that she was a companion of the death of her Hus-
band. But afterwards when there was a better hope offered her, she was contented to be won with
the flatteries of life, unto the which she added some few yeares with commendable memory, and
sorrow

Nero senteth
Seneca the
Message of
death.

Men put them-
selves to death
divers waies.

Seneca undan-
ted at the
Message of
death.

Seneca encour-
ageth his
friends.

Seneca com-
forteth his
Wife, against
the feare of
death.

Seneca and his
Wife would
have died by
bleeding.

Nero command-
eth that *Seneca*'s
Wife
should be kept
from death.

The manner
of Seneca's
death.

sorrow for her Husband: being otherwise so pale of countenance, that she shewed to have lost a great deale of bloud and her strength. On the other side *Seneca* seeing his death prolonged, he prayed *Statius Annuus* (whom he esteemed much for his faithfull friendship he had borne him a long time, and for his skill in Physicke) to bring him of the like poyson to that which they keepe by publique Ordinance in *ATHENS* to put offenders to death, whereof he had of long time made provision. So when it was brought him, he swallowed it downe without regard, his members being cold, and his body constant against the force of the Poyson. In the end, he entred into a bathing Tub of *HORWATER*, with the which sprinkling his slaves that were about him, he added to it, that he offered this liquor unto *Aspiter* the deliverer. After that being carried into a Stove, and having through the heate thereof yeelded up the ghost, his body was buried without any solemnity of Obsequies. He had so appointed by his Will made at that time when he was very rich, and of great credit. It was reported that *Subrinus Flavimus* one of the chiefest Conspiratours, had secretly determined with the Centeniers (yet not without the privy of *Seneca*) that after they had killed *Nero* by the means of *Piso*, they should also dispatch *Piso* himselfe, to the end to make *Seneca* Emperour, as an honest man, onely elect and chosen to that greatnesse for the fame of his Vertues. Such was the end of *Seneca*, that had lived in honourable and publique charges, of Prator, Questor and Consul under two Emperours, and was long in credit with the last: who seeing himselfe covertly despised of his Master, that could no longer endure such wickednesse, sought the occasion before mentioned, but with extreme injustice, to rid him out of the way. Furthermore, *Dion* thinketh that *Seneca's* two Brethren were likewise put to death. But because he is contented to touch it but in a Line, and that which *Tacitus* saith is to be marked, set downe in particular, and with most likely circumstances: we will speake one word more. Shortly after the death of *Seneca*, he commanded they should put *Annius Lucanus* to death, the Sonne of *Mela*: who feeling his feet and his hands cold whilst the bloud ranne downe, and that by little and little his spirit parted from the extremities of his body, his heart being yet lively, and his understanding good, calling certaine Verses of Poetry to minde, in the which was presented a Souldier hurt, dying of the same death, he recited the same Verses, which were the last words he spake. *Alitius Lucanus* Mother was left alive, neither being pardoned nor punished. For *Junius Gallio*, who was a Senator, was so astonished at the death of his Brother, that before all the Senate he fell downe at *Nero's* feet, beseeching him to give him his life. Whereupon another Senator called *Alitius Clemens*, set upon him with injurious words, calling him Traitor and parricide. But the other Senators with own consent made *Clemens* hold his peace, telling him that he should not seeke common adversities for to revenge his private quarrell, or to draw on the Prince to a new cruelty, who had now by his clemency quieted and forgotten all. Within a few moneths after *Annius Mela* was dispatched: he was a Knight of *ROME*, but of the Dignity of a Senator. And although *Seneca* and *Gallio* his Brethren were advanced to greater honour, yet he would never purchase it by extremity of ambition: but being come out of *SPAINA* to *ROME*, more for the love of his Brethren and of his Sonne then for himselfe, he was contented to have this honour, that a Knight was ever equal in power and credit with a Consul. The Name of his Sonne *Lucanus* greatly esteemed of every body, and specially of Learned-men, had gotten him great reputation. Immediately after his Sonnes death, he seeking somewhat too eagerly after his Sonnes goods, raised against him an Accuser called *Fabius Romanus*, one of *Lucanus* chiefest friends. This man shewed counterfeit Letters as done by *Lucanus*, which charged *Mela* that he was partaker with his Son of the complor against *Nero*. Though this Accusation was utterly false and fained, yet *Nero* that thirsted after the riches of *Mela*, commanded those Letters should be carried to *Mela*: that was as much to say, he must die. The which *Mela* knowing well enough, made his Veines to be opened, and followed the way of others. *Seneca* in his Writings yeeldeth great testimony of the constancy and Vertue of his Brethren: and I thinke he was a man that was not given to speak lightly. Notwithstanding, I have simply recited that which *Tacitus* saith, who sufficiently sheweth in the example of divers others that it is not to be marvelled at if the cruelties of *Nero*, who lesse spared the great then the small, made the boldest hearts of them all quake sometimes.

The death of
Annius Mela.

The Philosophy
and Writings of
Seneca.

Seneca's life
and death de-
clare him to
have been a
Philosopher
in deed.

Now there remaineth to tell you something of the Philosophy and Writings of *Seneca*: for it is in those Tables that we must looke to see him lively, and speaking with that selfe vehemency of spirit that followed him even to the last gaspe of his life. It is true that the insolencies of *Nero* had oftentimes as it were stopped his mouth, and hindered that good Soule to give free passage to his discourses, yea and in some places they made him stumble. Yet he called himselfe backe againe to his first thoughts, and remained constant in the midst of the cruell raging stormes of his time. Now as it is easie for men that be on the Land where they do idly behold some Master Pilot striving with the force and fury of the winde and billowes, to say: That man there should guide his Ship after another fashion: who if they were in his place, should without all comparison finde themselves more troubled, or at the least would make a sorrowfull wracke. Even so it hapneth, that *Seneca's* Philosophy is despised of many, that thinke he could speake Philosophy but by his Booke, and that when he should come to shew it in deed, men would say he doth like the Masters of Fence, who being in a Schoole of Fence, with young Youths, they do wonders, and give mortall Vennies at pleasure: but if they come to any private Fight at the Sharpe, where it standeth them upon for their lives, as soone as they see the glittering of the naked Sword, you may perceive all their flourishes and trickes are gone, or changed into flat running away. I will say at one word, that I thinke *Seneca* as much and more a Philosopher in

in deed then in name. His life and his death can say it, and in the last Chapter hereafter we must speake more at large. For this present let us a little consider his tongue. Life is a sweet thing, and all desire to live, yea the beasts themselves seem to have a singular contentment, for that they have a being and life. If life be a pleasant thing, yet it is much more pleasing and acceptable when it is well governed, and tendeth to a good end. So then a quiet and contented life is much better, sweeter, and more excellent, then a life full of troubles and passions. This quietnesse is none other but felicity and good fortune. Furthermore, all men do not aspire to this end, but onely wise men, and the true friends of widome. For the most part of men whom the earth sustaineth, do runne a strange course when they should set a foote forward to betake them to some course of life: and all in manner erre, when they should Judge what happy life is. Those that delight in money and to gaine, seeke felicity in riches. The idle and slouthful thinke, that to make great cheere, to live (as the say) in the shadow of Tables, of Pots, of Curtaines, and at the ease of their bodies, is the onely soveraigne good. There are another sort of men greedy of worldly honour, which establish an unspeakable happinesse to command many (in what manner, or how deare soever it be) taking themselves to be halfe gods, if they may see many men, or two or three go under their feet. But wise men establish soveraigne good in vertue. And if they be asked, what is a happy life? they answer, That it consisteth in living vertuously and serving God. This was the Philosophy of *Seneca* in generall. But because there are certaine clouds of opinions which darken humane felicity, it is good we looke to examine them briefly. Nature hath dispersed in us some seeds of vertue, and hath given us some graines of knowledge and widome, which are borne with us and take roote (if we may say so) in our hearts. This notwithstanding, we must manure it, and vertue hath her precepts which openeth the way to attaine the soveraigne good, whereunto the Philosophie of the Stoickes doth summon us. Four things are enemies to that good, yea they obscure it, they corrupt and abolish it in an evil disposed heart. The first cause is death, that is to say, the feare and imagination to lose this earthly and corruptible life. For where there is feare, it cannot be said there is contentment and felicity, but misery: it is not a pleasant life, but a sorrowfull life, and a torment of the mind. The second is the bodily griefes, lingering diseases, the torments and tortures cruell and sharpe in a thousand kinds: and briefly a thousand evils which hurt the contentment of the soule. For no man will say, that to be troubled in his mind with a burning Feaver, to cry out night and day because of the Goute, or for paine of his Teeth and the Reins, or to be brought to any extraordinary torment, and to be dismembred by the hangman, is a thing where there is no apprehension that moveth the spirit. Besides all this, there are the griefes of the soule: mourning, losse of children, of kinsfolks and dear friends: for that afflicteth and eateth our thoughts without ceasing, and giveth Tragical Poets ample arguments to write upon. If the griefe of the body affecteth the rest and contentment of the mind, much more doth the inward griefe and anguish. And finally there are passions, as joy and pleasure, which hinder and abolish the feeling of a happy life. Those that are possessed with an extraordinary joy, oftentimes both do and say many fond things and jestures, in words and workes. As if a man be told that land is fallen to him, or that he is raised to wished dignity not looked for, yeshall see him play the foole and wanton like a childe. There are some whose manners honour changeth in such sort, that from the day till the next morning you shall not know them by their face, by the countenances, by their words, nor by their apparell: they will straight disdaine them that they called before servants or loving friends. Now this vaine pride and foolishnesse are in manner one selfe thing: and it may be said, that all ambitious men are altogether befuddled, or doubtlesse they will be so. If thou wilt make me see a proud man, one that presumeth to know much, and that looketh upon his feathers, as they say, I will presently shew thee a foole furnished at all peeces. There is no surer signe of foolishnesse then pride: and who will say then that the life of such a one is happy? And as for pleasures, we see how a man is carried away, who then is no more himselfe: but to the contrary, thinketh that the destruction of body and soule is his soveraigne good. Now amongst all the Philosophers which have tried to remedy these troubles of the minde, and to maintaine a man in this contentment which they call soveraigne, it may be said the Stoickes were the chiefe, and among the Stoickes *Seneca*. I will not here enter into examination of the doctrine of this Sect, nor declare that which *Zeno* and *Chrysippus* have written, as may be gathered of *Laertius* and of *Plutarch*; but simply to stay my selfe upon my principall purpose, which is of *Seneca*; and in this place to follow that which many learned men have gathered of his workes, to shew what was his Philosophy: unto the which we will adde some Summary of reasons with the which he helpeth himselfe, to fight with those passions, and to make the soule at peace, inmuch as he himselfe could apprehend it. This is out of all question, that *Seneca* was one of the first and principall Philosophers of the Stoickes among the Latines, as he himselfe doth boast in his owne writings. Furthermore, he exalteth this Sect above all others, and saith, that the Stoickes do make profession of a Philosophy worthy of men: forasmuch as there is difference betwixt them and others, as betwixt males and females. That the other kinds of Philosophy are made, to heare and to obey: but that the Stoicke is borne to teach, and command. He being desirous to present some perfect Idea of a wise man, bringeth forth *Caro*: and in the Treary where he will shew that the wise man cannot be offended nor outraged, he listeth up this man out of the rancke of all other men, and specially commendeth him in his death. If he spake of the Stoickes, he calleth them his; and doth make open profession of their instructions. Now in many places he distinguisheth Philosophy into three parts, which

Most men erre
in judging of
happy life.

Happy life
what.

Four things e-
nemies to mans
good.

Pride sheweth
foolishnesse.

Seneca prefer-
red the Stoicks
before all other
Philosophers.

which he calleth Rationall, Morall, and naturall. But after the fashion of the Stoickes, he rested more upon the Morall, albeit that all his discourses shew that he had a marvellous veine in the rationall. And the bookes of naturall questions shew that he had a deep insight in the secrets of Nature. So then his principal end was to frame good manners, and to bring men to the knowledge of the contentment of the mind, to desire and apprehend it. They saw him oftentimes exhort *Lucilius* to the study of Morall Philosophy, as in the end of his 89. Epistle: So set down these things, saith he, to others, that thou thy selfe maist take pleasure to comprehend them. Write, to read afterwards thy writing, referring all things to the reformation of life, and to the meanes of appeasing the fury of passions. Study, not to be wiser then others, but to be better. On the other side, he turned the same *Lucilius* from the study of Logicke, and from the subtile disputations, in the which they please themselves that do but linger after syllables and words. Leave (said he to him in the 71. Epistle) this occupation and sifting of letters, to those masters that shut up a thing so magnificent as Philosophy is, in syllables: and do imbrace, yea bring to nothing, and utterly destroy the mind, in teaching things that are not worth the labour and study. I am content that thou resemble wise men that have invented letters, but not those that teach them. In some other places he laugheth at the subtleties of these Schoole disputers, namely, where he setteth down one of their fashions of speech, to wit, in the forty eight, which is the forty ninth in the Editions not well corrected, upon these words: *Mus* (that is to say, a Mouse) is a syllable: a Mouse eateth Cheese, therefore it followeth that a syllable eateth Cheese. But it is not onely that he setteth upon Logicke, or rational Philosophy, but also on Sciences commonly called the liberall Sciences, and especially when there is question of the Philosophy of manners. Witnesse that which he writeth in the foureth and eighth Epistle worthy to be diligently read of all, but specially of them whom such sciences do puffe up, and who for the rest do little care to rule their life within the compasse of vertue. In summe, he declareth in a great number of places, that Philosophy consisteth not in the knowledge of those things but that the end thereof is, to give counsell against all the accidents of this life: and that men were wont to repaire unto Philosophers, who do shew them in the midst of darkenesse (wherewith humane society is shrouded) the way they must follow not to erre, shewing what things are necessary and profitable: how easie the Lawes of Nature are: how joyfully we live, and at our ease, following of the same. And to the contrary, that there can be nothing but misery in the condition of those, which suffer themselves to wander rather by opinion, then by Nature and Reason. I thinke therefore that all the Philosophy of *Seneca* looketh unto that, to establish the mind all that may be: to attain to the which, it speaketh of the soveraigne good, to the end to draw us to aspire unto it. And because the accidents of this life, namely the causes before mentioned, do observe this happinesse, he striveth with infinit discourses and reasons against them. Now it were to make a great volume, if all were put together that he speaketh, and it were better to leave it to their liberty that shall reade the works of this Philosopher, of the which I will note here some heads or rules, on the which he reasoneth very amply to remedy the griefes before named. The intention therefore of *Seneca* above all in matters most important, is to beat down first, all corporall and spirituall passions: to wit, opinion and apprehension. He discovereth the vanity, sheweth the wrong which men of understanding do, and the error of their judgement, who see things as in the water, and with a corrupt eye. Which done, he goeth further, and seeketh to shew, that when that which is called evil is arrived, the wise man feeleth it not: as also it is as little trouble to him when one thinketh to touch him, as it is then when one threatned him afar off. For proove of this, he sheweth that they cannot hurt a wife man any manner of way: and that no man is injured or hurt but by himself. That the wise man bending all his thoughts unto vertue, cannot be offended, but rather overcometh all humane accidents, as well for respect of himselfe, as for all others. Hereupon he cometh to this point, to maintaine, that that which they call evil, is good to the wife man: who like a good husband maketh his profit of all in such sort, that there is nothing in the world but serveth his turne, and whereof he is not master with a singular contentment. Of these rules and maxims, there rise many Paradoxes dispersed in his bookes, the which if a man consider apart, are very strange and ridiculous with all: but being brought to their originals, they may receive some exposition. Furthermore to frame a perfect wife man, he will have nothing pleasant unto him but vertue, which consisteth in contentment all that the world acquireth: and a love of beautifull things which give contentment to the soule. That all that which is earthly and corruptible, should be esteemed as much as nothing: that the wife man in folding himselfe in his vertue, seeth all the greatnesse of this world very low under him, and as it were troden under the feete of his heart. And that in the midst of all dangers, yea even in the most fiercest death of all, and when heaven should fall upon him, he remaineth merry and pleased with the felicity which his vertue bringeth unto him. Afterwards he reasoneth particularly against the apprehension of death: and sheweth that it is as inevitable, as it is also good and necessary. That the greatest contentment of a wife man is, that he can breake in funder the Iron Chaine that holdeth him, as often and when he thinketh good: and upon this occasion treateth in some places of the immortality of the soule, as in the end of the seven and fiftieth Epistle, in the threecore and fiftieth, threecore and sixteenth, and the hundred and seventeenth, in his comfortable discourse unto *Marcus*, and elswhere. Touching these corporall paines, he sheweth that they cannot turn a man out of the path-way of Vertue, nor from the profession of constancy and truth, nor from the resolution to maintaine a just cause. That there is no paine or griefe so sharpe that can let a wife man to think of his duty, and to acquaint himself so far as his hands may reach. That these corporall griefes cannot

Philosophy
wherin it consisteth.

No man hurt
but by himself.

Seneca's resolution
is a gaine bodily paines.

not eclipse the least of the beams of vertue, and the hope of the immortality of our souls, for the which we exchange in the day that our paines come, as it were to have greatest strength, all the discomforts we apprehend in this transitory life. Furthermore, that the troubles which the estate of this world doth spread as a veile before our mindes, cannot blindfold them to see the perfect beauty of vertue, and to hear the excellent comforts which she propoeth. Also that the wife man sufficiently defended not to be overcome by passions, which have no power on him that is in the ordinary safegard and protection of vertue, in possession whereof he is already entered, that he still goeth forward every day more then other, shortly to enjoy her with perfection. To conclude, that there is hindrance at all for him whom vertue pleaseth, and whom she bringeth to immortality. And this is a little touch (me thinketh) which may be particularly noted in *Seneca*: in the beauty whereof, as in faces better formed, there are some spots discovered as in other Philosophers, namely the Stoicks. Above all, in his portraiture of this wife man, he imagineth in this life a thing that is not to be found in a corrupt man given over to sensuality; which is, vertue and perfection. But let us referre that to the ignorance of true Religion, and consider this Philosopher in the limits of his sect. For other Paradoxes, as of the world, of the spirit, of passions and affections of vertue, and some others borrowed of the Schoole of his Masters, that *Plutarch* hath examined in his booke of Common conceptions, and in that which he entitleth, The contradiction of the Stoicks: that which is evil doth condemne it selfe, or excuseth it selfe under the questions and disputations, which permit a man to say somewhat. And for the other, forasmuch as *Seneca* made profession to forme manners, he seemeth therein to have given way and free passage to some of his conceptions, and after the example of Painters, to give some shadows unto his Tables, the better to retaine the judgement of the Reader. That which I least allow in him, or rather which I cannot approve, is the excessive praise he giveth to his wife man, lifting him up, yea above the gods. And afterwards in divers places he would have this wife man put himselfe to death, and of his authority and power dissolve the bands of this life, without leave of the soveraigne Capitaine, and with a testimony of a strange cowardinesse and distrust of the doctrine of the eternal Providence: the which would have us keep a steadfast hope and confidence, yea even when things seeme to be most desperate. And that which he often applieth unto the death of *Cato*, whom he infinitely commendeth, hath been by us examined in the comparifon of *Cato* and *Phocion*. Furthermore, *Seneca* stayed not upon one or two in his discourses he hath left unto us, but hath culled out all the Philosophers, Greekes and Latines which were before him, all that he thought good to set downe for the rule and government of our life, according to the end he looked unto. And as for his writings, all that we have left concerning morall and naturall Philosophy, with the pleasant discourse upon the death of *Claudius*, is out of all disputation until this present: as the stile that is hard, short, sententious, and in apt tearmes for that time, and after the manner of teaching of the Stoicks; doth shew it. But for the bookes entituled, *Controversia* & *Suasoria*, that is to say, pleadings and orations, or declamations, I am of the same opinion that divers learned men of our time are, to wit, that these bookes are not of *Seneca*, but of the father of *Seneca*. And because many other learned men ancient and moderne have thought the contrary, we must needs say somewhat for proof of the opinion which we follow. The author of these collections saith, that he heard *Ovid* and *Cicero* declaim, and that he was familiar with *Portius Latro*, *Valerius Messala*, and with others that were in the time of *Augustus*. When he heard *Cicero*, he could be no lesse then fifteen years old: how can that be attributed unto *Seneca*, dead in the end of the Empire of *Nero*, well-near six-score yeares after that time? Now, that which *Tacitus* speaketh in divers places of the age of *Seneca*, reacheth not so farre: and *Nero* speaking to *Seneca* a little before his death, said, that he had yet strength enough to use his goods and governe his possessions: that could not be spoken of an old man of a hundred and twelve yeares old. Also *Seneca* speaketh otherwife of his age in one of his Epistles noted here before, where he telleth, that about the fifth year of the Empire of *Tiberius*, he came out of his infancy, of the age of eighteen yeares. Furthermore, *Seneca* was Praetor, Quaestor, and Consul, as in his discourse to his mother *Elbia*, the Chronicles, and the Lawyers bookes do make mention. And to the contrary, his father dedicating his bookes above named unto *Seneca*, *Junius*, and *Mela*, his three sons: and speaking to *Mela* in the Preface of his second booke of pleadings, he exhorteth him to follow the inclination of his minde, and contenting himselfe with the state of a private Gentleman, and a *Romane* Knight as his father, the better to warrant his life in the hazards and accidents of this world. That which made *Seneca* to be esteemed the Authour of those bookes there, is, for that his father did beare that name: and that these three, *Seneca*, *Novatus* (surnamed *Junius Gallo*) and *Mela* be brethren, and the sons of one selfe father and mother, it appeareth by the History of *Tacitus*, in the fifteenth booke of his *Annals*, and by the writings of *Seneca* himselfe, especially by the discourse to *Elbia*, where he saith amongst other things: Consider my brethren, that being safe, you have not cause to accuse Fortune: you have in them cause to rejoyce in a divers kinde. For the one, through his good wit hath attained to honour, and the other hath wisely despised it. *Tacitus* plainly shewed that, as we have seen here before. And whereas commonly they alledge the age of *Seneca* to be sixe score yeares and above, to give the more authority to the pleadings and Orations of his father, that is to say, to the fragments which he seemeth to have set forth in the favour of his children, to frame them betimes one day to practise that whereof he made profession, to wit, eloquence: there cannot be shewed any sufficient or authentick testimony of that which is alledged, that *Seneca* had three sonnes called,

What is mis-
liked in *Seneca*.

The profits
which may be
gathered by
Seneca's books.

called, *Novatus, Seneca and Mela*. Touching the true bookes of *Seneca*, the diligent reading and consideration of them will continently shew the profit that may be gathered by them. For a man to stand resolved against the divers and troublesome events of this life, to repose himselfe sweetly upon the divine providence, to contemne death, and to desire the blessed immortality, for to repress the insolvency of strange passions which do often carry us too high, and too farre, and for to enjoy a great rest amongst so many Tempests and wrackes as happen daily, I know not an Historian among the Painims, Philosopher, Oratour, or Author whatsoever, that would I preferre before *Seneca*: yea, there are few to be compared to him, and the most part do follow him farre off.

Against those
that addit
themselves
to the reading
of vain and trit-
tle books.

This bringeth us to the consideration of some censures made of *Seneca* by divers learned men, as well ancient, as those of this latter age, to the end to induce them that behold *Seneca*, to look nearly into him: for if there be any thing wherein humane wit doth give scope and licence, let another judge that. But that specially is as an ordinary thing unto them that make profession studiously to thrust their noses into bookes, to marke presently, and sometime too suddenly, that which is before them, to bear others in hand afterwards, that things are such as they did imagine them to be. And although I do not acknowledge myselfe to be one of the number of them that read and know passably something: yet for all that ere I beware, I am too often attainted with this disease, which possesseth those that make many bookes, reproving and judging others. But as I do not commend them in any wise unto whom the bookes of sound erudition are not pleasing (like to weak stomachs, unto whom meates evil dressed and also hurtful, seem to be the most favoury) but feed themselves with their follies, vaine fancies and abominations, wherewith this latter age is miserably defiled: so would I wish that the excellent wits which are yet in EUROPE, were on the one side better advised in many respects, and on the other more carefull to discern that which is commendable and blameable, certaine or uncertaine in good authors: to note them particularly unto posterity, with two conditions: the one, that it should be done by the sufficientest men, and as it were of purpose appointed to that end, by consent of fame and truth: the other, that all scoffs, spitefull and sinister passions, should be farre from such censurers. To come againe to *Seneca*: I see that some have too much exalted him, as I thinke: and others have imbased him more then needed. Which being particularly considered, peradventure it will not mislike: and if it profit not, I hope it will move the Reader to some thought higher then mine, both to search matters more exactly, as also to settle his opinion upon mine with the compasse of truth, of mildnesse, and of vertue. Because

A good speech
of a Pagan.

Seneca speaketh amply in some places of the providence and majesty of God, before whom he exhortheth us to walke, and sometimes prayeth *Lucilius* to live with men as if God saw him, and to speake with God, as if men heard him; also that he died in the end of the Empire of *Nero*, at which time Saint *Paul* the Apostle was prisoner at *ROME*: some have thought that *Seneca* of long time had leaned unto Christian Religion, by reason whereof his writings were read as proceeding from a man advanced in the knowledge of the true God. And otherwise he was contented to speake in generall and as under a veile, of the ignorance of his time, and because he would have them no more envied whom the world did already hate. Briefly, that he was a secret disciple of Christ, in the Schoole of his Apostle. In confirmation whereof, they shew certaine letters of *Seneca* unto *Paul*, with mutuall answers: and they do add also the testimony of a great Christian Doctor, who hath placed *Seneca* in the Catalogue of Saints, whose souls we believe are in glory with their Saviour. Howbeit certaine learned men of our time have spoken their opinion touching all that, to whom I do agree: to wit, that whether *Seneca* saw the Apostle, and spake with him, whether he disdained to see him, or that he cared not, nor did enquire after him, as I thinke that he thought then of any thing else rather then of the doctrine taught by Saint *Paul*: there is nothing in his Life, in his Writings, nor in his Death, that cometh near to the Christian belief and profession. But if we should call all those Christians, in whose Writings we do read goodly and true sentences of Wisdom, Justice, and the Providence of God, it would make a strange mingling of Scripture with prophane bookes: and further, they would dispute if the one should be put in the place of the other. As we see that in the bodies of the bookes, which for excellency we call the Bible, there are two, in the which name of God is never exprest, which notwithstanding are holy, and do containe infinite instructions and singular consolations. *Seneca* having written in some place, The Godhead is I know what great thing, yea so great, that it passeth all mans understanding: our life is dedicated to his service: let us take order to be approved of the same: for a hidden conscience is good for nothing: God seeth us: an ancient Doctor said thereupon; Any man that should know God, could he set forth any more certaine verity, then that which is spoken here by the mouth of a man that knew not what true Religion meant? For he representeth the Majesty of God, saying that it is so great, that mans understanding cannot measure it: and plainly, the Fountaine of verity: shewing that the Life of men is not unprofitable (as some Epicureans thinke) since it is referred to the glory of the Creator, when they follow Justice and Piety. Other discourses of *Seneca* might be alledged touching the Providence of God, against idolatry, superstition, and impiety: but the consequence is not stable, that he hath therefore knowne anything of the doctrine of the Gospel; you shall not finde one discourse in all his Writings, and the doctrine of the Stoicks doth in nothing agree with that, which neither flesh nor blood can reveale: and whereof it is not our purpose to speake in this place, which requireth not that we should discover the holy things, and much lesse that we should mingle them with the prophane.

As

As for the letters published under the name of *Seneca* and of *Paul*, both the stile and the matter shew at the first sight, that it is the work of some idle man that thought himself very wise, if he dissembled with those which did not sift it so narrowly. And we shall not need here to make a recapitulation of the just and Learned censures that have been made: where you shall see the madnesse, repugnancies, and falsehoods hidden in those letters, if they be conferred with the life and doctrine of them unto whom they were attributed. We do not meet with any thing so much in the writings of *Seneca*, as the constancy and contempt of death: how cometh it then that you shall not finde one word that sheweth him to be a Christian? that *Nero* had not discovered or perceived any thing to charge *Seneca* with, when he commanded him to die? For that had been an ample discharge before the people that extremely hated the Christians. *Suetonius* and *Tacitus*, little favouring our Religion, would not have forgotten it. But how chanceth it that in his death he remembered *Jupiter*, and not Christ? Now in regard of the Catalogue which is alledged for a Buckler, I desire that learned men do consider, if they have not wronged the person to whom it is attributed, mingling amongst his workes this scoffe, and others which are no better, forged upon the like Anvile, and with the selfe same Hammer, which the letters were before mentioned. Now, I thinke (these are the words of a learned man that had well read *Seneca*) that it is best for the Reader to take *Seneca's* Bookes, as proceeding from a man ignorant of true Religion. For if you read them as a Pagan, he hath written like a Christian: but if you take him for a Christian, know that it is a Pagan that speaketh. There are many things that may inflame us with the love of vertue: they will prick us more nearly, if we remember from whom they come. If we meet with any sentences that seem to be drawn out of our fountaines, they will be so much the sweeter unto us: and as for uncertaine and false opinions, they will offend us lesse, when we shall say, that it is a Pagan that hath set them out. Let us come to the other point, and consider those that have too much imbased him, either in respect of his life, or because of his writings. For his life, some (and *Dion* amongst others) have accused him of avarice, of ambition, of dissolution, of adultery, and other such like vices: unto the which I will not vouchsafe to make answer, since so many learned men, ancient and modern, and the life and death of *Seneca* doe say the contrary. And it were an easie thing for one that would cut *Dion* a Gown of his own cloth, to discover in him many things impertinent, and evil becoming the name whereof he maketh profession. But it is better to confute evident slanders by silence, then with long discourse. Some other speak not so plainly, but say that *Seneca* lived not after his own precepts. On the contrary, the honour which he maketh often to *Epicurus*, seemeth to shew that he hath mingled the wickednesse of the Epicureans with the austerity of the Stoicks. I grant that *Seneca* hath not in all the parts of his life shewed this constancy which he requirerh of a wise man, and I perceive well that he hath dissembled too many things in the Government of *Nero*: the which the wife *Thrasca* would never have allowed of the presence, nor of the word, nor of the deed. But mans infirmity is such, that that which the minde seeth plainly enough, it cannot or dare not effect it, because of the resistance of reason and passions: or if it dare, it is stayed with the least object through this naturall faintnesse that keepeth us backe, when we should resolutely follow vertue. Now of this censure there followeth no more, but that the eternal wisdom doth give us knowledge of many notable things uttered by the mouth and testimony of this stranger: and in the meane time doth admonish us in no wise to stay our selves upon him that speaketh: which she doth well in her proper house, where she understandeth that we lend our eares unto those which go with other feet then they should, so that they keep within the bounds of their commission. And as a Sergeant or Herauld that had but one eye, or were lame, could notwithstanding deliver a message of importance in the name of the Prince, and must be heard: even so, whatsoever he be that cometh to us with the notes of chaff and fair Verity, he ought to have audience, to be believed and followed, so long as he containeth himselfe neare to her, and rejecteth all that is contrary, be it in words or in fact. For *Epicurus*, *Seneca* alledgeth some notable matters of him, whereof it followeth not that he doth allow of his faults, nor of his sect, as is also to be acknowledged in many places. And there can be nothing observed in the life of *Seneca*, that shewed him to be an Epicurean or a Libertine. For even in the midst of the abundance and of the great riches he possessed by the liberality of *Nero*, they saw a great moderation, witnessed also in his death: not being forbidden to Noblemen to possesse gold, silver, earthly goods, and moveables of great value, so that such prosperity do not make them drunke, to cause them despise God and man. As for the last, be they ancient or modern, whose names I am not content to expresse, which very boldly do censure the writings of *Seneca*: and in agreeing to him in some excellent thing, they afterwards take licence to thinke him rude in his stile, too rigorous a Judge of other mens labours, a foolish jeaster, affected in his discourses, troublesome by reason of his repetitions, without Art, of small judgement, forgetfull, trusting to his own wit, curious of light things, and seeking I know not how to be particular, because he would not seem to have borrowed any thing of any man: these be accusers in the most part of such Articles, and no competent Judges, saving the honour due to their erudition. For proove whereof we do exhort the Reader to take one whole booke of *Seneca* which he liketh of best, and then to examine it all, If I

Rrrr

Ipeake

Letters in the
name of *Seneca*
to *S. Paul*, cen-
tured.

An admonition
to the Reader
of *Seneca's*
bookes.

Seneca defend-
ed against false
accusers.

Seneca cleared
from Epicu-
risme.

Seneca's wri-
tings defended.

their adversaries, durst not make head, but went straight from thence. So all things prospering according to his desire, he brought all the other Isles called the *Cyclades*, to be subject to the *Athenians*.

Miltiades counsell for the freeing of *Greece*, is frustrate by *Istians*.

At the same time *Darius* King of *Persia* having passed all his Army out of *Asia* into *Europe*, determined to make warre with the *Scythians*, and made a bridge over *Danuby* to passe over his Troops: the Guard of the which in his absence, was committed unto the Lords which he had brought with him out of *Jonias* and *Asia*, unto every one of the which he had given perpetuall power and Government over their Townes. Supposing by this policy, easily to bring into subjection all the *Greekes* that dwelt in *Asia*, if he gave the Guard of the Townes unto their friends and confederates, that could not escape by any means if he were oppressed. *Miltiades* was of the number of the Guards of this Bridge. Newes being brought by divers messagers that *Darius* had but ill successe, and that the *Scythians* held him hard to it, he perswaded the other Guards not to lose the occasion that was offered to set *Greece* at liberty, considering that if *Darius* and his forces he brought with him were overthrown, all *Europe* should be in peace, and the natural *Greekes* remaining in *Asia* should see themselves out of danger, and freed from the domination of the *Persians*. And this might easily be done, since that by cutting off the Bridge, *Darius* should in few dayes be cut in pieces by the enemies, or should die for penury with all his Army. Many agreed unto it: but *Istians* *Miltiades* brake the necke of it, saying, that the Kingdome of *Darius* upon whom their authority depended, made difference betwixt the good of the affaires of them that commanded, and the people that was under subjection and Government. That if *Darius* should happen to die, they should be driven out and punished by their Citizens: and therefore that he was of a contrary minde to all the rest, thinking nothing more profitable, then to see the Kingdome of the *Persians* established. The greater part of them being of his minde, *Miltiades* was afraid, for that there were so many witnesses, that the King should soon be advertised of that which was propounded: wherefore he left *Cherronesus*, and returned againe to *Athens*. Now though his counsell took no place, yet he was highly commended, having shewed more regard to the good and liberty of all, then to his own particular advancement.

Darius maketh warre against *Greece*.

For *Darius*, he being returned out of *Europe* into *Asia*, his friends counsell him to set upon *Greece*. Whereupon he armed a Fleet of five hundred Gallies under the charge of *Datis* and *Artafernes*, giving them two hundred thousand footmen, and ten thousand horse, saying, that he would be even with the *Athenians*, because that the *Jonians* had in favour of the *Athenians* forced the City of *Sardis*, and killed his Garrisons. These two Lieutenants of *Darius* being arrived in *Euboea* with their Gallies, they presently wanne *Eretria*, tooke all the inhabitants of the Country prisoners, and sent them to the King in *Asia*. From thence they went into *Attica*, and camped in the plaine of *Marathon*, which is within five leagues or thereabouts from *Athens*. The *Athenians* astonished at so great a number of enemies, and so near unto them, knew not of whom to demand aid, but of the *Lacedemonians*, unto whom they dispatched a very swift footman, a foot Post called *Philippides*, to advertise them that they had need to send them aid, and that presently. In the meane time they chose tenne Captaines to command and governe their Troopes: *Miltiades* was one of them. So there was a great disputation among, to wit, whether they should keepe the Wallies of their City, or they should go to meete with their enemies to bid them Battell. There was none but *Miltiades* that reasoned, that there was no delaying or protracting of time, but they must make a Campe: and that that would lift up the hearts of the *Athenians*, when they should see and behold, that they had a good opinion of their Vertue and Valiantnesse: and that the enemies heartes would faile them, when they should understand that so few men came resolutely to fight with them. At that time the *Athenians* had no aide from any City but from *Plataea*, which sent them a thousand men: who being come, the Army of the *Greekes* was compounded but of tenne thousand men in all, who desired nothing but to fight. That was the cause that *Miltiades* counsell was preferred above all the other Captaines. For the *Athenians* respecting his valour, caused their Troopes to march into the Field, and they Camped in a place of advantage. Then the next morning having disposed their footmen at the foot of the mountaine, which they had in flanke, they gave charge upon their enemies couragiously, with a new and sure fashion of fight. For there were Trees growing here and there, by meanes whereof they were under covert of the Rockes, and the Trees kept them from being enclosed by the multitude of the enemies Horsemen. Now although *Datis* saw that the place did not favour and affect him, yet because he had so many men, all his desire was to fight, thinking he should winne and obtaine much, if he could joyne before the aide of the *Lacedemonians* came to them. And therefore he made an hundred thousand footmen, and ten thousand horse to march against them. Then he went to charge the *Athenians*, who made excellent proof of their valiantnesse, considering that they having to fight one against ten, they made the *Persians* flee for life, and so astonished them, that in stead of turning backe to their Campe, they saved themselves in their ships. See, here was one of the bravest battells that a man can speak of: for never such a handfull of men overcame so great forces. Peradventure it will not be impertinent to shew what reward *Miltiades* had for obtaining of so noble a Victory, to the end that all men may know the better, that all Common-weals have one disposition. As the honours of the people of *Rome* were in times past rare and simple, and by consequent more glorious and to be desired: and now to the contrary more disordered and lesse esteemed: the very same we finde to have been practised among the *Athenians*. For all the honour they did unto this *Miltiades*, the

The *Athenians* under the conduct of *Miltiades*, set upon their enemies.

Ten thousand *Athenians* put to flight an hundred thousand *Persians*.

the saviour of *Athens* and of all *Greece*, was, that the battell of *Marathon* having been painted over the Porch called *Pocile*, his image was set up the first in ranke of all the Captaines, with the countenance of a man speaking to his souldiers, and going first to fight. The same people of *Athens* being come to be of greater power, and corrupted by the gifts of those which sued for charge and Office in the Common-wealth, caused three hundred statues to be set up for *Demetrius* the *Phalerian*.

Miltiades rewarded with honors for this victory.

After this battell, the *Athenians* gave a Fleet of threescore and ten Gallies unto *Miltiades*, to make war upon the Isles which had aided the *Persians*. He compelled some by simple commandments, others by force of armes to yeeld themselves. And not being able by any persuasions to bring the Isle men of *Paros* to reason (proud, because of their riches) he landed his forces, enclosed the Towne with Trenches, and tooke from the besieged all meanes either to come by victuals or munition of warre: then having set up his Gabions and Mantelets, he came near the walls. He was at the point to winne the Town, when one night (not known by what mischance) there was a great fire seen upon firm land in a wood, which they saw from the Isle. This flame made those that were besieged, and them that lay at the siege thinke that it was a signe of the Fleet of the *Persians*, to encourage the *Parians*, and to keep them from yeelding up their Town. Hereupon *Miltiades* fearing that *Darius* Army by sea was at hand, he set fire of his Mantelets and Gabions, and hoised saile towards *Athens*, where he arrived with all the Gallies he carried out: wherewith the people were marvellously offended. They accused him of treason, that when he might have wonne *Paros* by assault, he had taken money of the King, and was returned without fighting, or doing any memorable act. At that time he was sick of the wounds he had received at the siege of *Paros*: wherefore not being able to defend himself in person, his brother *Stesagoras* pleaded his cause, the which having been debated, he was quit from death, yet condemned to pay a fine of thirty thousand crownes, to the which they valued the charge of the Army in that journey. And being unable to pay so great a sum, he was committed to the common prison, and there died. Now this matter of *Paros* was but a cloake; and they spake of it thus for another reason. For the tyranny of *Pisistratus*, who had altered the estate some yeares before, was the cause that the *Athenians* were afraid of their Citizens that were in any credit. *Miltiades*, that had had many great and honourable charges, seemed that he could no more be brought to live as a private person, considering also that he was given to this desire to command alwayes. For all the time of his abode in *Cherronesus* there was no other Lord but he, and also they called him Tyrant: but just, because he had not gotten this authority by force of Armes, but with the consent of his Citizens, and carried himself very modestly. Now they take and call them Tyrants, which have a perpetuall power in a Common-wealth that was free before. Furthermore, *Miltiades* was a very gentle person, wonderful affable, and there was not so meane a man, but might easily come and speake with him. All the Townes respected him, he was very famous, and they reputed him for one of the bravest Captaines of *Greece*. The people of *Athens* considering these things, had rather condemne this innocent man in a fine, then to be longer in pain to take heed of him.

The people of *Athens* unthankful and unkinde unto *Miltiades*.

The commendation of *Miltiades*.

The end of *Miltiades* Life.

R r r r 3

THE

THE LIFE OF P A U S A N I A S.

Ann. Münd.
3470.

Ant. Christ.
478.

Pausanias gives the Persians the overthrow.



Pausanias Lacedemonian was a great man, but unconstant in all the parts of his life, furnished with virtues, but overwhelmed with vices. It was he that wanne that so famous victorie of the Platees. For he being Generall of the Greeke Army, this great Lord Mardonius, a Mede by Nation, and sonne in law of the King of Persia, the most wise and valiant Capitaine among all the Persians, followed with two hundred thousand chosen footmen, and twenty thousand horse: he was overcome, the rest of all his Troopes driven out of Greece, and himselfe slaine in the field. This victory raised up Pausanias heart to such a height, that he beganne to confound the affaires, and to devise great change in his braine. The first shame he received was, that he having offered a Trivet of gold unto the temple of Delphes, of the booty he had gotten upon the enemies, with an Epigram containing in substance, that under his conduct the barbarous people had bene overthrowne before Platees, and that acknowledging this victory, he made this present unto Apollo: the Lacedemonians razed out these verses, and wrote no other thing but the names of the Towns, through whose aid the Persians had been overcome. After this battell they sent him again with an Army of the allies by sea into Cyprus and Hellespont, to expulse the Garrisons of the barbarous people thence. The which he having fortunately executed, he then grew to be more insolent and ambitious then ever.

For, having taken the City of Byzance by force, and made a great number of Gentlemen of Persia prisoners, among which were many kinsmen of Xerxes, he secretly sent them to him, and gave it out that they escaped out of prison. Gongylus Eretrian did accompany them carrying letters to the King, the effect thereof was this, as Thucydides saith: Pausanias, Captain of Sparta, knowing that the prisoners of Byzance are thy kinsmen, he sendeth them unto thee for a present, and desireth to be of alliance with thee, and prayeth thee to give him thy daughter in marriage. If thou do it, he promiseth that by his meanes Sparta and all Greece shall be brought under thy power. Therefore if it please thee to give ear unto it, send him a man expressly with whom he may conferre. The King very joyfull and glad for the delivery of so many friends of his, sent Artabazus presently to Pausanias with letters, in the which he commendeth him, and prayeth him to spare for nothing to bring his promise to passe. If he do, that all shall be granted which he demandeth. Pausanias understanding Xerxes minde, resolved resolutely to put his hand to this work: which the Lacedemonians mistrusting, having sent for him home, they accused him of treason: whereof he was quit, and yet condemned to pay a fine. This was the cause that they sent him not againe to the Army: but shortly after he returned of his own minde, and by a rash and evil grounded Oracion, he easily discovered the thoughts of his heart. Furthermore, he did not onely change his fashion of living after the Laconian manner, but also of his diet and apparel. For he had a royall pomp, training a long Gowne, after the fashion of the Medes, followed with a Troope of the Medes and Egyptians for Archers of his guard. His table did so abound in all kinds of dainties, after the manner of the Persians that no man could away withall. He gave no accessse unto him but very seldom: to them that would speake with him he answered very proudly: and commanded with all cruelty, refusing to returne any more to Sparta.

Pausanias accused of treason

He went to Colones, which is a place in the Countrey of Troue, and there plotted all his dangerous practises against his Countrey and himselfe. When the Lacedemonians had understanding of it, they sent Ambassadors unto him with the Scytala, in the which was written, after their accustomed manner, that if he came not into the City, they would condemne him to death. This Letter astounded him, yet hoping to escape this imminent danger by force of Presents, and by reason of his credit, he went home into his Countrey, where being, the Ephores made him to be apprehended, and cast into Prison: for it is lawfull for one of the Ephores to take the King, and use him so. Neverthelesse Pausanias loved himselfe, being notwithstanding suspected of every man: for they had alwaies this opinion of him, that he had intelligence with Xerxes. There are certaine People there called Ilotes, and they are a great number of them, and they plow the Lands of the Lacedemonians, whom they serve as Slaves. It was supposed he did practise with them, under promise to make

make them free-men. But because they had no pregnant witness to convince him, they thought they must not condemne so noble a Person as he by bare conjectures, but rather to carry till time did reveale it of itselfe. In these busineses, a young man called Argilius, who in his fancy had served Pausanias for a Page, having received Letters of him to carry to Artabazus, he doubting lest there were somewhat therein that might hurt him, for of all those that went into Persia about these affaires, not one of them came backe againe: he brake open the Seale, and knew by the Contents thereof that if he had carried them, he had died for it: also the Letter mentioned matters whereof Pausanias and Xerxes were agreed. Argilius carried these Letters, and put them into the hands of the Ephores. Here is to be noted the moderation and gravity of the Lacedemonians, that would not yet take vantage of this detection, to lay hold upon Pausanias: and resolved not to proceed with rigour, till he first discovered it himselfe. And therefore they taught Argilius what they would have him to do.

Argilius discovered Pausanias treason.

At Tenare, there is a Temple of Neptune, the priviledge whereof the Greekes hold for sacred and inviolable. Argilius fled thither, and fate him downe upon the Altar: near unto the which the Ephores made a cave under the ground, from whence one might understand all that any body would say unto Argilius. Some of the Ephores hid themselves within it. Pausanias understanding that his man was in the priviledge of the Temple, went thither marvellously troubled, and beganne to aske him how this chance happened. Argilius confessed he had opened the letters, and seen the contents of them. Wherewith Pausanias more troubled then before, beganne to pray him to say never a word, and not to betray him who had done him so much good: that if he would do him that favour to helpe him out of this trouble, he would make him a great man. The Ephores having heard all this talke, they judged that the surest way was to take him in the City. Whither they being gone, Pausanias thinking he had appeased Argilius, and thereby assured his affaires, he returned home to his house: and as they were ready to catch him by the chollar, he perceived by the countenance of one of the Ephores that called him as if he would have spoken with him, that they went about to intrap him. Wherefore doubling his pace somewhat faster then those that followed him, he saved himselfe within the Temple of Minerva, called Chalcidæon. But because he should not come out, the Ephores caused the Church doores presently to mured up, and the roofof the Temple to be pulled downe, that he might die the sooner with aire. It is reported that Pausanias mother being a very old woman, lived at that time: and that she understanding of the wickednesse of her sonne, her selfe brought the first stone to mure him in there. Behold, how Pausanias stained with a shamefull death the great glory he had obtained in the warres. Being brought halfe dead out of the Temple, he died immediately. Some would have had his body carried to the Gibbit: others liked not the opinion, and buried him far from the place where he died: from whence he was digged up againe, by commandment of an Oracle of Delphes, and put in the same place where he died.

Pausanias took sanctuary in the Temple of Minerva, and died.

The end of Pausanias Life.



by my meanes; as well as by thine own mouth. As for me, answered *Conon*, it shall be no troublesome thing to me, to do the King that honour that shall please thee: but I am afraid to do my City dishonour, if I do a thing proper to the barbarous people, and unfit for that City which was wont to command other Nations. So then he delivered his message in writing: which when the King had seen, he was so moved with the report of so great a person, that he judged *Tissaphernes* his enemy, decreed war against the *Lacedemonians*, and suffered *Conon* to make choice of such a man as he would, to distribute the money necessary to defray the charge of this war. *Conon* made this answer, that this election pertained nothing to him, but to the King that knew his servants best: yet in his opinion, this charge should be best bestowed upon *Pharnabazus*. He was sent back with great presents to the maritime Townes, to command the *Cypriots*, *Phenicians*, and others dwelling upon this coast to put Gallies in readinesse, and to Arme a Fleet that might keep the Seas next Summer, under the conduct of *Pharnabazus* and of *Conon*, who had so required it.

Conon venged
the *Spartans*.

The *Lacedemonians* being advertised thereof, were amazed, perceiving well that they were to make another manner of war then with the barbarous people. For they saw that they must needs come to fight against a valiant and wise Captaine, having the Kings treasure in his hands, and that had as much and better direction and forces then they. With this thought they gathered together great store of shipping, and embarked themselves under the conduct of *Pisander*. *Conon* met with him near unto *Cnidus*, gave them battell, made them flee, took store of Gallies, and sunk a great number of them. By meanes of this victory, *Athens* and all *Greece*, subject to the dominion of the *Lacedemonians*, were set at liberty. *Conon* returned againe to his Country with part of these Gallies, built up againe the walls of *Athens*, and of the haven of *Piræa*, which had beene overthrowen by *Lysander*, and presented his Citizens with thirty thousand crownes which *Pharnabazus* had given him. But that which happeneth oftentimes unto other men chanced also unto *Conon*, that is, to have lesse courage in prosperity, then in adversity. For now that he had overcome the Fleet of the *Peloponnesians*, thinking he had taken sufficient revenge of the wrongs received by his Country, he began to embrace in his minde imaginations too high for his carriage: although this was good and commendable in his enterprise, that he had rather make his own Country great and rich, then the King of *Persia*. Therefore he being now grown into wonderfull credit, not onely amongst the barbarous people, but also amongst all the Cities of *Greece*, after this battell of *Cnidus*, he began underhand to practise the meanes to restore *Jonas* and *Eolia* to be subject againe to the Common-wealth of the *Athenians*. His practices being discovered, *Tiribazus* Governor of *Sardis*, sent to pray him to come to him, to be sent in Ambassage to the King. *Conon* straight obeying his commandment, he was no sooner arrived, but he was straight clapt up in prison, where he remained some time. Some write that he was carried to the King, and died in *Persia*. But *Dion* the Historian, to whom we give great credit in that he treateth of the affaires of *Persia*, reporteth, that *Conon* saved himselfe, leaving it in doubt whether *Tiribazus* was privy to it, or that he knew not of it.

The end of *Conons* Life.

Conon imprisoned.

THE

THE LIFE OF IPHICRATES.

Ann. Mund.
3578.

Ant. Christ.
370.



Iphicrates the *Athenian* was famous, not so much for his divers exploits, or for the greatnesse of them, as for his Military Discipline: for he was such a Chieftaine of Warre, that they compared him unto the bravest men of his time, and they did not set him behinde any of those that had gone before him. He had been in many Warres, had commanded Armies oftentimes, he never had misfortune by his own fault, he ever overcame by Wisdome: his Understanding reaching so farre, that he brought in many good things never seen before in the Art Military: and made some of them better that were in use. He altered the Armes of Footmen: and where before him the Captaines did use great Targets, short Partisans, and little Swords: he to the contrary brought light bucklers, to the end his men should be lighter to remove, and to runne to give charge. He made the Partisans greater by halfe, and the Swords longer. He changed also the Corsets, and in stead of Iron and Copper, he made them of Canvass well wrought together, which made the Souldiers much lighter; for being eased of that weight, they had meanes to defend themselves nimble against blowes, and were ready besides to give charge upon the Enemy. He made Warre with the *Thracians*, and re-established *Seuthes* againe in his Kingdome, an Ally of the *Athenians*. Being at *Corinth*, he observed so good Discipline in his Army, that they never saw any Souldiers in *Greece*, better disposed, nor more obedient to their Colonell then they were. To be short, he did use them to ranke themselves so well in Battell, without helpe of the Captain, so soon as ever the Generall had given them the signe to fight, that it seemed expressly as if the most expert Chieftaine of War had imbattelled them.

Iphicrates skill
in military af-
faires.

With such an Army he assailed the *Lacedemonians*, which was a most famous act through all *Greece*: and in this Warre he put all their Forces to flight, which wanne him great honour. And as *Artaxerxes* was ready to set upon the King of *Egypt*, he demanded of the *Athenians* Captaine *Iphicrates*, to be the chiefe Leader of all the strangers Troops, to the number of twelve thousand men. Whom he so well trained and disciplined, that as the *Fabian* Souldiers had been famous among the *Romans*, so in *Greece* they spake of none but of *Iphicration* Souldiers. Afterwards being gone to aid the *Spartans*, he stayed *Epaminondas* roundly: and not he come, the *Thebans* would never have returned backe before they had taken and burnt the City of *Sparta*. He was a man of a stout heart, and of a high stature, having the report and countenance of a Sovereign Captaine, so that he made all men wonder at him that saw him: but he was slothfull and impatient, as *Theopompus* saith, but otherwise a good and faithfull Citizen, whereof he made prooffe among others, especially in keeping *Perdiccas* and *Philip* the Sonnes of *Amyntas* *Macedonian* safe. For *Euridice* their Mother coming with them for refuge unto *Iphicrates*, after the death of *Amyntas*, he spared no meanes of his own to defend them. He lived a long time, being in good credit with his Citizens, saving that on a time during the Warres of the Allies he was criminally accused with *Timotheus*; howbeit he cleared himselfe, and was quit by judgement. His Wife was *Thressa*, Daughter of King *Cotyrs*: and of her he had a Son called *Menestheus*; who being asked which he loved best, either his Father, or his Mother? My Mother, said he. Whereat every man musing: Marvell not, answered he, I have reason to say so. For my Father, as much as was in him, begat me a *Thracian*: and Mother to the contrary, she made me an *Athenian*.

Iphicrates over-
threw the *La-
cedemonians*.

The end of *Iphicrates* Life.

THE



THE LIFE OF CHABRIAS.

Ann. Mund.
3573.

Ant. Christ.
375.

Chabrias his
stratagem.



Chabrias was an Athenian, and was placed in ranke of excellent Captains. So hath he done many things worthy of memory. Amongst others, the stratageme he shewed at the battel of Thebes is famous, where he was to aide the Boetians. For, that great Capitaine Agesilaus rejoycing becaufe of his victory, and that he had made all the Troopes in the Thebans pay run away, Chabrias stood still with them that were left of his battalion, teaching the souldiers to resist the rage of the enemies, casting down their Pikes, and covering themselves with their bucklers upon one knee. Agesilaus moved with this novelty, durst not run in to them, but founded the retreat, to keep his men that they should passe no further. This act was so renowned thorow Greece, that Chabrias caused a statue to be made of him in the state above mentioned, the which the Athenians set up for him in the great Market-place. Afterwards the wrestlers, and other such kinde of people followed this fashion of erection of statues, which they deserved for their victories. To come againe to Chabrias, he made many wars in Europe, in the quality of General of the Athenians, and went also of his voluntary will to make warre in Egypt, in the service of Nectanebos whom he set againe into his Kingdome. He did the like in Cyprus, whither the Athenians sent him of purpose to helpe Evagoras, and would not depart thence before he had first subdued all the Isle, for the which the Athenians wan great honour. In these busineses, war fell out betwixt the Persians and Egyptians. They of Athens were allies of Artaxerxes, and the Spartans tooke part with Egypt. King Agesilaus did greatly invade the Persians, and carried great booties away. Chabrias considering that, and giving no place to Agesilaus, went of his owne head to aide the Egyptians, who made him their Admirall, and gave the charge of the Army by land unto Agesilaus. Then the Lieutenants of the King of Persia sent unto Athens, to complain that Chabrias made warre with the Egyptians against their King. The Athenians sent for Chabrias immediately to appear in person, threatening him to condemne him to death, if he were not there by the day appointed. The message made him to come againe to Athens, where he carried no longer then needs he must. For the Citizens bare him no great good will, because he carried himself so stately, and would be so merry, that the people envied him. This vice reigneth commonly in those great and free Townes, that glory is ever accompanied with envy, and they willingly speak ill of them whom they see to be great: and to be short, the poor cannot abide wealthy and rich men. Therefore Chabrias did absent himself out of the City as much as he could possible, and he was not alone in that, for almost all the chiefeest of the City did the like: thinking themselves safe from the teeth of the envious, so long as they were far off from the sight of their Citizens. Therefore Conon lived for the most part of his time in the Isle of Cyprus, Iphicrates in Thracia, Timotheus in Lesbos, Cares in Sygcea. As for Cares, he was not to be likened in any respect unto the others, in exploits, nor in manner of life: and yet he was honoured in the City of Athens, and had great meanes.

Chabrias envied
for his stateli-
nesse.

The manner of
Chabrias death.

As for Chabrias, he died in the war of the allies in this manner. The Athenians made war with the Islanders of Chio, at which time Chabrias had no charge in the Army by sea. Notwithstanding he had more authority then all the Captaines, and the souldiers esteemed him more then any other of the commanders: which was the cause of his death. For striving to enter the first into the haven, and commanding the Pilote to row right thither, it was his destruction: for being moored there within, the other ships followed him not. Whereupon the enemies compassed him in: but as he fought valiantly, his Galley being beaten by the spur of another vessel, began to leak, and to sinke to the bottom. He seeing there was no way for him to escape, because the Fleet of the Athenians was too far off to receive him in, if he should have attempted to have swum, he had rather die then leave his Armes, and forsake the Galley which carried him. The others, they took another course, and saved themselves by strength of their Armes. But he esteeming an honest death to be more excellent then a shamefull life, fighting very near, was killed by the enemies with Darts.

The end of Chabrias Life.

THE



THE LIFE OF TIMOTHEUS.

An. Mund.
3578.

Ant. Christ.
370.



Timotheus the Sonne of Conon, a Capitaine of Athens, did by many Vertues amplifie the glory received of his Father. For he was an eloquent man, diligent, painfull, expert in Military Discipline, and a great Politician. He had executed great things, whereof the most notable are these, to wit: he subdued the Olynthians and Byzantines: he wanne the City of Samos, the siege whereof in the former Wars had stood the Athenians in the summe of twelve hundred talents. He delivered it unto the people freely without any charge to them. He made warre with King Corys, and brought of the booty he had gotten there unto the Treasury, the like summe of twelve hundred talents. He also raised the siege that was before Cyfca, and went with Agesilaus to the aide of Ariobarzanes, of whom having received money, he had rather his Citizens should buy Townes and Lands, then to carry it home to his lodging. Therefore he joyned Ericrhone and Sestos to the Signiory of Athens. Afterwards having charge of the Army by Sea, he invaded Peloponnesus, spoiled all the territory of Sparta, and had all their Ships in chafe. He brought the Corcyreans under the subjection of the Athenians, and drew into their alliance the Epirots, Athamans, and Chaonians, and all the people upon that Sea coast. The which made the Lacedaemonians leave their so long old quarrell, and of their own good wills let the Athenians have the principality of the Sea: treating peace with these conditions, that the Athenians should be Generals upon the Sea.

This victory did so please the Athenians, that there was then first of all an Altar built to the common Peace, and they did ordain a Pillow should be made for that goddesse. Furthermore, that such a glorious Act should remaine for perpetuity, they raised up a Statue unto Timotheus in the Market-place, by ordinance of the people, which was an honour that never man received before, to wit, that the people having granted a Statue for the father, they should also give one to the Sonne. By this meanes the Statue of the Sonne so freshly set up, renewed the memory of the Father. Now Timotheus, being very old, dealing no more in affaires of the Common-wealth, they beganne afresh to torment the Athenians of all sides. Samos and Hellsfont shrunk back and revolted. Philip King of Macedon, who began to waxe great, plotted wonderful things in his head. Chares was sent against him to make head. But they thinking him not sufficient to repulse Philip, they therefore sent Menestheus the Sonne of Iphicrates, Sonne in law to Timotheus, and made him Colonel, gave him the charge of the affaires of the wars, having for his Counsellours, his Father, and Father in law, brave Captaines, wise and expert men to direct him with their counsel: their authority being so great, that every man hoped that all that was lost should be recovered again by their meanes. They pointing for Samos, Chares that had heard news of it, sailed up and down that coast, to the end nothing should be done in his absence. Drawing near to the Isle, a storme arose, and to defend themselves against it, the two old Captains strake sail, and hulled, going on further into the Sea. Chares to the contrary upon a head, not respecting them that had seen more then he, held on his course, thinking to have found an occasion as he wished, and sent as well to Timotheus as to Iphicrates, that they should follow him. But having had evil successe, and lost many of his Ships, he fell backe againe to that very place from whence he came, and sent letters to the people of Athens of this effect, that he had easily taken Samos, if Timotheus and Iphicrates had not forsaken him at his need. Upon this accusation they were summoned to appear in person by this bold people, suspicious, unconstant, enemy and envious of another mans greatnesse, and are charged to be Traitors to the Common-wealth. Timotheus was condemned, and a fine set upon his head of sixty thousand Crownes.

The commen-
dation of Ti-
motheus and his
exploits.

Timotheus ho-
noured with a
Statue.

Timotheus
wrongfully ac-
cused and con-
demned.

5555

Iphi-

Iphicrates constrained by the importunity of his unthankfull Citizens, went for a time to *Chalcis*. After *Timotheus* death, the People repenting their Sentence, abated nine parts of the summe above named, and commanded *Conon*, the Sonne of the deceased, to furnish six thousand Crownes for the reparation of a pane of the Wall. Here is to be noted a wonderfull revolution of the Affaires of this World: for the young Sonne was constrained at his owne charges (to the great dishonour of his House) to repaire the Walls, the which his Grandfather *Conon* had made up with the Booty gotten of the Enemies. We could alleadge many examples of the modesty and wisdom of *Timotheus*: but we will adde for the end a matter, whereby may be easily conjectured, how much he was esteemed of the *Greekes*. Being young he was accused, and brought before the Judge, whereupon his friends and familiars came out of all parts into *Athens* to defend him, and amongst others the Tyrant *Jason*, who was at that time the mightiest Lord of all *Greece*. This Tyrant was never assured in his owne Countrey without his Guard, and yet he came without any Train to *Athens*, esteeming so much his Host *Timotheus*, that he had rather hazard his life, then faile his friend in time of necessity. Notwithstanding this, shortly after *Timotheus* made Warre with *Jason*, by the commandement of the People, thinking that to obey his Countrey, and to maintaine the right of the same, is a more devout thing, then to favour a private friend. After this last Age, which tooke away *Iphicrates*, *Chabrias*, and *Timotheus*, Captaines of *Athens*, they could never finde in the Commonwealth after their death, any Chieftaine of Warre, that deserveth any memory of them.

Timotheus preferreth the common profit before private friendship.

The end of the Life of *Timotheus*.



THE LIFE OF D A T A M E S.

Ann. Mund.
3642.

An. Christ.
362.

Datames a wife and valiant Captaine.



Presently enter into the Life of a most valiant and wise Captaine, among all the barbarous; *Hamilear* and *Hannibal* of *Carthage* excepted. We will speake somewhat more amply of this man, for that the most part of his Exploits are little knowne, and also because he had obtained his Victories not so much by force of Armes, as by his wisdom: a vertue in the which he did surpass all the men of his time. But this cannot be judged, unlesse we make him knowne in all particulars. *Datames* the Sonne of *Camissares* a *Carian*, and of a *Scythian*, was at the beginning a Souldier of the Guard of the Palace of *Artaxerxes*. His Father *Camissares*, because of his valiantnesse and direction in the Warres, and for that he had done many good Services unto the King, was made Governour of *Cilicia*, neare unto *Cappadocia*, where the *Leucosyrans* dwell. As for *Datames*, following the Warres, he made prooffe of his valour in the Warre which *Artaxerxes* had against the *Caducians*: where many men being slaine on both sides, he fought so valiantly, that his Father being killed, he had his Authority and place of Governour of *Cilicia*. He shewed himselfe no lesse valiant in Warre, then *Antrophodates* did by the Kings commandement unto those that had rebelled. For, by the direction of *Datames*, the Enemies that were now entred into the *Persians* Campe, were repulsd, and all the Army of the Kings in safety: the which was the cause of his calling and advancement unto higher Charges. There was at that time in *Paphlagonia* a Governour called *Thymus*, defended of an ancient Race of one *Pylamenes*; whom *Homer* saith, was slaine by *Patroclus* in the Warre of *Troia*. He not regarding the Kings will and commandement, who therefore resolved to make Warre with him, and gave the charge of it unto *Datames*, Cousin-germane to *Thymus*. By reason of Kinred, *Datames* would prove by all meanes he could to draw his Kinman to some conformity before he tooke Armes: he went unto him without any Train, little thinking that his friend would have laid any Ambush for him, but he had almost bene taken tardie, for *Thymus* fought to surpris him, and

Datames by his fortitude and valour obtaineth the place his Father had.

Datames in danger by Treason

to cut his throat. *Datames* Mother, Aunt unto *Thymus*, being told what was practised against her Sonne, she did advertise him in so good time, that he escaped with speede, and proclaimed Warre against his Adversary. And although that in the pursuit of this Warre, he was forsaken of *Artibazanes* Governour of *Lydia*, of *Ionis*, and of all *Phrygia*, yet he lett not to go further: he tooke *Thymus* Prisoner with his Wife and Children, and then very carefully tooke order that no man but himselfe should carry newes of it to the King. So following that purpose, without any mans privy he arrived at the Court, and the next morning apparelled *Thymus* (a tall man and of a terrible grim looke, being blacke haired, and wearing his haire long) with a great Robe, such as great Lords use to wear. He apparelled himselfe like a Countrey man, in a Lion-tawny Coate, with a Cloake of divers colours, and an Hunters Hat, having in his right hand a Club, and in his left hand a Leace, unto the which *Thymus* was tied, who went before, as if he had led some savage Beast he had taken in the Chase a hunting. They all ran to see this new Monster thus disguised, and those which knew *Thymus* went presently and told the King of it, who at the first would believe nothing, but sent *Pharnabazus* to see what it was: So when he had told him what had happened, he made this pompe come in presently, and the King tooke great pleasure to see it, but specially to see so mighty a Prince beyond all hope so subdued.

Therefore after he had given sumptuous Presents unto *Datames*, he sent him unto the Army that was leaved under the conduct of *Pharnabazus* and *Tithraustes*, to make Warre in *Egypt*, and ordained that he should have as much Authority as they. Now after that the King had sent for *Pharnabazus*, all the charge of the Warres was committed to *Datames*. Who being greatly occupied about Leavies of men to go into *Egypt*, he received Letters from the King, commanding him to invade a Lord called *Aspis*, who held *Cataonia*, a Province joyning neare to *Cappadocia* beyond *Cilicia*, a Mountaine-Countrey, well furnished with Fortresses, that despised the King, and made Invasions upon the Provinces thereof, spoiling Victuals and all things else that were carried to the King. Though *Datames* was far from that place, and had other Affaires of great importance in hand, yet he determined to obey the King, and suddenly imbarqued himselfe with a small number of resolute men, thinkink (that which came to passe) that with a few men he should sooner surprize a man not dreaming of any such matter, then with a great Army to go and assaile him. He being arrived in *Cilicia*, landed then marcht day and night over Mount *Taurus*, and came to the place where he would be: he enquireth for *Aspis*, and understandeth that he was not far off a hunting. But as he stayed for his coming, *Aspis* knew that he was come, and immediately disposed of his *Pisidians* and others of his Train to make head. *Datames* knowing this resolution, takes his Armes, made his men march, and galloped to the place where *Aspis* was, who seeing him come with such a fury, he lost his courage to defend himselfe, and presently yeilded. *Datames* made him to be bound, and sent him by *Mithridates* to the King. Hereupon *Artaxerxes* considering better what he had done, drawing his Lieutenant far from his Army, to send him in Commission about a matter of lesse consequence, being angry with himselfe, sent a Messenger to the Campe, thinking *Datames* was not yet gone from thence, to tell him that he should not go. But before this Messenger came to the Army, he met them by the way that brought *Aspis*. This so sudden execution won *Datames* the Kings good favour, but made him very much hated of the Courtiers, seeing one onely man more made of then all the rest, which was the cause that they all joynd together to destroy him.

Datames overcometh *Thymus*, and leadeth him Prisoner to the Court.

Datames taketh *Aspis*, and sendeth him Prisoner to the King.

Pandates Treasures of the Spare, and *Datames* friend, did advertise him by expresse Letters, that he stood in great danger, if any sinister Fortune happened whilst he should command the Army in *Egypt*: that it is the custome of Kings to impute all misfortunes to their Servants that chance in their Affaires, and to attribute the good successe unto themselves: and this makes them very easily incline to the extermination of them, of whom report is made, that they have not done that which was committed to their charge: and as for him, that he should so much the more stand in feare, because those which could do most with the King, were his greatest Enemies. *Datames* having received these Letters in his Campe, and knowing that they carried truth with them, he resolved to forsake the King: which doing, notwithstanding he committed no breach of his fidelity. For he left *Androcles* *Magnesian* Generall of the Army, and for himselfe he went with his men into *Cappadocia*; afterwards he wan *Paphlagonia* which was hard by it, without shewing himselfe either friend or enemy of the King. He feerely contracted friendship with *Ariobarzanes*, assembled Forces, and gave the guard of the Townes of Warre unto those he trusted best, but the Winter did lett him that his Affaires went not forward. He understandeth that the *Pisidians* did leavie some Troopes to set upon him, which caused him to send his Sonne *Arideus* before with an Army. The young man being slaine at an Encounter, the Father marcht right thither with his men, hiding his griefe as much as he could possible, because he desired to meete with his Enemies, before those that followed him should heare of his losse, being afraid lest the newes of the death of this young Lord should kill their hearts. So being come to the place where he pretended, he camped in such sort, that the multitude of his Enemies could not inclose him, nor keepe him from coming to fight when he thought good. He brought with him *Mithridates* his Father-in-Law, who was Colonell of the Horsemen. He perceiving the Affaires of his Son-in-law in so poore an estate, forsooke him to go yeeld himselfe to the Enemies.

S f f f 2

D A T A M E S

A fine Stratageme.

Datames being told of it, judged that his Souldiers, if they once perceived that his Father-in-law had forsaken him, they would also follow his example: wherefore to prevent all, he gave it out that *Mithrobarzanes* was gone by his commandement, pretending to yield themselves to the Enemies, to the end with more ease and advantage to cut them in pieces: and therefore that there was no reason to leave such a man so far from them, but they must needs follow him with speede. So that they standing to it lustily, the Enemies could not resist, considering they should be charged within and without their Campe. So having thought that the best way in the World, he marched into the Field with his Troopes, and followeth *Mithrobarzanes*, who did but newly yield themselves to the Enemies, when *Datames* appeared, who put out the signall of Battell. The *Pisidians* troubled with this strange sight, did suspect that *Mithrobarzanes* and his would betray them, and that they were come of purpose to do them some mischief. Thereupon they vehemently gave Charge upon these Traytors, who not knowing what to thinke of such a Charge, were constrained to fight against them unto whom they had yielded themselves, and to returne unto them whom they had forsaken. But the one and the other not knowing them any whit, in a short time these wicked men were cut in pieces. So withall *Datames* setteth upon the *Pisidians* who made head against him, passed thorow them, and brake them at the first Charge, pursued them that fled, slew a great number of them, and was master of their Campe. Note here how wisely (and all done at one time) he punished the Traytors, and put his Enemies to flight, turning that to good, which was devised for the overthrow of him and his. This is the most brave and most speedy executed Stratageme of a Chieftaine in Warres, that can be found in Histories.

The Sonne betrays the Father.

Notwithstanding that, this great Person was forsaken of his eldest Sonne *Scismas*, who went to the King to advertise him that his Father was revolted. This troubled *Artaxerxes* greatly, knowing that he had to deale with a valiant and a wife Captaine, who boldly did set upon any Enterprize with discretion. Thereupon he sent *Antophradates* into *Capadocia*, whom *Datames* tooke paines to go and meete, so prevent him that he should not winne the Straight of *Cilicia*. But being long assembling his Forces, and that hope being frustrate, he chose with those few men that followed him such a place, that his Enemies could not inclose him, nor passe, but that he should shut them up in very unwholsome places, nor hurt him when he listed to joyne in fight. Now though *Antophradates* understood somewhat of that, yet he made account that it was more expedient for him to joyne then to flee from the List, having so great Forces. He had twenty thousand Horse, and an hundred thousand Footmen, which they call *Gardates*, with three thousand Slings of the same name. Furthermore, he had eight thousand *Cappadocians*, ten thousand *Armenians*, five thousand *Paphlagonians*, ten thousand *Phrygians*, five thousand *Lydi-ans*, and about three thousand *Assendians* and *Pisidians*, two thousand *Cilicians*, as many *Captains*, and three thousand *Greekes* in pay, besides a great number of light armed men. Against this world of Forces, *Datames* could hope no more but in his direction, and in the commodity of the place where he camped, for he had not the twentieth part so many men. Yet trusting to himselfe, to the place, and to the valour of his men, he came to fight, and put to the Sword many thousands of his Enemies, having lost of his side but one thousand of his men. For this cause he set up the next day in the Field a signe of triumph where the Battell was fought. So being removed from thence, as he was the weaker in number of men, he to the contrary remained Victour in all Skirmishes and Fights, and never came to hands but he put his Enemy to the worfe: in the which he had oftentimes very good success, because he knew all the waies, and did wisely consider his Affaires. *Antophradates* seeing the King lost more in these Warres, then he got, he perswaded *Datames* to fall to agreement, and to make his peace with the King. Though *Datames* had no great trust in that, yet he accepted the condition, and said he would send Ambassadors unto *Artaxerxes*. And thus the Warre of the King ended against *Datames*; and for *Antophradates*, he retired into *Phrygia*.

Datames wary against Treason.

But the King being vexed to the heart against *Datames*, considering that he could not prevaile against him by Armes, sought to make him away by Treason. *Datames* looked warily to his waies, and avoided many Ambushes. As on a time, having understanding that some pretending to be his friends, had laid a plot for him, although his Enemies had given him intelligence of it, yet he thought, that as it was not a thing lightly to be believed, so was it not altogether to be discredited: whereupon he resolved to try whether the report was true or false. Therefore he set forward to the place where it was told him this Ambush was laid: but he chose amongst his men one that was of his height, he gave him his Furniture, and made him march in the Ranke which he was wont to hold. He on the other side apparelled like a Souldier, went with the Archers of the Guard. Those which lay in Ambush, deceived by the order and Furniture, as soon as they saw their time, began to set upon the supposed *Datames*. But the right *Datames* had warned them before with whom he marched, to be ready to do all as he did. He seeing then these Traytors running, he threw Darts at them, and so did all those that were in his Company, so that the other fell to the ground before they could come neare him whom they would surprize. Now notwithstanding all this, this so wary and subtil Captaine was in the end betrayed by the deceit of *Mithridates* the Sonne of *Aricbarzanes*, who promised the King to do the deede, so that he would afterwards suffer him to do what he thought good, without being called in question any manner of way.

Mithridates Stratagem against Datames.

The

The King consented unto it, and gave his hand upon it after the custome of the *Persians*, to make him more assured. *Mithridates* having the Kings word, made shew to be sworn Enemy unto *Artaxerxes*, he gathered Troopes together, and by meanes treateth friendship with *Datames*, he entred with a maine Army into the Kings Countrey, besiegeth and taketh Fortrefes, carrieth away great Booty, he giveth part of it to his Souldiers, he sendeth the rest unto *Datames*, and delivereth many Fortresses and Holds into his hands. So having continued this course a reasonable time, *Datames* began wholly to believe that *Mithridates* had undertaken a Warre which he would never leave, and this Traytor gave him great occasion to thinke so. For fearing lest *Datames* would mistrust some Ambush, he sought not to speake with him, nor went about to meete together, but without interview he entertained his Alliance so finely, that these two men seemed both one, not so much for mutuall benefit, as for a common hatred conceived against the King. When he saw his Snare well laid, he wrote to *Datames*, that time required they should assemble great Forces to make Warre against the King, and if he thought good, he would appoint a place where they might one see another, and confer together. *Datames* found this advice good, and so they appointed a day to meete together, and place where they might speake personally one with the other. Some daies before *Mithridates* came to the place, seconded with another in whom he put great trust, he hid Poignards separated in divers places, and did carefully marke the places where they were laid. The day being come of their talking together, both of them sent men to discover the place, and to search one the other, because they should be without Weapons. That being done, they enter into talke, and after they had spoken some time together, they departed: so that *Datames* was gone a good way off. And as for *Mithridates*, because he went to his men (to give no occasion of ill thought) he cometh to the same place againe where they had spoken together, and fate him downe in a place where there was a Poignard hidden, feigning to be weary and to refresh himselfe a little. Then he sent for *Datames* under colour that he had forgotten to tell him something. In the meane time he tooke the Poignard out of the place where it was hidden, drew it, and put it naked under his Robe. And seeing *Datames*, told him they must go a little aside, and that he had discovered a place directly over against them very fit to campe in. He began to shew him the place with his finger: and as *Datames* turned to see what it was, this Traytor stabbed him with his Poignard, and made an end of killing of him before any of his men could come to helpe him. See here how through pretence of friendship he was surprized, who had entrapped so many others by his valiant Direction, but none by Treason.

The manner of Mithridates Stratageme.

Time and place appointed for interview together.

Datames treacherously murdered by Mithridates.

The end of the Life of Datames.



S I I F 3

THE

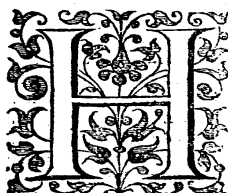


THE LIFE OF HAMILCAR.

Ann. Mund.
3700.

Ant. Christ.
248.

Hamilcar a
prosperous
Leader.



Hamilcar the Sonne of Hannibal, surnamed *Barcas*, a Carthaginian Captaine, being very young, began to command an Army that was in *Sicilia*, in the end of the first Warre of *Africke*. Before his coming thither the Carthaginians had very ill successe both by Sea and Land; but so soone as he led the Army, he never gave place to the Enemy, and gave him no advantage to hurt him, but to the contrary, he found many an occasion to draw them to fight, wherein he had the vantage. Which being done, although the Carthaginians had well-neare lost all that they held in *Sicilia*, yet he kept the City of *Erix* so well, as it seemed that there had never beene Warre made in that Quarter. In the meane time the Carthaginians having lost a Battell at Sea neare unto the Illes *Agates*, against *Catulus Lullatius* a *Romane* Consull, they determined to leave Armes, and gave all the charge unto Hamilcar to treat of Peace. For his part he desired nothing but Warre: yet seeing his Towne in want of Money and Meanes, and in danger to sinke under their burthen, he concluded that they must make Peace. Yet so notwithstanding he resolved with himselfe, that as soone as all matters were pacified, he would make Warre againe, and set upon the *Romanes*, either to make them Lords of all, or else to compell them to be subject. With this minde he entred into Parley of Peace, where he shewed himselfe so stout, that as *Catulus* declared he would agree to nothing, before Hamilcar and his Souldiers which had kept *Erix*, had layed downe their Armes, and were gone out of *Sicilia*; he made answer, that he would rather die in the ruines of his Countrey, then to returne home with such shame; and that Honour would not suffer him to yeeld up his Armes to his Enemies, which his Countrey had put into his hands to be employed against them. So *Catulus* let him go with this obstinate resolution.

Hamilcar refused to yeeld unto dishonourable Conditions of Peace.

But when Hamilcar was arrived at *Carthage*, he saw matters go farre otherwise then he hoped for. For during the long Warres against the Enemies abroad, there was mischief sprung up among them within: which went on so fiercely, that *Carthage* was never in so great danger but when it was altogether destroyed. First of all, the mercenary Souldiers that had beene in the Warres against the *Romanes*, to the number of twenty thousand: they rebelling, made all *Africke* rise, and they besieged *Carthage*. The Carthaginians being greatly afraid of so many evils, they demanded aide of the *Romanes*, which they granted. But in the end, when all was thought to be in a desperate case; they chose Hamilcar their Captaine-Generall, who did not onely drive the Enemies farre from the Towne, which were in number above an hundred thousand fighting men, but he did also shut them up in such Straights, that the most part of them died of famine, and the rest were slaine. Furthermore, he brought the Cities which had revolted, under the obedience againe of *Carthage*, and amongst others *Utica* and *Hippona*, two of the strongest Cities of *Africke*. But not staying there, he extended the limits of the Seigniorie of *Carthage*, and pacified all *Africke* in such sort, that it seemed there had beene no Warre of long time.

Hamilcar overthrew the Enemies of his Countrey.

Hamilcar chosen Generall against the *Romanes*, and sent into *Spain*.

Now having done all things according to his minde, he bearing ill will to the *Romanes*, and hoping to be revenged; to finde a more easie way to draw them to Warre, he practised so well that he was chosen Generall, and they sent him with an Army into *Spain*, whither he carried with him his Sonne *Hannibal* nine yeares old, and another faire young Gentleman called *Hafdrubal*, whom many judge to be loved of Hamilcar otherwise then was fit for honest men. For there were many alwaies that could not containe themselves from speaking evill of this great Captaine. Which was the cause that the Governour of *Hafdrubal* did forbid him to come any more to Hamilcar, who afterwards gave him his Daughter in Marriage, so that they began againe to meete together. For by the custome of the Countrey they could not forbid a Sonne-in-law

in-law, to frequent with his Father-in-law. We have made mention of *Hafdrubal*, because that after Hamilcar was slaine, he was made chiefe of the Army, which did great Exploits under his Conduct. Even so he was the first, that by Presents and Gifts corrupted the ancient Manners of the Carthaginians. After his death, *Hannibal* had the charge of the Army, with the consent of all the men of Warre. As for Hamilcar, he having passed the Sea, entred into *Spain*, and did great things there with good successe. He subdued many warlike Nations, enriched all *Africke* with Horses, with Armes, with men, and with Money. As he had thought to have transported the Warre from thence into *Italy*, nine yeares after his coming into *Spain*, he was slaine in a Battell against the *Vellons*. The deadly hate he bare unto the *Romanes*, seemeth to have kindled the second Warre with *Africke*. For his Sonne *Hannibal* was brought to this passe, by the continuall adjurations of his Father, that he had rather destroy himselfe, then to faile his helpe against the *Romanes*.

Hamilcar slaine

The end of the Life of Hamilcar.



THE

THE
P R I N T E R to the R E A D E R,
CONCERNING
The End and Use of the following T A B L E.

The use of this Plutarch's Work (Gentle Reader) is so manifest in its Matter, and universall in respect of the persons who have occasion to peruse it: that upon advice from the judicious and illustrious Mr. Selden, of ever famous memory, and others, I have therein (for the helpe and furtherance of Student's in History and Chronologie) caused all the Lives (by him collected, and in the last Edition added, and in this continued) to be set, and ranked according to their Synchronism's, with the choicest of their Contemporaries: viz. the most famous in sacred and profane Story, for Piety, Power, Dignity, or Learning, &c. that lived either parallel, or in the same Age with them; and all this in that series and order of time wherein they fell, according to the best Account, which is this: From

The Creation to the Flood,	1656
Thence to the Promise,	363
Thence to the giving of the Law	430
Thence to the building of the Temple,	480
Thence to the end of the Captivity,	494
Thence to the beginning of Daniels seventy weekes,	78
Thence to the Passion of our Saviour,	490

All which amount unto 4001 yeares: from which substraet 34, the current yeare of our Saviours age at his Passion, and the remainder will demonstrate, that the 3967th yeare of the World, was the first yeare of our Lord; upon which Basis the following Supputation is made, without respect to any mistake in the Dionysian Era, or others; as not considerable in this businessse. In which Table observe, that there are foure Columnes; in the first whereof there is the yeare of the World, wherein those Worthies lived, mark't with A.M. for Anno Mundi, in the head thereof. In the second there is the yeare before, or after the birth of Christ, notica with C.N. for Anno ante Christum natum, the yeare before Christ was borne, or A.D. for Anno Domini, the yeare after Christ was borne. In the third there is the Names of all the Grecians and Romanes, or other famous men, whose Lives Plutarch or others have herein writ, distinguished with this Title, Romanes and Grecians. In the fourth there are the Names of the most remarkable then, or neare then living, viz. Kings, Emperours, Priests, Prophets, Apostles, Evangelists, Bishops, Philosophers, Oratours, Historians, Poets, Mathematicians, &c.

THE

A true and perfect T A B L E, of all the L I V E S written by Plutarch, and thereunto added, with the yeare of the World, and the yeare before and after Christ, wherein they flourish't; with their most eminent Contemporaries, according to order of time as they lived.

A.M.C.N.	Romanes and Grecians.	Contemporaries.
2733 1234	<i>T</i> H e s e u.	J air Judge of Israel, <i>Orpheus</i> , and <i>Amphion</i> , Poets.
3071 896	<i>L</i> y c u r g u s.	<i>J</i> o s h King of Judah, <i>Hazael</i> King of Syria, <i>Zachariah</i> Sonne of <i>Jehoiada</i> Prophet, 2 Chr 24.20.
3217 750	<i>R</i> o m u l u s.	<i>A</i> b a z and <i>Hezekiah</i> Kings of Judah, <i>Micah</i> and <i>Habakkuk</i> Prophets; in his time began the famous Era of <i>Nabonassar</i> .
3254 713	<i>N</i> u m a P o m p i l i u s.	<i>M</i> a n a s s e h King of Judah, <i>Aristomenes</i> King of Myslenia, <i>Isaiah</i> Prophet, <i>Tyrtamus</i> Poet.
3421 546	<i>S</i> o l o n.	<i>R</i> i c h C r e s u s King of Lydia, and victorious <i>Cyrus</i> King of Persia, <i>Daniel</i> the Prophet, <i>Anaximander</i> & <i>Anaximenes</i> Physicians, <i>Epicharmus</i> a Pythagorian Philosopher, <i>Anacreon</i> and <i>Simonides</i> , Poets.
3461 506	<i>P</i> u b l i c o l a.	<i>T</i> a r q u i n i u s S u p e r b u s last King of Rome, <i>Anaxagoras</i> an Athenian Philosopher, <i>Dionysius</i> and <i>Archilochus</i> Historians, <i>Pindar</i> the Poet.
3500 467	<i>M</i> i l t i a d e s, <i>Pericles</i> , <i>Themistocles</i> , <i>Aristides</i> , <i>Pausanias</i> , <i>Cimon</i> , <i>Thrasibulus</i> , <i>Coriolanus</i> .	<i>D</i> a r i u s H i s t a s p i s, and <i>Xerxes</i> Kings of Persia, <i>Joiakim</i> High Priest of the Jews, <i>Protagoras</i> a Philosopher, <i>Hellanicus</i> and <i>Herodotus</i> Historians, <i>Sophocles</i> , <i>Aeschilus</i> , <i>Enripides</i> , and <i>Charon</i> , Poets.
3572 395	<i>A</i> l c i b i a d e s, <i>Artaxerxes</i> <i>Mnemon</i> , <i>Lyfander</i> , <i>Fulvius</i> , <i>Camillus</i> , <i>Agefilau</i> , <i>Nicias</i> .	<i>E</i> z r a, <i>Malachi</i> the last Prophet, <i>Aristophanes</i> , <i>Isocrates</i> , and <i>Xenophon</i> , <i>Ctesias</i> Historian.
3594 373	<i>D</i> i o n y s i u s the elder, <i>Dion</i> , <i>Timotheus</i> , <i>Iphicrates</i> , <i>Chabrias</i> , <i>Pelopidas</i> , <i>Epaminondas</i> , <i>Philip of Macedon</i> , <i>Demosthenes</i> .	<i>J</i> o n a t h a n High Priest to the Jews, <i>Plato</i> a Philosopher, <i>Parmenides</i> a Poet, <i>Aeschines</i> an Oratour, and Adversary to <i>Demosthenes</i> .
3644 323	<i>T</i> i m o l e o n, <i>Alexander</i> , <i>Phocion</i> , <i>Eumenes</i> , <i>Datames</i> .	<i>J</i> a d d u s High Priest of the Jews, <i>Darius Ochus</i> , <i>Artes</i> , and <i>Codomannus</i> , Kings of Persia, <i>Aristotle</i> Prince of Philosophers, <i>Diogenes</i> , <i>Ciniscus</i> , <i>Euclid</i> Mathematician.
3672 295	<i>F</i> a b i u s M a x i m u s, <i>Agis</i> , <i>Pyrrhus</i> , <i>Aratus</i> .	<i>S</i> i m e o n the just high Priest of the Jews, <i>Seleucus Nicanor</i> King of Syria, <i>Theophrastus</i> <i>Aristotles</i> Successor, <i>Megasthenes</i> a Persian Historian.
3746 221	<i>A</i> m i l c a r, <i>Demetrius</i> , <i>Hannibal</i> , <i>Marcellus</i> , <i>T. Q. Flaminius</i> .	<i>O</i> n i a s II. High Priest to the Jews, <i>Antiochus Magnus</i> King of Assyria, <i>Jesu</i> the Son of Sirach, <i>Chrysippus</i> a Philosopher, <i>Polybim</i> an Historian, <i>Archimedes</i> a Mathematician.
3800 221	<i>P</i> h i l o p o e m e n, <i>Cleomenes</i> , <i>Marcus Cato</i> , <i>Paulus Aemilius</i> , <i>Tiberius Gracchus</i> , <i>Caius Gracchus</i> , <i>Scipio Africanus</i> .	<i>A</i> n t i o c h u s E p i p h a n e s King of Assyria, <i>Judas Maccabaeus</i> , <i>Panatus</i> a Stoick Philosopher, <i>Ennius</i> , <i>Plautus</i> , <i>Terence</i> , and <i>Pacuvius</i> , Poets.
3901 66	<i>S</i> y l l a, <i>Caius Marius</i> , <i>Cicero</i> , <i>Pompeius</i> , <i>Sertorius</i> , <i>Lucullus</i> , <i>Marcus Crassus</i> , <i>Cato Utican</i> , <i>Julius Caesar</i> , <i>Antonius</i> , <i>Marcus Brutus</i> .	<i>H</i> i r c a n u s High Priest of the Jews, <i>Tigranes</i> King of Assyria, <i>Mithridates</i> King of Pontus, <i>Nicomedes</i> King of Bythinia, <i>Chrysippus</i> the Philosopher, <i>Didymus</i> a Scholiast upon <i>Homer</i> , <i>Diodorus Siculus</i> , and <i>Salust</i> , Historians; <i>Q. Catullus</i> a Poet.
	A.D.	
3967 1	<i>O</i> c t a v i a n C a e s a r.	<i>J</i> o a z High Priest of the Jews, <i>Herod</i> the Tetrarch, <i>Virgil</i> , <i>Ovid</i> , and <i>Horace</i> , Latine Poets.
4033 66	<i>S</i> e n e c a the Philosopher.	The Apostles and Evangelists, <i>Lucan</i> the Historiell Poet.
4036 69	<i>G</i> a l b a, <i>Otto</i> alias <i>Otho</i> .	<i>G</i> e s s i u s F l o r u s Tetrarch of Judea, <i>Livius</i> Bishop of Rome, <i>Proculus</i> a Roman Lawyer, <i>Silius Italicus</i> a Poet.
4070 104	<i>P</i> l u t a r c h.	<i>T</i> i t u s V e s p a s i a n, <i>Domitian</i> and <i>Trajan</i> Emperours of Rome, <i>Quadratus</i> and <i>Ignatius</i> , Fathers; <i>Cletus</i> , <i>Ormens</i> , and <i>Anacletus</i> , Bishops of Rome, <i>R. Ichuda</i> , <i>Ben Thomas</i> , <i>Favorinus</i> , Philosopher, <i>Cornelius Tacitus</i> , <i>Cacilius Plinius</i> , Historians; the Atheistickall Poet <i>Lucian</i> , <i>Aulus Gellius</i> a notable Critick.



NOTES & EXPLICATIONS UPON

PLUTARCH'S LIVES,

Taken out of *Xylander*, *Cruſerus*, *H. Stephanus*, and others;
With ſome more Cotemporaries added, than in the foregoing Table:
To which is ſubjoynd a Note of the Value of the *Greek* and *Roman* Coins.

The firſt Figures ſhew the Page: The ſecond the Line.



THESEUS, Cotemporary with *Hercules*, and *Abimelech* Judge of *Iſrael*.

1 Page, 2 Line.

Senecio. This *Soffius Senecio*, to whom *Plutarch* writes and makes ſuch honourable mention of him, was four times Conſul under *Trajan* the Emperor, and in high favour with him, as *Dion* writes.

2. 15.

Both valiant were. *Homer's* words of *Hector* and *Ajax*, in his 7th *Iliad*.

2. 51.

Hid under a great hollow ſtone. In the way from *Hermione* to *Troezen*, ſaith *Panſanius* 2^d Book.

5. 52.

Drew out his ſword. The original ſaies a knife, more proper then a ſword, to cut his meat. *Ovid* ſaith, *Theſeus* was known by the laſt.

5. 56.

Tetrapolis. That is four Cities; *Athens* ſo called, becauſe *Theſeus* turn'd four Cities, viz. *Brancone*, *Elenſine*, *Sunium*, and *Piræum*, into one, calling it *Athens*: yet *Strabo* ſaies, *Tetrapolis* was one of the twelve Cities into which *Cecrops* gathered the *Athenians*; which Cities *Theſeus* united,

7. 13.

Phaleros. A Port in *Attica*, whereupon came the ſurname of *Demetrius Phalareus*.

7. 59.

Thymetides. A Caſtle ſo called, inhabited by ſome of *Theſeus* his kindred.

8. 12.

The deſcription of the hills in *Homer*. That is in the 11th Book of the *Odyſſes*.

10. Laſt line.

As much as the ſail of their Ship ſhould cover. That is *Theſeus* his Ship, wherein he went to *Crete*, he returned in it; and which they yearly ſent to *Delphos*.

11. 42.

Made ſacrifice to Feare the Goddeſs. The affinity of the words in *Greek*, have made ſome think it ſhould be *Phœbus*, *Apollo*: but 'tis moſt likely it is *Feare*: For the Ancients (as the *Indians* now, ſacrifice to the Devil that he may not hurt them) uſed to ſacrifice to ſuch things, as they thought were adverſe to them, or hindred them in their deſignes: So *Theſeus* here to the Goddeſs *Feare*.

12. 38.

The Village of *Eleutheres*. A Town in the Province of *Athens*, bounding on *Boſtia*.

13. 21.

Sirnamed his Wife *Proſerpina*. The original hath it *Perſephone*.

14. 15.

Ethra the Daughter dear. It is in the third of *Homer's Iliads*.

ROMULUS, Cotemporary with *Iotham* K. of *Judah*, *Pekah* K. of *Israel*, *Micah* the Prophet.

^{17. 34.} He fell acquainted with this *Lamentia*. The Greek hath it, *he knew her*, in the same sense as the Hebrews have it. So *Cesar*, speaking of the *Germans*, in his sixth Book of the *Gallique Warre*, saies, They held it a filthy thing to have had knowledge of a woman, before they be twenty years of age.

^{19. 55.} *Herodotus Ponticus*. It should be *Herodorus*, mentioned in the life of *Thesens*.

^{21. 31.} There was no Law nor Magistrate, that could compell the Patron to be a Witness against the Client. See more hereof in *Marius* his Life.

^{21. 35.} We have spoken sufficiently. In his Book of *Roman Questions*.

^{23. 26.} *Dionysius the Historiographer*. That is, *Dionysius Halicarnassens*.

^{28. 24.} Their Territory called *Septemagium*. *Dionysius* seems rather in the right, who saies, it should be *Septempagium*, of the seven pages, seven Villages, which *Porfena* afterwards required.

^{30. 1.} Most certain, that as *Pindarus* saith. These Verses are not in *Pindarus* now extant. In the Comparison.

^{31. 9.} As *Plato* saith. In the end of his second Page of his Book called *Phadus*.

LYCURGUS, Cotemporary with *Iosaphat* King of *Judah*, *Ahab* King of *Israel*, *Eliseus*, and *Micah* the Prophets.

^{32. 25.} Were called *Enripontides*. *Pausanias* a very accurate Author, calls them *Enripontides*.

^{33. 31.} *Xenophon* beweth us plainly In his Book of the Commonwealth of the *Lacedemonians*.

^{36. 1.} Was called *Arithmaidas*. Some call him *Artemidas*.

^{36. 10.} As *Plato* saith. In his third Book of the Laws.

^{36. 28.} *Jupiter Syllanian*. In this *Retra*, or Statute Oracle here mentioned, there are in the Original several Greek words, as *Gorian* and *Gamodan*, which all Interpreters have past by, not knowing what they mean.

^{36. 64.} As *Plato* saith. In his Book of the Commonwealth. Geometrical reasons which in the *Mathematiques* flow from true and necessary Propositions, have such a force of Demonstration, that as *Cicero* saith, They may be rightly said, not to persuade only, but to compel.

^{38. 6.} The Cup *Cothens*. It was a small earthen Cup and full of concavities and bunches.

^{40. 16.} As *Aristotle* saith. In the seventh of his Politicks, c. 17.

^{43. 50.} To give their hand to yield. The meaning is, When they were conquer'd, they held up their fore-finger in sign of yielding; as elsewhere, to give the herb, to pluck up some grafs, to give it to the Conquerour.

^{48. 45.} By means of *Lyfander*. In the Original it is, *Alexander*, or rather *Lyfander*. Who this *Alexander* should be, the Interpreters know not. *Cruferius* and *Xylander* think it should rather be *Cleander*, that suffered himself to be corrupted by *Pericles*, and persuaded *Plifonax* to remove his Army out of *Attica*.

NUMA, Cotemporary with *Hezekiah* King of *Juda*, and *Nahum* the Prophet.

^{51. 33.} The Senators one hundred and fifty. This is a mistake by all Stories, there being before the accession of the *Sabines* one hundred Senators, and after one hundred more, never an hundred and fifty.

^{51. 42.} *Interregnum*. The manner of this *Interregnum* differs from the relation of it elsewhere; thus the Interpreters think the words are depraved.

^{51. 62.} Sonne of *Pomponius*. He is elsewhere called sonne of *Pompilium Pomponius*.

^{52. 47.} Made him to be honourably buried. *Pausanias* and *Pliny* say, that the god *Bacchus* caused the General of the *Lacedemonians*, when he besieged *Athens*, to make an honourable Funeral for the new *Syren*, that is *Sophocles*.

^{54. 54.} Lady Silence. Here should be added (being in the Original) or Mute; not young man; as some have it, out of the corruption of the Greek Copies; which stands not with sense.

^{55. 29.} *Martius*, *Numa's* Nephew. That is *Anens Martius* fourth King of the *Romans*; and Nephew to *Numa* by his Daughter.

^{56. 55.} The *Feciales*. The reason of this Name is much desired; and different opinions are thereof amongst Authors. Most Latine Authors write it with a diphthong.

SOLOON, Cotemporary with *Zedekiah* K. of *Judah*, *Nebuchadnezzar* K. of *Babylon*; *Jeremiah* the Prophet, and *Croesus*.

^{57. 17.} He which built *Marfilia*. His Name was *Marfilias*, the builder of that City, *Strabo* in his fourth Book sets forth the Original of *Marfilia*.

^{69. 38.} Surnamed *Coliade*. A Promontory of *Athens*, twenty furlongs from *Pyræum*.

^{70. 17.} Written by *Homer*. In the second Book of his *Iliads*. *Herodotus* saies, *Homer* writ these Verses in honour of the *Athenians*, and by way of thankfulness to them.

^{70. 48.} For *Aeschines* the Orator wrote no such thing of him. In his Oration against *Ctesiphon*, he saies *Solon* advised to make this Warre, but was not a Commander in it.

^{71. 2.} The Accuser was *Myron Phlyerion*. That is *Myron* of the Tribe or Family of *Cecrops*.

^{71. 14.} The new *Curates*. The *Curates* brought up *Jupiter in Crete*, now *Candus*, and buried him there, and were very skillfull in Sacred and Divine things. *Lactantius* lib. 1. c. 21. saies *Epimenides* was born at *Phaescos* in *Crete*, and was accounted for his knowledge a new *Curates*.

^{74. 44.} But *Alcibiades* speaketh to the *Epheters*. They were a Council, consisting of eighty men at *Athens*, whereof none was under fifty years of age. So called, because there lay no appeal from them.

^{81. 6.} The story of the *Isles Atlantides*. Both *Plato* and *Solon* begun the story of the *Isles Atlantides*. So the late Sir *Francis Bacon*, Viscount of *Albany*, and Lord Chancellor of *England* (perhaps in imitation of these wisemen) begun his new *Atlantis*, added to his Natural History; and (as they) left it imperfect, unfinished.

POPLICOLA, Cotemporary with *Darius Hystaspis* Monarch of the *Persians*, and *Isagoras* Ruler of *Athens*.

^{82. 2.} To compare him with *Poplicola*. His Name before was *Volesus*, of the chief Tribe of the *Sabines* that came with *Tacitus* to *Rome*.

^{85. 9.} Made it lawfull for *Bondmen* manumiss'd to give their voices also in Elections. Yea he received manumiss'd *Bondmen* into the Senate. So *Eny* at the end of his ninth Book, and *Diodorus Siculus* in his twentieth.

^{85. 28.} The holy *Islands* in *Rome*. *Dimisius* saith expressly, it was dedicated to *Asenlapius*.

^{85. 44.} The wood *Arfia*. Some have it *Ursus*.

^{85. 45.} Arnus the eldest sonne. It should be *Arnus*.

^{87. 61.} And *Tarquinius* the proud, being the sonne of him that made this vow. It is in the Original thus, *Tarquinius* the Sonne or Nephew of him that made the vow. And this *Plutarch* seems to speak not superficially,

Notes and Explications upon

cially, but necessarily, as doubting; for *Livy* confesseth, that he doubts whether *Tarquinius Superbus* was the Cousen or Nephew of *Priscus*; he seems to incline to the latter. *Dionysius Halicarnassensis* shews by many reasons, that he was Nephew, *lib. 4.*

Called *Pentlike Marble*. *Pausanias lib. 1.* saies, there is a mountain by *Athens* called *Pentlike*, where are Marble quarries.

He began to build a City called *Sigiluria*. 'Tis thought this is a mistake, and that it should be *Sigina*, a Colony of *Tarquinius*.

Herminius and *Lucretius*. *Livy* and *Halicarnassensis* call him *Lartius*, not *Lucretius*.

Posthumus Balbus. *Albus* was the surname of the *Posthumians*; and therefore more likely the Greek, which hath *Balbus*, is wrong.

THEMISTOCLES, Cotemporary with *Xerxes K. of Persia*, *Miltiades of Athens*, and *Eschylus the Tragician*.

Abretonon I am. *Emilius Probus* saies, *Themistocles* father was a Gent. and his mother of *Acarnania*.

The people use their Governours. The Original hath it *Demagogues*; that is, such popular men, as can lead the people which way they list, by their Orations.

Stefilaus that was born in the City of *Teos*. It should be in the Island *Ceos*.

A place of *Attica* called *Laurion*. It is a place near *Athens* by the Sea, where they have Silver Mines.

All along the Isle of *Aphetes*. That is in *Magnefia*, as *Diodorus* expressly saies, in the Bay of *Pelagos*.

As *Herodotus* writeth. In the beginning of *Urania*.

With Oracles and answers from the gods. *Herodotus* in *Polihymnia* hath the whole story of the Wooden wall, and the Oracle of the Divine *Salamina*.

A place called *Melita*. A place in *Athens* inhabited by the Tribe of *Cecrops*.

Before the Altar in his Chapell. In the Greek it is only, he went to the harth of the fire, no mention of Chapell or Altar: and that is most likely; the Religion given to harths being very notorious, and equivalent to Altars, *pro Aris & Focis*, for Altars and harths, is trite.

And spake with his sonne there. That is *Artaxerxes Longimanus*.

CAMILLOUS, Cotemporary with *Esdras*, *Artaxerxes K. of Persia*, *Amyntas K. of Macedonia*, *Isocrates the Orator*, *Conon D. of Athens*, *Lysander D. of Sparta*.

Which some call *Venetians*. In the Greek it is *Venetans*, of the City *Vei*, *Veientes* more properly.

Poets tales and fables. *Livy* accounted this also a fable.

Have made certain signes with their eyes. That is, have lookt down to the ground as the Greek signifies.

After he had made these prayers against the Citizens, as *Achilles* did against the *Grecians*. *Achilles* prayers went into a Proverb, as in the first Book of *Homers* *Iliads*.

Twenty years before. The Original hath it, more then two hundred years before, and that is thought to be a mistake for one hundred.

The holy procession of the mystery of *Jacchus*. See in the Life of *Phocion* the manner thereof.

PLUTARCH'S LIVES

The surname at this day of Pipes. The Greek word rather signifieth Barrels, or little Barrels.

About sixty furlongs. About eight furlongs made one mile.

Unto the City of *Sutrium*. *Livy* constantly calls it *Satricum*.

Thirteen years after their taking of *Rome*. It appears out of *Livy*, and by the account of the Magistrates, that it should be three and twenty.

Marcus Emilius. *Livy* calleth him *Emilius Mamertinus*.

PERICLES, Cotemporary with *Zorobabel*, who brought the Captive Jews from *Babylon*, *Darius*, His father King of *Persia*, *Miltiades of Athens*.

The Tenth book. This place sheweth, that *Plutarch* used to call every Greek and Roman compared, a book: so by that reason this is not the tenth but the fifth book: by which it appeareth that we lost much of *Plutarch*.

Zeno who was born in the City of *Elea*. *Elea* is in *Lucania* a City in great Greece.

As *Plato* said. In his book of the Common-wealth.

By *Demonides* Counsel or procurement. In the Greek it is *Demonides* of *Pa*, some Tribe or Village about *Athens*.

Thucydides of the Town of *Alopecia*. This *Alopecia* is of the Tribe of *Aniob*, and this *Thucydides* is not the Historian, but another, as by comparing of times appears.

As *Plato* saith. In *Phaedro* and *Gorgias*.

That he did not believe in the Gods. The Greek hath it so, but onely thus; He was accused of irreligiosity.

Cylon's Rebellion. This you may read of in the Life of *Solon*.

Were sold for slaves. It seemeth rather that they were onely disfranchised, not sold.

They call heaven. The place is in the sixth of *Homers* *Odysses*.

Being a man of very ill disposition in nature. The Greek hath it, being of a prodigal nature, and this is more congruous, for that it followes he grudged at his father's hardiness.

Did unfortunately kill one *Epitimus*. In the Greek it is, that he killed his horse, that is *Epitimus* his horse.

FABIUS MAXIMUS, Cotemporary with *Alexander the Great*. *Fergus* first King of *Scotland*.

Were called at the beginning *Iodians*. *Stextus Pompeius* saies they were anciently called *Jovians*, because the first of that family was begot by *Heracles*, of a woman in a pit in *Jove's*.

That which they took for dulness in him. The Greek seems to be mistaken, the word there which signifies good activeness, should rather be (and so some have corrected it) unactiveness.

So soon as the *Prætor* *Pomponius* had received the news, he called the people to Council. Both the *Consuls* being absent, the *Prætors* supplied the *Consuls* place, as anciently, so several Authors have it, and amongst the rest *Cicero* in his tenth Epistle to *Plancus*.

Lucius Minutius General of the Horse. *Livy* constantly calls him *Marcus Minutius*.

He vowed. That he would sacrifice all the profits and fruits that should fall the next year of sheep, &c. it is in the Original what the spring should bring forth; and this by *Livy* is called the holy spring.

spring, lib. 22. c. 34, &c. and that was called the holy spring, which was brought forth betwixt the
Gelds of *Marah*, and the day before the Calends of *May*.

154. 8.

By *Metellus* special procurement. In the Original it is *Metellus*.

A wife man can no wayes be injured nor dishonoured. So in *Lucius*, *Mercury* comforts *Jupiter*,
with that saying, *Thou hast suffered no harm if thou canst dissemble it*.

155. 64.

He slapped his hand on his thigh. A gesture of sorrow and indignation. So in the life of *Pompey*,
when he received the news of the passing of the *Manilian Law*, he slapped his hand on his thigh.
Cicero in his first book to *Atticus*, seems to bring in striking of the forehead in stead thereof, or rather
both, in his Oration for *Q. Gallus*, where he reproves *M. Calpurnius* for reproaching him; there was
sayes he, no trouble of minde or body, no striking of the forehead or thigh, &c.

156. 60.

They had condemned him a little before to pay a great fine to the Treasury. *Frontinus* in his fourth
book sayes, that condemnation was for not dividing the spoiles equally amongst the soldiers.

158. 15.

Barca a Carthaginian. *Livy* calls him *Maherbal*.

161. 35.

Fabius his great Grandfather. *Fabius Rullus*

162. 57.

A little Iron-Spit. It is more likely to be a little peice of money of Iron, such as was then used,
for the same word here, *obolisum*, in the life of *Lyfander*, taken for such a peice of iron money, and
that he had nothing in his house but an iron spit, is improbable.

164. 28.

And yet *Fabius* might spend no great revenue, for his whole receipt came onely to six Talents. This
is mistranslated, for in the *Greek* it runs thus, *Fabius* redeemed prisoners with his own money, yet it
was no great sum, it amounted onely to six Talents. These Prisoners were in number (as *Plutarch* a-
bove sayes) 240. *Livy* adds seven more. It was agreed they should pay a 50. pence for each prisoner,
so according to *Plutarch's* number, there were precisely ten Talents paid for them, not onely six
which perhaps is a mistake, because sixty pound, that is six thousand pence, make one Talent.

164. 28.

ALCIBIADES, Was Cotemporary with *Haggai*, and *Zacharias* the Prophets, *Darius* *Nothus*
King of *Persia*.

167. 36.

That *Thucides* meant of him. It is in his sixth book, before that his Oration wherein he perswades
to the war against *Sicily*.

167. 62.

In the battel of *Delion*. You may read of this battel in the Life of *Lyfander*.

169. 21.

Thucides makes mention. In his eighth book, where he sayes he was killed in *Samos*.

170. 8.

Within the Isle *Sphacteria*. A small Island opposite to *Pylos*, many call it *Sphagia*.

170. 51.

The thousand men. Some translate it, the principal Captain of the City.

171. 19.

The Poet *Aristophanes*. It is in his book of *Frogs*.

171. 33.

Kept *Agatharimus* the Painter prisoner in his house. He was taken faulty with *Alcibiades* his Con-
cubine.

174. 28.

The Galley called *Salaminiana*. A Galley so called, that was kept onely for publike busineses, to
fetch home persons abroad, that were Delinquents, to be brought in judgement.

177. 55.

One *Hermon* openly in the Market-place. In the *Greek*, it is *Hermon* one of the Watch-
guard.

180. 38.

Being such maners garments as every Master of such Science useth commonly to wear. It is in the
Greek, a purple garment, and the Buskins which *Tragoedians* used.

182. 12.

CORIOLANUS, Cotemporaries with *Ahasuerus* King of *Persia*, in prophane Histories called
Xerxes. *Aristides* of *Athens*.

182. 12.

In the fight of the Dictator. He was *A. Postumius Albus*. So *Livy* hath it in his second book.

Called eaters of *Acornes*. The Oracle is cited amongst many Authors, and *Herodotus* hath it in
his first book. *Dionysius* in his first book of *Romane* Antiquities, sayes, that the Aborigines or Natives,
from whom the *Romanes* descended, and were encreased, came out of *Arcadia* into *Italy*; so that
the *Romanes* seem to take that custom from the *Arcadians*.

186. 52.

Thinking all due to his mother. In the original she is called *Volumnia*, *Livy* calls her *Veturia*, and
calls his wife *Volumnia*, and some call her *Virgilia*.

186. 64.

Marcus Valerius chief of the Senate. *Dionysius* in his sixth book, calls him *Manius*, he is men-
tioned in the life of *Pompey*.

187. 57.

Titus Latius. It is *Titus Larsius* in the original.

191. 12.

Plato called *Solitarines*. In his Epistle to *Dion*.

193. 44.

There were three voices odd that condemned him. In the original it is, three Tribes giving their votes,
they were three that condemned him. At that time there were in *Rome* twenty one Tribes, as it ap-
pears out of *Dionysius* and *Livy*, saying that in *Livy*, in the second book (a little before the History
of *Coriolanus*) thirty is erroneously set down for twenty. Now if the greater part absolved him,
which must be, if three Tribes onely condemned him: surely then he had not been condemned.
Therefore tis to be understood, that *Coriolanus* was absolved onely by nine Tribes, and condemned
by twelve, that is, by three more then those, by which he was absolved. So *Dionysius* hath it in his
seventh book.

194. 27.

Homer said of *Ulysses*. Into *Ilium*, the place is in the fourth book of the *Odysses*.

194. Last Line.

Titus Latinus, *Livy* calls him *Latinus*, *Macrobius* calls him, *Annus*.

202. 26.

A. Thucides reports. In his fifth book.

203. 3.

Aristides had done in old time to *Themistocles*. *Valerius Maximus* hath it in his sixth book and
fifth Chapter.

197. 25.

Sitting in his Chair of Estate, with a marvellous and unspeakable Majesty. The original hath it,
sitting among the chief of the *Volfes* with a troubled countenance, and a kinde of horrid se-
verity.

PAULUS EMILIUS, Cotemporary with *Antiochus* King of *Assyria*, *Ptolomy* King of *E-*
gypt. *Therpy* King of *Scotland*.

205. 15.

Images and signes in the Aire. Of their Images writes *Cicero* in his book of the Nature of the
Gods.

206. 21.

The first Office of honour. The *Greek* hath it, the first of the greater Magistracies, there being
great difference, twixt the greater and the lesser.

206. 64.

The daughter of a Noble Consul, *Papyrius Masso*. That is *Caius Papyrius*, who was Consul in the
year after the building of *Rome* 523. So *Livy* lib. 25.

206. Last Line.

A certain *Romane* having forsaken his wife. That of the shoee was the speech of *Paulus Emilius*
himself.

209. 48.

As many footmen to them, who alwayes join'd with them in battel. The *Greek* word signifieth foot-
men mingled with horsemen, selected nimble men that fought along with the horse, and when any
horseman fell, mounted his horse. So *Livy* hath it, lib 44.

210. 15.

Gentius King of *Illyrium*. This is he who found and named *Gentiana*, *Gentian* or *Fall-*
wort.

211. 15.

The Temple called *Pytheon*. and the Rock whereon it is built. It is a City so called of *Pelasgi*, not
far from *Gernus* and *Abralis*.

211. 55.

To get the top of the hill before them. The *Greek* hath it, the streight passages that led up to the
Mountaine.

After these words, viz. in an Oration Cato made before the people of Rome, should follow these words as it is in Greek Original. Livy saith, he that was killed was a Gall, that had run away, and that Lucius did not cause the man to be killed by the Executioner, but he killed him with his own hand; now Lucius being thus shamefully, &c. in the life of Flaminius this is more fully set down.

This only man, &c. It is in Homers Odyssey, tenth book, speaking of Tyresias, the only wife ghost amongst all the ghosts in hell.

Cato the Philosopher. That was Cato Uticensis, or Cato Minor; whose life follows afterwards.

Hesiod the Poet, that commendeth justice so much. This is in his work of husbandry. Homers Verses in the fourth of his Odysseys.

PHILOPOEMEN, Cotemporary with Marcus Cato Censor, next president.

Cassander. In many Authors Cleander.

Afterwards when King Antigonos was come. Polybius in the end of his second book, writeth this story at large.

Pots of gold and silver. The Greek hath it, rich pots and cups, of one Thericles his making a cunning Artificer.

As Homer saith it did Achilles. In the beginning of the ninth of his Iliads.

Ariftenetus. This is he whom Livy erroneously calls, Arifcaninus and Arifhemus. Polybius in his seventh book, rightly calls him Ariftenetus.

Against whom he was made General immediately. This history is full in Livy, lib. 35.

Plato said. In his fourth book of Laws.

Polybius had answered him. That is that excellent Historian, the Tutor to Scipio Africanus the younger.

TITUS QUINTUS FLAMINIUS, Cotemporary with the next before.

Publius Julius. In Livy he is called Villius.

Inhabiting beyond the Country of Thermopyles. In the Greek it is, the Country of Pyles.

Barchyletis. Livy in his 33. book calls him Barchilla, Polybius calls him Brachulles, lib. 17.

Crows fall down. Diodorus mentions the like at the promulgation of the Gabinian Law, lib. 36. and Valerius Maximus hath the like, lib. 4. and 8. and it hath been observed where they have kept Pigeons to carry letters out of besieged Towns into the Country, the foulders marking when the Pigeons flew over the Army, suddenly shouted loud, and so the Pigeons fell down, and they took their letters.

Itanus the Historiographer. Gnaivius calls him Hyrranus, and more likely, the name of Itanus not known.

Terentius Culeo. It is Leo in the Greek, but Culeo is more likely, so Livy hath it, and one Culeo is mentioned in Pompeys life, that persuaded him to put away Julia.

When he was General he did drive Nabis. It is so in the Greek, but questionless mistaken, for so should Plato directly contradict himself, in the life of Philopomen, where he saies, that Philopomen being then not in authority, drove out Nabu. So the Negative doubtless is left out in the Greek corrupted by some transcribers, it should be, he not being a General, drove out Nabu; and this agrees too with the purpose and nature of this discourse.

PYRRHUS, Cotemporary with Seleucus King of Syria, Demetrius King of Asia, Ptolemy Philadelphus King of Egypt, Menander the Poet. Manius son of Fergusius King of Scotland. Pyrrhus descended from Pyrrhus the son of Achilles.

He had no teeth in his upper jaw. Pliny writes that Prusias King of Bythinia had the like.

Let them for me divide. It is in Euripides in the beginning of the Phœnissæ.

His horse Nisæra. It should be his Nisæan horse, and not the name of his horse. Nisæa is a Country of Parthines, near the Caspian mountains, which breeds most excellent horses, which the Kings themselves used. So saies Strabo lib. 11. and Plin. lib. 6. c. 25.

Desired the watchword of him. The Greek word signifies rather a truce or league, then a watchword; and so it seems rather by the sense.

Wickedness of their Governors. Demagogus in the Greek. See above, the notes upon Themistocles.

Whom he met in a very streight valley. In the Greek it is, in the streights called Stena.

Minerva Itonida. from Itonia a City in Thessaly, where she was worshipped.

A matter disputable. In the Greek, rather, idle loose talke, such as loose idle people chat of.

CAIUS MARIUS, Cotemporary with Tigranes King of Syria, Ptolemy Auletes King of Egypt, Hanna the Prophetess mentioned Luk 2. Fynanus King of Scotland. Aristobulus King of Judæa.

Master of his works. The Greek hath it Captain of his company or companions.

The great danger that fell upon all Italy out of the west. Now the Cimbrians came out of the North, there indeed was their habitation; but they having been overthrown in Gallia, by Mallius and Cepio went into Spain and returned into Gallia, and joyned with the Teutons or Germans, so they were truly said to come from the west.

Ambrons, Ambrons. And a little after it followes, and the Lyguriars answered them, with the like noise and cry, Lyguriars, &c. The Greek hath it not so, but that the Lyguriars answered them with the like noise and cry, and no more; and likely it is, they cryed also Ambrons, Ambrons, &c. for Sextus Pompeius Festus, saies the Ambrons were a Gallick people; and Strabo in his fourth book, speaks of a victory, the Marfilians had of our Ambrons, and the Marfilians are next neighbors, and so the Lyguriars. The Lyguriars affirmed, the Ambrons was their ancient name.

Durst not once see your backs, nor you them in the faces. The Greek word signifies the hinder part of the head; so that rather it is, they were both alike Cowards, and fled from one another, at one and the same time.

Antipater of Tharsis. He was a Stoicke Philosopher, whom Strabo speaks of lib. 14.

LYSANDER, Cotemporary with Artaxerxes Memnon King of Persia, Malachai last of the Prophets of the old Testament, Aristophanes the Comical Poet, Camillus the Roman.

In the treasury of the Aranthians. The Greek saies, the treasure of the Aranthians, &c. not the place where it was kept.

Antochitas the father of Lysander. Pausanias every where calls him Aristocritus.

Socrates, Plato and Hercules. 'Tis conceived this should not be Hercules, but Heraclitus.

After the overthrow of the Army. That is the Army sent with Nicias, which was overthrown, and he taken prisoner. So in his life here by Plutarch.

The holy Gally called Peratas. This was a Gally exceeding swift, for publike uses onely, carrying of Ambassadors and the like. See more of it in the life of Alcibiades.

There fell out of the air, a marvellous great stone. Pliny lib. 2. c. 58. saies that this stone so fell, sixty yeers before this Sea-fight.

That Ulysses was not subtle alone. Because Ulysses, who had the fame of so wise and subtle a man, yet was over-reached and discovered by Palamedes, when he (Ulysses) feigned himself mad to avoide going to the Trojan war. So subtle Lysander was over-reachd by the more subtle Pharnabazus.

384. 32.

Slew him with his Soothfayer. Some Interpreters think that Mante (though in the Greek it signifies a Propheet or Soothfayer) is the name of a man.

SYLLA, Cotemporary which Tigranes King of Syria, and Ptolemy Antiochus King of Egypt.

389. 18.

About Lavena. It is at Laverna, and this Laverna is more likely to be the gate Laverna, which Varro speaks of lib. 4. Laverna was the goddess of Theeves.

394. 35.

The Armory which Philo in old time had caused to be built. It was a very famous one, being an harbor for a thousand ships, so says Pliny lib. 7. c. 37. Valerius lib. 3. c. 13.

404. Near the bottom.

Metrobius a singingman. The Greek, is, a Stage-player, a man acting a womans part.

355. 21.

Inhabitants of Puteola. In the Greek it is, *Dicaearchani*, who afterwards were called *Puteolani*.

403. 59.

From the great Glabrio. It is so in the Greek, but generally conceived to be an error, *Glabrio* being never mentioned without *Epithete*, 'tis rather thought the word *Magnus*, should be *Manius* or *Marinus*.

CIMON, Cotemporary with Xerxes, in Scripture, Ahasuerus husband of Esther, Thrasibulus King of Sicily.

411. 32.

Elpinice did not secretly company with her brother Cimon, but lived with him openly as his lawful married wife. The Author of the book of Illustrious persons, which some say, is, *Emilius Probus*, writes that it was lawful for the Athenians to marry their sisters, begotten of the same father, but of another mother, and the fault in Cimon was, that he lay with her, not having married her. Plutarch in the life of Themistocles says, that his son Arsechtole married his sister *Antistiolema*, born to Themistocles by another mother.

LUCULLUS, Cotemporary with Alexandra Satome the wife of Jannenus the Jew, Ptolemy Antiochus King of Egypt.

421. 22.

Like Turny fish. Athenaeus lib. 7. says that about the Dog-dayes, the Turny, being as it were mad, rushes violently into the deep, and troubles the waters, the Etymology of the name, is from rushing and moving violently. So the Romane Orators with their speeches, used to stir up the people to make them move.

423. 24.

Imbrued his hands in the blood of his Captains. That is *Lucius Valerius Flaccus* the Consul.

421. Towards the end.

Marius a Romane Captain. In the life of Sertorius, he calls him *M. Marius*; and some thinks 'tis not the great Marius seven times Consul, but an other of that name. Appian calls him *M. Varius*.

440. 51.

Lucius Quintus one of the Prators. He was not Prator, but one of the Tribuni Plebis.

443. Towards the end.

Horace writing this story, lib. 1. Epist. to Numicius. *Cruentus* notes there, that Horace speaks of five thousand.

447. 29.

Cornelius Nepos. Pliny also lib. 25. c. 3. says he died of love poison.

448. 12.

Plato said. In his second book of the Commonwealth.

445. 3.

Not Conquerors only, but Victors also. The Greek hath it only thus, are called Victory, as it were in the abstract, as we call our Lord Chief Justice, who is but a Justiciar: So Justice of Peace, &c.

NICIAS, Cotemporary with Darius Nothus King of Persa, Cantaber that builded Cambridge. Alcibiades.

452. 4.

Thucides reports of him. In his seventh book when he speaks of the Eclipses of the Sun.

452. 42.

In his Comedy called Marica. *Enpolidus* made this Comedy against *Hyperbolus* the Athenian.

452. 37.

And Cleonebreathing. It is mistaken, they are not the words of Cleon, but of Agoracritus or Allantopatus answering Cleon.

554. 38.

It bringeth forth. Homer in his fourth book of *Odysses*.

559. 12.

Ephipolis. 'Tis a part of *Syracusa*, some Greek copies have *Epistola*, for *Epipola*, which brought *Gnarinus* into an error, talking of Epistles or letters about *Nicias* his coming. *Taphus* is a little Peninsule near *Syracusa* reaching to the Sea.

MARCELLUS CRASSUS, Cotemporary with Hyrcanus King of the Jews, Pompey, Ptolemy Antiochus King of Egypt, Julius Caesar.

In the beginning 'tis said of Crassus, that one of his brethren being dead, he married his wife by whom he had children. The Greek word signifieth living together, nor marrying, neither did ever the Romans use to marry their brothers wives. He kept her and his children in his house in meer humanity, had it been otherwise, how could Plutarch have so commended his temperance continency and modesty.

467. 46.

One Alexander did read to him. This is supposed to be Alexander the Milesian, who is called Polyhistor and Cornelius, who, as Suidas says, lived in Sylla's dayes.

472. 12.

Onatius Aurelius. It is *Ornatius* in the Greek, but in the life of Pompey, where the same story is told he is called *Caius Aurelius*.

474. 16.

To call him Imperator, that is, sovereign Captain. Appian says it was unusual to be so called till they had killed ten thousand of the enemies; and never given but upon some great victory and therefore Crassus is justly taxed of pusillanimity and vain-glory.

474. 35.

So the goddess Hierapolis. The goddess of Hierapolis, that is *Juno* of the Assyrians.

475. 20.

Upon the Bridge he had made over the River Euphrates. In the Greek it is only thus, As he passed his Army over the *Zengma*, &c. this is a City standing upon *Euphrates*, much spoken of by Historians, for the bridge of chains made there over *Euphrates*, by Alexander the great.

475. 52.

Came one Arimenes to him. Appian calls him *Ascharus*, and Dio. lib. 40. *Anragus*.

482. 15.

Aesop. *Stobaeus* hath this saying of *Aesop*.

SERTORIUS, Cotemporary, as in the next precedent.

486. 13.

The other by his lovers. *Apothrinus* in his fourth book, § 75. speaks of this.

489. 21.

The Isle of Pituisa. In the *Balearick* Seas, are two little Islands, called *Pituisa*, whereof the greater is *Ebysus*, and the lesser *Ophiusa*. So Ptolemy in his discription of Spain.

492. 23.

A custome at that time in Spaine. Dio. in his fifty fifth book, speaketh of such a custome, says one *Pacuvius* had so devoted himself to *Augustus*, and persuaded others to do the like. Caesar in the third book of his Commentaries, of the Gallicks war, writes the like of the soldiery, as he calls them, of the *Galli Sentiates*.

494. 20.

By the City of Tutua. 'Tis supposed to be *Duria*. So in Pompey's Epistle to the Senates, which is extant among the tables of shipwrack. Salust says the enemies Tents were taken at *Sacro* and the battel at *Duria*. Tully in the beginning of his Oration for *Cornelius Balbus*, mentions this battel at *Duria*.

EUMENES, Cotemporary with the next president.

501. 40.

A troop of three thousand men at Armes. It seemeth by the Original, he put them into several Troops, making up a Regiment, as we call it.

504. 44.

A City of Cyndes. It is *Quinda*, a Castle of *Cicilia* above *Anchiala*, where the Macedonians kept their treasure. Strabo. lib. 24. So in the life of *Demetrius*.

640. 8.

Which he did not by fear and terror. The Greek hath it, He did not take from them the fear of his power. He mixed his power with the reasons he gave them, to satisfy them in the Justice of his commands.

640. 52.

Silver that was molten there. Next after these words follow thus, viz. But such think that their writings should be as farre from contrallment, as their doings: None of this is in the Greek. But this follows next, So he thought that he might do what he list, without punishment, not only with his sword, but his pen too. Here is something amiss: 'tis to be supposed, as is noted in the Margin, this is to be referred to Caesar, that wrote the Anti-Cato.

650. 31.

They gave Cato an extraordinary Prætorship. That was in regard of his age: He was but 38 years of age, and it was not to be conferr'd on any under 40.

651. 18.

Should presently go to their charge. For some, after they were design'd, were put out again for corruption or other crimes. So were P. Antonius, and P. Sylla, saith Dio in his 30th Book. Catiline saith Salust. Julius saith Suetonius.

655. 7.

Unlikelihoode first I disprove. It is in Euripides his Hercules Furens. It is Amphitrno his answer to Lycas, who said Hercules was fearfull; all one, as one should call Bellerophon justfull, Lucretia immodest, or Ulysses foolish.

AGIS, Cotemporary with Aratus of Lycia, Antigonus King of Macedonia, Marcellus the Roman.

663. 17.

Agis was of the House of the Eurionides. There were two Royall families of the Lacedæmonians, one of the Eurionides or Euripentides, and the other of the Agids.

663. 20.

At Mundanum. This name is not mentioned in other Histories. Diodorus Siculus in his sixteenth Book mentions this History, and saies, it hapned the same day that Philip overcame the Greeks at Chæronia. Pausanias mentions the same.

665. 8.

For otherwise Terpander, Thales. This is Thales of Crete spoken of in the Life of Lysurgus.

668. 14.

Into that place called the Decade. Most Interpreters conceive it should be Caiade, which the Greek Lexicon saies, was a Prison of the Kings. So call it Thucydides and others.

668. 42.

Since the Durians. These were of the posterity of Hercules, of whom there is much mention in Pausanias in his Argolicks, and by Diodorus in his fourth Book.

CLEOMENES, Cotemporary as Agis next before.

669. 50.

The City of Belvina. This is in Laconia, there is an Island also of that name near Ægina.

670. 32.

Called Leuctra. Polybius in his second Book, writing this story, calls it not Leuctra, but Laodicea; and every where, where it is Lydiadas, it should be Lydiadas.

670. near the bottom.

Alsea. It seems to be some City of Arcadia; but it is more likely the name is Alas, mentioned by Pliny, lib. 4. and others.

671. Verses.

That fear cannot be without shamefastness. Out of what Poet it is taken appears not: But it is very antient, because Platon in his Euthyphron, disputes of it. The other first place of Homer, Of truth I do confess in the third of his Iliads, and the next verse in the fourth.

A little lower.

In the suburbs called Cyllabaris. In the Greek Cyllarabis. It was an Academy about 300 paces from Argos; So Livy in his 34th Book, and Pausanias in his 2^d Book. So called of Cyllarabus the sonne of Schenelus.

679. 50.

Old K. Ptolomy deceasing. That is Ptolomy Evergates, to whom succeeded Philopater. So Polybius lib. 5.

The Verses there.

It irks the Nobles hearts. It is in the first of the Iliads.

TIBERIUS, and CAIUS GRACCHI, Cotemporaries with the same as Agis and Cleomenes.

688. 8.

A like number of the Roman Knights. Livy saies a double number.

688. 33.

Blossius the Philosopher. It is Blossius in the Greek.

688. 47.

Flavius Flaccus. 'Tis most probable this is M. Fulvius Flaccus, who joining himself with Caius Gracchus in making these pernicious Laws, was slain with him.

689. 33.

And what if he had commanded. Cicero, and Valerius Maximus say, Lelius askt this question.

The Verses there.

Such end upon him ever light. First Book of the Odysses, they are the words of Minerva at the death of Ægiffhus slain by Orestes for adultery, and the death of Agamemnon.

690. 21.

Cicero the Orator saith. In his first Book of Divination.

690. 50.

The space of three years. Gellius saith two years.

690. 54.

A Conspiracy in the City of Iregelles. See Livy in his 60th Book.

693. 26.

Lucius Hostilius. Arstin and Sigonius call him Opimius, he who the year after being Consul, kill'd the Gracchi.

694. 18.

Antyllus. Appian calls him Attilius, and tells the story otherwise.

698. 2.

As Plato said. In the fourth Book of his Commonwealth.

DEMOSTHENES, Cotemporary with Nehemiah, Artaxerxes K. of Persia, Manlius Torquatus, Philip K. of Macedon, Diogenes the Cynick, Plato.

700. the Verses

In this behalf a man. It is a Proverb, the Dolphin is strong at Sea, nothing at Land, meant of such as undertake things above their strength, out of their sphere.

701. 16.

Demosthenes had been Plato's Scholar. So Cicero in many places affirms.

709. 51.

Calauria. In the Greek it is Calabria, but in Latine properly pronounced Calauria.

MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO, Cotemporary with Aristobulus K. of Judea, Ptolomy Auletes K. of Ægypt, Pompey, Caesar.

711. 5.

Tullus Appius. It should be Tullus Attius K. of the Volces, to whom Coriolanus, when banished, fled, so Livy in his 2^d Book. Dionysius in his 8th Book in the beginning, and in the Life of Coriolanus.

711. 32.

Plato thought not. In the beginning of his 6th Book of a Commonwealth, he disputes hereof.

713. 31.

There happened a pretty jest. He speaks of this in his Oration for Plancus, but tells it different from this.

714. 16.

Within the confines of the City of Arpes. Arpinum in Campania, this Pliny witnesseth in his third Book, 5. Arpes is a City in Apulia, in another part of Italy.

714. 35.

Licinius Macer. This is C. Macer, whom he mentions in his first Book, and third Epistle to Atticus. Valerius Maximus lib. 9. c. 13. tells the story otherwise.

714. 49.

No more have I, said he, such a swollen neck as thou hast. In the Greek it is such a neck, or so great a neck, which some think was spoken of his too much confidence or impudence, as it is used to be said of such men, they are of a strong or stiff neck. So Marcius, as Plutarch saies, answered in the Senate, speaking of the Saturnian Law, that he had not so broad a neck, as he durst offer in any thing of so weighty a matter. Others say, that here Tully eloquently twisted Vatinius with the disease of kernels in his neck, which we call Struma, the Kings Evil.

715. 36.

Deposed from their Dignities and Offices in Rome. That is the sons of such as were proscribed by Sylla.

Notes and Explications upon

716. 6.
M. Otis. None were to be accounted Knights, except they were worth 4000 *Sesteria*, as *Jun-venal*, *Horace*, and *Suetonius* have it.

720. 50.
Atticus. *Cicero* in his first Epistle of his first Book to *Atticus*, speaks of one *Atticus* an Usurer.

721. 23.
Adraffus. Married his two daughters to *Tydenus* and *Polynisus*, two banished men.
The Verses there.

This man hath gotten children in despite of Phcebus. This Verse was made of *Lains*.

727. 7.
In Lentulus house, whose second wife she was. *Lentulus* is here for *Dolabella*.

729. 47.
Cicero being sixty four years of age. *Livy* saies sixty three.

DEMETRIUS, Cotemporary with *Pyrrhus*, *Ptolomy Lagus K. of Egypt*, *Quintus Fabius Maximus*.

738. near the bottom.
But was it of Thafos or Chios, that rheume. So the *Germans* usually, when a man excuses his long Ray by reason of floods and inundations; they will say the waters have bodied, but wine none.

741. in the bottom.
Called Demetrius a Fable. In places usually *Lamia*, *Fairies* or *Hobgoblins* were brought in.

743. 13.
But how should they know me. The Greek hath it, *what other mark have they to shew at but me?* and this agrees best with the sense, being left destitute of all his friends.

745. 51.
At a place called Deion. The name is *Dium* a City in *Macedonia*, below the City *Pydna*, on the Sea coast in the Bay of *Therma*.

746. 42.
Erasistratus the Physician. *Galen* reports such another story of himself.

746. 50.
Sappho. *Catullus* in *Sapphique* Verse sets this forth most elegantly. 'Tis imprinted with the fragments of *Anacreon*.

MARCUS ANTONIUS, Cotemporary with *Herod King of the Jews*, *Julius Caesar*, *Augustus*, *Tully*.

757. 24.
Antonius General of the horsemen, and sent him to Rome. In the Greek it is Tribune of the people; and here are some lines wanting, as 'tis supposed.

760. 41.
Munatius Plancus. This is *Lucius Munatius Plancus*, of whom *Cicero* often speaks in his tenth Book of his familiar Epistles.

760. 46.
Surnamed Corylon. *Tully* calls him *Lucius Varius Coryla*. Called *Corylo*, of a measure of drink so called.

761. 35.
Because of a dream one of his friends had. This was *Artorius* his Physician, as *Dio* in his 47th Book. *Valerius lib. 1. c. 7.* and others.

762. 58.
He did her great honour, and persuaded her. In the Greek next after it follows (as *Homer* saith) which is here left out. *Plutarch* alludes to the place in the 12th of the *Odyssey*, which speaks of *Circe* meeting of *Ulysses* returning out of hell.

765. in the bottom.
Water of the Fountain Clepsydra. A Fountain so called in the Tower of *Athens*, that takes in and lets out water (like a water Diall or Clepsydra) being fill'd when the North-winde blows, and empties with the contrary as *Nilus* doth.

765. 15.
Called before Bombyci. It is *Borbace* in the Text; but *Appian*, and *Strabo* in his 16th Book, and *Pliny* in his 5th and 23th Book, calls it *Bambyce* a City in *Syria*.

783. 1.
To many Caesars. Alluding to that of *Homer*, in the second of his *Iliads*.

786. 6.
As Paris found. Alluding to that of *Homer* in the 3^d of his *Iliads* towards the end.

ARTAXERXES, Cotemporary with *Camillus the Roman*, *Lyfander the Graecian*, *Malachias the Prophet*, *Aristophanes*.

PLUTARCH'S Lives.

792. 2.
To fight they seemed to be no less then twenty thousand. It appears not of which side those were slain. *Diodorus Siculus* saies there were slain of *Artaxerxes* men more then fifteen thousand, of *Cyrus* his men about three thousand.

793. 52.
Praised him to help him to a comb. This is set down by *Plutarch*, to shew *Ctesias* his babling, and impertinent talk.

793. 55.
The Dance of Coryatides. A kinde of Dance, which *Cassor* and *Pollux* taught the *Lacedemonians* at *Caria* a Town of *Sparta*.

796. 31.
He began to make warre also With the Egyptians. *Diodorus Siculus* in his 20th Book, describeth this warre elegantly.

799. 1.
The great Oromazes. He was God of the *Persians*, the same which we call the Sunne. This is plain out of *Plutarch's* Book of *Isis* and *Osiris*, and others.

DION, Cotemporary with *Artaxerxes K. of Persia*, *Esdras*, *Camillus the Roman*, *Isocrates*, *Lyfander the Spartan*, *Plato*, *Dionysius the Tyrant of Sicily*.

798. 1.
Like to Simonides. This Verse is mentioned by *Aristotle*, in the first Volume of his *Rhetoricks*. c. 6.

800. 6.
Arete was married to his brother Theurides. In the Greek it appears not whether she were married to *Dionysius* her brother, or to her own. 'Tis more likely 'twas to *Dionysius* his brother. For *Emilius Probus*, who passeth by this marriage, calls *Hypparinus* and *Nyssem* brothers to *Arete*.

807. 15.
Beating them to death With slaves. The Greek hath it they were sorely punished. 'Tis the same word in the Greek; which we in the 11th of the *Hebrews*, ver. 35. translate tortured.

815. 20.
As Plato saith. In the eighth Book of his Commonwealth.

815. near the bottom.
Howbeit shortly after his f-ine. *Emilius Probus* relates this after another manner; That this son having lived riotously, and his Father urging him to temperance, he would not endure it.

MARCUS BRUTUS, Cotemporary with *Julius Caesar*, *Augustus*, *Cicero*, &c.

817. 16.
Of the blood of Servilius Hala. *Ala* is the name, so called *axilla* contracted, the arm-pit; and 'tis not unlikely of that carrying the sword under his arm, as follows, he got that name of *Axilla*, contracted to *Ala*. The *Romans* have taken names upon as small occasions. That sometimes he was called *Axilla*, appears by *Tullies* Book to *Brutus*, called the *Orator*; where he calls him *Servilius Axilla*.

819. 59.
Think ye that Brutus will not tarry till this body die? The Greek rather renders it, *Doth it not seem to you that Brutus expects this body?* that is, his death.

824. 19.
But there was a Poet called Cinna. The Greek rather renders it, an Active man, conversant in matters of State: So was *C. Helius Cinna* Tribune of the people, as *Dion. lib. 44.* *Appian lib. 2.* *Valerius Maximus l. 9. c. 9.* Yet some think this was that Poet *Cinna* that made the Poem called *Smyrna*, which *Catullus* commends.

826. 12.
Hereof we have spoken at large in other places. In his Book *De Convivialibus*, *Quest. 6. c. 8.*

829. the Verses.
My Lords I pray you. First of the *Iliads*, about the appeasing the dissention twixt *Achilles* and *Agamemnon*.

930. 40.
Another place called Symbolon. It is an hill at *Philippi*, meeting with the hill *Pangaum*. *Dion* relates this story in his 47th Book.

931. 34.
'Because it was his Birth-day. This seems as though it was *Cassius* his birth-day; but it is rather to be supposed that it was *Messala's* birth-day; and that *Messala* invited *Cassius* to supper, as on his, that is, *Messala's* birth-day: If it were *Cassius* his birth-day, then he died on his birth-day, as *Pompey* and *Attalus* did; which examples *Plutarch* mentioning in the Life of *Camillus*: 'tis not likely he would have omitted it here.

Notes and Explications upon

833. 27.

The soldiers slaves, whom Brutus called *Brigæ*. Eustathius on the first Book of Homers *Odysses*, saies the *Barbarians* were so called, they seem to be slaves set free to bear Arms; unless rather skulldions or herdsmen, for in the Greek they are called, *Household-people*.

835. the Verses.

Let not the wight It is a curse upon *Antonius*, for not joining with him to assert the Liberty of his Country as he might have done. *Brutus* for that purpose sparing him when he might have killed him, at that time when he slew *Julius Cæsar*. The Verses are in *Euripides*, *Medea* that cursed *Jas-son*, by whom she was betrayed.

836. 22.

Valerius Maximus he writes. *Lib. 4. c. 6.*

ARATVS, Cotemporary with *Antiochus Soter K. of Syria*, *Antigonus Gonatus K. of Macedonia*, *Ptolemy Philadelphus K. of Egypt*, *Papyrius Cursor the Roman*, *Fergusius K. of Scotland*.

861. 9.

To get in but that way. After these words in the Greek, follows, viz. The ladders were loose not fastened together: these they threw into baskets, wherein they measure corn. All this is left out.

852. 21.

Like to *Æsops Hunter* that bridled his horse. That of bridling the horse is not in the Greek: but *Æsops Fable* is common of him, that Hunter that bridled the Horse, and hunted the Stag.

853. 13.

So *K. Cleomenes* joyning unto him all the people dwelling along the Sea-coast, commonly called the River of Corinth. In the Greek 'tis, But *Cleomenes*, when the people that dwell about *Acte* came to him, &c. Now this *Acte* is a Country of *Peloponnese*, on the Sea-coast toward *Corinth*.

GALBA, Cotemporary with *Clemens Bishop of Rome*, *Ebion the Heretique*, *Dardanus K. of Scotland*, *Josephus*, *Solinus*.

861. 10.

Together with *Tigellinus*. Here should follow [as is afore said] so is the Greek; which shews that *Plutarch* writ the Life of *Nero*, and probably of the rest of the Emperors to *Trajan*: Great is the loss of these.

861. 40.

The wretched Officers of *Nero*. The Greek word signifies *Procurators* Proctors, whose Office was principally to look after the Treasury of the Provinces, to which they were sent. *Augustus* was the first that sent them, as *Dio* in his 53^d Book hath it: Afterwards their power and extortion grew very great, as *Suetonius* hath it; and *Tacitus* specially in his 16th Book. *Pontius Pilate* was Procurator of *Judea*, as *Tacitus* hath it.

868. 10.

Patrobius and *Vitellius*. *Tacitus* and *Suetonius* never mentioning any *Vitellius*, but only *Patrobius*.

The Value of the Greek and Roman Monies.

Where Monies are mentioned to be paid by the *Greeks*, 'tis doubtless with *Greek Coin*: So the Reader is to consult the value of the *Greek Monies*. And so of the contrary, the *Romans*.

Greek Money.				Roman Monies.			
Silver	Antique,	1	0	1	0	0	0
Drachme	of Ægina,	0	0	Silver Penny of the O'd value,	0	0	0
	Antique,	0	1	The New most in use,	0	0	0
Obolus	of Ægina,	0	0	sestercius lesser,	0	0	0
	Antique,	0	0	sestercius greater contains 1000 of	7	16	3
Mina	Antique contains 100 Drach.	3	2	the other,			
	Talents of the greater fort.			Penny, and Drachma are all one.			
Antique lesser,		3	2	Æs, and Nummus all one, the	0	0	0
Antique greater,		350	0	10 th part of a Penny,			
Ægyptian,	the same.			A pound is of ours,	3	0	0
Syrian,		46	17	A Talent contains 24 Sesterces,	187	10	0
Euboeic,		125	0	A Talent contains 60 pounds Roman.			
Rhodian,		140	12	A Penny 100 Drachma's or Pennies.			
Babylonian,		218		A Penny 4 Sesterces lesser.			
Ægina,		311		Where there is mention of Myriads (every Myriad is			
Alexandria,		375	0	10000) and no more; it is meant commonly, if not alto-			
	Talents of the lesser fort.			gether, of Drachma's.			
The old Sicilian,		0	3	Five Talents are equal to 3 Myriads of Drachma's.			
Neapolitan,	the same.						
The new Sicilian,		0	1	These are the most common computations, yet there			
Of Rhegium.		0	0	is difference of opinions therein.			

FINIS.

PROSOPOGRAPHIA: OR, SOME SELECT POURTRAITURES AND LIVES, OF ANCIENT and MODERN Illustrious PERSONAGES.

COLLECTED
Out of their PICTURES, BOOKS, and MEDALS.

Originally compiled and written in French

BY

ANDREW THEVET,
Chiefe Cosmographer to HENRY the third,
King of FRANCE & POLAND.

Newly Translated into English by some Learned and
Eminent PERSONS; and generally by
GEO: GERBIER, alias D'OUVILLY, Esq;

Illustrated and Imbellished, with the Effigies or Sculptures
of the said Worthy PERSONAGES in Copper
Plates, according to the

French ORIGINAL.

LONDON.

Printed by Abraham Miller, for William Lee, at
the Turks Head in Fleetstreet, over against
Fetter Lane, Anno Domini

M DC LVII.



THE
STATIONER
TO THE
Courteous READER.

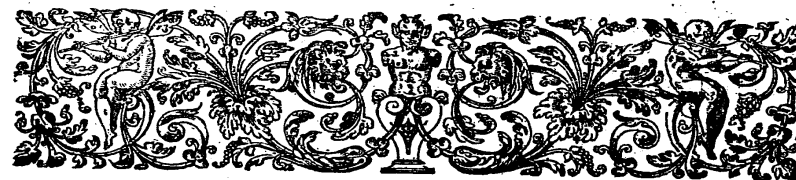
Having been desired, and encouraged, by several Persons of Honor, to venture upon a new and fifth Impression of Plutarchs Noble Grecians and Romanes Lives, and considering with my self in which way I might render this worke both ^{useful} ~~useful~~ able to the present Age, and famous to Posterity. I pitched upon an Additional Select Collection of some choice Portraitures and Lives, both of Grecian, Latine, and Pagan, Illustrious Personages; Memorable for their Actions, Sentences, and Writings, which I have hereunto annexed. The work it self was Originally written in French by Andr. Thevet Cosmographer to Henry the third the French King at his Masters request. And being it is the very marrow of his Observations during his twenty three yeers travails and Peregrinations, throughout the chiefeest and remotest parts in the world, whereby he procured unto himself an Intrinsicke experience, both of Men and Places. I deemed that this Additional extract (never as yet extant nor seen in English) would not in the least detract from Plutarchs Famous Worthies, but to the contray add more lustre to their Memories; by evidencing to the world, that after Ages were not barren in producing as rare and Heroick Spirits as the former, and as able Pen Men (in imitation of Plutarch) to remit unto Posterity their immortal renowns. I have also caused their Effigies, or Sculptures to be
Aaaa in-

inserted, exquisitely cut in Copper Plates, conformable unto those which our French Author had prefixed to his (which by repute are at present esteemed by all the Artists of our Nation to equal all others of that kinde: and they are only added in this our Translation for the Illustration of the Worke and Satisfaction of of the Readers curiosity

My only drift by this my Additional Collection, is, thereby to stir up our English Worthies to follow the footsteps of several of their Country men (whose Lives are hereunto annexed, as well as divers others who have excelled amidst other Nations, in their several professions and eminent conditions) that so they may acquire unto themselves an equal glory to theirs. Finally least I should seem too much to dote upon this my undertaking, I will forbear to enlarge on the benefit and advantage which may accrew by my presenting you with this pretious Record; so accounted of by all the best Wits and Learned Men in France, both by Reason of its impartial relations, ample and copious deductions, spaciousness, antiquity and scarcity; as also in regard of its excellent Plates (as aforesaid) all which hath rendred it so considerable in France it self, as that it is hardly to be compassed there under the sum of four or five pounds. In regard whereof, I deemed it could not chuse, but be a Worke very acceptable to present you with the better part of it; the whole being of too great a bulcke to be here inserted, and the choice Lives and Pourtraitures which you will hereunto finde annexed having been adjudged to be the very quintessence of Andrew Thevet's labors: in confidence they will please, I shall commit you to the Almightyes Protection, &c.

VV. Lee.

THE



THE LIFE OF CONSTANTINE the Great, THE FIRST Christian Emperour of ROME.



Ann. Mund.
4255.

Post Christ.
306.



Has Mortal can sufficiently respect and honour the memory of this most Valiant Emperour Constantine? who for his Rare and Eminent Vertues, was surnamed the Great, as the sole person, who being the first supporter of Christianity, and the most happy and wise enlarger of the Empire, hath deserved solely, and primarily amongst all the Romana Emperours, to be accounted of and received as a God, even by the Infidels and Barbarians who were not subject unto his power, nor as then acquainted with the knowledge of a true God. So likewise on the other side the Christians themselves, the Grecians, and the other Easterne Nations, by an excess of admiration of his Praise-worthy and Heroicall Acts, have worthily placed him in the ranke of the Blessed. He was the Sonne of Constantius, and of a certaine Matron called Hellen, not unlawfully begotten, as some have pretended; for she was his first legitimate wife, a most

Why Constantine was surnamed the Great.

Constantine's Mother.

Aaaaa 2

Constantine
very liberal.

Constantine
sides and re-
lieves the Ro-
mans ainst
Maximian the
Tyrant.

Constantine
stricken with
Leprosie, is cu-
red by using
Baptized.

Maximian
overcome by
Constantine.

Constantine's li-
beralities and
good deeds to
the Christian
Churches.

Licinius rebels
against Con-
stantine.

Bizantium tak-
en, called
Constantinople.

Two Emper-
ors by name
Constantine
born of two
Mothers by
name Hellen.

The Imperial
seat translated
out of Italy in
Greece.

The Romane
Empire how
and when di-
vided.

Two Emper-
ors born of
the Great
Emperors.

most Devoute and Christian-like Lady, who did carefully and diligently instruct him, her Son, in the true Belief in so much that by the great hopes which his Father conceived of the singular good Nature, and the sweet and Docile behaviour of his Son *Constantine*, he preferred him to his Wives *Theodora* children. And amongst the rest of *Constantines* Vertues and Graces (for he possessed many) his Liberality and Magnificence whereby he got his first footing into the Empire, and acquired unto himself the Love and Affection of the most noblest Princes, were not the least observable. For succeeding his Father in the Government of the *Gauls or French*, and of *England*, then called *Great Britain*, of which he was the fourth King; being requested by the *Romans* to ingage in their relief against the cruelties of the haughty Tyrant *Maxentius*; he undertooke that expedition in the year three hundred and nine, in the which year he was chosen and created the four and fortieth Emperor, by the general consent of all the People, for to deliver and avenge them from the injuries which they did receive by the said Tyrant; and having finally gained the Victory, *Maxentius* being also slain, he was received Victorious and Triumphant into *Rome*, where he was no sooner arrived, but he caused an Edict to be published, that from thence forwards no search or inquiry should be made after *Christians*, nor any punishment should be inflicted on them. But as he was deliberating how to resist the oppositions and stratagems of *Maximinus*, he became on a sudden infected with a Leprosie; and whereas no cure could be found, some Physicians perswading him to wash himself in a Bath made of young Childrens blood, he being moved unto compassion by the Parents tears and moans, would not suffer them to be killed; but in the ensuing night a holy Vision appeared unto him; and wished him to address himself unto *Silvester Bishop of Rome*, who would discover unto him a Salutary Bath; by the washing whereof he should recover his health, which he accordingly did, and by the receiving of Baptism was cured of his Leprosie. After which time being fervent and zealous in the Love of God and his Cause, he instituted and ordained severall good Laws to the advantage and repose of the *Christians*: he caused the Idols to be demolished and cast down, and rooted out their Temples and Groves, forbad them to be any longer worshipped or called Gods: caused a Church to be built in his Palace, invited all men to receive Baptism, and conferred on godly and salutary Ordinances, together with *Silvester* and the other Bishops, which being understood by *Maximinus*, his Co-partner in the Empire, he was sore displeased, and raised an Army to expell him, but *Constantine* having gotten the start of him, bearing the signe of the Cross in his Ensignes, encountred him, and overcame him in two Battels. By this means the *Christians* being settled in Peace again, the Church began to sprout out and flourish anew, *Constantine* endowing it with several Immunities, Privileges, Rents, Donations, Magnificences, Liberalities and Possessions. And whereas there happened some discords and divisions between the Churches concerning their Ceremonies, he ordained and proclaimed two Synods or Assemblies of Bishops and Priests, in which the controversies and points of Religion should be determined. Much about this time *Licinius*, unto whom *Constantine* had given his Sister in Marriage, and had made him his Consort or Companion in the Empire, rebelled against him, and endeavored to thrust him out; but *Constantine* being advertised of his enterprise, drew forth his Army, defeated him in *Hungary*, pursued him into *Macedonia*, where he was recruiting his Forces, drove him out of *Asia*, and pursued him so close at the heels, that at length he was forced to surrender himself, finding that he was overcome both by Sea and Land: he was sent into *Thessalony*, in a kinde of exile, there to lead a private life, however at length he could not avoide the due vengeance of his audacious attempt, cruelty, and disloyalty, for he was slain by *Constantines* Guards about the three hundred and four and twentieth year of our Lord. Moreover *Constantine* took *Bizantium* a City in *Greece*, which had been formerly destroyed by *Galiennus* and *Pertinax*, and causing it to be built up anew, he called it by his own name *Constantinople*, erecting many Trophies of the Cross in it, and consecrating severall Churches in it, to the honour of God, of the Apostles, and of the glorious Martyrs. And it is a wonderful and most observable thing, that this most flourishing City, thus enriched, re-edified, and embellished, even from the very foundation by the aforesaid *Constantine*, Son of that Saint-like *Hellen*, was by a fatal destiny, during the Reigne of another *Constantine*, whose Mothers name was also *Hellen* taken and conquered by *Mahomet* (the first of that Name) Emperor of the *Turkes*, in the year one thousand four hundred fifty and two, under whose power and subjection (as also of his successors) it hath remained ever since that time to this very day. This said Emperor *Constantine* did transport the Imperiall Seat out of *Italy* in the year three hundred and thirty, unto *Constantinople* the aforesaid City of *Greece*, where it remained for the space of almost four hundred years, before the Imperiall Eagle bore two heads, that is to say, before the *Romane Empire* was divided into two, which happened in the year after the birth of the Saviour and Redeemer of all the world, seven hundred threescore and sixteen; at which time *Charles* surnamed also the Great, did likewise obtaine the Imperiall dignity in the *Western Churches*, leaving the *Eastern Empire* unto the *Greeks* (by the partition which was made between himself and *Heraclius*. And although before this said division, the aforesaid Emperors did reside at *Constantinople*; yet however they had the administration of the *Eastern Empire*, which they did Govern either by themselves, or by some other Deputy who was of kin or alliance unto them by some other way of affinity, whom they also created *Cæsars*. And this kinde of Government did last, until the time of *Valentinian* the third.

And again, its very observable in this place, that the *Romane Empire*, having been transported into *Greece* by an Emperor surnamed the Great, hath also been brought backe again into the West by another Emperor, also surnamed the Great. But to return to our *Constantine*, as the whole Empire did only during

during *Constantine* the Greats Reigne, enjoy, and reap an entire Peace, and incomparable Glory, and that the *Christian Church* was mainly increased in number, perfection, and honor. So the enemy of mankind not being able to brook such a tranquillity, did solicitate and stir up the *Heretick Arius*, who for so many Ages together hath poysoned all the parts of the earth with his blasphemies and false erroneous opinions, sowing a division betwixt the Bishops and the Churches; some adhering unto his doctrine, others detesting the same, whereby there grew a great commotion and confusion in the Church, which coming to *Constantines* ears, he was much grieved thereat, and thought it was his duty to rectifie the same; and therefore caused some Synods and Assemblies to meet, for to dive into the questions and dissensions of *Arius*; the Emperor himself writing to the Prelates, beseeching and admonishing them to maintain the truth, however the gaffe grew wider and wider, parties becoming daily more bitter and envenomed against each other, which to prevent in a more ample manner, the Emperor sent his Letters Pattents throughout the whole Empire, and commanded all the Bishops and Learned Persons to Assemble at *Nicea*, a City in *Bithinia* in *Asia*; at which Synod there appeared three hundred and eighteen Bishops, with as many, if not more, Deacons and Doctors, which was the first Council held in the *Greek* and *Latine Church*. It would be a matter of too much prolixity, to run over all the memorable sayings and speeches uttered by *Constantine* himself in this universal Council touching Peace, Concord, Amity, the comportments of *Christians*, and the duties to be performed by them. I will onely mention that worthy sentence which he preferred when some Bishops did present unto him certaine injurious, slanderous, and libellous writings, concerning the vices and dealings of others their fellow Bishops; when as taking the Papers, and flinging them into the fire (being unwilling to read them) he made answer, *That God alone being the sole Judge, seer and searcher of all mens thoughts, and chiefly of the Priests, he would not in any wise undertake to intermeddle in their affaires or questions, nor prie into their manner of Lives.* The *Heretick Arius* and his complices were condemned in this Council of *Nicea* (and not in the Council of *Nice*, a City in *Europe*, as some Authors have very impertinently written). But afterwards the Emperor being seduced and abused by the subtilties of a Priest, and by the false and feigned confession of *Arius*, received him into favour again, whence some did take an occasion to say, that *Constantine* had suffered himself to be tainted and misled with *Arianism*; but at length this Monster *Arius*, condemned by the just judgement both of God and Men, ended his dayes most miserably, his guts bursting forth, and his bowels issuing out at his fundament.

And returning to our *Constantine*, we shall let you see how great a lover of Justice, and punisher of crimes he was; for at the infliction and accusation of *Fausta* his wife, it is believed he caused his Son *Crispus* to be put to death, accused by her that he would have ravished her; but afterwards, being assured of the falseness of his said wives accusation, he caused her also to be slain, a severity which by some was imputed to a cruelty in him, though not degenerating from Piety, wherewithall he was endowed, for at that time he was not regenerated by Baptism. To recount and set down the other Graces and Vertues which this Emperor did possess, would be superfluous: As touching his Piety, Humanity, Liberality, Learning, and rare Perfections: nor was he to seek, or ignorant in the least in any Arts or Sciences, for himselfe did compound several Books both in *Greek* and in *Latin*, as shall be hereafter mentioned. He so highly esteemed Learned men, as that his Court abounded with them, with whom he gladly and assiduously conferred, especially about the understanding of the Scriptures, with *Eusebius* and *Lactantius* who were two of those with whom he was most familiar. The Books which as aforesaid he composed, both in *Latine* and in *Greek*, were concerning the *Nicenean Synod*, touching the Divine Providence to the Senate of *Rome*, to the Judges of the *Eastern Provinces*, of *Christian Laws*, against the superstitions of the Gentiles, to *Eusebius* Bishop of *Cæsarea*, to the Provinces of *Palestine*, against *Alexander* and *Arius*; and such others as were plunged in his Heresie: unto the inhabitants of *Nicomedia* a City in *Asia*, unto *Sapor* King of *Persia*, to all the *Eastern Churches*, to the Bishops and Doctors who assisted at the Council, to the Judges and Citizens of *Athens* and *Antioch*, to the Bishop *Macharius*, to the Bishops of *Palestine*, to the good Fathers who assisted at the Synod of *Tyrrus*, to *Athanasius* the Patriarch of *Alexandria*; besides divers others, which I shall omit, to avoide prolixity. He bore such an ardent affection to his new *Rome*, that the better to beautifie and adorne her with precious rarities and Antiquities; he scrupled not to bereave (according unto *Saint Jeroms* report) all his Cities and leave them naked, for to imbellish and compleat his City of *Constantinople*. To which purpose he carried out of the Cattle that was at *Ilion*, the chief City of *Troy*, the *Palladium* of *Troas*, and the Statue of *Apollo* which was made of Brasse of an almost incredible bigness. From *Rome* he carried away a Colunne of *Porphyre* called *Colo*, which he caused to be environed with several Meddals, and placed in the Market-place which is paved with Frise-stone, upon the top of which he caused his own Statue of Brasse to be placed, holding in his right hand a golden Globe, upon which the signe of the Cross was fixed; which is yet standing upon the top of the second Mountaine, or Eminence in the City, but the said Statue is somewhat impaired, not so much by length of time (although tis a very Antick one) as by reason of the great Fires and Earthquakes wherewithall the City hath been overwhelmed; before which time (according to what some Historians have written) he maintained harsh Wars against the inhabitants of *Bizantium*, because they would not be obliged to pay him any Tribute, or be subjected to obey him; and coming to fight them in a pitch Field, at first they killed him abundance of his men, but at length not without a great deal of difficulty he conquered them, and did there build the City which is honoured by his name, and the which he did the better love by how much the ruder and adverse its habi-

rius his He-
resie begun.

The first Ni-
cenean Coun-
cel.

Constantines
reformation as
to Ecclesiasti-
cal differences.

The condem-
nation, restra-
intion and
death of Arius

Constantine
caused both
his Son Crispus
and his wife
Fausta to be
put to death.

Constantine ho-
nored Learned
men.

Books written
by Constantine.

Constantine
transports se-
veral rarities
to Constanti-
nople.

Constantine
warred against
the inhabi-
tants of Bi-
zantium and con-
quered them.

Constantinople
peopled with
Christians by
Constantine.

Constantine di-
vided the Em-
pire.
Constantine
the Great cre-
ated Caesars.

Constantine the
Greats death
at Nicomedia.

Athanasius re-
called from
banishment
by Constantine.

Constantines
Will and Tes-
tament.

Constantines
body carried
to Constanti-
nople.

Constantines
death bewailed
by the Inhabi-
tants of Con-
stantinople.

The division
of the Empire
between Con-
stantines Sons.

Constantine
warreth a-
gainst his bro-
ther Constantine,
is slain.

Concerning
Constantine the
Greats being
Baptized.

tants had shewn themselves to the ancient seat of his Dominions. And finally he became so enamoured with this new City, as that he conceived it was impossible for him to be glutted in the adorning of it. Afterwards he peopled it with such Christians as he could assemble out of *Armenia, Georgia, Palestine, and Egypt*, and who were fled into those parts, to avoid the sad persecutions by *Dioclesian*, and the which were renewed by *Licinius*, *Constantines* brother in Law. Moreover, as he had found the Empire divided; so did he again divide it, as a Paternal inheritance, and bestowed it upon his three Sons, whom he created all three of them *Caesars*, during his lifetime, the one after the other, viz. *Constantine* his eldest Son in the tenth year of his Reign, *Constantius* his second Son in the twentieth year, and *Constans* the youngest of his Sons in the thirtieth year. The Reigns of these his said Sons proved very turbulent and troublesome, and lasted not above four and twenty years five moneths and twelve dayes. As for this our *Constantine*, he dyed at *Nicomedia* on the one and twentieth day of the month of *May*, during the Consulship of *Felicianus*, and *Tatianus*, which was in the second year of the two hundred fourscore and seventh Olympiad; and in the year of the Salvation of all mankind, three hundred thirty and nine, after he had lived threescore and six years, and had Reigned thirty and one. Some will needs have us believe, that he was poisoned in his Country or Garden-house hard by *Nicomedia*; however it was, his death was foretold two years before by the appearance of a Comet of an unusual bigness, lying on his death bed, he ordained and commanded that *Athanasius* should be recalled from his banishment, whom himself (being deceived and induced thereunto by the *Arians* who bore *Athanasius* a grudge) had banished; so that he returned again to his Bishoprick of *Alexandria*; *Eusebius* and all his other adversaries being present. He disposed of his last Will and Testament, into the hands of that same Priest, who had so much stickled for *Arians*; and who so as so much recommended unto him by his Sister *Constance* (who had been *Licinius* his wife) as she lay a dying, assuring that he was a very honest man, whom *Constantine* caused to swear, that he would not deliver the said Will to any other, save unto *Constantine* when he should be returned from the *East*; for none of his children were present at his death. After his decease, his body was laid on a Golden Bier, or Bed of Honour, and was conducted by his Captains, Lieutenants, and by the Officers of his household, into the City of *Constantinople*; and was there placed in an eminent and high place to be viewed of all Men. And those of his Court did continue to perform unto his dead body the same services and honors, as they had done whilst he was alive, untill such time as his children, or at least one of them was returned for to cause him to be interred. The whole City lamenting and bewailing in a high degree, the loss of their Great Emperor, and mourning and weeping bitterly for him as Orphans bereaved of the presence of their dear and tender Father, all of them having often tasted and had the experience of his Graces and Benignity. And as I have afore mentioned he left the Empire unto three of his Sons, who in stead of maintaining themselves therein by Union, Peace, Concord, and Amity; fell foule together, and tore each other asunder. By the division which *Constantine* the Great did make of the Empire, *Constantine* who was the elder brother enjoyed *Gaul*, or *France*, *Spain*, and *England*. *Constans* the younger brother, had all *Italy*, *Slavonia* and *Greece*. And *Constantius* the second brother possessed *Constantinople*, and all the *East*. But this repertition not pleasing *Constantine*, he commenced a quarrel with his brother *Constantius*, waging a cruel and deadly war with the *Gauls* or *French*, with whom furiously, but fighting more greedily then providently, he was way-laid, beset and overwhelmed with Ambushes, near unto *Aquile*, and being wounded in divers places, he there died, and was cast into the River called *Alse*.

Finally I cannot here omit to set down the incredulity of some persons, who suspect that which we have here related concerning this Emperors Baptisme, and do not stick to deny that he was Baptized by *Pope Silvester*. Grounding this their allegation, on what *Eusebius* of *Cæsarea* doth Write, that *Constantine* was Baptized at *Nicomedia* in his latter dayes, having continued a long while in his devotions in a Church which had been there built by his Mother *Hellen*; not by the Bishop of *Nicomedia*, who was a Hereticke, but by some other Catholicke Prelate, &c.

The end of the Life of Constantine the Great.

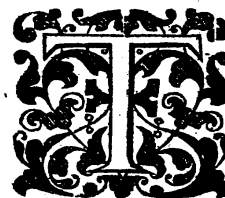
THE

THE LIFE OF ARCHIMEDES, a Philosopher of Greece.



Ann. Mund.
3739.

Ant. Christ.
209.



His great *Geometrician*, and most admirable Contriver *Archimedes*, whose Picture I present you here with, to the Life, which I brought from *Sicile* made in Brasse, like unto a rare Medal which is usually found in the Foundations of such Cities as are built by the *Roman* Emperors, he was so incomparable in his time, that all the *Greece* and *Latine* Historians thought it no incumbrance to manifest his subtil Inventions, Sciences, and those admirable Parts wherewith he was endowed: so that of old when a man would expresse how exquisitely a thing was done, he needed but to say, that *Archimedes* himself could not have better described or set it forth. *Cicero* also recites this Proverb or Probleme of *Archimedes*, to signifie a question unknown, abstruse, and difficult to be resolved, and which ought to be examined with exquisite industry. The Inhabitants of *Sicile* did formerly so highly reverence him, as that they caused a costly Statue of Marble to be erected in honour of him; which was of that immensity, as being beheld afar off it seemed to be a second *Colossus* of *Rhodes*. True it is, that this personage born at *Syracusa*, a City in the Isle of *Cyprus*, living in the time of a mighty and rich King *Hiero*, effected such things as were never heard of before, and almost incredible; which he hammered out by his own invention. Now if any one desireth to be satisfied as concerning those marvellous things, which he by his rare Genius brought to perfection, let him read *Plutarch* on the Life of *Marcus Marcellus*, and *Titus Livius* in the fourth and fifth of his third Decade; where he shall finde, that the onely Engines and Instruments which *Archimedes* did make, were sufficient to defend the place for a long time against all the assaults of the *Romans*. For he caused a flinging Engine to be made of a wonderful height and greatnesse, the which from the top of the Tower of the said City did cast out a hundred great Stones, Bullets, or Darts, upon the Enemies Camp. For which reason *Eustathius* calls him a *Giant* with an hundred arms, casting forth a hundred heavey massie stones at one shock; which though doubtless were admirable works in themselves, yet he made no account nor esteem of them; reckoning them not as his Master-piece, but onely as Geometrical toys and pastimes, made at the request of *Hiero* King of *Sicile*. Amongst other things it is related, that when all humane force was not able to draw a great Ship out of the water, with an infinite sort of Cables and other Engines. *Archimedes* alone drew it on Land, as if it had sailed on the Sea. During the Siege of *Syracusa* by the *Roman* Army, he made such Instruments, as that casting over the Walls great Iron Grapples fastned to it on Chaines, giving them their Counterpoize within the

The Engines
and Instru-
ments made by
Archimedes.

The Sphere
invented by
Archimedes.

Archimedes so
busie in de-
scribing a Fi-
gure, as that
he was not
sensible of the
sudden death
which threat-
ned him.

the City, he lifted up a Galley into the aire, and drowned all the men that were in her in the Sea; for he caused the said Galley to fall perpendicularly or downright, so that it brake in pieces. And with other Instruments and Grapples, he did wonderfully shackle the Gallies and Ships, as that he forcibly drave them against a Rock, and bruised them to shivers. Also he built such like Engines on Land, with which he usually destroyed many of the Enemies. In which resistance which Archimedes made in Syracuse, the General, Consul, Marcus Marcellus, that excellent Capitaine, was forced to alter the disposition of his Campe, and to seeke out another way and manner to besiege and assault the City; in which Siege he found himself in a great deal of peril and confusion. For Archimedes had put the Roman Souldiers into so great an amazement, that when they saw the least Chain, or but a bare Pole let downe from the Walls of the City, they retired and fled away, being terrified at the Inventions and Engines of this great Artist. The Mathematicians and Astrologers attribute the Invention of the Materiall Sphere to this sub-til Philosopher, by which the Motions of all the Planets, with their Conjunctions, Passions, and Aspects, may be plainly perceived; although Diogenes Laertius seems on the contrary to believe, that Anaximander the Philosopher, who was a Milesian, was Author and first Inventor of so rare and excellent a piece. Which we were willing to note by the way, to leave every man to his owne liberty to judge thereof. For my part, I have Cicero that great Orators Warrant for what I say, who in the first Book of his Tusculan Questions, is pleased to give Archimedes on-ly the commendations to have been the first Inventor of the Sphere. With whom Claudian the Poet agrees; who saith that he made one of Chrystall. And Ovid also confirmeth it, alleadg-ing that it could not be very difficult for him to frame one of Chrystall, since he had sufficient means to perform it, and industry enough to invent one; yet I would have you to know, that I relie not so much upon these Poets verbal expressions; since I must acknowledge, that by the Chrystalline Sphere which they attribute to Archimedes, their meaning was onely to ascribe unto him the invention of the Sphere. because that by the Circles and other properties of it, he did represent unto us, as in a faire Chrystall Glasse, the severall Motions, Aspects, and Conjun-cti- ons of the Orbs: And certainly he must needs have been as studious as contemplative, and as wise as judicious. Now when as Syracuse was taken by assault, after it had been solely by his industry for a long time defended: the Consull Marcellus gave strict charge that no man on paine of death should dare to kill Archimedes, although he had destroyed so many Romans. Yet a Souldier meeting him by chance (happily not knowing him) as he was busied in draw- ing a Scheme in the sand, and asking him who he was; or (as others say) commanding him to go and speak with Marcellus, Archimedes gave him no answer, or was so attentive and set upon the placing of this Figure, as that he minded him not. Whereupon the Souldier being angry, killed him, which highly displeased Marcellus, who caused him to be honourably in-terred. Others say, that he made no other reply unto the Souldier, save that he was so deeply engaged in the description of his Figure, as that he could not well tell how to dis-entangle himself. And it is very remarkable on the death of Archimedes, that the apprehen- sion of death which was set before him, could not divert him from his Mathematical ploddings. Hereon I say, that the diligence which he used is very much to be commended, because he was so much bent upon this worthy Employment; whereby he ought to be admired above all other Philosophers, forasmuch as all of them did reject and despise the Goods of Fortune (as men call them) but at the time of the Soules separation from the Body (when as we must leave this World) there were very few of them that did not renounce the bargain. We reade that Carneades an ingenious and laborious Philosopher was so addicted to his Studies, that he would not admit of the leisure to eat: yet however he had one Melista his Concubine, whom he ac- counted of as his Wife, and who to hinder him from Starving when he fasted too long, would bring him such things as were fit to nourish him. Anaxagoras also, and Democritus, did so much despise Wealth, as that the one gave the greatest part of his Estate to his Countrey; the other was not displeased in the least, when he saw all his Goods and Possessions lost and ru-ined; because they accounted it but a tye, whereby being as it were chained, they could not freely re- signe themselves to confer with the Muses. To speak the truth, all these Philosophers did things worthy of great commendation; but there is not one of them like unto our Archimedes. For they could not choose but apprehend the ensuing dangers and incumbrances. But had they been like unto Archimedes in the sacking of a City, having the Sword set upon their throats, we should have found very few Archimedes's, who would have continued their Descriptions and Demonstrations. Some write of him, that oft times he was taken from his Study, and con- ducted to the Baths, and was there washed and anointed, without any outward sensibility, deline- ating alwaies his Figures upon his body with his fingers; so attentive was he on his Speculati- ons. I had forgotten to mention the ingenious Discovery which he made, to know how much Gold might have been taken away from a Crown, and Silver mingled instead of it: But because the History hath been largely handled by some Moderne Writers, I remit the curious Reader to a Discourse made thereon by Peter Messias in his Forest of divers Instructions. Cicero gloried that he first found his Sepulchre, which by age and neglect was unknown; and he made great ac- count of it. So likewise the Spirit and Industry of a learned man can effect more than the force of thousands of ignorant men. He lived in the time of Sulpitius Gallus, of great Onias the high

High Priest of the Jews, of Aristobolus the Jew, and of Ptolomy Epiphanes the first King of Egypt, in the year 5000. and he was slain at the sacking and taking of Syracuse, as afore- said, the year after Rome was built, 543. He composed an excellent Book of the Cylinders, which Book hath since been recovered, and translated into Latine by the command of Pope Nicolas the fifth.

Moreover it is reported of this admirable Philosopher Archimedes, that his sublime knowledge in the Mathematicks was arrived to so high a pitch, as that he should say, that could he have found any point out of the Terrestrial Globe to have fixed his foote upon, he would have removed the Fa- brick of the whole World, &c.

The end of the Life of Archimedes.



Bbbbb

THE

THE LIFE OF DIOGENES the Grecian Philosopher.



Ann. Mund.
3598.

Ant. Christ.
350.



Though doubtless many have heard some Coridons, or Mechanick fellows, either in jest or earnest, vending their judgements on him whose Effigies or Protraiture is here represented, in the same manner as it was given unto me at the City of *Andrenopolis* in *Greece* (being as I was ascertained) found in *Culcedonia*, in the times of the Emperors *Basilius* and *Constantinus*, who were brothers, in the year of our Lord nine hundred seventy and eight: yet however he ought not therefore to be accounted of, as an abject or contemptible person. And if we rather chuse to reflect upon his internal then external parts, we shall finde that he is worthy of a great deal of Honor. For as we read of two Ancient Philosophers *Democritus* and *Heraclitus*, who incessantly (the one by his Laughter, and the other by his Tears) did take the Follies of the vulgar; both of their expressions tending to one and the self same purpose. So likewise, amongst the Philosophers, the *Stoick* was severe; the *Academick* dubious, the *Peripatetick* Politicke, the *Cynicke*, free and willfull; yet however all these had but one and the self same scope, viz. To philosophize.

Now amongst all those who have followed this *Cynical* manner of living, *Diogenes* may be placed in the first ranke, as being the sole Philosopher, who did lead a free and careless life, without any goods, or estate; he was born at *Synope*, a Maritime Town situated upon the Borders of the *Euxinian* Sea, his Father was named *Iscus* an Usurer, who put him for a while to School; but at length *Diogenes* being driven out of his Country, retired himself unto *Athen*, where he learnt Philosophy of *Antisthenes*: wherein he made so good a progress, as that he became one of the most excellentest Philosophers of all *Greece*. His Life was most strange, which he lead in the greatest Poverty that possibly could be; for despising the pleasures of the world, he contented himself a great while with a Tub for his habitation, the entrance of which in the Winter he did turn towards the South, and in the Summer towards the North. He did aske Almes, carrying a stick in his hand, and a wallet on his shoulders in the same manner as you see him described. He was so great a lover of the *Philosophical* faculty, that his Master threatening to beat him out of doors with a stick, because that he did not take any Scholars to teach; *Diogenes* profering his head unto him, said, *Strik on I pray, for you shall not finde any stick hard enough to drive me out of your School*. Many memorable sayings and speeches are recorded concerning this most excellent Philosopher; some of which (although facetious, yet full of Learning) I have thought fit to insert in this present discourse. When he saw Physicians and Philosophers in company together with other men, he would usually say, *That*

amongst

amongst all the Creatures, Man ought to be the most circumspect. And on the contrary when he met with Southsayers, Fortune-tellers, and others puffed up with the splendor of their wealth, he would say, *That he esteemed nothing more vain then Man*. Being at a certain time in the publicke place of the City, discoursing of weighty and grave matters, and perceiving that no man drew near to him, he fell a whistling and singing; whereby a great multitude of people being flocked about him, he reprehended and reproached them, *That they were so eager and ready to listen unto follies, but tardis, and backwards in giving ear unto matters of moment*. He said, that he wondered at the *Grammarians*, who were so critical in diving into and searching out the vices of *Ulysses*; and were ignorant of their own. At the *Musicians*, who could Tune their own Instruments, and yet retain such unsettled passions of their Souls. At the *Mathematicians*, who extend their sight, even to the Sun and Moon, and not see those things which are under their very Noses. At *Orators* who do break their brains to utter good things, and never trouble their heads in the least to do them. He would usually say, *That he did much admire, men should quarrel and kill themselves for the honor of a jump or precedence, or some such like say; but never so much as in the striving for to attain unto the highest pitch of Vertue*. And an *Astrologer* one day discoursing with a great deal of confidence concerning the *Meteor*, and other *Celestial* influences, he demanded of him, *How long it was since he came from heaven?* Now the same freedom which he used in his manner of living, the like did he also in his manner of speech; for a certain Eunuch having placed this inscription upon the porch of his door, viz. *Let no evil enter here*; *Diogenes* passing by, and reading it, asked those which chanced to be present, *Which way shall the master of the House get in?* Beholding another Bill upon the House of a great spent-thrift, and prodigal man, specifying that the house was to be sold, he cried out and said, *O house! I know very well by your riotousness, that you would quickly meet with your Master*. And seeing certain men one day shooting at Buts with Crois, Bowes (one of which usually shoot at a great distance from the mark) *Diogenes* against that Mans turn came to shoot, placed himself at the Buts, just against the mark; at which the company wondering, he said, *I perceive that you Man shoots so wide from the mark which you do aime at, as that I conceive my self to be no where safe, but just in this place*. A Player on the Cithern being generally blamed because he was a *Corpulent* Man, and *Diogenes* only praising him, being demanded the reason why, he said, *Because his vast bulke had made him fitter to be a Player upon Musical Instruments, then a Thief*. Another Musician, by reason that he had an unpleasant voice being abandoned by all men, and *Diogenes* meeting of him, said, *God save you Master Cock*, the other demanding why he miscalled him so; he answered, *Because your singing makes all the company rise*. Being moreover demanded, *What was the greatest misery in this world?* He answered, *To be old and poor*. Being asked; *Whether he had any servants?* He answered, *No*: and the other replying, *Who do you imagine will carry you to your Grave when you dye?* He answered, *He that shall have need of the House*. Being asked, *What he would have to receive a Box on the ear, or a blow on the face*, he said, *A good steel casket unto my head*. *Plato*, seeing him one day busie in washing of herbes, whispered unto him, and told him, *Could you but court Dionysius you should not need to wash herbes*; to whom *Diogenes* replied, *And if you could wash herbes, you should not need to court Dennis the Tyrant*. Being arrived at the Town of *Minda*, and finding it ill peopled and but a little scurvy hole, yet with great Gates, he said to the inhabitants, *Pray, shut your Gates, lest your Town do run away out of them*. Perceiving an untoward wrastler took upon himself the curing of mens diseases; he asked him, *Whether by that means he intended to cast those to the ground, who had formerly worsted him?* Some one asking him, *Whence he was?* he said, *He was a Citizen of the whole World*. Hearing a proper handsome young man utter unseemling and dishonest language, he asked him, *Whether he was not ashamed to unsheath a Leadon sword, out of an Ivory scabbard?* To a *Logician*, who by his Arguments went about to prove there was no motion at all, *He only walked along, and asked him what he thought of that?* *Alexander* the Great having conquered *Greece*, and being at *Athen*, he was desirous to see *Diogenes*, by reason of his great Fame; and being come where *Diogenes* was sitting in the Sun, he asked him whether he needed any thing, and though it were never so much he would give it him. To which he answered, *Pray Sir stand a little backward out of the Sun shine, and take not that from me which you cannot give me. Whom thinks you of us two is in most need? My self who desire nothing but my wooden dish, and a morsel of bread; or thou, who being not contented with thy Kingdome of Macedon, exposest thy life to so many dangers, for to extend thy Dominions, in so much as that the world is not capable to satisfy that Avarice?* At which answer, *Alexander* was so astonished and rejoyced, that turning back to some who stood thereat, he said, *I would assuredly chuse to be Diogenes, were I not Alexander*. Moreover the sentences and rare answers pronounced by this Philosopher were numberless, so that we shall pass by divers of them to avoid prolixity. He was very well versed in all Arts and Sciences. He said, *That knowledge is correction to the young, comfort to the old, riches to the poor, and ornament to the rich*. He despised those Arts which were unprofitable, and such persons as study, rather to acquire knowledge, then to practise Vertue. He compared a rich ignorant man unto a Golden sheep. In Summer he laid on the sand in the Sun. And in Winter he would graspe the Statues and Trees which were covered with Snow, the better to accustom himself to support both the heat and the cold.

And as aforesaid he carried a Waller, in which he put his victuals; and had he a wooden dish, out of which he drank, but he brake his dish, seeing a childe drink out of it's hand; and admiring the childs wit, said, it was not requisite for a man to trouble himself with a vessel to drinke out of, since Nature

B b b b b 2

fur-

Concerning
Philosophers
and bilicians

Concerning
Fortune-tel-
lers and South-
layers &c.

Concerning
mens apicles
to heed follies.

Several sort of
people as which
Diogenes did
wonder.

The great
miserie in the
world.

His reply to
Plato.

Concerning
himself.

His reply to
Alexander the
Great.

Concerning
knowledge.

The diversities
of Philoso-
phers exp: effi-
ons have one
and the self
same end.

Diogenes birth
and Parantage

Diogenes
strange man-
ner of life.

Diogenes a
great lover of
Philosophy.
Several of Dio-
genes his
speeches and
actions.

Diogenes his reason why he was called a Dog.

His reason why he would not be buried.

Diogenes taken up of Xenias and Corinthian children by a Pyrate.

Diogenes method towards his Scholars.

Diogenes Scholars esteem to him.

Alexander's reverence to his Master.

Diogenes his death and Sepulchre.

Diogenes his reading place seen by the Author.

Diversity of opinions concerning Diogenes his death.

His Age.

Diogenes his admirable parts.

furnished him with one. He also flung away his wooden Trencher, seeing another cut his meat upon his bread. Being demanded, *Why some did call him a Dog?* He answered, *Because I shake much of those who give unto me; I bark at those who deny me, and I bite the harsh and forward.* He would not be buried after his death; whereas his friends wondering, represented unto him, that being left upon the ground, without Sepulchre or Grave, the Beasts would devour him. To which he answered, *That they may not do so, pray lay my sticks by my side?* At which they laughed, telling him, *That the dead did neither see nor feel; whereunto he replied, If therefore the dead do neither see nor feel? what is it to me, whether the Beasts do eat me, the Birds do pick me, or the Wormes of the earth devour me?* And as he was thus fantastical in his manner of living, in his speeches, and Actions, yet far more singular was he in the rule and conduct of those whom he had under his charge. And namely in the bringing up of *Xenias* and *Corinthians* children; unto whom he was sold at *Crete* or *Candie* by *Scirpalus*, the great Pyrate, who took him at Sea as he was going to *Aquinas*. And these were the Rules which he prescribed unto his Scholars. First, he would have them to addict themselves unto those good and sound disciplines on which he did read most admirable Lectures unto them: afterwards he caused them to ride the great horse, to shoot with the Bow, and to be good fencers; chiefly forbidding them to strain themselves in wrestling; enjoying them moreover, not only to Learn and Con all his sayings by heart; but also all the Poets rare compositions; would suffer them to eat but a very little meat, and drink nought save water. He caused them to be shaven to the very chin, and made them go abroad unready without shoes, willing them to dress themselves as they went through the streets, because they should lose no time. And for all this harsh demeanor and austerity of Life; his Scholars did love and cherish him extremely, and mediate to have been treated and used more humanely and courteously in the house of *Xenias* than his quality of a servant and a slave deserved, which is a most remarkable acknowledgement of Scholars towards their Masters, and whereunto common sense and reason might easily induce them.

Which *Alexander the Great* testified, by bearing as great a reverence unto *Aristotle* his Master, as unto *Philip of Macedon* the King his Father; because that by the one he had received his Life, and by the other the manner to live Well. But to return unto *Diogenes*, he was highly esteemed by *Xenias* his Master, not only for his rare Wit and knowledge, but for the great care and diligence wherewithall he employed himself in his Domesticke affairs, who otherwise had not long harbored him in his house; and *Xenias* at length being constrained to acknowledge, that *Diogenes* had brought good luck to his house, he took such an affection unto him, as it is believed he never parted with him till his dying day; and divers are of opinion that he dyed at his Master *Xenias* house, at a place called the *Crone* at *Corinth*; grounding this their belief on *Diogenes* his answer to his Master, that he would be buried with his face downwards; and they do add that his Scholars *Xenias* children did bury him. However some will not let them reap the honour thereof by reason of the contests which were amongst his friends concerning his burial; and therefore they are of opinion, that all his friends jointly did make him a Tombe, and placed a Colonne upon it, on the top whereof there was the figure of a Dog engraven (It may be because *Plato* had called him so) As also that to outvie each other, they adorned his Grave with several Brass Statues, placing this like inscription upon his Tombe, translated out of *Greek*.

*Though time doth Brass destroy, Diogenes thy praise
Eternally shall last; no Age shall taint thy Baies,
To us thou hast prescribed these Rules, whereby we may
Eternal bliss atchieve; What mortal could more say?*

My self being in the Isle of *Crete*, or *Candie*, about half a league from the place where the *Labyrinth* or *Maze* was, which is so much written of by the Ancient Authors; some *Grecians* of the said Island did shew unto me certain ruines and very great stories which favoured much of Antiquity. In which place they told me *Diogenes* had for several yeers read his publike Lectures (according as it was contained in the vulgar *Greek* Authors) and called that place *Staphylia*, by reason (as I do conjecture according to the most proper signification of the word) of the many roots that are there. And as there were diversity of opinions concerning his Sepulchre, so likewise were they worse divided concerning his death. Some say, that as he was very careless of his Diet, he did one day eat an whole cold Oxe foot, whereby he drew down a Rheume into his mouth, as that he dyed thereof: others have been pleased to say, that being overburdened with old Age, and regretting his long life, he did wrap himself up in his Cloak, and so smothered himself. However it happened, all do agree in this, that he died of a violent death, being of the Age of fourescore and ten years. Having left behind him a signal renown of his most admirable examples and worthy instruction; aswell for his strange and singular manner of Living; and the excellency of his knowledge and wit, which was so much admirable, as that several famous professors have oftentimes come from foreign and remote parts purposely unto *Athens* to hear and see him, &c.

The end of Diogenes Life.

THE LIFE OF CONSTANTINE PALEOLOGUS, the last Christian Emperor of Greece.



Ann. Mund.
5403.

An. Chris.
1454.



Some men have very inconsiderately dived into this nice inquiry and scrutiny, why Empires, Kingdoms, Principalities and States, have sometimes been subverted, destroyed, and brought to nought; and at other times raised up, restored and exalted: Finally, why Empires have so often changed their several Masters, who were dissenting both in Customs, Laws, and Religions. I have met with some of these who would even winde and screw up their Speculations to the very Skies, and rashly do fancy to themselves, that they are the Almightyes Privie-Counsellors; carrying on their said conceits with so much efficacy and self-belief of the truth, as *Triumpho of Camarin* did (a *Triumpho of Camarin's* Phrenzy. *A curiosity very prejudicial to be condemned.*) fantastically did imagine and persuade himself, that really and truly, at a certain hour in the day, he was assembled together in company with the Pope, the Emperor, and the several Kings and Princes of *Christendome* (although all that while he was alone in his own Chamber by himself) where he entered upon, debated, and resolved all the States Affairs of *Christendome*; and verily believed that he was the wisest man of them all; and so he well might be, of the company. Others again, relying upon the vicissitude of things, do forge a like necessity, That Empires and Kingdoms having once attained their appointed periods, are necessitated to cast up the Cards, to shut the Tables, and to resigne the Game to the better management of those who successively are enthroned and invested therein. As for my part, I had rather resign my self to the Almightyes will, unto which the cause of the translation of Scepters ought to be solely attributed, since he maketh them to fall into such hands as he pleaseth. For a most evident testimony hereof, we cannot make choice of a fitter Portraiture, than this of our first *Constantine*, which I recovered at *Constantinople*, engraven in a *Mosaic* stone. This was he, who bearing the same Name as he did who transported the *Roman* Empire into *Greece*, did lose it, eleven hundred twenty and one years after *Constantinople* was built by *Constantine the Great*, as I shall proceed to relate unto you. He was the Son of *Emanuel* the Son of *John Paleologus*, who was most renowned for the several Heroical Actions which he did; as well by fortifying of *Greece*, walling about the *Isthmus* or *Hesiaride* of *Corinth*, and the maintaining of his Empire in Tranquility, Repose, and Peace, which he had made with *Emanuel* the first of that Name, but the third King of the *Turks*. I thought good also to note, that this *Emanuel* caused a Synod to be assembled at *Constantinople*, unto which the Patriarchs of *Constantinople*, of *Antioch* the great, of *Jerusalem*, of *Aegypt*, together with divers other Prelates, were called to resolve on the interpretation

The pernicious effect of it. The pernicious ill advised men did deduct a most pernicious and damnable consequence, by inferring some degree and difference between them, or to their Natures. But to return to our purpose. Though *Emanuel* did maintain his Empire in rest and quietness, yet his Children indeavoured what in them lay, to rend it asunder. For against *John* the fourth of that name, *Demetrius* his Brother, rose up in competition; and for his better support, he entered into a League with the *Turks*, who attempted to rush into *Moravia*, but were forced to desert that design till another time. And *Constantine* himself brake down that Wall which *Emanuel* had caused to be built at the Straights of *Corinthus*; evidencing that he aspired to the Empire, and to the Dominion of *Morea*. And so it was, that when *John Paleologus*, *Constantine's* Brother died, he was in *Morea*: where for those valiant Exploits he performed against the *Turks*, whom he sharply infested, he was surnamed *Draco*, or *Dragon*. And it was ten to one, but he had been frustrated in his succession of the Empire; for *Demetrius* his younger Brother being at *Constantinople* when this Emperor died, would have usurped the Empire, although *Constantine* was his elder Brother. And it is very probable, that unless the *Strampolitanians* had withstood his indeavours and Forces, he had very easily introned himself, taking the advantage of his Brother *Constantine's* being so deeply engaged at that time against the *Turks*; and that no consideration whatsoever was able to reclaim him from pursuing of them. However, as I was a telling of you, the Inhabitants of *Constantinople* would not permit him to assume the Imperial Dignity, fearing that their City might come to be ruined, in case they had admitted and favoured the younger Brother against him, unto whom of right the Empire did belong. Wherefore it was agreed upon, that *Constantine* should be Emperor; and that *Demetrius* and *Thomas* should equally inherit the Dominions of *Morea* betwixt them. But it had been far better, that either the one of them had possessed it alone, or that both of them had gone without it; by reason that their differences and jars gave an admittance and footing, into so gallant and strong a Countrey, unto the common Enemy of *Christendome*, the *Turks*, who became at length absolute Masters thereof. And as for our *Constantine*, he enjoyed no long repose nor tranquility in his Dominions: for after the death of old *Amurath* (who died in the year of the World, 4511. and in the year of our Lord and Saviour, 1450.) *Mahomet*, the second of that Name, succeeded him (and not *Mahomet* the first, though the first Emperor, as by a mistake it was set down in the Life of *Constantine the Great*) who puzzled the Emperor extremely, and all those who were Subjects unto his Dominions. And that I may not too much enlarge, I shall content my self to recount unto you, how he besieged *Constantinople* in the Moneth of *February*, in the year of our Lord, 1453: and continued the said Siege until the 28 day of the Moneth of *May*, and gained the place on the fifty fourth day after he had besieged it; causing all the *Grecian* Nobility (who were in the place) to be put to death; and likewise among the rest, the Emperor *Constantine* himself: who for a long while before had both required, summoned, and conjured the Christian Princes to lend him relief, but they could not attend the same. For the fatality of those times had imbroyled all *Christendome* in Wars amongst themselves: The Emperor against the *Swisses*, the *Hungarians*, and *Moravians*; the French King against the King of *England*; *Italy* was full of Leagues, Confederacies, Factions, and Partialities against each other. However, the *Pope*, the *Venetians*, and *Alphonso* King of *Naples*, did promise to send thirty Gallies to his relief; and indeed the *Venetians* did send thither *James Lauré*, with a gallant equipage; but he came too late; for the *Turk* had already mastered the place, not without a great deal of resistance, which was made by the besieged, as aforesaid; for the space of fifty and foure daies. And really the *Turk* did lose many thousands of men before it: and the same day when he gained the City, the Emperor *Constantine* did not onely content himself to encourage his men to withstand so furious a monster: but himself being armed, *de cap-a-pe*, from head to toe, and being seconded but by a handfull of men onely, did for the space of five hours most gloriously withstand all the *Turkish* Forces. But finally seeing himself abandoned by the greatest part of his men, and having but two persons onely who stood by him, and stuck unto him, (*viz.* *Theophilus Paleologus*, of the Stock and Imperial Race, and a *Slavonian* Slave, though most illustrious and noble in his gallant Actions) was constrained to retreat; and indeavoured to save himself amidst the multitude, he was either pressed to death, or (as others will have it) trodden under foot, and sisted. And thus the last *Christian* Emperor of *Constantinople* most miserably ended his daies, after he had reigned three years and three moneths. The Town being taken, you may imagine the cruelties which *Mahomet* did there exercise; however he could not choose but reverence the dead body of our *Constantine*, which (as three very ancient *Adamelians* of *Egypt* did tell me) he caused to be fought for throughout the City, and having found it, he took him by the hands and head, and bedewed them with so many tears which flowed from his eyes, as that the standers by could not refrain themselves from weeping: and afterwards caused him to be entered in his Sepulchre; but I could never learn where it was; and this reason thereof was given me by certain *Mahometans*: That *Mahomet* would have but four persons know where he was buried; apprehending, lest those Souldiers, who being numberless, and had been wounded and maimed by that valiant Emperors own hand, through rage should pull him out of his grave again. And this was the cause, why after his death his head was carried on the top of a Lance, by way of derision, through the whole City; as also the Image of our Saviour and Redeemer was dragged through the dirt in the streets, with the greatest indignity that possibly could be; having this Inscription affixed upon it, *This is the Christians God*.

Finally, I cannot choose but wonder why some have accustomed themselves to assure the World, that

Differences
betwixt *Ema-
nuel's* Sons.

Constantine fir-
named *Draco*,
or *Dragon*.

Constantine
Emperor of
Greece.

Demetrius and
Thomas's Sons
make entrance
for the *Turks*
into *Morea*.

Mahomet the
second besie-
ged and tak-
eth *Constanti-
nople*.

All *Christen-
dome* engaged
in Wars at the
time of the
Siege of *Con-
stantinople*.
The *Venetian*
relief came
too late.

Constantine's
valiant de-
fence of *Con-
stantinople*.

Constantine's
death.

Mahomet's pre-
tended reve-
rence to *Con-
stantine's* dead
body.

Indignities of-
fered to *Con-
stantine's* head,
and our Savi-
ours Image.

that this *Constantine* was the seventh of that Name, when as by the List of the *Grecian Emperors*, we shall finde that he was the tenth; which for your better satisfaction I shall here insert, *viz.*

The end of the Life of *Constantine Paleologus*.

A Catalogue of the *Grecian Emperors*.

The first was *Constantine* surnamed the Great; of whom we have formerly spoken.

The second was *Constantine* the great's Son, of the same Name.

The third *Constantine*, was *Constantine* the Son of *Heraclius*.

The fourth was *Constantine* surnamed *Pogonatus*, that is to say, with the great beard; who reigned seventeen years.

The fifth was the Son of *Leo Isaurum*, a wicked and depraved person, and who was no better then his Father.

The sixth is that *Constantine*, for whom *Irene* his Mother indeavoured to procure in marriage a Daughter of *Francis*, being the Son of *Leo* the fourth, who was chosen Emperor in the year of the Worlds Creation, 4744. and after our Saviours birth, 782. who was married unto *Mary* the King of *Armenia's* Daughter; and not to *Charles the Great's* Daughter, as some do suppose.

The seventh was Son unto the Emperor *Leo*, surnamed the *Philosopher*; who at the beginning of his Reigne was molested and opposed by *Constantine Spartanum*, the Son of *Andronicus*, that valiant Captain, who approaching to kill the young *Constantine*, knocked his brains out against a Wall, and falling off from his Horse, his head was immediately stricken off in the same place. Which had been foretold him by *Leo* the *Philosopher*. And though this *Constantine* was molested and disquieted in his Reigne, yet I see no reason therefore (as some would have it) to leave him out of the Catalogue of the said Emperors.

The eighth succeeded *Basileus Porphyrogenitus*, a man abounding in all luxury, and unlawfull pleasures; whose Son-in-law was *Romanus Argiropolus*, the third of that Name.

The ninth was that *Monomachus Constantine*, who was so besotted with *Scelerena* his Concubine, as that he became her Slave; however he esteemed and cherished learned men; and he was called the *Gladiator*, or *Great Sword-man*.

The tenth was that devout and religious Duke, who was more given to his Prayers, than to wield a Sword; so likewise did he heartily detest War. He was taxed of being over-covetous; he died being threescore years of age, having reigned seven years and six moneths; leaving the Empire to his Wife *Eudoxia*, upon her Oath never to marry, left his three Sons, *Michael*, *Andronicus*, and *Constantine*, should have been frustrated of the Empire.

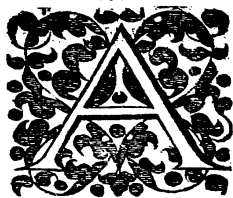
The eleventh, is this *Constantine* (though but the tenth of that Name) whose History we have even now epitomized, &c.

THE

THE LIFE OF CÆSAR FLAVIUS JUSTINIANUS the Emperor.



Ann. Münd.
4496.



The first estate
of Justinianus.

Justinian the a
dropped Son of
Justin, and not
his bastard.

Justinianus Cæ
sar Flavius.

Laws & Arms
necessary for
Princes.

Ristotle in his Politicks, and many other Philosophers, who employed themselves to prescribe means for Civil Government, have very carefully debated the matter concerning Monarchy, and how it may be maintained. Some have Hieroglyphically represented Kingly Government by the Forraiture of a flaming Sword, thereby giving to understand, that the principal end for which it must be used, is to drive forth the wicked. Others would have Kings contemplative, and thought none fit for to bear rule, but such as were Philosophers. Others joyned the sword and Philosophy together, but they have discoursed so rawly on it for the most part, that they seem rather to have set forth their writings to sharpen the Readers appetite, then to satisfy it. The reason may be (as I thinke) because they had not the Crown on their own heads, and therefore they reasoned to slightly of it. But now I represent unto you one, who hath not onely set forth in writing, wherein the conservation of principality consists; but he did effectually perform that by Governing, which he wisely prescribed. This we shall demonstrate, after that we have in passing along, cleared that which concerns his descent, his life and manners, as also the degrees by which he was unexpectedly raised up to the head of the Empire. He was in a very mean condition, in so much that Historians report that *Justin* the first, his Uncle took him from the field; others

that he was a poor Shepherd, and made him his Foot-boy. After that by little and little he made him ascend to honors, & raised him so high, that he adopted him for his Son, and then took him to be his companion in the Empire; whereof, four moneths after, he was made the sole Commander, by the consent of the Senate and the People. Here it were very fit to confute the opinion of some, who thought that *Justinianus* was the Bastard Son of *Justin*, because in some passages of his institutions, he is called his Father. But since we have before noted that he was his adopted Son, we need say no more. As for the names which were appropriated to him, the Title of *Cæsar* was, as the name of *Ptolemy* to the Kings of *Egypt*, to shew that he was the successor of the great and invincible *Cæsar*, who was the first Emperor. So in like manner he was called by the name of *Flavius*, because he proceeded from that family. The other Titles which men commonly gave him, were only marks and remembrances of the people he conquered. Let us now see what exercises this no less wise then valiant, Emperor thought good and convenient to be possessed by a person that was to command; which he hath at the beginning of his institutions, expressed very pertinently. *It is not fit* (saith

Post Christ.
529.

(saith he) that the Imperial Majesty should onely be adorned with Arms, but it must be armed also with Laws, to the end that the times of peace and War may be well ruled and governed; And that the Prince of the Romanes, may not be onely victorious in battel against his enemies, but also by lawful means, may drive away offences of calumniators and evil doers, and that he make himself as careful, and as great a Lover of Justice, as he is a magnificent conqueror after he hath subdued his enemies. This is a brave speech, and we need not doubt but that *Plato* and *Aristotle* would have said something very like it; but had it been to have been undertaken by them (perhaps) they would have said, is it possible? and could not have confirmed by their example what they had very well approved in their writings. *Justinianus* hath shewed himself to be none of those great boasters, that can say much, but cannot do what they undertake to teach others. When he was inaugurated and set in the Imperial Throne, he mustered a very potent Army, of which he made *Captain Morad*, the chief Commander, who with his Son, behaved himself with such courage, that he lost his life there, and brought under the power of his Master, *Dalmatia* and *Salanum*. After that he sent *John*, a most valiant Captain into *Africa*, to free it from the incursions of the *Moors*, and to bring it under the obedience of the *Roman* Emperor, which he accomplished. Lastly he dispatched *Belisarius* against the *Persians*, which he overcome in a very short space, and triumphed to the Emperors content; who acknowledging the prowess and good success that this valiant Commander was accomplished with, sent him back against other Nations which rebelled against the *Roman* Empire, which he so forcibly quelled, that according to some Writers, he was therefore surnamed, *Almanicus*, *Gothicus*, *Francicus*, *Germanicus*, *Alaminus*, *Wandalicus*, *Africanus*, for that he subdued the *Almans*, *Goths*, *French*, and other Nations; Titles which *Justinianus* himself especially affected; which was the cause, according to the opinion of some discreet men, that made *Belisarius* fall into disgrace with *Justinianus*, who suspected him of ambition, and that he aspired to the Empire. Others hold that the *Goths* would have chosen *Belisarius* for their King, after that he had captivated *Viages*; and although that *Belisarius* had refused it, as *Procopius* witnesseth, yet *Justinianus* began to fall at odds with the Prowess and fidelity of so warlike a Captain, and in place of requital caused his eyes to be put out. But this I cannot believe, since that *Hymonius* the Monk writes, that *Justinianus* was driven out of the Empire by *Florian*, and that he was not restored but by the help of *Belisarius*, who being called back by *Justinianus*, laid hold suddenly on this occasion to return into favor, and with a great Army of his followers he marched toward *Florian*, compassed in with villains, all enemies to *Belisarius*, which he cut in pieces, and chopt off the head of the new Tyrant. But methinks that *Ayman* the Monk hath falsified the truth very much, when he saith, that *Belisarius* a private man, and being cast out of his command, did ordinarily maintain twelve thousand men to follow him; as also where he seeks occasion to speak of the credit and authority *Belisarius* had with the Emperor *Justinianus*; he saith, that those two persons during the life of *Justin*, made a mutual promise, that he that should be most advanced, should be his companion, with his means, power and dignity; and from thence he would infer, that *Belisarius* was made General of the Army, as the second person in the Empire; and as one who pretended right unto it. If that were so, how comes it, that when he was made Emperor, he sent not *Belisarius* at first into *Dalmatia* and *Africa*, but committed the expeditions to *Mondus* and *John*? And farther, it is not credible; that *Justinianus*, who saw the Empire could not fail to descend to him, would make a bargain with *Belisarius*, whom he could outstrip when he pleased.

There is even as much shew of truth in that which the same Author alleageth, that *Justinianus* and *Belisarius* going both to one Stew, they saw two beautiful harlots, *Amasonians*, Sisters, which they brought into their Palace, and that *Justinianus* took for his wife her that was called *Antoine*, and *Belisarius* took the other, whose name was *Antonine*: forasmuch as he is the only writer of this matter, and besides that, he hath intermingled so many fooleries with his History, that at first sight a man may perceive the cheating he hath used. And that which further makes him to be mistrusted, is, that he makes no mention of any other but this *Antonine*, and did quit *Theodora* his lawful wife, of whom he makes mention so oft in his Reports. But let us leave this digression. *Justinianus* continued with great eagerness to immortalize his name by many Heroicke and warlike exploits: therefore (as *Pomponius Letus* and others write) *Belisarius* was sent back into *Greece* (without being devided of his Patrician Dignity, or having any act of inhumanity done unto him, wherewith *Justinianus* is charged) to prepare himself to wage war with the *Parthians*. In his stead he sent into *Italy*, *Germanus* the Senator (who died of a disease by the way) and *Narses* the Eunuch, who by the relief of the Lombard defeated *Totilus* and *Thois*, the Kings of the *Goths*. Here, before I pass to the other point propounded by *Justinianus*, concerning the duty of Princes and Lords. I am constrained to make a stop to search out the occasion why this Emperor took upon him to be surnamed *Francicus*, because most men are of opinion that the *Romanes* never conquered the *French*. As for the *Gauls*, no man can deny but that they were made subject to the *Roman* power, as also some part of the *French*, but to grant that the *Franks* (who passed over *Rhein*, and seized on one part of the *Gauls*, which therefore was called *France*) were ever subjects to the *Romanes* were voluntarily to contradict the truth of histories; Yet we may not understand the name *Francicus*, which *Justinianus* attributed to himself, to have been any otherwise then by reason of these things, and to insert here all that men have devised to this purpose, is not my intention, holding it but for a mockery to the *French* that *Justinianus* usurped this title, not that he ever vanquished or overcame them, but in respect of their great rashness. Forasmuch as if *Theodebert* had followed his fortune well, after he had chased out of *Italy*,

Cccc

Justinianus his
warlike actions.

The cause of
Justinianus his
indignation against
Belisarius.

Justinianus did
not cause Belisarius
his eyes to be put out.

The tales of
Ayman the
Monck.

Justinianus had
two wives, one
legitimate, the
other supposititious.
The occasion
of Belisarius
his retreat into
Greece.

The Romanes
reigned over the
Gauls, but
not over the
French Nation.
Why Justinianus
was called
Francicus.

both

THE LIFE OF ARISTOTLE the Stagiritian Philosopher.



An. Mund.
4684.

Ant. Christ.
515.

The praise of
of Aristotle re-
heared by
dumb Heraulds.

Many famous and excellent persons have mainly busied themselves to finde out, whether the Estimation and Repute which men had of *Aristotle*, was because of his Magnanimous and Heroique Prowesses, or rather for the inestimable Excellence and Rarity of the Knowledge where with he was endued. I will not lose any time to relate in particular, what he may have done as to Feats of Arms, though I account that the highest, and most admirable Victories obtained by *Alexander*, did chiefly proceed from the Counsel and grave advice which he received from *Aristotle*; since the account I am now upon, requires not that one should make the hideous flashes of Arms, and warlike furies to sound here: and also seeing the Writings which he left to Posterity (though they be as it were but dumb Heraulds) do cause the Praise and Renown of this incomparable *Philosopher*, sufficiently to shine through the whole World. Such as gaze at the vain glory and vanities of this World, and esteem nothing but that which makes a great noise, will admire that I proffer our Stagiritic Books and Writings to speak his praise, being they are dumb Orators, which cannot make any noise at all, nor have they any organical or articulate sound. But if they will please to have so much patience as to consider with me, that a *Lute* or *Timbrel*, or any other Instrument of Musick, should it remain five hundred thousand years in its case, of it self would not make us enjoy its melodious harmony, nor delight our ears, unless the skilfull hand of some well experienced and able Musician touch it, and causeth it to sound by striking its strings, whereby it will (as it were) speak and be pleasing to our hearing, and add to our content beyond expression. So they must needs grant (unless they be of very shallow capacities) that I do not wander from the bounds of reason, when I go about to make the worth and esteem of this our *Aristotle* to resound, not upon a *Lute*, but by those Books which he published. The inequality of which comparison lieth only in this, that though an Instrument of Musick in it self be excellent in all respects, yet if it chance to light into the hands of a mean Fidler, it would not content us so well as being plaied on by an *Orpheus*, or some other rare Musician. So that the melodie we enjoy, is not so much tied to the Instrument, as to him that playeth on it. In like manner, the excellence and commendation of *Aristotle*, is chiefly annexed to the Worth and Learning which is contained in his Writings, and not in regard of the little, which I am able to specify concerning them. If any man desire more acutely to proceed upon this Comparison, he shall farther finde, that one might in a manner maintain some equality therein. Let him onely suppose the Books to be instead of Instruments, and that *Aristotle* is the Musician that plays upon them. Since therefore we must evidence this Person's Excellence by his Books which he left to Posterity:

so likewise will I here give you a Catalogue of the Books which he wrote, that every one may understand there was no Science, whereof he hath not onely given us a taste, but hath proved himself to have excelled in them all. Whereunto possibly he was moved by an ambitious desire of *Aristotle* ambitious vain glory, seeing he was supported by so powerfull and dreadful a Monarch as *Alexander the Great* was. Nor can he be innocent of this imputation, though many *Peripateticks* make a noise purposely to palliate and smother such a kinde of deformity, which for the most part is a blemish incident to all such noble Spirits. Otherwise we must deny *Aristotle* and other *Peripateticks*, those Books which are called *Acromaticks*, *Epopticks*, or *Speculations*, which a man must have heard from *Aristotle*'s own mouth to have understood them; since it is well known that they were penned in such a manner, and for such an end, as that the common People should understand nothing by them. Which is very plain and evident by the Letter which *Alexander* wrote unto him, being passed into *Asia*, and hearing that *Aristotle* had published some Books, he did chide him. But, if to preserve *Aristotle*'s Honor any one shall reply, that it is not reasonable all things should be communicated so as to be easily understood, because of the contempt they would quickly fall under, nor is it possible they should be so published. Moreover I shall recite the trick he put upon his Scholar *Theodore*, whom he had desired to put forth his Books of *Rhetorick*, which *Theodore* accordingly did; and they were so well approved of by *Alexander*, as that *Aristotle* grew envious that *Theodore* should have the Name to have been the Author of such a Work; wherefore he could not contain, but sought a revenge, complaining that his Scholar had done him wrong, by publishing the said Books, and not setting his Masters Name to them. Upon this account it may be, several Books were ascribed to him which he never wrote; and which he had willingly acknowledged, had he perceived that there had been something in them, which might have quenched the thirst of his ambition. The Catalogue of them I would have here registred, did I not fear to make this Philosophers Life swell with such Works which he himself would not own; besides that we want not other Birds feathers to set forth his Praises. Nor need we to borrow the renown of *Socrates* or *Plato*, who doubtless did excell in admirable Knowledge; but chiefly *Plato*, whose Scholar *Aristotle* was for about twenty years. Though in many things he forsook their opinions, and surpassed them in all knowledge. As to Poetry, he left such clear and copious instructions, that there is no man, but upon just occasion, will grant that he was excellently skilled in it. Some I know do think that this peece was no part of his workmanship, by reason of its familiar stile, and for some other particulars, all which cannot hinder us from believing that *Aristotle* was the true Author of it, because it is inserted in the number of those books which our Philosopher made: to be published to the generality, and to be understood without a Teacher, for which cause, he called them vulgar and popular. The rest of *Aristotle*'s books must be referred to his *Philosophy*, which he divided into two parts, namely, *speculative* and *practical*; which is the most beneficial and reasonable division that can possibly be made. Because it is grounded, as well upon the end of *Philosophy*, which is to make us comfortable unto God by *contemplation* and *action*, as also concerning the double faculty of our souls, which is not onely intention for knowledge, but also to desire and long after. And according to this division, that which remains of *Aristotle*'s books, are so fitted to the several parts of *Philosophy*, that at this day, without our travelling to *Athens*, though it be a vast time since this *Peripatetick* Princes death, we may communicate with him at *Lyceum*, as to all those things which are requisite in *Philosophy*; and to that part of *contemplative Philosophy*, he hath left us those beautiful and divine books of his *Metaphysics*; in which he hath so dexterously plaid the Philosopher by a kinde of a *Traditionall Method* (although so hard or occult abstruse) as that the ablest *Scholastick* Divines of our age, have been sufficiently troubled, to comprehend the method of them. Nor am I of their opinion, who alledge, that the Tracts which he hath framed in his *Logical Organ*, ought to be referred to the said *contemplative part*. For though I would not reject their opinion, who held that the true subject of *Logick*, was that which many call, *ens rationis*; yet I believe, that *Aristotle* never intended that work, save as a guide to a greater knowledge of the parts of *Philosophy*; whereunto the most excellent men of our dayes had respect, when they called it the hand and instrument of *Philosophy*; and under the banner of this *contemplative Philosophy*, we must also ranke *natural Philosophy*, wherein *Aristotle* was so superlative, as that, whether we compare and match him with other men, or whether we consider by what Art and Industry he hath proportioned that which he hath left to us thereon, we cannot possibly content our selves with the admiration of the rare knowledge of this personage. And, first of all, doubtless he surpassed all the excellent *Naturalists* that ever were before him, in so much, that from the time of *Thales*, *Milesius* (who men say were the first Physicians) of *Anaximander*, and *Anaximenes*, who a little after the Flood, awakened the *Grecian* Spirits to seek out the cause of natural things: from that very time, I say, men could but very obscurely discover any of the causes, except the *material cause*; so that the *formal*, the *efficient*, and *final causes* were altogether unknown. As for the *Pythagorians*, they indeed augmented *Philosophy*, not a little, but yet that which they wrote, was so stuffed with riddles and ambiguities, figured under their *Numbers*, as that it was impossible to extract any knowledge at all from thence. *Plato* also and *Anaxagoras*, who lived afterwards in the fourth age of the *Philosophers*, did very much clear the *Pythagorians* mists, and observed something concerning the four causes of natural things, but that was so imperfectly done, that had not *Aristotle* left of all set his hand to the work, that part of *Philosophy* would at present have been, as to the knowledge of the causes, the beginnings, and accidents of things in Nature. And herein he surpassed *Plato*; for speaking of the principles and beginnings

Aristotle's books called *Acromaticks*, or *Epopticks*.

Rhetorick to *Theodore*.

Books attributed to *Aristotle*.

Aristotle's *Master*.

Aristotle's book concerning Poetry.

Aristotle's *Philosophy*.

Aristotle's *Metaphysics*.

Aristotle's *Organ* of *Logick*.

Aristotle surpassed all the other *Philosophers*.

'Tis the Worlds end, hast thou not heard
 Aristotle lies here enter'd?
 Not whole, nor half, nor the least part,
 Of so great Wonderment of Art.
 Call him interpreter o' the Pole,
 Natures coriwall, and large scrole.
 What more I might, or cannot say,
 Conceive, which I think no man may,
 But he, compares him to Gods mind,
 Whose all to each in every kind.
 Amongst Gods, he was a man mortal,
 Amongst men, like God that can do all.

Seven learned
 men bearing
 the Name of
 Aristotle.

And were there but these few verses to express the praise of *Aristotle*, yet it would be elegantly enough set forth; forasmuch as by them he hath covertly represented unto us the excellency of spirit which he perceived in *Aristotles* works, who will not have him to have treated onely of natural and earthly, but also of heavenly causes. And to speak truth, there is no part in any Region of the Aire but he hath examined it accurately in his books of *Meteorology*. And as to the description of the Heavens, one would suppose he had been transported thither, he speaks so resolutely of them. Nor must I here linger to note, that besides our *Aristotle*, there were seven other learned men, that bore the same name: the first whereof had charge of the administration of the Commonwealth of the *Athenians*, who made very brave and elegant Orations. The second was he that wrote on *Homers Iliads*. The third was an *Orator of Sicilie*, a very able man, much reputed in his time. The fourth was a great friend of *Ischines* the *Socraticke*, called *Mintimus*. The fifth was a *Cyrenian*, a great and famous *Poet*. The sixth is he, of whom *Aristoxenus* makes mention in the *Life of Plato*. The seventh was a poor and silly *Grammarian*. These wrote in divers Ages, and the greatest part of their books came not to the hands of the *Latins*, but as yet remaine in the *Grecian Libraries*.

The end of *Aristotles Life*.



THE

THE LIFE OF HOMER the Grecian Poet.



Ann. Mund.
 3556.

C. N.
 811.



Pliny, in the second Book of his *Natural History*, in the ninth Chapter, doth complain, that we do not sufficiently commemorate the Vertues of those excellent Personages, who by their Learning and rare Inventions have enriched and beautified the life of man, expressing himself in this manner, *Assuredly we bear but a slender affection and good will unto those who by their labor & industry have laid open and manifested unto us that admirable resplendency which was manifested by Homer*. And I might justly be thought to be of the number of those who are here taxed. Should I not have endeavored to render unto *Homer* the honor which is due unto him, as being the Prince of Poets. Let us therefore not only observe the features

and lineaments of his visage, but also consider most exactly the disposition of his Divine Spirit. And that which may augment our curiosity herein, may be the reflecting on this eminent personages height of courage and as *Dion Chrysostom* very well observes his hatred of vain glory; by his concealing not only his parentage and despising the place of his Nativity, but also his own name, whereas other Authors, as well in the Frontispiece, as throughout their whole works, affect to praise and set forth their own persons and qualities. And however *Homer* concealed the same, yet I will touch upon his parentage, only percursorily, for that I intended chiefly to insist upon his excellent parts. *Ephorus* the *Cumean* Historian doth assure us, that he was the son of a young maiden called *Crisheida* or *Crisheis*, begotten by a young man called *Meleonus*, who being her Guardian, had got her with childe, and put her off in marriage to *Phemius* a Gramarian of *Smyrna*, and a little after his Mother going unto the Bathes near unto the River *Meletus*, she was there brought to bed, and therefore called her childe's name *Melesigenes*; who being in his youth brought up in learning, became so great and excellent a Poet, that all the world admired him, by reason whereof he was sent for unto several famous Cities, where he was allowed a handsome subsistence to have the oversight of their Schools, having no great means of his own to live by. Now whereas he was overmuch given to his studies and reading, and that he spent whole dayes and nights therein, thereby it chanced that he was taken with a rhume, which falling upon his eyes did blinde him; and for this cause his name was changed for instead of *Melesigenes*, he was called *Homer*, which in the *Cumenean* language, doth signifie, a deprivation of sight, or a blindness. Which accident however did not debar him from the composing that most excellent and exquisite peece of Poetry, which at present is extant among us, divided into two parts, viz. his *Iliades* and his *Odyssea*; by the one he related the *Trojan* wars; and by the other (under the name of *Ulysses*) he describes unto us a prudent, sage, and well advised Captain, as the verses of a

Homer's praise
 by *Dion Chri-*
stostome.

Homer's origine
 and parentage.

Homer be-
 comes blinde,
 and thence his
 name was
 changed.

D d d d

Greek

Several blinde men very famous.

Appian Claudius Romane Censor.
Dionorus the Philosopher.

Antipater and Asclepiadus Philosopher blinde.
Didimus the Alexandrian blinde.

Cicero the Roman General blinde.

Felso King of Hungary blinde.

John King of Bohemia blinde.

Homers Poetry famous.

Alexanders high esteem of Homer and his Poems.

Mahometers care of Homers works.

The best learning extracted out of Homers works.

Greek Epigram, speaking of his Poems, do expresse. But least some might doubt, or call in question how there could be so great a perfection in *Homer*, and how he should be able to compose such rare books being blinde? I shall answer, that though the sight be mans guide, yet several blinde men have been very learned, Nature having supplied the defect of their sight, with a superabundance of knowledge and wit. And to remove this scruple which those seem to harbor who do oppose themselves to the effects of Nature; I shall here insert several examples of blinde men, who were very famous; As the great Orator *Appian Claudius*, who was so highly esteemed by *Cicero* and by *Titus Livius*; that although he was blinde, yet he was chosen Censor at *Rome*, in which dignity he comforted and maintained himself in such an esteem, as his sole Authority hindered the ratification of the Peace which the *Romane Senate* had concluded with King *Pyrrhus*, and *Dionorus the Stoick* Philosopher, who although he was blinde, yet he studied in the night time, and played in the day upon the Viol (after the *Pythagorian* manner) and which is more, he publicly did teach *Geometry* which is almost a thing incredible, being a Science which can only be practised by the eye. *Cajus Aufidius* a great friend and a companion of *Cicero*s having in his youth been made *Pretor* at *Rome*, being blinde, ceased not to assist and give his advice in the Senate; moreover he made a notable Chronicle in writing, which was much esteemed. *Antipater the Cyrenean*, and *Asclepiadus the Criticke*, were both blinde; however they continued their studies in Philosophy, and became very learned. *Didimus the Alexandrian*, who being deprived of his sight in his very youth, became an excellent *Dialectician*, had studied all the humane disciplines, and made a rare Commentary upon the *Psalms*. *Demonstus* his Act putting out his own eyes to the end that he might be the freer in his contemplations, which astonished all men and made him be derided; was (as *Tertullian* a credible Author saith) to refrain the disordinate appetites of the flesh, caused by his lascivious and wanton looks. Moreover *Cicero*s the *Bohemian* is worthy to be noted, who being blinde was chosen the Chieftain of his party, and so well performed his duty as that he obtained several victories over his enemies. Also *Belas* the second King of *Hungary*, whose eyes were put out by his Uncle *Coloman* (who usurped the Crown) being retired into *Greece*, he did so well behave himself there, as that after *Coloman*s death King *Stephen*, *Coloman*s Son, sent for him home, and gave him the Earl of *Socines* daughter to wife, and after the said *Stephens* death, he was chosen King of *Hungary* notwithstanding his being blinde, and reigned nine yeeres, during which time he waged several wars, and chiefly against *Brocius*, *Coloman*s Ballard, whom he defeated, and left the Kingdom of *Hungary* peaceably to his children. Finally *John* King of *Bohemia* (who reigned much about the year 1350. was so courageous, although he was blinde, as to come in person to the aide of *Philip* the King of *France* his Kinsman, against whom *Edward* King of *England* waged wars, and did engage in the battell, where he was slain, together with the Earl of *Flanders*, and several other *French* Princes. But to return to *Homer*, whose Poetry was so much esteemed, as that not only the *Greeks* did greatly admire it, but also the *Barbarians*, as also the *Indians*, who did cause them to be translated into their languages, and recited them as familiarly and frequently as their own. *Alexander* the Great most highly accounted of them, saying, that there was no Poet deserved to be read by a King but *Homer*, he carried his Poems with him into the wars, and was never at rest untill they lay under his Pillow, desiring not to be deprived of *Homers* Muse neither by day nor by night. Moreover a little rich Coffer having been found amongst *Darius*s, his household-stuffe, and presented to *Alexander* admiring the beauty and excellency of the workmanship of it, he asked, What might be worthy to be inclosed in it? And several answers being returned, he answered, That for his part he thought nothing worthy to be contained therein but *Homers Iliades*. And the said *Alexander*, beholding the place where *Achilles* was buried, cried out, O most happy youth! that had so famous a Herald to blazethy praises, for doubtles he had it not been for him, the same Tombe which covers thy body, had also interred thy Memory. Moreover I have been told by some very wise *Grecians* who lived at *Constantinople*, that in their vulgar *Greek* Histories they finde; that *Mahomet* the second of that name, after the taking the City *Constantinople* being requested by *Scolarius*, a *Greek* Monk of that Patriarchy, who was the Monarks familiar friend, to preserve several ancient famous books which were in the Library of his said Patriarchy, from the fury and pillage of his souldiers, who were enraged against the Christians by reason of the great slaughter which they had made of the said Infidels. The Grand Signior demanded whether *Homers* works were amongst those books, which he would have preserved, and being answered that several of *Homers* works which were never come to the knowledge of the *Latins* had bin there kept since *Constantine* the greats time; *Mahomet* out of a curiosity to so great an antiquity, commanded his officers to take a strict charge of them, and to have as great a care of them as of his own person; a commendable action in such a Prince. And truly the most sublime knowledge of this our Poet *Homer* was such as that I may well say (as *Strabonius* the famous Historiographer did before me) That all the best learning whatsoever hath for the most part been extracted out of his works. For there was not any wise man whatsoever, whether he were a Physician, Politician, Mathematician, a Divine, or a Lawyer, who hath not grazed and fed upon *Homers* Cates. Some of them having all their life times received their nourishment and entertainment with him and from him, and others by making use of his writings, having enriched themselves by his works and labors. The Orators by sucking eloquence from him in their declamations. The Grammarians who cannot subsist without him. The Poets who never give over studying and imitating of him. The Geographers do admire the perfect knowledge which he had in Kingdoms and Provinces. And finally from the least Artist to the most sublimest strain of wit, each of them might be to seek, and to learn by his Poems. But that I may not too long dwell upon

upon the rare qualities and ornaments wherewith this exquisite Poet was endowed, and the profoundness of his doctrine and writings: I shall add that he was not only praised, esteemed, and valued in all *Greece*, but that although the place of his birth be almost unknown, every City in *Greece* doth appropriate it unto themselves, coveting to make him their Citizen, as it appears by some *Greek* verses which mention the same, viz.

That seven famous Cities as *Smyrna*, *Rhodes*, *Colophon*, *Ithacus*, *Pylas*, *Argos* and *Athens*, did contest for his birth. Nor must we believe that which some have written concerning his death, viz. That having demanded of certain Fishermen what they had taken, they should have answered thus, *Those which we have taken, we have let go; and those which we have not taken, we carry about us.* Which, by reason he could not understand, and being troubled that he should be over-reached by such illiterate people; It is said he dyed for grief, but I account it a Fable. The truth is, that having attained to the Age of one hundred and eight yeeres, being overwhelmed with maladies, having layen in a languishing condition for several dayes together. He dyed and was buried in the Isle of *Chios*, as the inhabitants of the said Island have assured me, who shewed me his Tombe hard by the Castle of *Valizo*, in the ruins of the Castle of *Saint Elia*; upon which Tombe a long while after some *Greek* verses, bearing this inscription, were engraven, viz. *In this place the earth doth cover the body of that Divine Homer, who wrote the Lives of the Hero's, or Demy-gods.* And being in the Isle of *Samos*, I was there shewn a Sepulchre towards the North, which was a very ancient one, two poles in length and in breadth, being sunk very low into the earth and newly discovered, the foundation whereof was Marble whereupon was written and engraven in old vulgar *Greek* characters, which were so wore out that those which were upon the place could hardly know what to make of it, the interpretation of which words, was, *Under this Sepulchre of Marble doth lye the body of the great Homer.* And as there were several opinions concerning the place of *Homers* birth; so there were as many concerning the times wherein he lived, and the reason is because there were several *Homers*, who lived in several yeeres, which hath caused these doubts. For the first *Homer* was born at *Smyrna*, being a powerful man, a great Lord, and his Kings Lieutenant or Deputy, who lived about the time of *Troyes* being taken. The second *Homer* was fourscore yeeres afterwards, born at *Chios*, being a great Philosopher, versed in the secrets of Nature, and lived much about King *Dauids* time, who I do conceive to have been the *Homer* which we have at this present spoken of, and whose Pourtraiture I have hereunto prefixed, and the which I did cause to be drawn after an Antick Meddall, which I did bring with me out of the said Island. There was a third *Homer*, who was born at *Salamina*, but he was never famous save for his wealth; as on the contrary our Poet *Homer* was remarkable for his Poverty, and was not at all known or taken notice of, during the time of his studies, or whilst he penned those rare things (which usually befalls Philosophers) but rather after his death. Moreover I was conducted by some *Greeks* to the village of *Cardamillum* a very solitary place, five leagues from the City, on the left hand towards the Sea coast, where the inhabitants do believe by tradition from Father to Son (which is also consonant to the ancient Histories) that it was the self same place where *Homers* Library was built, and where the said *Greeks* did assure me, that Visions and Ghosts, with such like apparitions were usually seen both in the day time and in the night. And as concerning that other *Homer*, who is said to have been born at *Colophon*, he was an excellent Painter, and Sculpter of Images; wherefore those of that City must also yeeld their claim, as to our *Homers* birth, there. But he that was the Citizen of *Athens*, and who lived in the time of *Rooboham* King *Solomons* Son; he was an excellent Orator, and was in such a repute in his own City, as the *Athenians* permitted him to make Laws, and to Govern them. And the sixth *Homer* which I finde, was a *Grecian* born at *Argos*, being both a great Geometrician and a good Poet, but there is no appearance at all that he should have compounded the *Iliades*. For *Herodotus* himself doth confesse, that betwixt *Homers* time and his, there was four hundred yeeres difference, which could not be since that *Homers* time whom we now immediately have named. The seventh and last *Homer* was a *Maonian*, who lived during the reign of *Numa Pompilius*, who was so wise and so well versed in the *Greek* Language, that he was permitted to Correct and amend such imperfections as he conceived to be crept into that speech, which was refined by the judgement of so excellent a man. And thus you have the several opinions reconciled concerning the seven several *Homers*, which were extant: and the famous *Homer* hereafter affixed, &c.

The end of Homers Life.

The several Cities of Greece contest about Homers birth.

The false supposition concerning Homers death, Homers Age and death, is also the place of his burial.

Several opinions concerning Homers death. The first Homer where and when. The second Homer being him we treat of. The third Homer. Homer never famous till after his death.

The fourth Homer.

The fifth Homer.

The sixth Homer.

The seventh Homer. Seven several Homers famous.

D d d d d 2

THE

THE LIFE OF SAPHO, the Lesbian Poetess.



Ann. Mund.
4684.

Ant. Christ.
515.



Poetry was in such a height of esteem amongst the Ancients, as that divers accounted the Poets to have been the first who have written concerning Divine, Natural, Moral, Political, and Military Affairs. Such a one was David the Royal Prophet, who ordained those which were under his obedience to celebrate the praises of God, in Verses and Hymns, and to sing such Psalms as he had composed; such were *Lirim*, *Musam*, and *Orpheus* among the *Greeks*. And if Poetry hath been so highly honoured and valued, as that *Virgil* himself accounted *Musam* to have been a Prophet, and terms him a most signal Poet in a sublime degree. I would willingly demand of those who endeavor to obscure that resplendency which them-

selves cannot behold why the Poets were formerly called *Diviners*? Was it not by reason that it is manifest such an Art doth add unto mans intellects a more then ordinary wit? The interpretation which was formerly made of this word Poet (which in the *Greek* doth signifie an Artist, or expert Workman) what can it be but *skilful*, or *advised*? And truly, a good Poet doth in all places deserve to be acknowledged for a very wise man. No one Science almost being a stranger unto him; wherefore *Divine Plato* calleth the Poets, *Gods Interpreters*. *Strabo* himself admiring this Science, saith, that all the Philosophers, Law-Makers, and Historiographers, have taken their fundamentals from *Homer* the Poet. However the effects of Poetry have not only by the *Muses* been infused into men (whereof *France* more then any other Country seems to abound, as *Dorat*, *Ronsart*, *Baif*, *Desportes*, and several others) but also unto women, several of that Sex having most ingeniously employed themselves in that Art; and to avoid prolixity, I shall only give you the names of some of them, who may serve as a precious ornament to that Sex. Amongst such as have therefore excelled in that Art we may well give *Proba* the first rank, wife to the *Roman* Consul, who being as Beautiful as Learned, did in the year of our Lord 424, couch in Heroick Verses, the contents both of the Old and New Testament, as far as the coming down of the Holy Ghost. Secondly *Corinna*, who was *Ovids* beloved. *Elpis* the wife of *Boetius*. *Polla* wife to *Lucian* the Poet, who often helped her husband in his compo-

sure of his *Pharsalia*. *Lesbia*, Mistress to *Catullus*. *Cornificia* the *Roman* Poetess. *Thesbia*, who was named the compositeress of Epigrams; and the other famous Poetess *Corinna*, who five times had the advantage of *Pindarus* the Poet, who in the City of *Thebes* had publicly challenged her to contend in the Poetical Art, upon which and the other liberal Arts and Sciences, once a year there was a solemnity of representations and prizes. But why should we stand to extend this discourse by a Catalogue

a *Eneid*, 6.

Strabo lib. x. of
Geography.

The Dialogue
of knowledge.

No man sur-
passingly ex-
cellent in the
Poetical Art.

SAPHO, the Lesbian Poetess.

logue of so many worthy women? Since *Sappho* the *Lesbianite* (so surnamed from the place of her birth, viz. the Island of *Leibos* called *Methelin*, seated in the *Archipelagus* or *Mediterranean* Sea, and usurped on the *Venetians*, some fifty yeers since by the *Turkes*) may justly pretend to the second best place amongst those who have been versed in this Science; and whereby in her days she attained to so great a renown, as that the *Romanes* erected a Statue of *Porphyre*, most richly ordained to eternize her memory; and *Serapio* himself had so good an opinion of her, as that he decreed no one woman may be compared unto her, as to the Art of Poetry; which *Enstathius* doth also confirm in his Commentaries on *Dionysius*. And indeed there are very few sorts of verses in which she excelled not, which caused me to insert her Picture in this place, which I ordered to be drawn after an old Meddall of hers which I did purchase and bring from the said Island. The like whereof was given (together with several others) unto the *Barron de la Garde*, at that time Ambassador for the King of *France* at *Constantinople* by *Sultan Solymans* chief Physician. She was very expert in the compounding of *Lyrick* verses which she evidenced in several Epigrams, Elegies and other pieces, which were translated out of *Greek* into *Latine*; besides many others which were lost by the neglect of our Ancestors, or by the destruction of the Cities and Towns of *Italy*; and specially of the Isle of *Leibos*; she also did invent a certain kind of verses, which are called *Sapphicks* by her name. As to her Father, Authors do vary, who he was; some say *Scammon Dronymus*, others *Simon*, others *Eunonimus*, or *Eumenes*, others *Erygius*, or *Eucrytus*, others *Semas*, others *Camonus*, and other *Etarcus*.

But for all these supposed Fathers, we must not therefore be induced to believe that she was a Bastard, nor that *Cleis* (who without doubt was her Mother) had miserably prostituted her Chastity to so many several men, it being only the uncertainty of Writers which hath caused these various suppositions concerning her Father: she had three brothers, viz. *Laryeus*, *Eurygus*, and *Cheraxus*; who although they were her brothers; yet our Poetess had several sentiments of them, for by how much she loved and cherished *Laryeus*, by so much did she hate *Cheraxus*, against whom she wrote several Invectives, because he had associated himself with *Rhodopa* the *Thracian* Whore, and with her had spent the greatest part of his Patrimony; which is the ruine of all those who do suffer themselves to be inveigled by such infernal Hags, who like Horse-leeches sucke them dry, and are the cause that they are constrained to abandon all Amity, Concord, and brothership with their friends and Allies, to cleave unto such a kinde of vermin. *Sappho* then was constrained to estrange her self from her brother by reason of a Whore. And those who read in *Horace* and *Anthonius* that *Sappho* was surnamed *Mascula*, were mistaken in their most injuriously and calumniously laying to her charge that she abandoned her self too much unto men and women. Nor can I likewise bespeak her over Chast, or untainted, since she was too much surprised with the love of *Phaon* (though some believe it was the other *Sappho* called *Ereneas*.) However I think it very unreasonable to suppose, that she should have perpetrated that crime which will be better concealed then mentioned in this place; and those Authors assuredly were to blame, when they gave her the surname of *Mascula*, and did not specify the reason why, seeming thereby only to imply, that her Actions were more becoming a man, then a woman: Or whether it was by reason of the rare verses which she composed; or for that she adventured to enter into those fair walks of *Leucados*, unto which none but men durst ever approach. But that which gave the greatest cause of this suspicion, was, that we read she had certain women who were her constant friends and companions, viz. *Anagora*, *Milefianina*, *Gongyla* of *Colophon*, *Eunica* of *Salamis*, *Erymna*, and several others; but, and if upon that account we should suppose her guilty of that horrid crime which is laid to her charge, we might aswell conclude that the other *Sappho* who was a company keeper, aswell as this our *Lesbian*, should be as guilty as her self; and likewise all women in general who frequent company. Wherefore it is a great injury done to our *Sappho* to asperse her in this manner without any lawful reason or occasion: Whereas the Divine Philosopher *Plato*, did highly admire the dexterity and vivacity of her wit, aswell as the profound knowledge wherewithal she was endowed, and whereby she excelled all men and women, how eminently learned soever they were.

And to returne to our *Sappho* again, we finde that she was joyined in Marriage unto an honest considerable man, abounding in wealth, named *Cercola*, or as others *Cercylla*, by whom she had one only daughter named *Cleis*, by her Grand-mothers name. And during her husbands life there was not the least speech of any misdemeanor at all in her; but when she became a Widow, some say (as we have already hinted thereon) that she fell in love with a certain man called *Phaon*, who being gone into *Sicily*, and the mistrusting that he bore her not a reciprocal love equal to hers, fell into such a rage and impatience, that for to free her self from so disordinate a passion, she cast her self headlong from the top of a Rock into the Sea. And thus our famous Poetess did end her dayes, who lived in the year of the world 4684. and before our Saviour 515. yeers. At which time there flourished *Xenophanes* the Philosopher, *Theognus*, and *Pindarus* the *Grecian* Poets, and the choice *Roman* Matron *Lucretia*. This said Isle of *Leibos* did breed a second *Sappho* called *Erexera*, famous in the Art of Poetry, who invented the Cittern or Rebeck, and composed many *Lyrick* verses, though she was very unchast, as several Writers have noted, &c.

The place of
Sappho the fa-
mous Poetess
birth.
Sappho statue
erected by the
Romanes.

Sappho several
supposed Fa-
thers.

Sappho's bro-
ther.

Sappho, surnam-
ed Mascula.

Sappho's
companions.

Sappho's husband
and daughter.

The death of
Sappho the Le-
sbian Poetess.

The end of the Life of the Lesbian Poetess.

THE LIFE OF SALADIN, the Sultan of Egypt.



Ann. Mund.
1137.

C. N.
1170.



Some men descanting on the approved Axiome, *That a thing which is ill-got, cannot be of long durance*, do think that they have hit the nail on the head, when they urge *Saladins* History. And then they suppose this Allegation doth halt, because the Historians do recount, that *Syrracon* the *Mede Saladins* Father, was invested in the Kingdom of *Egypt* by very unlawful means, viz. By his treacherously killing of *Calyplus* the *Sultan* of *Caire* (under whom he was a Captaine and received his pay) whereas he pretended to salute him And by this means he seized both the Treasury and sovereignty of *Egypt*. Some writers say, that this *Syrracon*, or *Syrracuin*, was not *Saladins* Father, but his Uncle, and that his Father was *Megemedinus*. However it was, The Dominion of *Egypt* fell into *Saladins* hand by the means of this perfidious personage *Syrracon*, who afterwards was so highly exalted by the said *Saladine*, that he was esteemed to have attained unto the greatest glory that ever any warrior did achieve. And to avoide prolixity I shall omit to specify those courses which he ran to compass his ends. This present History being sufficient to give you his Character, wherefore I shall only say, That he was the sole *Sultan*, who was endowed with a surpassing profound prudence and Judgment; for he spared neither Gold nor Silver, to gain such men as he conceived might be useful unto him. He conformed himself unto the fancies and humors of those, of whom he stood in need, and had to do withal, not so as to render himself subject unto their said dispositions, but that having once founded them, he might be the better able thereby, to make his advantage according as it should best fit for his turn. And the better to compass these his said designs (as *Bocartius* the Historiographer Writes) he travelled in the disguise of a Merchant throughout all *France* and *Italy*, to inform himself of the *Christians* Forces and designs; by which means he did so well discover their intentions, that afterwards taking his opportunity, he quite outed them of all the Territories and Dominions which they possessed in the *Levant*. And being sent for by the *Damascenes*, he went unto their relief, and in a little space of time he made himself Master of the whole Province, usurping the same against his Master *Melech Sali*. His picture (as you see it in the Frontispiece of this History) I brought from the City of *Damas*, it being given me there by an *Armenian* Bishop, together with some others. Moreover he made himself Lord of *Bosra* of *Malbec*, which formerly was called *Helipolis*, and of *Camelus*. And to the end that the *Christians* should not rush in upon him whilst he was gaining the Territories belonging to the heir of *Noradinus*. He made a league with them, which lasted only until such time as he had fortified himself.

The means whereby *Saladin* attained the Kingdom of *Egypt*.

Saladins prudence and subtilty.

Saladin King of *Damas*.

For

For in the year one thousand one hundred seventy and six, in the month of *December*, he pitched his Campe before *Ascalon*, in which *Baldovinus* the fourth of that name, King of *Jerusalem*, had a Garrison, and was present there in person to defend the place; and here *Saladin* was handfomely beat to dirt, and lost the best part of his *Mamaluks*; and had he himself not ran away, he might have happily been worse served. But he suffered not the *Christians* long to boast of their glorious conquest; for he suddenly charged them again to furiously, that *Baldovinus* the King had like to have been slain, as well as the great Commander of the *Knights Templars* was. And *Saladin* remaining victorious, took the Castle which *Baldovinus* had caused to be built on the River of *Jordan*, killing or making all those slaves which he found in the place; and demolishing the Fort, quite to the ground. After which a truce for five yeers was agreed on between both parties, which lasted not long, for *Saladin* having discovered that the Count of *Tripoli*, did bandy against the *Christians*, relieved (notwithstanding the promise which he had made) to side with him. Whereupon *Baldovinus* was constrained to take the Field; and the *Turks* did so likewise, and the battel was fought neer unto the Castle called *Trobolet*, where although the victory was dubious, yet *Saladin* had the worst. And therefore in rage and despiht he caused his Army to march out of *Egypt* by Sea; and besieged the City of *Barnut* on three several sides, but finding the King at his heels, and not daring to stand him, he raised the siege, and marched into *Mesopotamia*; and on the other side the *Christians* invaded the Territories of *Damas*, and endeavoured to repulse their enemy; who strove to root them out of *Palestine*. To which end that *Saladin* might be the better opposed, an inspection was taken of all the Goods, Estates, and wealth which the *Christians* had in those parts; And an Imposition or Taxe was laid upon all those who were worth one hundred *Bejants*; and the Churches were likewise assessed, whence some persons who were ill vert, in History, or in the management of the Exchequers did say, That this taxe or impolt was the *Saladine* Decimation; conceiving that all monies which the Clergy doth pay either severally or jointly with the generality of the people, is of the Nature of a *Decimation*. Such people should only consider the distinction of Taxes, subventions or subsidies and such contributions; or the nature of such monies as are raised upon the Church by the Prince, and they will finde them to be Subsidies, Loans, Voluntary Gifts, and other extraordinary disbursements, which in no wise do favor of *Decimated* Taxes; although the leavying of monies in such a manner be granted by the Pope unto such Kings, Princes and States as are under his obedience; and therefore although the *Christians* of the *Levant* and of *Palestine* did impose a Taxe upon themselves to Arme themselves, and to withstand *Saladine*; yet it cannot be said that these monies which they disbursed, can properly be termed a *Saladine* Decimation. To which may be added that it was both leaved and payed at far different times. As it may appear by what *Rigordus* (who hath written the life of King *Philip Augustus*) saith concerning the difference betwixt both the one and the other contribution. The first Taxe, saith he, was raised upon those of the *Eastern* parts; the second upon the *Western* inhabitants, who had not taken upon themselves the Croisade for the holy journey; and its well distinguished by the ordinance concerning this said Decimation which expressed all those who had taken the Croisade upon them to be exempted (and cleared from the paying of their debts) as also the Abbots and Monks of the *White-friars*; and the *Hospitals*, *Almshouses* and *Infirmaries*, with their Revenues and the Religious Nuns of *Font-Eurauld*. But to the contrary, those who had great revenues and enjoyed the high jurisdiction, and did not prepare to go beyond Seas, they were subject unto the said Decimation; and every Gentleman that had not taken the Croisade upon him, was to pay unto the Lord under whom he resorted the tenth part of his proper Goods and Chattels, or of the Mannor or inheritance which he held of him; and if he had not any inheritance which depended of the said Lord, yet he was obliged to pay him the tenth part of his goods, although his person had any dependency upon the said Lord. This said *Saladine* Decimation contained several other particulars which I shall here omit, having onely inserted these foregoing ones, to shew the difference between these two manner of wayes of leavying of monies; and to evidence the great streight wherein all *Christendome* as then was; and whereunto *Saladin* had reduced them; which (as a man may say) did constrain all *Christendome* in a manner to abandon their own dwellings and Countries to oppose and make head against this perfidious and disloyal *Saladine*, to whom we shall return; and demonstrate what slight account he made of his promises, and the word which he had once passed. Thinking himself no longer obliged to keep the same then his Avarice, Ambition, and his own Conveniences would give him leave. Wherefore, although the Truce which he had made with the *Christians* had bound his hands from attempting any thing against them, yet being stirred up by the Count of *Tripoli*, who was displeased and enraged against *Gay of Lusignan*, King of *Jerusalem*, he also caused the *Arabians* to rise in Armes, and to ransack the Territories belonging unto *Renould* of *Chefikon* Lord of *Montreal* beyond *Jordan*; who setting upon them, beat them soundly, and took from them all their spoil; entred with a stronge Army into the neighboring *Arabia*, and made a terrible rout amongst them. Mean while *Saladin* (who took not King *Lewis*, though *Saphendin* his Son did) having reigned sixteen yeers, departed this world in the yeer of the incarnation of our Lord and Saviour, eleven hundred

The first siege of *Ascalon*.

Saladin breaks the truce which was made.

Fights with *Baldovinus*.

Re-forges *Barnut*.

Invades *Mesopotamia*.

A taxe laid upon the *Christians* of the *Levants*.

A mistake concerning the *Saladine* Decimation.

Philip Augustus ordinance concerning the *Saladine* Decimation.

Saladins maxime.

Saladins plot to renew the wars against the *Christians*.

Saladins death.

four-score and seventeen, to the great joy and repose of all Christians, had they been so well advised, as to have made use of the advantage and opportunity which was presented unto them by the dissention of *Saladins* Sons, who falling foul amongst themselves destroyed each other.

Saladins will. Finally, *Saladin* being sensible of his humane and frail condition, and perceiving that he could not survive that sickness, making his will, commanded that there should not be any Funeral pomp used at his burial; but that only a black mourning vestment should be carried upon the top of a Lance before his Corps; and that one of his Priests should rehearse unto the people the tenor of certain verses as they are contained in *Docarin*; and for the Readers better understanding have been Englished thus,

*By several Trophies, and a Kingdom gain'd,
Myself, till this time, have I thus maintain'd.
And being call'd to submit to the Grave,
This only Vestment, I reserved have.*

The end of Saladins Life.



THE

THE LIFE OF EDWARD Prince of Wales; Surnamed, the Black Prince.



Ann. Mund.
5293.

Christ. Nat.
1326.



Am sorry that I cannot so particularly trace this History, without inserting a just reprehension, which I am necessitated to urge against *John* the first of that Name, King of *France*; who although he was a Prince endowed with several commendable Graces, yet he could not so well season them, as to make that good use of them which he might have done, by his prudent taking the advantage of a fit and commodious opportunity, to vanquish his enemies: Nor can it be said that he was backward in giving sufficient orders to his Warlike preparations, he having framed so Puissant and Strong an Army against a very inconsiderate handful of *English*; for *Edward* at his landing had not above three thousand *English*, and at the utmost his Army, after he had united all his Forces, exceeded not twelve thousand fighting men. The fault which King *John* committed (and which was none of the least) was, that both Armies being quartered so nigh unto each other, he suffered his Enemy (who was sensible of his condition) to take so much rest, and gave him leave to fortifie himself. For this young *English* man, finding that meer necessity enforced him to fight, and that he was unequal in Forces; during the time which was spent in Parleys, ceased not to surround his Camp and to encourage his Souldiers with the Victory, which he already promised himself, and held for assured, by the relief and succour which he had received from the Lords *Capeaux de Buch*, *Rauson*, *Muridan*, *L'Esquire*, *Albret*, *Montferrand*, *Tartes*, and others of the Nobility of *Aquitaine*: And I finde that the said Prince was so assiduous in the reviewing and animating of his said Forces, as that he would scarce allow himself time to eat; and so farre was he from sleeping, as that he hardly was known to close his eyes till he had gained the Victory: Fencing himself so well between the Villages of *Banuvir*, *Maupertuis*, and the Abbey of *Neuville*, in the Vineyards and Inclosures, as that he quite disinabled the *French* Horse from approaching him, and facilitated a means for his own Men, whereby to defend themselves; The Honour therefore of the Victory fell to the lot of this brave *English* Warrior, by the indiscretion and improvidence of King *John* of *France*, who seeing he had permitted his Enemy so strongly to recruit himself, ought to have forecalt with whom he was to deal, *viz.* with desperate men, who finding that those tenders of submission which they had proffered to the King (by the intercession of the Cardinals of *Perigord* and *Urgel*, delegated by the Pope, to make up the breach between these two Princes) did not

Ecce

at

Fault committed by King *John* the first of *France*, in the Battle against the Prince of *Wales*.

The Prince of *Wales* his great care in relieving and animating his Army.

at all move the Kings heart, but that he would wilfully drive them upon the precipice (as it were) of despair, they were constrained (as a man may say) to hazard the whole, and play at quit or double: and they taught the King, as things fell out, that there wanted little or nothing of their having caught Fortune by the Fore-lock.

The Prince of Wales his fair protest to the K. of France.

And to speak the truth, he had done farre better, if he had graced Prince Edwards Forces a Peace, who desired but to have gotten off with their lives, and promised to put into his Majesties hands, all those Places which he had formerly taken from him, as also to return him all the Prisoners, Booty and Plunder, which he had gained since his return from Bourdeaux: Finally, That he would not take up Armes, nor suffer his Subjects to Arm themselves, for the space of seven years against the Crown or Kingdom of France. By this means he might have gained the Victory, and needed not to have hazarded the chief of his Nobility, his own Person, and his state, in the very heart of his Kingdom. But I doubt not after the fault was committed, that he repented himself of his bargain, and acknowledged his error, but it was then somewhat too late, and when no means were left of raising up again, those Princes, Lords and Squires, who were most miserably slain in the Battel of Poitiers, which was fought on a Monday, being the ninth day of the moneth of September, in the Year of our Lord, one thousand three hundred fifty and six, when there was no time to retreat. Dennis of Morbegne (an Arthesian Knight, of the City of St Omers, who had been banisht out of France) seized on the Kings Person, and delivered him up into the Prince of Wales's hands; Philip Duke of Touraine, and the Kings last sonne, was taken Prisoner, and the Flower of the French Nobility, who accompanied the King, were either mowed down with the Sword, or taken Prisoners. In so much that Prince Edward (according to all appearance) had occasion enough to be puffed up with glory; yet however (although he was an English man) he knew so well how to temper the fruits of so signall a Victory, that in lieu of being exalted thereat, he humbled himself very much unto the King his Captive: And the very evening when the Battel was won, the Kings supper was prepared in the English Camp, and the Prince of Wales served him bare-headed; the Captive King several times prayed him to sit down by him, but Edward desired to be excused, saying, That it behooved not a Subject to sit down with his King: The King told him, I had resolved to have given you a supper this night, but the fortune of the Warre hath made you give me one. So likewise do all Writers confess that the Kings imprisonment, although it continued a long while (even from the Year of our Lord one thousand three hundred fifty and six, untill the moneth of July in the Year of our Lord one thousand three hundred and threecore) yet it was not at all in any away of restraint, for the King enjoyed all the possible liberty that might be in England, and was delivered out of that Captivity, by the means of the agreement which was made and ratified at Bretigny; Nor will I adde all the Articles of the said Treaty, but only one; viz.

The Article of the Treaty of Bretigny upon which the French King was released.

That the King of France for his Ransom did leave unto the King of England, who was to retain his Title of Lord of Guyenne, all the Country of Aquitaine to the very River of Loyre; and particularly the City of Engoulesme, with the Province of Angoumois. And here I shall make a kinde of a digression, only to tell you how and in what manner this Prince Edward did Govern and Rule our Province of Angoumois for the space of ten years. He caused that great and stately Tower to be built which is yet extant in the City, and several other Fortresses, and sumptuous Buildings. And as he was much devoted unto the Priory of Nonseville (which is situated five leagues from the City of Engoulesme, founded by a vertuous Matron named Hildegarda, as I have read in the old Annals of that Province) he did benifice the said place extremely, and caused a great Hall to be built there, and new glazed the Church with stately painted glass windows, in one of which his own Picture (just as I have here prefixed it) was drawn after the life, and being very like two other of his Pictures engraven in Rome, one of which was placed over one of the Gates of the Tower of Cogniac, and the other over the Gate of the Castle of Montignac; which two Statues the Regent Madam Lewis of Savoy, Mother to the late King Francis the first, caused to be thrown down. But to return to our History, The French King, the better to accomplish the aforesaid Treaty, did cause those Cities to be delivered unto the English, which he had promised them: And although he sent them his Letters Patents thereon, yet the Inhabitants of Engoulesme would not consent thereunto, untill such time as Chandownes, the King of Englands Lieutenant or Deputy in Guienne, entered into Angoulesme, and took possession thereof on the six and twentieth day of the moneth of October, in the Year of our Lord one thousand three hundred threecore and one; whither also a little while after the Prince of Wales, together with his Princess, came to dwell, making it his chief residency, both by reason of the commodiousness of the place and its strength. Towards the end of the Year one thousand three hundred sixty two, the Princess of Wales was brought to bed of a Sonne, in the City of Angoulesme, who was also named Edward; at whose Christning several of the chief Nobility of the adjacent parts did assist to honour the same; As also Peter of Lusignian King of Cyprus, who at that time was come into France to sollicit the Christian Princes to relieve the Holy Land.

The birth of Edward the Prince of Wales his son. The difference concerning Richard the Prince of Wales his son being called to the Crown of England.

Moreover the difference betwixt several Historiographers concerning Richard the Sonne of Edward, seems to me not at all difficult to be reconciled: For although Richard was the younger brother, having been born at Bourdeaux a great while after the Warres between the Prince

of

of Wales and Henry of Castile; yet however he might easily attain unto the Crown of England, either because his brother Edward died before him; or that finally Edward the third King of England of that Name, was pleased it should be so: whose Testament and last Will I shall here insert, because it may the more conduce to extoll the Praise, Renown, and Excellency of this said Prince of Wales; whom, as it may be conceived, he would have called to the Crown, as being the Eldest of his Sonnes, in case his death had not prevented the same: Wherefore the said King Edward the third, because he would not frustrate his Sonnes succession (who died a year before) would have the said Richard, his last Sonne, to succeed him in the Royalty, in the Year one thousand three hundred seventy seven, and he was Crowned King of England, being but eleven years of age; although King Edward had five several Sonnes, who ought to have preceded the said Richard in the Regal dignity, viz. Lionel Duke of Clarence, John of Gant Earl of Derby, Agmond of Langley Earl of Cambridge, and Duke of York, Thomas of Briffall Earl of Buckingham, and the Duke of Gloucester; However their said Father, rather chose to preferre their Nephew Richard before them all, by reason of the great confidence he had of the Magnanimity and Valour which was innate in him, by inheritance from his eldest Sonne the Prince of Wales. True it is that Henry the fifth of that Name, Sonne of John of Gant the Earl of Darby, did by force Depose this said King Richard; but the said violent depoposition and illegall proceeding, doth not at all prejudice the right which King Richard had to the Crown; Nor in the least that acknowledgement which was made thereon by King Edward the third of that Name, because that his Grandfathers Will and Testament had enfranchised him above any degree or preheminance, which the other Brothers could lay claim unto; or rather this King Richard was promoted to the Crown, by the Law of being presented thereunto, and nominated and confirmed therein by King Edwards last Will. But being we were insensibly engaged in this discourse, only out of favour to, and in admiration of the Prince of Wales, and that doubtless, contrary to all right and justice Richard was Deposed, least we should too deeply engage our selves in an endless discourse, we will rather return to our former track, and follow the proceedings of Edward the Prince of Wales, whom we left busied in solemnizing his Sonnes Christning at Angoulesme, where we must by no means leave him; for as he was a man of Business, very active and of high Enterprises, we may not conceive that he would suffer himself to be transported with the over-glibby pleasures of the Angoumoisins: And that he might not remain idle, in the Year one thousand three hundred sixty six, he undertook to defend Peter King of Castille, against his bastard brother Henry, who had made an insurrection against him; wherefore the Prince of Wales assembles all the Forces he possibly could, and with them did those innumerable memorable Exploits, attested by all our Historians: And it cannot be denied but that he had severall weighty Affairs at that time in hand; for although he had made sure of the King of Navarre, who (breaking the Alliance which he had sworn with this Henry the new King of Castille) had promised passage unto such English as were to have been sent to the Prince of Wales his aid; yet he had enough to do with the King of France, unto whom the said bastard Henry was fled for relief, and who by all his subtilties and diversions which he caused to be made against the English in the Kingdoms of Arragon, and near unto the City of Tholouse, could not hinder Prince Edward from joyning his Forces, and exploiting Valiant Feats on that occasion. And here the Historiographers do again mightily differ, concerning some Taxes which were raised by the said Prince of Wales: For, say some, the said Prince, being solicited, or requested, by his Father, to take King Peter of Castille into his Tuition and Protection, he made use of all the possible means he could invent, to raise and pay that Army which he then Conducted, and that having exhausted his Exchequer in that Warre, he assembled the Heads of all his Provinces at Angoulesme; and imposed a Tax upon the people, of ten fold Tournois, for every Fire (the rich paying for the poor one year) which said Tax was to last five years (others say the Tax was farre greater) whereby there arose a general discontent, as we shall hereafter declare: However others, who have runne through Froissards History, do say, that this same Prince of Wales, because he would not oppress the people with extortions, (having not wherewithall to make his Army subsist) did borrow vast summes of Money of his Father the King of England, and even did cause all his Cupboards of Plate, both of Gold and of Silver, to be melted down, and to be Coynded: But and if we narrowly pry into both these reports, it will not be hard to reconcile them; for it is not probable that King Edward having engaged his Sonne in a Warre, and finding that he was in want of Moneys, should have raised a summe of Money by way of Subsidy, to furnish him. For the repayment of which, the said Prince Edward should have afterwards been constrained to have laid the said Tax upon his Subjects; and to speak the truth, there cannot be any other construction made of the foregoing passages: Besides, it is evident the discontents and distastes of the inhabitants of Angoumoisins, and the rest of the Aquitains, did not arise thence, but from the ill will they bore unto the English, and by the regret which they had to see a stranger Beece them, thereby to enrich their general Enemy: so likewise do I know that there were other occasions of discontent; and especially, because Prince Edward could have made up that summe of Money which he had borrowed of his Father, by the ransoms of those Brevenfals, and French Nobility which he had taken, amongst which the Earl of Narbonne was one, who together with the rest, he released upon their bare words and promises. However,

King Edward the thirds sons.

King Richard depoced by Henry the 5th.

Edward Prince of Wales engaged in the defence of Peter King of Castille.

A difference betwixt the Historians concerning a Tax imposed by Prince Edward.

The discontents of the Angoumoisins against Prince Edward.

Prince Edward
summoned to
Paris; his
answer.

Prince Edward
falls into a
Dropfie.

The City of
Angoulesme
surrendered to
the King of
France.

The King of
Majorca comes
to Bourdeaux
to demand re-
lief of Prince
Edward, a-
gainst the K.
of Arragon,
is Godfather
to Richard
P.E. sonne.

Prince Ed-
wards death,
and his soone
Richards mar-
riage.

The disloyalty
and perfidi-
ousness of Pe-
ter of Castille
to Prince Ed-
ward.

this new Imposition, together with the ill-will which the said *Angoumois* bore unto the *English*, who became too much puffed up, and ingrossed to themselves all the Dignities, preheminences, and Offices of the Countrey; without the admitting of any *French* man amongst them, which did beget such a heart-burning in divers, that at length the Lords of *Labreth*, the Earles of *Armaignac* and *Perigord*, and several others were on the point of rebelling against Prince *Edward*. However, they rather chose to apply themselves unto the remedies of Justice, and retired themselves unto *Charles* the fifth of that Name, King of *France*, and there became Plaintiffs against *Edward* their Prince; who was summoned to make his Personall appearance in the Chamber of Peers (or in the Lords House) at *Paris*, to give satisfaction on the complaints of the people of *Aquitane*. Who answered, that indeed he would appear there, but it should be with a Casket on his head, and threescore thousand men at his heels, (to which others adding one Cypher increased it to six hundred thousand men.) And thence began that furious Warre which was so violently pursued on both sides; though it fell out ill for Prince *Edward*, who besides the great losses which he sustained, got a fit of a Dropfie, or a swelling, occasioned (as it is furnished by some) through poyson which was given him. And being reduced to so great an extremity of weakness, as that he was forced to be carried in a Litter, he retired himself into *England*, in the Year one thousand three hundred threescore and eight: And during his abode there, you may imagine how things were carried on in *France*, for in the Year one thousand three hundred seventy two, *Henry Hayes* the Governour of *Angoulesme* was no sooner taken at the siege of *Soubize* by the *French*, but the inhabitants of *Angoulesme*, being cloyed with the *English*, taking the opportunity of freeing themselves, surrendered the City of *Angoulesme* (the place of my birth) into the hands of *Charles* the fifth of that Name King of *France*; who to acknowledge their sincere affection towards him, did grant unto them severall Priviledges and large Immunities: And by their example the rest of the *Aquitanes* did successively proceed to shake off the *English* yoke; nor could King *Edward* the third ever after reclaim them, although he did promise them to abolish all those new burdens and Impositions. Nor do I here pretend to justify the said Prince *Edward*, thereby to lessen or suppress the right which our Kings have unto *Aquitane*; However I must needs averre, that it would be a difficult matter to meet with a more Generous and Magnanimous Prince than this *Edward* was, unto whom all distressed and oppressed Princes took their refuge, by his means to recover their Liberties. We have already touched upon his endeavours to assist *Peter* of *Castille*; and I shall also hint upon the King of *Majorca's* repairing to *Bourdeaux* unto Prince *Edward* to demand relief of him against the King of *Aragon*, who caused this poor *Insular* Kings Father, to be put to death in prison, and detained his Lands and Dominions: After Prince *Edward* had heard his complaints, he promised him all possible relief, and took him to be his Sonne *Richards* Godfather, who was born at *Bourdeaux*: Notwithstanding he could not re-establish him, for *Henry* King of *Castille* having surprized this King of *Majorca* being sick, he set him at a Ransom of one hundred thousand Ducats, because he was in company with the Prince of *Wales*, when he restored that disloyal false *Peter* unto the Kingdom of *Castille*: After which, the said sickness killed the *Majorcan* King. And as to our Prince *Edward*, after he had thus valiantly finished the course of a most Renowned life, he deceased in the Year of the Incarnation of our Lord, one thousand three hundred threescore and sixteen, at a Palace near unto *London*; much about the time when (at the Assembly of *Bridges* in *Flanders*) the Marriage of *Richard* his Sonne with *Mary* daughter of *Charles* the King of *France*, was by him set on foot; which said Match was so long and diversly debated before it could be concluded, as that Pope *Gregory* being much offended, for meer spight left *Anignon*, and returned to *Rome*.

However, because that particular doth not much concern Prince *Edwards* life, I shall not say any more thereon, but rather proceed to recount unto you the disloyalty and perfidiousness of *Peter* of *Castille*, who finding himself restored to those Dominions and Territories for the which he contested with *Henry* of *Castille*, and that also those of *Toledo*, *Lisborne*, *Galicia*, *Seville*, and severall other places in *Castille*, were come to do him homage, he did pay them in the like Coyne, as usually such unworthy Personages do recompence those who have contributed to their re-establishment; For when this base, false, and treacherous person found that Prince *Edward* did press him to pay those Forces which he had levied for to recover his Countrey again, this sneaking hound, retired himself to *Sevill*, on a pretence to leavy the Moneys for the said Forces payment, promising to return within some certain weeks, by himself prefixed: The Prince of *Wales* expects his performance, the time expires, and no payment, but in words; whereupon the Prince sent some Gentlemen to know the occasion of this so long delay, who were sent back by *Don Pedro* with this answer, allcading that he had already sent the said Moneys by his own men, unto the said Prince, but that they had been encountered by the way and robbed: And by such like shifts and put offs, he so long detained the Prince of *Wales* in a bootless suspence, as that his Forces by a long and tedious expectation, being weakened and disbanded, he found himself in a sad exigency; for he was constrained to retire into his own Countrey, without the receiving of one farthing token, and was forced to oppose *Henry* of *Castille*, who the better to reward him for the

the relief he had afforded the perfidious *Don Peter*, endeavoured to invade some of his Territories in *Guyenne*.

However, the Prince of *Wales* found out a means in time to frustrate all the said *Henry's* designs, although it was not in his power to hinder the *Aquitaniens* Rebellion; who finding themselves mightily oppressed by the excessive Imposition which was laid upon them, for to supply those summes of Money which *Don Peter* should have payed; revolted against Prince *Edward*, and dispossessed him of all *Guyenne*; which was all he got by ayding and restoring the said perfidious, ungratefull *Don Peter* of *Castille*, &c.

The end of the Life of Edward Prince of Wales.



THE

THE LIFE OF CHARLE MAINE or CHARLES the Great, King of France, and Emperor of Rome.



An. Mund.
4736.

Nat. Christ.
769.



Overall men have over-much busied themselves to finde out, upon what account this Emperour was honoured with the Title of *Charles the Great*: Nor will I satisfie my self with the reason which is thereon given by the Author of the Triumph of the Nine Worthies; being unwilling to believe that because this said *Charles* did kill that Bear, whereof he maketh mention, he was therefore surnamed the *Great*, although I do not deny, but that the Counties of *Poitou*, and my native Country of *Angoumois*, were shrewdly infested by this furious beast; but to believe that for this sole action he should have been qualified with the Title of the *Great*, I must desire to be

The reason why *Charles* was surnamed the *Great*.

Charles the *Great* compared to *Alexander* the *Great*. The place of *Charles* his birth. *Charles* and *Carolo Man* his brother share the Kingdom of France between them. *Carolo Man* *Charles* his Uncle becomes a Friar.

excused. And will rather choose to derive the cause of that said Denomination, from the Heroicall and Magnanimous Exploits which were by him performed, and which made him to excell beyond the rest of the Kings, Princes, and Famous men of his time, in the same manner as the Victories and Conquests of *Alexander* (the Sonne of *Philip* the *Macedon* King) did acquire unto him the Property and Possession of the Title of *Great*. Nor shall I dare to adventure upon a Comparison betwixt them, this Discourse being not capable to contain their incredible number of Actions; However, I dare be bold to assert, That this our *Charles*, was not at all inferior to *Alexander*, as the description of his Life, Victories, and Valiant Atchievements, will sufficiently manifest. He was born at *Ingelheim* (according to the opinion of the most part of the Historians) which is a place two German leagues distant from the City of *Mayence*, or (as others will have it) from *Liege*: He, together with his Brother *Carlo Main*, succeeded King *Pepin*, (the first of that Name, and the first that was called *The Most Christian King*.) These two Brothers shared the Kingdom of France, in such a manner, as that *Charles*, who was the elder Brother, had for his part *France*, and *Aquitaine*: which before were fallen unto *Pepin* their Father, by the division which he made with *Carolo Man* his Brother, who in the Year seven hundred forty and seven, went to *Rome*, and there became a Monk, and retired himself unto the Mount called *Sorathes*, where he caused a Monastery to be built, and had designed to have remained there with some other Religious men; but because that place was too publick, and that he was resolved to sequester himself from the world, and from the frequenting of such of the *French* Nation, who came thither to salute him, he removed to *Mount Cassin*, which is in the Land of *Samos*, and there shut up himself in the *Benedictine* Monastery,

Italy, where he ended his daies: Others, however, do beleve that he died at *Vienne*, upon the River of *Rhyne*, in the Year seven hundred fifty four, whence he was carried and buried in his own Abbey.

Moreover the Kingdom of *Soissons*, with the Territories beyond the River of *Rhyne*, fell to *Carolo Man* share, the Brother of our *Charles*, who having reigned jointly together with his said Brother for the space of two years, deceased on the fourth of *December*, in the Year after our Saviours Nativity seven hundred seventy one, which was the third year of *Charles* his Reign; and after *Carolo Man* death, *Charles* was made King of all *France*, by the generall consent of all the States of the Kingdom; which particulars I thought good to specify in this place, not that I do intend to track the succession of the times in which he lived, and to specify all those generous Actions which he so happily effected: But because I have resolved to follow quite another strain in this Discourse; and to take a farre higher rise, that so I may the better descend to describe this great Monarchs Magnanimous Actions. But first I shall give you a kinde of a Catalogue of his Stature, Manners, and usuall Exercises. *Turpin* the Archbishop of *Reims* tells us that he was of an extraordinary Stature, a Body very well proportioned, being eight foot high; his Face was a span and a half long, and his Forehead was one foot in breadth, his Head was thick, and the distance between his Eyebrows was a span long, his Nose was little and flat, his Countenance was fierce, and his Eyes were Lion-like, big, green, and sparkling like unto a Carbuncle; inso much as when he was transported with rage, his very countenance did frighten and terrifie his Enemy. At his Meals he did eat but very little bread, and did often eat Venison, which he much loved, being, as some say, very much addicted to hunting. At his dinner he usually had a quarter of Mutton, a Peacock, a Hern or Crane, or a couple of Hens, or a Goose, or a Hare, besides the other services at the beginning and ending of his Meals; his ordinary custom was alwaies to have four Messes, besides the roast meat, which seems to be an excessive Ordinary for such as had not so good an appetite as himself; for had he not eaten thus superabundantly, he was troubled with terrible gripings and crudities of the Stomack: He was satisfied with a very little Wine, and drank but thrice at most, whence sprang the Proverb, *Ter bibere in mensa Carolinum*, You must drink but thrice at *Charles* his Table; which is the more to be admired, since there are but few Germans who do not exceed that way. In summer he did usually strip himself and sleep two or three hours at Noon-tide, after which he did eat some Plums: He was clad after the *French* fashion, and alwaies wore a short sword hanging at his girdle, in the pommel whereof, his Seal, being the Coat of his Arms, was engraven; and at the Sealing of any Laws, Ordinances and Statutes, he was used to say, Behold the Sword that shall maintain my Ordinances, and which shall wage Warre against those who do infringe them. He was perpetually in action, and did usually rise in the night time, to peruse his Memorials, and to prepare the weighty affairs of his Kingdom: At night he had fourscore Gentlemen Pensioners, or Yeomen of his Guard, who being compleatly Armed watched by him, viz. forty before, and forty after midnight; ten of which were placed at his Beds head, ten at his feet, and ten on each side, having all of them their Swords ready draws in their right hand, and a burning Taper in their left.

And that which is told of his extraordinary strength is almost incredible, as that with ease he could lift up a Knight in full Arms, from the ground as high as his head: and with his hands he would open and extend four Horse-shoes being joyned together: He had such an extraordinary force in his Arm, as that with one blow he would cleave asunder a horse man in full Arms, and his horse to boot, so that doubtless he laid on with a good heart. And as his Stature and Corporall strength was great, farre greater was his Magnanimity and Courage, as his actions have evidenced, which I shall only superficially touch upon, in this relation, remitting the curious Reader, who shall be desirous to know those particulars which I may have omitted, to the writings of several other Authors. Before he had put his foot into the Royal stirrup, and during King *Pepin* life, he commanded that Army which his Father had raised against *Warferus* Duke of *Aquitaine*; he subdued *Poitou*, *Berry*, and *Clermont* in the Province of *Auvergne*; together with several other Cities; in which encounter *Chilpingus*, and *Aminius* were killed, the one Earl of *Auvergne*, and the other of *Poitou*: After this Victory he passed from *Aquitaine*, into *Biscay*, to help the *Biscains*, who were almost quite disheartened by reason of the frequent Inroads and Plunders of the *Saracens*, who as soon as *Charles* the *Great* was come amongst them (foreseeing that he was to be their Deliverer) they took so much heart of grace, as to re-assume their lost hopes, and defeated the *Saracens*. And having thus successfully performed their Exploits, he was no sooner called to the Royal Dignity (which was in the Year of our Lord seven hundred threescore and nine) but the self same year he was constrained to raise a powerfull Army to march against *Hannault* Earl of *Provence*, who having rallied the remainder of *Warfers*, the Duke of *Aquitaine*, Forces (whom *Pepin* had caused to be taken and strangled) had without any resistance almost at all usurped the Dutchy of *Aquitaine*: In this Warre he was so successfull and happy, as that the inhabitants of *Xaintonge*, *Poitou*, and of *Angoumois*, having refused to rise in Arms for *Hannault*, against their King; he forced *Hannault* to fly for his safety, and to take Sanctuary with Duke *Loup* in *Gascogne*; who although he did not side with *Charles* the King, yet apprehending his too near approach with his Army towards his Limits, delivered the said *Hannault*, together with his Wife and Children unto the King, who were sent prisoners into *France*; and by this means the King was reconciled to Duke *Loup*, and the *Aquitaine* Warre was also ended: At the same time, viz. in the year seven hundred and seventy, the

The death of *Carolo Man*, Charles his brother, whereby *Charles* becomes Sovereign of all *France*.

The Stature of *Charles* and his other Features.

His manner of repasts.

A Proverb concerning his moderate drinking.

Charles his Sword and Seal.

The manner of *Charles* his Guards.

Charles his strength.

The first Command which *Charles* had in the Warres, and his first successes.

Charles defeats the *Saracens* in *Biscay*.

The *Aquitaine* Warre.

Fransac built
by K. Charles.

The retreat of
Bertha Carolo
Nani widow.

The cause of
the Longobard
War and the
subversion of
that King-
dom.

The siege of
Pavia.

Pepin, Charles
son Crown'd
King of Lom-
bards, and the
Confines of
that Kingdom

Bernard made
King of Lom-
bardy.

The Saxons
quelled eleven
times by King
Charles.

The Saxons
transported
into France.

the King caused *Fransac* to be built (which is as much as to say *Frans Saracenorum*, being at this very present a strong place, situated upon the River of *Dordonne*, hard by *Libourne* in the *Bourdelois*) to make head against the *Saracens*, who at that time did dwell beyond the Rivers of *Gironde* and *Dordonne*; In the ensuing year the whole Monarchy of the Kingdom of *France* fell unto him by the death of his Brother *Carolo Man*; whose Widow being accompanied by a brave and gallant French man of great power named *Antbor*, or *Anthony*, did retire her self, together with her Children, unto *Tassilon* the Duke of *Bavaria*; and from thence she transported her self towards *Disier* the King of the *Longobards*. For the which, *Charles* the King was very wroth, and by reason hereof he repudiated *Hermingarda*, the said *Disiers* Daughter: (Others write that her Name was *Theodora*, and that she was *Disiers* Sister,) whom he had Married the year before by the command of *Bertha* his Mother: Although *Paulus Emilius* doth attribute the cause of these two Princes enmities by reason of the said *Hermingarda's* Divorce, which caused several and many cruel Warres betwixt those Kingdoms, and finally the subversion of the *Longobardians*. The original of which Warre was founded on *Disiers* pretending to have a hand in the dividing of the Kingdom of *France*, and because he fomented a partiality between King *Charles*, and the Children of the late *Carolo Man* his Nephews; and that which exasperated King *Charles* the more was, because *Disier* had harboured *Hunault* his ancient Enemy, who having obtained leave of the King to go in Pilgrimage to *Rome*, sided with *Disier*, who made him General of his Army, and had given him the keeping of the straight Passages of the *Alps*. However King *Charles* being sent for to relieve the Pope, passed over the *Alpes*, and waged fierce and cruel Warres against the *Lombards*, as well in the Province of *Piedmont*, as in the place called *Murtri*, where he so valiantly charged *Disier*, as that he constrained him to shut up himself in the City of *Pavia*, and where the said *Disier* did so valiantly defend himself, together with the *Longobards*, as that the French lay six months before the place; by which long siege *Disier* being tyred out, besides the contagiousness of the Plague, having much diminished his Forces, he was constrained to surrender himself unto King *Charles* his mercy, who afterwards banisht him and his Wife, and Children, unto *Liege*. And thus in the year seven hundred seventy three, the Kingdom of *Lombardy* in *Italy* was ended, which had lasted 224 years, (or 213, or 205, for the Writers and Historiographers do so much differ) after *Disier* had Reigned eighteen years. And in the year seven hundred eighty one, *Charles* caused his younger Sonne *Pepin* (whom he had by *Hildegard*, Daughter of *Hiltebrand* Duke of *Suevia*) to be Crowned King of *Lombardy*; the Confines of which Kingdom (by the Emperors consent) he caused to be settled by that which is contained between the *Appenin*, the *Alpes*, the Lake of *Garde*, and the River *Mincio*, or otherwise, according to the ancient *Lombardian* Chronologers, by those Territories which are separated from the rest of *Italy*, by the Rivers of *Pau*, and of the *Rhin Boulonois*. After *Pepins* death, which happened in the year eight hundred and eleven, on the eighth day of *July*, *Charles* gave, (in the year eight hundred and eleven) the Kingdom of *Lombardy* unto *Bernard* his Grandchilde, *Pepins* Sonne, to whom he gave a certain person named *Walic* to be his Governour, who was a wife and experienced Man, Sonne of *Bernard*, his Uncle, who he left at the siege of *Pavia*, when he went first to *Rome*. He commanded the young King and his Governour to repulse the *Barbarians*, who with a Fleet ransacked and burnt all the Coast of *Italy*: which was a little after performed by *Hermangerus* the Count of *Empau*, who lying in an Ambush, by *Majorca*, surprized the *Saracens*, who were on their return from *Sardinia* into *Spain*, their Ships being laden with Booty, the greatest part whereof he took, and recovered, besides the great Booty which he found, above five hundred *Sardinian* prisoners, which the *Barbarians* were carrying away.

During the remainder of King *Charles* his Reign, *France* had several Warres, which the King fo ordered and disposed, according to his excellent virtue and faculty, as that they but little endamage the people of *France*: Whereby this Prince's Magnanimity is highly to be extolled, especially in his having quelled his enemies, without the burdening of his own Subjects. And amongst others, the *Saxons*, with whom he warred so long, as that he overcame them, and quelled them eleven several times; and yet he could never reduce them to that perfect fidelity nor loyalty which Subjects do owe unto their Prince, although he endeavoured by fair means to gain them, by punishments to suppress the treachery of those which were feditious, and by force of Arms to countermeine their perfidiousness and revoltines; till at length, being weary of their impieties, and of the effusion of their blood, which he had been forced to continue for the space of thirty and three years; he rather chose to transport them, together with their Wives and Children into *France*, that so they having changed their dwellings, and having sucked in the sweet and milde air of *France*, they might become better settled in their obedience towards their Prince, than they were before: And gave them all the Coast along the Ocean to inhabit, commanding *Liderick* the Lord of *Herlebec* (who was great Forrester or Governour, and Admirall of that Country (the same which we now call *Flanders* and *Brabant*, which is the reason those inhabitants do yet retain the *Saxon* Language) viz. to have a watchfull eye over them, and to keep them there secure. And that their former habitations might not remain unpeopled, he sent the *Abrodises* thither in the year after our Saviours Birth eight hundred and five. In so much that all men who heard of *Charles* his happy Victories, and admirable Successes could not choose but admire them; and some others again were so surprized with astonishment, as that they submitted themselves unto him, beseeching him to admit and preserve them under his Protection, and to save them from the incursions of their Enemies; And amongst the rest, that part of *Spain*, which was infested by the *Saracens*, not knowing which way to turn themselves, nor whose assistance

crave,

crave, to avoid the storm of the *Saracens* inhumanity, had recourse unto King *Charles*, whose Puissance was dreaded throughout the whole world, and who once before had given a proof of his Prowess against these Infidels, by the relief which he afforded the *Biscians* in the year of our Lord seven hundred fifty eight, before he was King. And after several solicitations from the *Spaniards*, King *Charles* caused his Army to march and to fight the *Saracens*, in which occasion the French men shewed themselves so valiant, as that they mastered the Town of *Pampeluna*, which they sacked, and found abundance of wealth in it, which the *Saracens* had plundered almost throughout the whole world: And to strike a terror in the rest, the King caused the Walls of *Pampeluna* to be demolished; by which means *Sarragoce* stood out but a short siege, and surrendered it self to King *Charles*, who caused *Ibnabal* to be acknowledged there for their King, he having been formerly driven out by *Abnaurm*, and *Denisturm*, who being startled at these successes, came in unto King *Charles* with Presents, and surrendered themselves his Tributaries. And the Warre which he waged in those parts, was so fierce, as that all *Spain* trembled at the very Name of *Charles*; and abated very much of the *Saracens* power, who could never be subdued by any body before, save by himself. Wherefore *Adelphus* the second of that Name King of *Esturia* and *Galicia* (surnamed the *Chaste*) having obtained a signal Victory over the *Saracens*, wherein he defeated three score and ten thousand men, sent Ambassadors unto King *Charles*, laden with the Enemies spoyl, acknowledging that he accounted the Victory which he had gotten, to have been effected by his means. And with the rest of the said spoils he caused two Monasteries to be built, viz. *Oventenosa* and *Esturissa*. But whereas those Infidels did continually break forth again upon the *Spaniards*, King *Charles* sent thither *Adamarius* Count of *Ganes*, *Hermongarus* Earl of *Empus*; and the Lord High-Confable *Bouchard*, under whose Conduct, he acquired ten signal Victories over the Enemies; having sustained but one memorable loss, during his Reign, and that was at the battel of *Roncevaux*; where, by the Treason of *Ganes* (who being corrupted by the great Presents and Gifts of the Kings *Marfillon* and *Baligant*) delivered into their hands, *Romland* and *Olivier*, with the flower of the Nobility, and the choicest Troops of *France*, which were all put to the sword; for which *Charles* sought a revenge and obtained it in this wife; Near the River *Ebra*, hard by *Sarragoussa*, he defeated thirty thousand *Saracens*, and with his own hand kild the King *Baligant*, and afterwards caused *Finabel*, *Ganes* his Cousen, to be hanged, because he was accessory to the Treason; and as for *Ganes* himself, he was sentenced by *Naymes* of *Bavaria*, and the other Nobles of *France*, to be quartered and pulled asunder by four Horses at *Laons*. True it is, that in King *Charles* his return from *Spaine*, in the year seven hundred seventy nine, his baggage was almost all plundered, but it was not by the *Saracens*, but certain *Gascoones*, who were displeased at the Souldiers making a longer stay in their Country then they desired they should, which Robbers were so well versed in the adventures and coasts of the Country, as it was impossible to track them, and did so cunningly carry on their Pillagings, as that the best of the Army mistrusted no body save *Ibnabal*; and had not this said company of Theeves been discovered by chance, the blame had remained upon that poor Prince: But they at that same time brake forth in a publick way under the Conduct of one *Burgandus*, (of whom mention is made in a Council which was assembled at *Thionville*, and in an Epistle written by Pope *Nicolas* unto the Archbishop of *Bordeaux*) and who ruined and plundered the very Churches; and therefore in horreur and detestation of such sacrilegious villains, all Robbers have been since called by the name of *Brigands*. Nor had *Charles* left them unexterminated, had not the *Saxon* Warres hindred him, they revolting against him, in the year seven hundred and fourscore: And because we have already discoursed of that Rebellion, Disloyalty, and how they were punished, we will not trouble our selves further with them, but will turn towards the *Brettons*, who also in the year seven hundred fourscore and six, did begin to rise in Arms, and would not obey his Commands, disavowing that they owed any obedience to the Crown of *France*, but they were quelled, *Charles* sending a Puissant Army against them, under the Conduct of *Adulphus* one of his Generals, who did so well abate their pride and presumption, that they were glad to cry him mercy, and to submit.

In like manner *Tassilon* the Duke of *Bavaria* was subdued by King *Charles*, who (by the Council of his Wife, the Daughter of King *Disier*, to be revenged of that which *Charles* had done to her Father and Mother) had leagued himself with the *Huns*, and raised an Army to his own confusion, for hearing that *Charles* was arrived as far as the River of *Lech*, which divides the Territories of *Germany* and *Bavaria*, he was constrained to submit, to humble himself, to resign his Interest, and to deliver his Sonne *Theodon* for an Hostage, wherewithall *Charles* not contenting himself, he would also have the Father to boot, and caused both of them to become Friars, in the year seven hundred eighty eight: And deeming it not yet sufficient to have purged that age of such Rebels, he took from him his Dutchy of *Bavaria*; in which he placed no more Dukes, but disposed of it unto Earles: Nor will it be needfull to insist any longer upon the several Nations, People and Provinces which were subdued by this Puissant Monarch, since our Histories publish nought save the Victories by him acquired. And so great was his renown throughout the whole world, as that his greatest enemies (against their wils) were enforced to curry favour with him, to league themselves with him, and to acknowledge him to be their Superiour, witness the presents which the King of *Persia* (who entitles himself to be the King of Kings) did send him; which was rather by maxime of State, than for any good will he bore him: And to speak the truth, the *Greeks* did not only dread the Puissance of so great a King, but the *Romans* likewise; whence the Greek Proverb seems to have had its rise, Englished thus,

F f f f f

Th

King Charles
sides the span-
ards, and takes
Pampeluna
from the sar-
racens.
Sarragoce is
taken by Charles.

The Saracens
defeated by A-
delphus
King of Estu-
ria and Galicia.

The battel of
Roncevaux lost
by Treason.

Charles his re-
venge of the
Saracens.

Whence the
Name of Bri-
gand or Robber
had its rise.

The Brettons
revolt and are
quelled.

A War against
Tassilon Duke
of Bavaria,
who submits
and is deposed.

Several Prin-
ces seek to
Charles for his
friendship and
Alliance.

*The French man for thy Friend must take,
But do not him thy Neighbour make.*

The Emperor of Constantinople desires one of Charles his daughters in Marriage with his son.

The first League between France and Scotland.

Charles declared Patrician of Rome, and afterwards Emperor.

Charles Crowned Emperor.

The Emperors Piety and love of Learning.

The Emperors liberality to the Church.

The good discipline observed in the Emperors Court.

The Lord of *Hesfel* named *Ace*, did in like manner send the Keyes of his Town unto *Charles*. *Abdelle* sonne of *Ibmangus* the King, came from *Mauritania* unto *Aix Lachapelle* to *Charles*, with severall Prefents, and in such an humble manner, as it sufficiently demonstrated how great a blis he esteemed it to enjoy the good graces of a person whom *Hirenu* the Emperour of *Constantinople* so much redoubted, as that to hinder him from enterprising any thing, against his Empire, he sent unto him to *Rome*, to demand one of his Daughters in Marriage with his Sonne *Constantin*. Sonne to *Leo* the Emperour of *Constantinople*, which was doubtles a great deal of honour offered unto *Charles*: who notwithstanding denied him, at which he was so much displeased, as that he would needs vent his wrath upon the Territories of *Spoletto* and *Benevento*; where he lost abundance of men; so likewise did the Ambassadors of *Abraham* King of *Barbary* come unto *Charles*, bringing him other rare and magnificent Presents; so that it seemed all the severall Monarchs of the world did strive to embrace this French Monarchs friendship. And to conclude, we will only here adde the alliance which *Acacius* the threecoreth King of the *Scots* made with him in the year eight hundred and four; which was ever since that time kept and observed by the *Scots*, so likewise did their Kings adde unto their Coat of Armes, a double streak of Gules with Flower de *Luces* round their Scutcheon, to shew that the French alliance hath conducted much to the support of their Kingdom: Which is the chiefeft consideration that made me speak of this League, before I did enter upon the discourse of *Charles* his Actions after he became Emperour, that so the world may take notice, that this League with *Scotland* was made whilst *Charles* was yet but King of *France*. Wherefore after an infinite number of Victories obtained, *Charles* was declared *Patricius* or *Senator* of *Rome*, by Pope *Adrian*, in the year of our Lord, seven hundred seventy three; which was a degree to succeed in the Empire, just as the High-Constableness, or Prince of the blood of *France*, was a step to the Crown. And finally *Charles* attained to the Empire of the *Romans*, on the 25th day of the moneth of *December*, in the year of our Lord eight hundred and one, and the three and thirtieth of his Reign; which was the day of the celebration of the Birth of the Saviour of all the world; During the solemnity of which day, Pope *Leo* proclaimed *Charles* Emperour of the *Romans*, by the general consent of all the Princes, who from all parts of *Christendome* were assembled at *Rome* to see so Great and Magnanimous a King. After which the Pope put the Imperial Crown upon his head: Whence it came to pass that ever since till this very day the Emperors are Sacred, and Crowned by the Pope of *Rome*; At which time all the people did cry out together, *Happiness, long life, and Victory to Charles Augustus, Divinely Crowned, most Great and Peaceable Emperour*. Some there be that would needs defant upon the like New Creation, allegorizing upon the comparison which they make between the Saviour of the world and *Charles* the Great, because that on the same day whereon the Saviour of the world was born, *Charles* was installed in the Imperiall feat; as presaging the re-iteration of the *Roman* Empire, which succeeded in his Person; because that having been transported into *Greece*, it was fallen into the hands of those who were not of the Imperiall race; Others do Philosophize upon the day whereon *Charles* was declared Emperour. But for my part I see no great reason they have so to do, in case we do but reflect upon the new Reformation of our Kalendar, which doth abolish such kinde of formalities; which I shall leave to return to our new Emperour, who continued in the performing of his former Glorious and Heroick Feats of Armes, the recital of which I shall omit to avoid prolixity, besides that I suppose I have heretofore sufficiently discoursed of his Warlike Incounters, Victories and Prowesses, to make him admired of all men. At present therefore it will not be amiss to let you see that the clattering of Weapons did not banish this Magnanimous Prince from the professing of Piety, and the love of Learning. And as for his Piety, he could not choose but bear a great affection to Christianity, being defended from a Father, who had the honour to be the first King of *France* that bore the Title of *Most Christian King*. For the proof whereof I shall urge the Voyage which he made into *Italy*, to repulse *Disier* King of the *Lombards*, who was leagued against the Pope; And (in the year seven hundred, seventy four) in a full Council of one hundred and thirty Prelates, caused the Priviledges to be given of choosing the Pope, the Archbishops and Bishops of the whole world.

And in reference hereunto I might also alleadge the Liberalities towards the Church of *Rome*, by confirming the Donations which *Pepin* his Father had granted the Church, besides those which he himself did give unto the Sea of *Rome*, and the making over of the Deputiship of *Ravenna*, which from thence forward he would have depend of the Popes obeysance; As also the Donation (as some say) which was by him made to the Church of the Island of *Corfica*, and all the Continent of *Liguria*, from the old ruines of the Town of *Luna*, to the very *Alpes*. And however all these are very excellent and remarkable Actions, yet they seem not unto me to have been the chiefeft testimonies of his Piety; wherefore I shall only set down three others, which may justifie his Integrity and Holy life; The first is the good order and discipline which was observed in his House, for you could not perceive in the Court of so great a Prince, the usuall excesses and Courtly dissolutions, and loosenesses which were wont to be present in other Courts. For in lieu of Fools, Naturals, and such like Gulls, whereof the most part of great men do make use (as jesters) to recreate their ears, during their repasts, with some pleasant tales and stories; this

this Emperour had alwaies a person who did reade unto him, either the holy Scriptures, Histories, and chiefly the Books of *St Augustine* of the City of God; all which were so pleasing unto him, as that he was never satisfied with seeing, reading, and hearing of them. A fit pattern for all Princes, who desire to attain unto the highest pitch of Honour and Felicity, whereunto they should conform themselves, and drive away from their presence those babblers and prattlers, who for the most part poyson the Courts of Princes and Monarchs with Cruelties, Lubricities, Vice, Corruptions, and all kinde of other villanies. The second example concerneth the Charity which he performed towards the poor, which was so great, as that he sent great sommes of Money as farre as *Egypt*, *Jerusalem*, *Africk* and *Syria*, to be distributed amongst the poor Christians who lived in Captivity under the *Sarracens*. In *France* and *Germany* he founded severall Hospitals, and left Legacies in Money, which he devoted to the nourishing and maintenance of the poor: He had alwaies twelve poor men in his Train, who lived at his cost and charges; but after that King *Ageland* did reproach him that they were not so well entertained as his servants, they were more honourably treated. Thirdly, We shall represent his Magnificence towards the Churches, which would take up too much time to repeat particularly: To the Churches of *Maynce*, *Strasbourg*, *Cullen*, *Trier*, and others, as well in *Germany* as in *France*, he granted large Priviledges, and endowed them with vast Revenues: In *Germany* he built severall Cathedral Churches, as well as in *France*, their numbers being infinite; all which might be sufficient to Eternize this Princes memory, who the better to Immortalize his Name, erected four famous Universities, the one at *Padua* in the year seven hundred ninety one; after he chased *Disier* out of *Lombardy*: I know some would attribute the institution thereof to *Frederick* the 2^d, but they are grossly mistaken. He sent unto *Pavie* in the year seven hundred ninety two, *John Maitres* the *Scot*, who was the Companion of *John Duns*, and of *Alcuin* (the Emperors Tutor) who was one of those two *Friers* who cried through the streets of *Paris*, that they had knowledge to sell, and demanded but meat and cloth for it. He gave unto him the Abby of *St Austin* hard by *Pavie*, that there he might begin to plant the first Stock of Learning; and there he ended his daies. As to the University of *Boulogne*, some do also endeavour to bereave him of the honour of the Institution of it, to conferre it on the Emperour *Theodofius*, but they are farre to seek on that particular: And it is void of all doubt that he was the first Founder of the University at *Paris*, at the solicitation of his Tutor *Alcuin*, I deny not but Sciences were taught in this great City, but they were expounded by some so grossly and ignorantly, as that it was rather a dishonour than a commendation to good Learning; and by this means he prepared the way for his Successors to perfect so happy an undertaking. Nor shall I stop here to enlarge on the praises of this most famous University, I intend to be as brief as possibly I can in this Discourse. Our Emperour was none of those great undertakers, who talk much, but when it comes to the point (as it is truly said) withdraw their hand and do nothing. He thought it no dishonour to cause his daughters to learn to fow, and to be exercised in the art of good *Houffery*; And her sonnes were instructed in all the profitable Sciences, and Liberall Arts: But now advaies forsooth, we meet with some *Buffoons*, who are willing to dispend with Princes in the troubling of themselves with knowledge and the Contemplative Sciences; because, say they, it would crack their brains, but I pray, Where are these mens brains? and was there ever a more active man than our Emperour? who notwithstanding was very studious, well spoken, and Eloquent. So likewise was *Peter Pifa* his Tutor for the *Grammar*, and *Alcuin* the Englishman for the other Sciences; by whom he was instructed in the *Rhetoricall*, *Dialecticall*, and *Astrological* Arts: He began a *Vulgar Teutonic* Grammar, and he corrected many vitious Barbarismes and corruptions which were crept into it; inserting in it the most memorable and praise-worthy Acts of the Ancient Kings, and Valiant Captains, and caused his Subjects to learn it. And for the better Governing of the Commonwealth he established excellent Laws and Ordinances, which were reduced into four Books, by *Ansegisus* Abbot of *Lob*, and afterwards Archbishop of *Sens*. So likewise was he minded to have altered the ancient Laws and Customs of the *French*, but fearing least such a change might breed a Sedition and Mutiny, he quitted that design, and did nothing therein. But it was he, (as *Paulus Emilius* and *Gnaquinus* do write) who first instituted the *Twelve Peers* in *France*, in the year of our Lord, eight hundred and twelve, viz. three *Dukes*, the Archbishop of *Rheims*, the Bishop of *Laon*, and the Bishop of *Langres*; three Counts, or Earls, the Bishop of *Chaalons*, of *Noyen*, and of *Beauvais*. The other six were secular ones, viz. the *Dukes* of *Burgundy*, of *Normandy*, and of *Guyenne*, and the Counts or Earls of *Flanders*, *Tholouse*, and *Champaigne*. However there have been great alterations as to these Peers, and it is a question whether or no they were instituted by the said Emperour, as I have observed in my Geographieall description. And the more I enter upon this said Discourse, the more matter I do still finde therein with so much superabundancy, as that should I set down all the particulars, I could fill up whole Tomes, without the reciting of several things which were done and undertaken by this our said Emperour, who (as we are made to beleive by the Author of the seven Worthies) had been at *Jerusalem*, which is contrary unto the Truth; for there is no mention at all made of him, in the Catalogue of the *Christian* Princes, who were in the Holy Land, and several other Historiographers speak not of it; which they would not doubtles have omitted, if he had gained such famous Victories against the Infidels, as are there specified; and by reason of which some Writers have been so impudent as to frame a number of Fables, and such like incredible forgeries, against this Emperour; others have presumed to controul his Actions and Deeds, taxing him for having led an ill life, and being cruell and disloyall; Grounding this their said calumny upon

What discourse the Emperour was entertained with all at his repasts.

The Emperors Charity to the poor.

The Emperors Liberality towards the Churches.

Four Universities erected by the Emperour.

The Education of the Emperors children

The Emperour very much addicted to study. His Masters. The Books he made.

The Emperour minded to alter the Laws of *France*. The Emperour institutes twelve Peers of *France*.

A mistake about the Emperour *Charles Main* being at *Jerusalem*.

THE LIFE OF TAMBERLAIN, Emperor of the Tartars.



Ann. Mund.
5365.

C. N.
1398.



Hether we consider the commentements, which gave life to the Sovereign Empire of this same furious raging *Tamberlain*; or whether we delight our selves by observing the means whereby he scrued himself up unto the summit of Glory. We must needs confels (although we were never so void of reason and judgement) that it is scarce possible, less credible, that so despicable a vessel should contain so great a stock of admirable Actions, and that thence a branch should have sprung, which did subvert the *Turkish* Monarchy, and several other Potentates, as the sequel of this present discourse will manifest. As to his off-spring, Historiographers do much vary about the truth of it. Some say he came from the midst of the *Parthians*, a people very much redoubted in the *Romanes* times, though but slenderly famous. Others say he was a *Turke*, a *Scythian*, a *Zagataean*, a *Tartarian*, because it is apparent he was born at *Samercaud* which is adjacent unto the River *Taxartes* hard by the Country of *Zagatai*. And as there is some difference concerning the place of his off-spring; so we shall meet with a far greater concerning his qualities and extraction. Some deriving his descent from *Ginges Cham*, and make him to be the Son of *Zain Cham*, the third Emperor, who usually is called *Bachii*. Others suppose him to have been but an inconsiderate person, of a base extraction, but who afterwards caused himself to be reputed to be the greatest and most powerful Prince of all the East, in so high a degree, as that he termed himself to be the wrath of God, and not a man; in regard whereof, some do compare him to *Hannibal*, taking it for granted, that the earth never bore a more fierce, severe, obstinate, and self-willed man, then this same *Tamberlain*; and that none ever punished thefts and plunders in such a manner as he did, although himself was the greatest thief and robber, and the most detestable villain (as to his Actions) which ever any History did set forth or could produce. And on the contrary, he was again so excellent a personage (as to his Intellects) that by his audacity and assurance, he facilitated those things which all others judged to be impossible. Moreover he was so highly befriended by Fortune, that he never attempted any thing, but he came off with credit: Nor did he ever wage war, but he remained Conqueror. However some do scruple the meanness of his birth, not judging it possible that so inconsiderable a man, as he is said to have been, should attain to such a pitch of greatness, as to shake the *Turkish* Empire which was so long a settling. But since I finde, that the generality is of that opinion, It will not be unbecoming my joyning with them therein; and to say that he was the Son of one called *Sangali*, a man who was none of the wealthiest

Tamberlain's
origine where.

Tamberlain's
appellation of
himself.

What *Tamberlain*
was, as to his Actions, and intellects.

Tamberlain's
Father and
off spring.

in the world, inasmuch as that *Tamberlain* was constrained (in relation to his Fathers profession) to keep Cattel and Herds in the Fields, but he had not long followed that vocation, whenas entering into a certain Treaty and League with the rest of the shepherds of that Country, they chose him to be their King, and did enroll and lift themselves under his command. Finally, some others do conceive him to have been a poor souldier, but a subtle and circumspect man; who wanted no wit, being of a lively and quick spirit. To which they add, that being got up on the top of a Stable wall, whence he had a minde to have stolen some horses, and perceiving that the owner had discovered him, he flung himself down the wall, and in the fall hurt his thigh, by reason whereof he ever since remained lame. However he performed gallant Actions; and he was mightily praised for the equity, policy, and good discipline wherewith he maintained his Army. So that had he not a little too much slackned the reigns of his Cruelty and Ambition, he doubtless had excelled all the Warriors that ever were in the world; for no Chieftain had ever attained to the practical part of ranging and disciplining an Army, so exquisitely as he did. And should I relate the several good orders which he caused his souldiery to observe, it would be an endless work; I shall only tell you in what manner he prevented the coming of any spies into his Camp, and how they were presently discovered; for which cause he built a house without his Camp for all strangers that arrived, who were there lodged and treated, having any business to communicate unto him: whereby he prevented their sneaking into his Camp, and their prying into and discovering what was there done. Every evening the watch word was distributed, and each man was to repair to his Quarters. And if any one was found out of his rank, or gadding abroad out of his Quarters, he died without mercy; so that there was no shelter or safety for spies. I shall omit the several manners of repartitions of his Quarters, and under what penalties he caused his Military orders to be observed; since the reader may be better satisfied therein by several other Pens who have most amply written concerning this famous Capitaines deeds; and shall proceed more particularly to describe his life. Now by his robbings and thieveries he had so well thrived on all sides, that at last, he was not a little troubled, how to preserve that which he had thus unjustly acquired. And therefore he took two puissant men among the *Massagethians* to be his Associates, viz. *Chaidarus* and *Mirxenus*, who being gained by the presents which he gave them, came unto his relief with their Forces, and with this support, he fell upon the *Tartars*, overcame them and defeated their Cavalry, which gained him such a repute, as that the inhabitants of *Samercaud* furnished him with Gold and Silver, and Forces to go through with his undertakings. So likewise the King of the *Massagethians* made *Tamberlain* General of all his Forces to his own ruin, for at the taking of *Pogdatus* a City in *Tartary*, *Tamberlain* (on purpose to usurpe his Kingdom) did cause a Fig to be given him, and after his death married his widow. And immediately after made himself King of *Samercaud*, and of the *Massagets*. Harboring a design at that very time to conquer the Empire of *Asia*; whereunto he was much solicited and edged on by *Chaidarus*, who brought *Myrxenus* in disgrace with *Tamberlain*, to whom he had reported some words which *Myrxenus* had too freely and unadvisedly spoken of *Tamberlain*, whilst he was only General of the *Massagets*, which cost *Myrxenus* his life. Afterwards he began a war against the *Hircanians* and *Caducians* whom he conquered. And because the *Arabians* did ravage the neighboring parts, and gave relief unto the *Caducians*; he thereupon took an occasion to invade all the Nations which were subject to the Sultan of *Persia*, of *Baldacia*, *Damania* and of *Egypt*. However though he could not conquer them, after he had well nigh tyred them out; he agreed on a Peace with them, conditionally, that they should furnish him with Forces to serve him in his wars, and to pay him an Annual Tribute as a signe of their submission.

Nor did he therefore spare the *Assyrians*, *Persians* and *Medes*, who had given the *Arabians* relief, but plundered all their Country, took some Cities, and quite ruined all the lower party of the Country. After which he returned to *Samercaud* again, to suppress the *Scythians* who had invaded his Dominions; so that with a puissant Army he passed the River *Araxa*, and did set upon the *Scythians*, who at first did repulse him most valiantly, and for the most part did give him scurvy foiles, but at length he reduced them to that pass, that being not able to recoile any further, or to give battel, they were forced to come to daggers drawing, and to trust to the keenness of their Scimeters or Sabels, who giving the *Scythes* a terrible overthrow, all the *Hordes* of the *Scythians* were forced to come to a peace with *Tamberlain*. And as soon as he had settled all things there and was fure of them, he faced about towards the lower parts of *Syria* to conquer it; and assailed the City of *Damas*, where he made a pitiful deluge of blood, and a terrible havock of the wealth which was in that City, being the chief of all the East for the *Levani* in traffick with our *Europeans*. And being not satisfied with that booty, he marched towards *Alep* which Town surrendered it self, being unwilling to incur this cruel Champions displeasure, of whom it is reported, that in his assaulting of places the first day he set up a white Banner or Ensigne; signifying that if the besieged did surrender themselves that day, they should have their lives and goods preserved. The second day, he caused a red one to be displayed, his pleasure then being, that in case they yielded that day, the Masters and chieft of the families should onely be put to death to save the rest. And the third day he caused a Black Banner to be set up, denoting that he was resolved not to hearken to any capitulations at all, nor to give any Quarter, so that those who were taken in that or the following dayes, should be put to death, both Men Women and Children, small and great, the Town pillaged, and afterwards fired. Wherefore those of *Alep* having seen the miserable punishment which he inflicted on those

Tamberlain
from a shepherd becomes a King.

Tamberlain
ranged and disciplined his Army very well. No spies could get into *Tamberlain's* Camp undiscovered.

Tamberlain's
associates.
Tamberlain
defeats the
Tartars.
Tamberlain
General of the
Massagets.

Mirxenus disgraced and his death.
The *Hircanians* and *Caducians* conquered by *Tamberlain*, as also the *Arabians*.

Tamberlain
wars against the *Scythians*.

Tamberlain
wars in *Syria*, takes *Damas* and *Alep*.

Tamberlain's
Banners or Ensigns at the besieging of Cities, and their significations.

of *Damas*, chose rather to submit unto the mercy of this roaring *Lion*, then to exasperate and make him worse.

The King of *Catay* was upon *Tamberlain*.

Tamberlain makes a peace with the King of *Catay*.

Tamberlain wars against the *Turks*, takes *Sebastia*.

Bajazeth's Son taken in *Sebastia*, and put to death.

Tamberlain pre-enters upon *Bajazeth*.

Arrogant titles, appropriated to *Tamberlain* and *Bajazeth's* names.

A great defect in *Bajazeth*.

Tamberlain exasperates against *Bajazeth's* unworthy his wife.

A war between *Tamberlain* and *Bajazeth*.

Tamberlain kills a great number of the *Turks*.

Bajazeth taken Prisoner.

But whilst he was busied in this manner, tormenting some, and undermining others, flattering himself with the vain hopes of the great Conquest he should make, he was called home again by the troubles which were arisen in his own Country. For the great King of *Catay*, who is one of the nine *Indian Hordes*, and the Sovereign of all the *Tartars* had made a pretty spoil through all *Tamberlain's* Country, who in the beginning thought to have thundred him out again, but finding with whom he had to deal, apprehending least if he should exasperate the great *Cham of Catay* too much, it might endanger his possessions, was constrained to come to a Treaty, and to demand a Peace, which was granted him, conditionally that *Tamberlain* should do him homage, and should pay a yearly Tribute for the *Messageres* Country which he held. Nor need we to doubt but that *Tamberlain*, might have withstood the great *Tartar*, but that he was loath to diminish his Forces, with which he was resolved to wage war against the *Ottoman* Family; being spurred on thereunto by the great Ambition he had always to undertake some considerable expedition or other against his Neighbors. Wherefore being entred *Cappadocia*, he besieged the City of *Sebastia*, and fought against it with so much dexterity, as that the *Turks* being discouraged, and having lost all hopes of being relieved, had not the heart to defend themselves against the *Scythians*, *Persians*, and *Bactrians*, who having taken the Town put all to the sword whom they found in the place, so that it is said there dyed that day, above sixscore thousand souls, besides some persons of quality, which were taken, and amongst the rest the Son of *Bajazeth* the first of that Name, who by his Father had been put in the City of *Sebastia*, the better to provide for the defence of it; but he had not long kept it, before *Tamberlain* made him pass under the merciless cruelty of his most impious rage. After which he sent Ambassadors unto *Bajazeth*, commanding him to render unto all those whom he had dispossessed, whatsoever he most unjustly detained from them (which was but a meer pretence in *Tamberlain* to pick a quarrel with *Bajazeth*) as also to pay unto him vast and excessive Tributes. Nor will I here venture to contest whether *Tamberlain* had just cause to war against *Bajazeth*, as being a Tyrant; for all the world knows this *Tartar*, made use onely of this cloak or pretence the better to collour and disguise his design to out this poor *Turke*; who on his part was nothing inferior to *Tamberlain*, who although he was called *Temis Cuthlu*, which in the *Tartarian* Language signifies a *Fortunate Iron*; because he was not onely happy in his enterprises, but as Valiant as his Sword; inasmuch as that he made a great part of the world tremble. So on the other part *Bajazeth* was surnamed *Lelapa*, which signifies a *Furious Wave*, and *Hildin*, which signifies *Boisterous and Impetuous*. Notwithstanding *Tamberlain* did make him know, that his *Fortunate* Sword, did not apprehend the being shaken or broken by the *Turkish* Waves and *Thunderbolts*; but that to the contrary his name *Lelapa* was rather to be filed a *Whirl Wind*, but by reason of *Bajazeth's* virtues and valour, but because of his passion and hastiness, whereby those fortunate enterprises were dissipated and confounded, which he might have carried on gloriously, had he suffered reason to have been his guide. And it even fell out so, for *Bajazeth* returned a very smart answer unto *Tamberlain*, and unadvisedly tainted the *Tartars* Wives honour; which words cost him dear. For as *Tamberlain* did not bear any goodwill to *Bajazeth* at all; so his Wife being enraged at the indignities which were put upon her by the *Turk*, did so highly incense her Husband, as that he was not to expect any peace with his Wife, unless he pursued the *Turk* with fire and sword.

Wherefore *Tamberlain* assembled a formidable Army of *Tartarians*, *Scythians*, *Persians*, *Armenians*, and *Bactrians*; amounting unto the number of eight hundred thousand fighting men, and passed through the Provinces of *Lydia* and *Phrygia*, which caused *Bajazeth* to raise the siege of *Constantinople*, and to march unto *Asia*; to hinder the *Messagerian* from coming into his Country, resolving before *Tamberlain* should have time to proceed he would encounter him, and fight him in *Armenia*, or upon the banks of *Euphrates*, and although they fought each other yet they could not meet along while. *Bajazeth's* Council in the interim were of opinion that he should do well to treat with *Tamberlain*, seeing he was not strong enough to resist him, and would not dispend his Treasury to raise new Forces. After which the *Turk* having intelligence that *Tamberlain* marched in *Bithynia*, to besiege *Pruse* (heretofore *Bruse*) the chief City of the Country and the Royal Seat, he resolved to fight him in that place. And both Armies joyned battel on the Mount *Stella* (where *Pompey* fought with *Mithridates* in the year one thousand three hundred ninty and seven) and the *Turke* chancing to be worsted, there were above two hundred thousand of them slain in the place, and an infinite number taken. Now *Bajazeth* perceiving that the day was lost, began to acknowledge his error, when it was too late, wherefore he resolved to repaire the faults the best he could, and save himself by flight, being mounted on a Mare; which was as swift as the wind. But the misfortune of his disaster following him; he was pursued by the *Tamberlainists*, who overtook him, by the fault which *Bajazeth* committed in letting his Mare drink, who thereby became so heavy and replenished, as that she could not make so much way as she did before; besides all which this poor King was troubled with the Gout, which had disabled his hands and his feet. The *Tamberlainists* having

ving ceased on so rich a booty, as also on all the *Bashas*, *Beglerbys*, *Agaz*, and *Sangeas* of the King of *Turky*; he was brought unto *Tamberlain*, who taking him by the shoulders said these words, *Thou displayst Coward thou art now my Slave, and shalt receive the reward of thy desert.* *Bajazeth* being full of amazement, answered him, *I pray you Sir, kill me*, but the Conqueror replied, *Let's go, let's go, there is no man can save thee.* Wheras this miserable captive forgetting the miserable estate wherein he was, returned harsh language unto his conqueror, and with injurious terms began to inveigh against *Tamberlain*, reproaching him with his base extraction, and with his former profession of thevery. So that it was a wonder this *Zagathian* did not cause him immediately to be slain; for on a less occasion he caused his great friend *Mirza* to be put to death, because he only had adventured to say that the principality of *Samerand* was too well settled, to fall into the hands of so inferior a fellow, and so inconsiderate a robber as *Tamberlain* was; although these words were not spoken in his presence, nor after he had attained to that dignity. But it seems he reserved the venting of his choller upon *Bajazeth*, because he would not put him to death before he had observed all the formalities of justice. And truly the captive King had little reason to rail at him, for immediately he caused him to be fet upon a Mule, and in a way of derision to be led through all the enemies Camp, and afterwards caused him to be tyed in Golden Chains, and to be put in a Cage, carrying him up and down with him wheresoever he went, and when he got upon horseback, he caused him to kneel down, setting his feet upon his neck and shoulders, making him his footstool (as formerly *Sophorus* the King of the *Persians* did unto *Valerius* the Emperor of *Rome*) and fed him only with crumbs of bread and broken morsels which he flung unto him just as if he had been a dog. However *Bajazeth's* courage could not hereby be abashed, as it appeared when *Tamberlain* caused that *Sultane's* which the *Turk* loved best (and who was taken with the Kings children and all *Bajazeth's* Concubines in the *Seraglio of Pruse* or *Bruse*) and made her serve him at table. At which sight, the miserable captive flew out into howlings and roarings reproaching the Conquerors baseness and pride, in making so little esteem of the Kingly race, for this Lady was the daughter of *Elsazor* King of *Servia*. Moreover these conquests so puffed up this *Tartars* heart, as being not able to contain himself within any compass, he had designed to pass into *Europe* to conquer it, but his death put a period to all his ambitious enterprises, in the year of our Lord fourteen hundred and three. He was the most Ambitious man that ever was heard of, and who would by no means be rendered civil nor familiar. Whereof a certain *Genua* Gentleman, who was one of his great favorites can give a testimony, and who essaying to break him of his rudeness and inhumanity wherewithal he treated those which he had overcome, he answered him, *How now thou Dog? dost thou think I am a man? I am the wrath of God, and the ruin of mankind; nor have scarce any exceeded him in cruelty.* Two examples whereof I shall set before you: The first was when he caused that most barbarous inhumanity to be exercised at *Damas* on the maidens and young children, who came out of the said City to meet him, clad in white, and bearing Olive branches in their hands for a token of peace and submission; this unworthy and cruel Tyrant set his Cavalry to Maffacre and trample underfoot all that flower of youth, and taking the City, he put all the inhabitants thereof to the sword. The second was the impiety which he committed against the Spittle of Lepers which was joyned unto the City of *Sebastia*; where by reason of their not communicating with the rest of the people, and so consequently were not in a capacity to prejudice the *Tartar*; and whereby they might have promised themselves a privilege of security, yet he caused them to be inhumanely Maffacred, alledging, *That they infected the Aire.* But for all this I must not rob him of that honor which he acquired for his strict observance of Justice, even against his own souldiers, who as soon as they were taken in any offence, were most severally punished, which we may observe by the sentence which he caused to be inflicted upon one of his Captains, who walking on the Coast of the *Caspian Sea*, three leagues from *Tamberlain's* Camp, and espying a very fair maiden who went to draw water, he ravished her, whereupon the said maiden, together with her Father, complaining to *Tamberlain* that she had been violated as she was a going to fetch water by a disloyal and perfidious *Tartar*, and desiring him to do her justice; he returned her a most Kingly and gracious answer, that he would most severally punish him, and so he did, for as the *Tartarian* Histories relate; he caused him to be impaled or spitted on a stake alive. Finally least the Reader might be mistaken, and might conceive, that in my description of this *Tartarian* Emperors life, I was ignorant that he was called by another name besides *Tamberlain*. I would therefore desire him to take notice, that I have called him so; To follow the general denomination of him in this manner, that so all men might know, who it was of whom we do write these praises. For according to the *Tartarian* appellation he was called the great *Tamirham*, although others baptize him *Timir Langue*, and these latter as far as I can conjecture (by the several comparisons which I have observed) do come the nearest to the Truth; at least do approach very nigh to the definition of the condition and qualities of the said *Tartar*, whose true name was doubtless *Tamir*; and by reason he was lame, they added the quality of *Langue* thereunto, which in the *Tartarian* language signifies no other thing save a lameness; and so called him *Tamir Langue*. However though he were never so lame, yet he caused several men to go upright, who accounted themselves to be in a better plight, and abler men then himself was, &c.

The end of *Tamberlain's* Life.

G G G G G

THE

Bajazeth's indiscretion in reproaching of *Tamberlain*.

The dignities and miseries of *Bajazeth*.

The *Sultane's* *Bajazeth's* wife serveth *Tamberlain* at table.

Tamberlain's designs to Conquer *Europe* prevented by his death.

Tamberlain's sense of himself. The inhuman cruelty of *Tamberlain*.

Tamberlain's impiety against the Spittle of Lepers.

Tamberlain's great observance of justice.

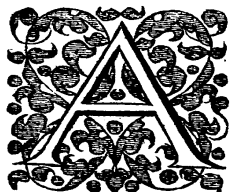
Tamberlain's right name.

THE LIFE OF PRISCIAN the *Cæsarean* Grammarian.

Ann. Mund.
4333.

C. N.
366.

The meaning
of breaking
Priscians head.



A fimilitude
between falfe
coiners and
thofe who
break Priscians
head.

Mongft all the Ancient and Modern Writers, both *Grecians*, *Latins*, *French*, and others, there is scarce any one who hath with fo much indutry facility, and certainty prefcribed the precepts of well and congruous speaking, as this *Priscian*, who hath gained fuch a Prerogative above all the reft of the *Grammarians*, that all the faults committed againft the conftitutions of the Syntax, or which do favour of a Barbarifme or blemifh in the Art of well-fpeaking and accurate writing, are imputed to fo many injuries done unto *Priscian*, as if the property of well fpeaking, and excellent writing, did of right belong folely unto him; and that he was guilty of high Treafon againft *Priscian*, who had failed in thofe prefcriptions which were by him dictated for the *Grammatical conftitutions*, and for which he was to make him an amends. Moreover to the end that all men may the better comprehend what a kinde of preheminance I intend to allow him above the reft of the *Grammarians*. I will make a comparifon (although I defire not that any confequences fhould be deducted thence) between fuch as break *Priscians* head, And thofe who counterfeit their Princes coine; for thefe by falfe coines (which are not warranted, and againft the Laws) do make fuch money as is neither allowable, nor valuable, and fo commit a double crime, as well by their attempting to ufurp the Royal priviledge of their Prince, as by the expofing to the publike fuch mony as will not pafs. And therefore fuch men may be faid to break their Princes head, that is, to ufurpe his authority; and (by a difdain and mifprifion of their Princes) to deceive and cheat their fubjects. In the like manner thofe do break *Priscians* head, who having not the capacity, and being not verft in the Art of well fpeaking, will however venture to rattle, and in ftead of uttering neat and quaint fpeeches, do produce nought but defpicable, ridiculous, and forged patcht up ftuffe, under a falfe coine; and being not fo well verft or ftored as to pick out the quainteft allay or expreffions, do publifh the moft impertinent, unpleafingft ill couched peeces, as ever came to light, having no regard at all unto *Priscians* authority. And truly he might very well have ftilenced fuch kind of pretenders to learning untill they had attained to a higher degree of perfection in the Art of well fpeaking and excellent penning. But they on the Contrary by their overmuch prefumption have even enforced their way, and emancipated themfelves fo far, as to obtrude moft abortive difcourfes, which are fo obvious to the fhalloweft brains, as that without the bringing of them to the touchftone of wit, It may be eafily difcovered that they were not forged in *Priscians* Study, but coined in fome fordid Kitchen-ftuffe-tubb. But I fhall quit this unfavoury difcourfe, relying upon the general confent of all Judicious and Learned per- fons;

fons; That this our *Priscian* is defervedly reputed to have been the *Prime Chieftain* of all the *Grammarians*; And therefore the King of *Persia*, did moft highly efteem him, by reafon of his fingular and furpaffing knowledge, which he fufficiently evidenced by feveral books which he compofed upon the *Grammar*, having not left the leaft parcel of it unrefined. Befides which, he was an excellent *Philofopher*, which we may difcern by his books of his Natural questions, and thofe he wrote on the Art of *Cosmography*. He flourifhed (as *Trithemius* faith) in the year of our Lord, fix hundred and twenty. And I do finde that there were two perfonages of this fame name; the one was *Priscian* the Heretick, who lived about the year, three hundred fourfcore and three; the other was this *Lydian* *Philofopher*, who wrote upon the books of *Theophrastus*, concerning the *Sence*, the *Phancy*, and the *Intellect*. As to the place of *Priscians* birth, divers have itrangely miftaken themfelves, in faying that he was born at *Cæsarea*, although feveral grave and credible Authors do teftifie that he was born at *Rome*; and amongst the reft, *Babifpa Guarinus* of *Verona* hath molt elegantly proved it. That which caufed the miftake was, becaufe *Priscian* intitles himfelf of *Cæsarea*, and whereby fome believed that *Cæsarea* was the place of his birth; but it was for another reafon he was called a *Cæsarean*, viz. becaufe he had perfected moft of his Studies at *Cæsarea*, and had gained a marvellous reputation in that place; infomuch that he rather chofe to be called by the name of the place where he had ftudied, then by the name of his Native Country. Whence fonte have inferred that he was tranfported with an unjust ambition, by reafon he difdained the place of his Nativity, to give himfelf to a ftrange place, that he might thereby only make the repute of his fame fpread the more abroad; nor do I doubt but that he was a little too much guilty of this crime, when he made that ambitious and lofty Etimology of his own name, for he fhould rather have derived it from *Prifcus*, then from the Verbe *Præcio*; but was willing by the faid Derivation the world fhould take notice that the faid name had been given him, becaufe of his profound knowledge in the feven liberal Arts and Sciences. But that we fhould thence infer that he was more covetous and ambitious of honor then he deferved, truly I cannot well aver; for that I am of a contrary opinion, and that he cannot be fufficiently praifed for his not having been ungrateful unto the City, which had given him a diftinction from the ignorant animals, although the faid City was far inferior indeed unto *Rome* (which at that time was the chief City of the whole world) and this *Cæsarea* was but a mean Town of *Paleftin* built by *Herodes*, whereof *Eufebius* was *Bifhop*. And at this day the faid Town is called *Balbee* and *Belme*, as I have declared in my *Cosmography*. Moreover the fuppuration of the time wherein this *Priscian* lived, is much different; for *Trithemius* the Abbot faith, that he did flourifh in the year of our Lord fix hundred and twenty; and by the denumerment of the *Roman* Confuls, we finde that he lived long before, becaufe that he dedicated his chief book to *Julius the Conful* and *Roman* *Patrician* (who afterwards is faid to have been Emperor) in the year of our Lord three hundred threefcore and fix. But *Raphall Volateran*, in his *Anthropology*, differs yet more, for he faith, that *Priscian* was in repute and did flourifh in the City of *Athens* in *Greece* during the Emperor *Julianians* reign, and that he there compofed feveral Books, and amongst the reft his *Latin* and *Greek Grammar*; which if it were true, *Priscian* muft have lived along after, feeing that *Julianian* the elder (who fucceeded *Julian* the firft his Uncle) reigned in the year, five hundred twenty and eight; and *Julianian* the fecond fon of *Constantin*, reigned in the year fix hundred fourfcore and feven. Mean while that which is moft certainly apparent, is, that *Priscian* lived much about *Saint Jeroms* time, who (as the Abbot *Trithemius* fays) deceased in the year of our Lord four hundred twenty and two, on the laft day of the month of *September* being of the Age of ninety and nine years old. So that we muft conclude *Volaterans* calculation to have been erroneous, as alfo *Jagues Bergamos*, who tranfports *Saint Jeroms* life, unto the year four hundred twenty and nine; in which time he will needs have him to have flourifhed, which according to the former calculation would have been feven years after his death. And that which troubles me moft of all, is, that *Volateran* doth confels that *Priscian* did very much affect Chriftianity, but afterwards he alfo faith, that he had gathered out of certain Authors, that afterwards he recanted. But by reafon it is not fpecified wherein he failed, & in which points of Doctrine he was not refolved; moreover unlefs there be more proofs then thofe which are extant in his writings, for my part I cannot thence infer any fufpicion of *Herefies* in him. Unto this our *Priscian* the Tranflating of *Dionyfius Africanus* his book (concerning the fituation of the world) is attributed, although the Grammarian *Phemius Philamore* did it, which faid work was after put into *Latin Verfes* by *Simon Lemnius*. This work is very much praifed by all good Authors, becaufe (as *Pliny* tell us) *Dionyfius* was ordered by the Emperor *Auguftus*, to make a difcovery of all the Dominions of the *Levant*, and to fet down his obfervations in writing concerning them, the better to inform his eldeft fon, who had undertaken the expedition of *Turcomania* againft the *Parthians* and *Arabians*; fo that it is no wonder *Priscian* was reputed to be the Tranflator of the faid work which is the more commendable and credible by reafon it was framed and compofed by a Geographer, who believed not the report of others, as our Modern ftripling Geographers do, who doubtlefs were hatcht in fome of your frozen mufky *Scotch* *Ilands*, &c.

The end of Priscians Life.

Priscian the Prince of the Grammarians. The King of *Persia* efteem of *Priscian*. *Priscians* books Two perions called *Priscian*. The place of *Priscians* birth.

The reafon why *Priscian* was called a *Cæsarean* although he was a *Roman*.

The Etimology of *Priscians* name.

Cæsarea, what and where. A different fuppuration of the timewhere. in *Priscian* lived.

Priscian lived much about *Saint Jeroms* dayes.

Priscian once a Chrift an, but afterwards fuppoed to have left the true Faith.

The tranflation of *Dionyfius* his book concerning the worlds fuitation attributed to *Priscian*.

THE LIFE OF ARTEMISIA, the Wife of Mausolus, King of Caria, or Halicarnesses in Greece.



Ann. Mund.
3586.

Ant. Christ.
376.

Burials much
honored by
the ancients.

Ancient Cere-
monies used at
Funerals.

A disgrace a-
mong the Ro-
mans to want
a burial.

The ceremo-
nies used by
the Romans
at the solemniz-
ing of their
Funerals.

Solemnities
used by other
Foreign Na-
tions in the
burying of the
dead.

However some may have despised the burying of the dead, yet it hath al-ways been had in an extraordinary recommendation amongst the ancients; which the Holy Writ it self doth manifest unto us, in the time of *Joachim* Son of *Josias* the King of *Israel*, whom God threatened by his Prophet *Jeremy*, Chap. 22. that he should be buried in the Sepulchre of an *Ass*. That is to say, that his body should be cast upon the earth without any Sepulchre at all. *Cicero* likewise in his *Oration* which he made for *Midas* doth very much blame *Clodius*, because he was not honoured with the Funeral rights which were in use at that time, viz. with the representation of Images, mournful ditties, publick shews, lamentations, hymns, verses and orations appropriated unto the praises of the deceased party. And truly the *Romans* so much honored *Interments*, as they accounted it a great infamy and disgrace to be deprived of it; and even appointed it as a punishment to some notorious criminals, as unto *murderers*; such as had deserted their parents in necessity; and other offenders, contained at large in their Funeral institutions. And because several Nations have used sundry sorts of ceremonies at the burying of their dead, we will briefly set down some of them. The *Romans* did sometimes use to bury their dead bodies and put them in the Graves before they burned them; only erecting earthen Sepulchers made of great clods over them, instead of Marble monuments, which custome lasted for a long while amongst them. But finding at length that they could not easily draw forth of the earth the bodies, or bones of such as had been long buried, they then began to burn the said bodies, and to reduce them to Ashes; which having assembled, they preserved them in certain vessels call *Urnes* which they caused sometimes to be made very richly and costly; like unto those wherein the Emperor *Severus* his Ashes were preserved, which were of Gold enchaufed with costly *Pearles*. I my self have seen such like vessels which were made of earth, and some of Glas, as in *Greece*, in *Egypt*, in *Italy*, and in *France*, about the Provinces of *Bourdeaux*; but especially in the Isle of *Zant* belonging to the Signiory of *Venice* (and not unto the *Turks* as *Munster* sayes) where the Ashes of the great Orator *Cicero* were preserved, as I have already described in my *Cosmography* and thus much may suffice concerning the *Romans* Funerals. Other Nations who were less civilized, had likewise their particular wayes and manner of burying their dead. The *Lotbophagians* did cast them into the Sea, in stead of burying them. The *Hircanians* exposed

exposed them unto Dogs and Birds to be devoured, which creatures they purposely kept. The *Tibrians* hanged such upon Gibbets as became very old. The *Messageres* and *Trogodites* (a people of *Ethiopia* who have but one eye as *Pliny* writes, though I believe it not) did eat their dead themselves, giving this reason, That it was better they should eat them, then the Worms. The *Scythians* did interre those with their dead, who were best beloved of them in their life time. And the *Egyptians* and *Syrians* (observing a greater humanity to the dead) did as much as in them lay strive to hinder their dead bodies from rottenness and putrefaction, shutting them up in certain small Chests, after they had well Enbalm'd them with Myrrh and Aloes, the juice of Cedar, stroing Salt withing; and several other Aromaticall Drugs and Scents. But leaving this discourse, let us proceed to our intended purpose; and dilate on the particular of this most excellent Queen *Artemisia*, whose Portraiture I do here with, present you in the said manner as it is exprest in an Antick Meddal which I do keep in my Cabinet, not much differing from a Marble Statue which I did see in the City of *Rhodes*.

Artemisia therefore was the Wife of *Mausolus* King of *Cacania* called *Caria*, and of old *Halicarnesses*, a rude barbarous Country, of little or no esteem, before it was inhabited by the *Grecians*, and whence the Proverb sprang, *In care periculum: There's danger in Caria*: which said *Artemisia*, by reason of the extrem Love which she bore unto her husband; after his death caused his body to be burnt; and conceiving with her self, that she could not finde a more commodious place to bury him in, then her own body; she caused his Ashes to be preserved in a rich Urne of Gold, and daily amongst her Wine, drank a certain quantity of them; mourning all the rest of her life time for her deceased husband; and thus you see what an admirable Funeral obsequie she prepared for him. But not contenting her self therewith neither, she caused such a Tombe to be built for him, as never was heard of before, and the which she called by her Husbands name *Mausoleum*, which said Tombe was accounted one of the seven wonders of the world; being built in a square form, containing seventy foot in length, four hundred and eleven foot in circumference, and eight cubits in height. And to cause it to be the more exquisitely finished, she sent for the four rarest Architects of all *Greece* and *Asia*, viz. *Saprus* from the Isle of *Mileta*, who built the East side of it: *Bryax* the *Silaeon* Eunuch who built the Northside of it, *Timotheus* the *Phrygian* who built the Southside of it, and *Leocares* the *Lavian* who built the Westerside; and although *Artemisia* chanced to dye before it was quite finished, to the full perfection of it; yet however the said Artificers did not give over the work until they had quite finished it; and it is worthy to be observed, that four thousand men labored in it daily. Moreover the said Queen, to render her Husbands Funerals more famous, caused, & ordained a prize of Plate and of other precious Gemms to be given to him who should in a most elegant manner set forth her Husbands praises in a Funeral Oration; which is a rare demonstration of a Womans love and liberality towards her deceased Husband, manifesting that it ended not in her death, but that she desired to have it live to all posterities that should succeed her. And so it did, for this unparalleled structure of Queen *Artemisias* Funeral Monument, for her deceased Husband, gave a name to all the Tombes which were ever after erected for Emperors, Kings, Princes, and Potentates; and the which have ever since (as *Presfortius* writes) been called *Mausolea*: and moreover thus much we may read in *Martial* concerning *Artemisias* praise on that account, viz.

The Mausolean Tombe, which seems
To raise it self unto the Skie,
Thy praises (*Artemisia*) deems,
To echo forth eternally.

Which serving as a president to Posterity, was imitated by some others, whose fame will never dye; and that we may not be taxed to have passed them under silence. Behold *Porcia* the daughter of *Cato* and the Wife of *Brutus*, who hearing of her husbands death, the sooner to end her dayes and follow him, swallowed down hot burning Coals. In like manner *Agria* the daughter of King *Adriasus*, and the wife of *Polianthus*, the son of *Edipus* King of *Thebes*, hearing that her Husband was slain in a Salley which he made against the enemies who besieged the City, got her self out of the place, and without the least apprehension of the adversaries cruelty, or the fierceness of savage beasts, she went unto the place where the battel was fought, and sought for her husbands body in the dark of the night, which having found amongst the dead, she brought it back with her into the City, and causing it to be burnt, after she had bedewed it with a torrent of tears, she put the Ashes into a Golden Vase, and at every new Moon drank a certain quantity of them; vowing at the same time a perpetual Chastity, which she observed all the dayes of her life, and thereby did imitate *Artemisias* glorious resolution. But if by these superstitious actions *Artemisia* rendered her self commendable: How much more ought we to admire her for her gallant conduct in the managing of a war? For having been constrained to desist a little from those moans which she daily poured forth (in imitation of the languishing Turtel Dove, after her mates death) and for a while to quit her dismal lamenting life, to resist an Army of the *Rhodians* which invaded her Territories, she therefore assembled her Forces, and marched towards them to prevent their further proceedings, defeated them two several times, and gained their Island. In testimony whereof a Statue was erected to her honor in the City of *Rhodes*, hard by the place where formerly the *Colossus* stood: And had she been the first of her Sex who had given this proof of her Prowesse, her Heroical magnanimity might have been doubted of. But since there have been several famous Ladies who have far exceeded the strength and valour of women,

Artemisia
whole wife.

Artemisia bu-
ried her hus-
band in her
own body.

Mausolus his
Sepulcher
built by *Arte-
misia*.

The rare Ar-
tists employed
in the build-
ing of the
Mausoleum.

The number
of workmen
which labored
in the *Mauso-
leum*.

Several famous
Ladies whom
could not be
separated from
their husbands
by death it self

The prowess
of *Artemisia*
against the
Rhodians.

The valour
and exploits of
Semiramis,
Queen of As-
syria.

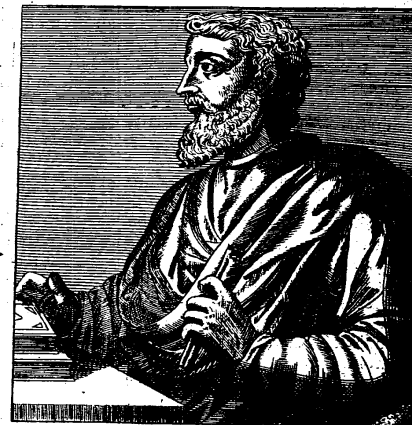
men, I may promise my self that a greater belief will be given to this foregoing recital which I have made. And for example sake, I shall only alledge one, viz. *Semiramis* the Queen of the *Assyrians*, who being entred upon the possession of so great a Monarchy as that which was afterwards held to be the first of the whole world under the Banner of a poor dismall and rejected Dove, did subdue all *Ethiopia*; withstood *Staurobales* King of the *Indes*, who (although its seldom known that the Dove dares contest with the Hawke) she overcame not only in words but in deeds, as *Dion* the Historian relates, who tell us, that the said Queen *Semiramis* (having understood that the *Indian* King slighting her Feminine frailty thought to have out-dared her with high language) not being able to brook his insolence, sent him this message, *I be effects of a combat, are deeds, not words* *Staurobales*; and in effect she fought and vanquished him. So likewise that which *Iustin* relates of her, is very considerable, and worthy to be had in remembrance, viz. That news being brought her that the inhabitants of *Babylon* (a City, by her self restored and built up again) were in a high Mutiny, and tending towards a sedition; although she was a dressing of her head when she received the news; yet however she got up and on horse back with her hair hanging about her ears, and being accompanied onely with those which were about her, she took the field and rushing into the midst of the mutinous rabble, she behaved her self so discreetly and prudently, as that she appeased the sedition, and settled the inhabitants of *Babylon* in their accustomed obedience and loyalty. For testimony of which noble and heroick attempt of hers, and high resolution (not to lose so much time as to stay and put up her hair) there was a Statue erected in *Babylon* representing her just in the same posture as she was when she accomplished so memorable an exploit. But to return again to our *Artemisia* the Dowager Queen, she having laid by her Widows habit upon force (the dayes of her mourning also being expired) was constrained for the good and future defence of her Country, to re-assume the Robes and Regal Ornaments belonging unto her; which she was perswaded to do, not without a great deal of reluctancy. But finding that States affairs were too burdensome for her dejected spirit, she disposed of the Government of her Kingdom, unto those of her Council, whom she best trusted; and because her very Palace grew distastful unto her, by reason of the non consociety of her dead Lord and King, she chose to abandon it and her very Country to boot. Wherefore having given sufficient orders for the compleating of her Husbands Monument, she resolved to engage in some Foreign adventures. And it so fell out, that at the same time *Xerxes* the great *Persian* Monarch (ambitiously aiming to reduce all *Greece* under his subjection) raised an innumerable Army by Land, and an invincible Navy by Sea, with whom *Artemisia* siding against the *Grecians* (her Husbands ancient Foes) rigged and manned out three Ships of her own, of which she was *Archi-Talassa*, or high Admiral; and so putting her self under the *Persian* Emperors protection, she joyned his Fleet, and behaved her self so valiantly in a bloody Sea-fight which happened between the *Persians* and *Grecians*, as that her Ships (particularly known by their Flags and Ensigns) were observed more to endamage the *Grecians* Fleet, both in an offensive and defensive way, then all the *Persian* Fleet besides; and although the *Persians* had the misfortune to be vanquished in that Sea expedition (though far excelling in number) yet Queen *Artemisia*, with hers, narrowly escaped and got in safely to *Phalerum*; although she was closely pursued by *Aminim Palenau* an *Athenian* Commander, who not being able to come up, or cope with her, relinquishd the pursuit of her, and only contented himself to send better failed vessels after her, and to set ten thousand *Draghues* upon her life, deeming it a high indignity, that a woman should affront the whole *Athenian* Navy, and afterwards make her way through them all. And *Xerxes* himself, as *Hierodotus* in his *Urania* reports, beholding how bravely above all his Fleet *Artemisia* and her Ships behaved themselves, and how courageously they forced their way when all his Navy was in a manner quite defeated, fetching a deep sigh, he said, *Viri quidem exultant mihi femina, femina autem viri. My men this day have stood me in no better stead then Women, and the women only have behaved themselves like men.* And thus much we thought good to note concerning this most eternally glorious and famous Queen *Artemisia*.

The end of Artemisias Life.

Xerxes his
Character of
Queen Ar-
temisia.

THE

THE LIFE OF MARCUS TERENCE VARRO.



An. Mund.
3896.

Ant. Christ.
71.



Mixt learning hath seemed so strange to some that they have dared to say it was not only mis-becoming a man to addict himself to several kinds of discipline, but that it was impossible any man should attain to a perfection in them, and do little regard the complaint of that no less grave *Philosopher* then excellent *Physician*, who complained of nature, *That the life of man was so short, and yet one only Science was so long*, as that a man (how able diligent or subtill soever) could hardly attain to the height of its perfection: For my part, I shall willingly set down my Judgement and freely confess that the weaknes of humane understanding is such indeed, as that to attain to the perfection of any one Science, the life of two or three men, (though four times prolonged) would scarce suffice. But to exclude some lively wits, and to conclude that an active spirit cannot perform that which many others could not do without a great difficulty, would be altogether void of reason, and would confine the capacity of all humane industry, within the levell of some few mens weakneses; And although this Axiom may be verified both by reason and arguments, yet because it would require a longer time, and be subject to uncertainties, I have rather chosen to propound one Person who will give us an assured proof of the Paradox which I maintain (that is to say) *That a man may be very well versd in severall Sciences.*

And this our *Varro* was born in the Province of *Narbonois* in *France*, a man so generally versd in the knowledge of most Sciences, as that it is a hard matter to beleieve what I propose, viz. That there are very few Arts upon which he hath not left some observations in Writing of his excellent Learning: Moreover the Catalogue of the Books he composd (which was learnedly collected by *Gesnerus*) will give a sufficient Testimony to what I say, and will clearly manifest, that there are few points, either in *Divinity* or the *Liberal Sciences*, which he hath not plainly illustrated, according to the time wherein he lived; And was for this reason much honoured by *S. Augustin* in his sixth Book of the *City of God*, where he thus saith concerning *Varro*, *Varro* praised Who is there that with more curiosity hath dived into those things which have been surmized concerning the Godhead? Who hath found them out more Learnedly? or who hath more seriously considered them? who hath distinguished them more subtilly? who hath written more diligently and largely thereon then he? Abounding in learned sentences, and though his language be not very pleasant, yet those who delight to learn according to the Rules of Discipline may the better profit

Mans life but
short, Arts and
Sciences long.

One Man may
be versd in se-
veral Sciences.

THE LIFE OF HISMAEL SOPHI King of Persia.



Ann. Mund.
5345.

An. Dom.
1478.

Divers changes in the Persian Monarchy.



F any Kingdom, State or Empire in the world hath been turned to and fro like a weather Cock, with divers changes of Governments, it is that of Persia, which was first of all usurped by Alexander the Great, who spoiled Darius of a Monarchy he had held by the space of six years, and turned topsie turvy the state thereof in the year of the world three thousand thirty five, in the hundred and twelfth Olympiade, and since Cyrus usurped it from the Medes, two hundred twenty and eight years: And after it had been under the slavery of the Macedonians, for the space of two hundred ninety three years, as well as of the Arsandes or cut-throats, and murderers, the space of five hundred and forty years, and under the Disciples of Mahomet and the Tartars a very long time: The Sophi seized this fair and spacious Kingdom in the year of our Lord one thousand four hundred seventy and eight, as Chronologers tell us, who have described to us the extraordinary Courage and Valour of Assamby, or Usuncassan Grandfather of Hismael, in memory of whom we write this present History. He had by Despinacaton Daughter of Carlo-jan Emperour of Trebizond, one Sonne and three Daughters: The eldest was married to Secaidar Father of this Sophy, who waged a grievous Warre against Rustan and Alumut his Sonne, but was forced to yield to his misfortune, and was slain in a totall Rout of his Army at Derbent, his head cut off and given to be devoured by Dogs; So great and implacable was the hatred of the Persians towards the Sophies, that where-ever any of them was found, it was impossible to save his life. The occasion of the hatred was this, Secaidar had deposed those from the Government, who seemed to have descended in a right line from Jacob; so that indeed there are some by whom this Sophy hath been evil spoken of, accounting him a Seducer, and to have got the Scepter by secret and undue practises: but they considered not that those who commanded in person after Zulaver, were illegitimate, and enjoyed the Kingdom without any just Title. And that it is so, Baytingir was the Adulteress that conspired with Patirsa the Wife of Jacob, Daughter of the Lord of Sammutra, to poyson her Husband and Sonne, with whom she died likewise. As for Rustan there was no right to prefer him to the Kingdom before Secaidar, but only in case the Race of the Usuncassans should fail: for he was not called to the Persian Crown, as Son in Law to that great Assamby or Usuncassan, who after the death of Tamberlain, (which happened in the year one thousand four hundred and three) delivered the Persians from the Tyranny of the Tartars. And if Secaidar were much opposed and entangled in his affairs, his Son Hismael had no better fortune, for as soon as the first news of his Fathers being murdered founded in his ears, he

Ulacasson and his children.

Secaidars miserable end.

Secaidars and Hismael's right to the Kingdom of Persia.

and his two Brothers, whose lives were envied and likewise sought, fled away hastily to save themselves, the one into Naxos, another to Aleppo, and the third, which was our Hismael to the Island of Arminig, situate in the lake of Vasthan, or Gelucalat; and having taken refuge there, he found an unexpected good reception, by the means of a certain Priest of Armenia, who pretended to Judicial Astrology, beholding earnestly his face and Physiognomy, found so great hopes of his excellent graces and perfections clearly appearing by the lineaments of his face and body, that he took all the pains and care he could to bring him up. And besides the Prefage of the Constellations, there was hopes that the Kingdom of Persia would descend to him, if he could be kept safe from the pursuits of Amclut; and that being advanced to the Crown, he hoped he would not be ungratefull, but would advance, cherish and honour him; and hereupon he kept him privately, for fear it should be discovered where he was, and endeavoured to instruct him in the Christian Religion; but this young Prince being puffed up with Ambition, little regarded any Religion at all, accounting no otherwise of it, than according to the advantage he received thereby, to compass his desired ends; which was the cause he could not long endure to live with his Master, although he gave him great respect, and for his sake shewed much favour, kindness, and friendship to the Christians, when he came to his Crown, which he obtained not without a great deal of difficulty. After he had taken his leave of this Priest, he retired to Chilan, and lives with a Goldsmith, much devoted to his fathers family, and by his dexterity, underhand made his friends understand secretly living at Ardovill, how earnest his desires were to recover his Liberty, whom he so well allured, that with a common consent they resolved to revenge the Defeat which they received at Derbent, and the Massacre likewise of Secaidar, unto whom they bore a great affection, because they held him to be their Prophet, having withdrawn himself in a manner from the Mahometanism; nor would he suffer the Alcoran otherwise to be allowed of, save according to the interpretation of Huly, sonne in law, and Cousin to Mahomet, who had set up a new faction among the Sectaries of that damnable Doctrine of Mahometanism. And for this reason Secaidar was by Belle Forest erroneously compared unto the chief of the Reformed Religion, because they receive not the Word of God, save according to their own interpretations, rejecting those of the Catholick Apostolick Roman Church, in like manner as the Sophies did concerning the Alcoran; which Conclusion, were it a proper one, we must either confess the Alcoran to be good, or believe that there is some correspondence or sympathy in it which may make it sympathize with the purity of the Gospel. But peradventure the good man did not pry so narrowly into the matter, as he ought to have done, but only as to the quality, and not regarding the consequence thereof, he would needs spend his verdict on these Reformations. But the truth is Secaidar, by his having changed some particular points in the Mahometan Religion, did thereby in such a manner gain the hearts and affections of the Sophies, that he became Lord and Master of the Kingdom of Persia; and his sonne Hismael remained King, notwithstanding Alumut used his utmost endeavours to keep the possession of the Kingdom, which he pretended descended to him by just right from his Father Rustan.

The first gallant Exploit which Ismael did, was upon the Castle of Maumutaga, which he possessed himself of, by surprisall. Now the place being impregnable, by reason of the situation of it, and the great Treasures found in the Village under the Castle, eclipsed greatly the designs of his Enemy, who durst not send an Army to besiege it, being sure to lose his labour, and therefore would have the world to believe it was a Policy in him, to have this bone fall on purpose into Hismael's hands, thinking that being a young man, he would continue gnawing upon that, and not have attempted any further upon his Estate: But reckoning without his Host, he found that he was mistaken, for Ismael, with the Treasure he found, drew unto him people from all parts, levied men, and made up an Army, and managed his affairs so well, that in a short space he was followed with five or six thousand Sophians; whereas at the taking of Maumutaga, he could hardly muster two hundred. With these Forces he advanced to Sumachia, a great and Capitall City of the Kingdom, and the siege having not lasted long, Sermangoli the King thereof, finding himself too weak to resist the Forces of the Sophians, resolved to retire to the Castle of Calistan, and abandon the City to the mercy of Hismael, who took it, and with the spoils thereof made large Presents to all those of his Army, whereby he did not only captivate and assure their hearts to him, but the same thereof spreading abroad, caused new and fresh Troops to resort to him daily, which highly displeased Alumut, who was well assured, that so soon as the Sophy should gather strength enough, he would fall upon him; And therefore he assembled his Forces together, and Hismael did the like, sending to Alexanderbey, Gurguramby, and Mirzamby, Kings of Iberia, to desire aid from them, who upon his promises sent each of them three thousand Horse, and about six thousand Iberian Foot; all Valiant and stout Souldiers, with the which, and those Forces he had with him, he marched and became Master of the Field; whereat Alumut who was but a young man, (not above sixteen years old,) was much perplexed, hearing of the great preparation which his enemy made. Whereupon he came to Tauris, and from thence marched towards Sumachia, between which two Towns the two Armies met in a posture to engage in battell, but the great River standing as a Barricado between them, hindered their design for some daies; till at last the Sophy had found out a Foord, and by night, whilst the enemy lay secure, charged Alumut so furiously, that the Sophy had cut off the most part of his men before they were well rouzed out of their sleep, and Alumut himself had likewise fallen by the Sword, had he not in all haste saved himself in Tauris, which was also taken by the Sophy about four daies after: who knew not, as he ought, how to gather the fruits of his Victory.

Hismael's flight after his father was murdered.

Secaidar the first Author of the Sophian sect.

Religion a pretence to little Principallities.

Hismael's first Exploit which was his making.

Sumachia taken by Hismael.

Success sent unto Hismael.

Alumut defeated by Hismael. Tauris taken by Hismael.

The great cruelties of Hismael.

Hismael causes his own mother to be put to death.

Hismael gains a victory against Murad in Solden of Bagadeth.

Sultan Calib marries the Sophies sister.

Ustagiulu Mammutbey marries Hismael's second sister.

Hismael wars against the Alidulians.

Hismael falls upon Muratcan.

Sermandoli King of Servan reduced by Hismael. Jafelbas and Usbec Cham of Tartary and their children defeated by Hismael.

story, but abandoned himself to all kinds of cruelties, manifesting his nature was bent to all kind of inhumanities, not at all favouring of the milde and sweet disposition of a *Persian*. I will not mention the search he made for the bodies of *Jacob* and other Nobles who fell in that memorable Battel of *Derbent*, in regard (that I may speak like a Courtier) a naturall instinct drove him on to revenge the injuries done to his Father, which may in some measure excuse the errors which he committed by surpassing the bounds of discretion. But his causing of women great with child to be ripped up and opened, and the fruit of their wombs to be plucked out, was not only an inhumane, but a most unnatural action. So likewise after the taking of *Tauris*, he caused three hundred common Strumpets to be beheaded, a good sport indeed for Nobles, though it's only pleasing to those who use it. Nor know I how to alleadge as a proof of his inhumanity, his causing four hundred of King *Alumut's* followers to be kil'd, because it may be objected, That the evil affection he bore to the Master, might justly provoke revenge upon the servants: neither ought I to place in the first rank the cruelty he shewed in commanding all the Dogs in *Tauris* to be killed, though it were a manifest token of his brutish severity, some in *Egypt* having drawn the hatred of the people upon them, for exercising such like cruelties upon brut beasts. But this man spared not his own Mother, commanding her to be beheaded in the City of *Tauris*, because he had a suspicion that *Sacaidar* was treacherously sold; and more miserably murdered by her procurement, at that fatal and unhappy encounter at *Derbent*, in regard he had married a great Noble man who was present at the overthrow: Whence this wretched unnatural Sonne took an impression against a good Mother, that because she had married a man who assisted at the assassination of his Father, she must needs have had a design to defraud her own children of the succession in the *Persian Monarchy*, which descended to her, as being the daughter of *Ussumcassan* (as you have already heard) and settle the Kingdom on her Husband. This kind of excessive cruelty which he used, seemed to have lifted him up to the highest degree of his glory, and caused those to pluck in their horns, that had lifted up their Heads against him, of whom the most part were constrained to come and do him homage, to stoop (though with great regret) to his commands, and to receive the *Capebas* or red *Turbant* the Ensign of the *Sophies*. But there was one that declared himself an open Enemy to him, which was *Muradcan* the Sultan of *Begadeth*, who contended with him for the Kingdom, pretending to be right heir to *Ussumcassan*, and capable of succession.

When it came to a fight, there was a great Defeat, and the Victory fell to *Hismael*, who being not yet twenty years old, gave so great and solemn an overthrow near *Tauris* (about fourscore and four years since) that of thirty thousand fighting men which were in the Sultan of *Babilons* Army, there hardly escaped one.

And yet he was not so fast seated in his Dominions but that some nails were always wrong driven, which I do not alleadge in regard of the Province of *Durbeib*, having always been under the Kings of *Persia*, was now disjoyned from it, for the Sultan *Calib*, Lord of *Afanchif* came to present his humble service to the *Sophy* received the *Turbant*, and offered to be his loyal and faithfull subject and servant, which pleased *Hismael* so well, that he confirmed him in his Government, and gave him his sister to wife; But that familiarity and friendship was of no long durance, the said Sultan shewing himself disobedient in some things to the *Sophy*, he took an occasion thereupon to displace him (though he were his Brother in Law) and advanced *Ustagiulu Mammutbey* to the superintendency of the Cities of *Afanchif* and *Amida*, who was lately come from *Natolia* to present his service to the *Sophy*, and receive the *Turbant*, and became so acceptable to *Hismael*, that he married his other sister, whereby he was no great gainer; Such marriages serving only to divide great persons, which was his design, *Sophy* knowing very well that those that were newly raised to honours, and were strangers, could not suddenly so strengthen their wings as to be in a condition to fly above his reach. After he had thus dispersed the strength of those which were in a capacity to oppose him, he raised a powerfull Army against the *Alidulians*, whom *Ustagiulu* could not overcome; desiring the *Turk* and the *Egyptians*, not to intermeddle in this business, in regard his design was no other than to recover his own Countries, which had been usurped, with promises to both not to encroach upon their Dominions any where. As soon as he had an assurance from these two Princes (in the year one thousand five hundred and ten) he fell so furiously upon the *Alidulians*, that had not the excessive cold countermined his Forces, without all doubt he had gained all their Country, however he won many Towns and fortified places, in which, with his own hands, being much enclined to cruelty, he committed incredible inhumanities. He beheaded with his own hands *Becabey* the Sonne of *Aliduli* and *Alimulur* his Predecessour, who was treacherously delivered up unto him by the Traitor *Amirbey*. He could not in honour abstain from renewing his quarrell with *Muratcan* Sultan of *Babilon*, who had seized upon the great City of *Sirau*, being the Metropolis of *Persia*, but this pursuit was without effect, for the *Babilonian* retreated with three thousand chosen men unto *Alex*, and coming to the River *Euphrates*, caused all the Bridges to be broken down, which was happy for him, for that the *Sophy* had sent six thousand resolute fighting men to cut him off in his retreat. Nor did it trouble *Hismael* much that *Sermandoli* King of *Servan* had broken the peace to which he had sworn, such a petty Rebellion, giving him opportunity to over-run all his Countreys, and to take all the Government from him: And he tamed him so well, that all the rest of the Lords and petty Kings of that Country, strove which should come first to offer his service, and receive the *Turbant*. There remained none but the *Tartars* who pretended to give a stand to *Hismael's* growing state. And hereupon *Jafelbas* Cham of *Tartaria*, and *Usbec* began to invade the Territories of *Corasan*,

rasan,

rasan, where they got nothing, save being taken in a Battell which they lost (in the year one thousand five hundred and twenty) were both by his command beheaded, yet would he not defraud their Children of their Dominions; But they not at all acknowledging the great favour and humanity shewed to them, when they were a little settled in their great Estates, fomented a Rebellion against *Hismael*; and moreover killed as many *Sophies* as came under their clutches, which gave him occasion to arm himself a new against the *Jefelbas* (so called, by reason of the green *Turbants* they wear on their heads, but the *Persians* wear them red, and the *Turks* white,) and charged them so furiously, that there remained not one man alive.

While he was busied in curbing these cowardly *Tartarians*, the *Curdes* who inhabit mount *Bichib*, persuaded Sultan *Selim* to invade his Country, flattering themselves that it was impossible for the *Sophy* to escape out of the *Tartars* claws: But it so fell out that the *Turk* got nothing but shame in that expedition; and had it not been for the valour of *Sinambey* *Basha* the *Turks* had undoubtedly lost all their Baggage and Artillery.

I may here also make a recitall of the Victory this *Sophy* obtained against *Soliman*, who came with force enough to swallow up the Country, (in the year one thousand five hundred thirty and four) which he might easily have done, had he not met with one, who being not able to put on the *Lions skin*, covered himself as well as he could with that of the *Fox*: To speak the truth, finding himself too weak, he retreated in such a manner, as he seemed always to provoke the Enemy to fight; but he would not engage in earnest, till he saw his opportunity to fight them, and rout him with small force: Finally he so amused the *Turk*, that at last he drew him into a very narrow passage, then divided his Army, and sent away three score thousand men, who about the middle of the night regained by assault the City of *Tauris*, (taken a little before by the *Turk*) who had left great Treasures and provisions in it. The other party charged the Turkish Army in the Rear with such resolution and success, as that they were forced to fly hastily away out of the *Sophies* Territories, in the year one thousand five hundred thirty four, with the loss of half the Army. And in the year one thousand five hundred forty and nine, he assisted the eldest sonne of *Solyman*, who perceiving his Father did shew more favour and affection to his younger sonne, fled into *Persia*, and fell upon his Fathers Territories upon the confines thereof: And although the *Turk* came with an Army of five hundred thousand men, yet could he gain nothing at all upon the *Sophy*, a great part of the *Turks* Army perishing by the Famine and the Sword, so that the *Turk* was at last forced to a retreat. The year before he subdued the Country of *Corassan*, which had withdrawn its obedience from him, and made a cruell slaughter of those that occasioned the revolt, enforcing those that survived to wear the *Turbant*, and exercise the Religion of the *Sophies*. But why should I dwell upon the particulars of the Conquests and Victories of this great *Sophy*, since there is hardly a Prince that hath been so successful and happy in so many Victories as he was, and for that reason his subjects accounted him among the gods, going to the Warre voluntarily, meerly out of pure affection to him, fighting with their breasts and stomacks quite naked, crying in these words *Schiach*, *Schiach*, which signifies in the *Persian* tongue, a God, a God. Whence some have attributed this name peculiarly to the *Sophy*, and in his Titles he is called *Scheech Ismael*: But others to qualifie the presumption which might be attributed to the *Sophy*, say that the word *Scheech* is never taken but for a Prophet, and that the name of *Sophy* was indeed principally, but not exclusively derived to him, *Sophy* in the *Arabian* tongue signifying *Well*: But let the excuse be as it will, there was an excess of arrogance however, for he was no Prophet neither, unless a Title appropriated to the Father can be derived to the Sonne by reason of the first rise he gave to the sect of the *Sophians*.

Some Authors have attributed his death to I know not what destiny, which they appropriate to a certain wood called *Servan*, for my part I think his excessive eagerness and passion in the prosecution of his enterprises brought that disease upon him, which cast him into his grave; to the great regret both of his friends and enemies.

The great *Turk* himself having notice of his death, expressed much sorrow for it.

The end of the Life of Hismael Sophi.

Victories by Hismael obtained against the Turk.

Hismael regains the City of Tauris taken by the Turk.

Hismael assists Solyman the Turks eldest son & invades his Territories. Corassan regained by Hismael.

Hismael Sophi accounted a God by his subjects.

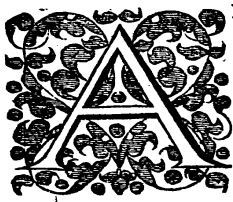
Hismael Sophi's death.

THE

THE LIFE OF GEORGE CASTRIOT, called Scanderbeg Prince of Epire.



Ann. Mund.
5433.



Castriot greatly
esteemed by the
Turks.

Paulus Jovius
reprehended.

LI those, that have written of this Captain, seem to me to have chosen this subject to lay open the treasure of their eloquence; so many praises do they publish of this *Epirote*, among which *Marin Barlet*, a Native of *Scutary* in *Epire* is one. And this hath not been done after the manner of some idle fantastical writer or pratter, who stuffs a History or Discourse with eloquent and high expressions of desert and merit, whereas the object it self most commonly deserves not a single commendation. But *Barlet* and other historians knew not sufficiently to celebrate the renown of *George Castriot*, in regard his Heroick and generous Actions had gained him such reputation, that he was not only revered by his friends, but his very enemies had sufficient cause to admire his valour and noble acts. The *Turks* themselves, whom he had often conquered and vanquish't, notwithstanding the great evils and extraordinary losses, they sustained by him, could not forbear to extoll his ever undaunted valour and courage, wherewith they were so much taken, that after his death (if we may believe *Paulus Jovius*) having made themselves masters of almost all *Epire*, at last seized upon his Sepulchre, at *Aleissio*, which having found, they worshipped, and adored it very devoutely; at length these superstitious people pulling out his dead Bones, pillaged his Sepulchre with a shew of Religion, thinking themselves to be invincible, and safe in Battel, if at their going to fight they had but the least piece of a Relique of this invincible Captain, hung at their neck in Gold or Silver. But I suppose *Paulus Jovius* the Author of this story hath failed in this particular; because it was contrary to the Law, usage, and custome of the *Alcoran*, to suppose the *Turks* did worship the body of *Scanderbeg*, who no more then the *Jews*, *Moslems*, *Tartars*, *Arabians*, and other *Mahumetans*, will not receive their dead bodies into their Temples, and much less into their Cities: far greater reason should they therefore have to refuse to worship and reverence the Bones of *Scanderbeg*, (how great, valiant, and renowned a Captain soever) in such a sort, as *Paulus Jovius* supposeth. Moreover they use no such Ceremonies to their Prophets *Mahomet*, *Haly*, *Oclan* and others, whom it is most likely they would rather invoke to their aide in opposition to the Force of their enemies then the Reliques of *Scanderbegs* body. But as *Paulus Jovius* (finding that our *Castriot* deserved to be magnified and praised,) hath exceeded the bounds of reason and credit, and to extoll him, hath found out things too ridiculous to be believed, and too light for the gravity required in

Ann. Dom.
1443.

in a History of so high a nature. Besides it is directly contrary to the rule of the *Alcoran*: however I will proceed to set forth the Noble Acts and high deserts of this great *Epirot* according to the truth I finde of them. He was son to the Lord *John Castriot*, Lord of *Epire*, formerly called *Emathia*: his mothers name was *Voisava*, daughter of the Lord of the *Pribullians* or (as others will have it) of *George Scanderbegs* parents and sisters. *Poland*, which is part of *Macedonia* and *Bulgaria*; he had three brothers, *Repasius*, *Stanisius*, and *Constantinus*, five sisters, *Mary*, *Jella*, *Angelina*, *Valica*, and *Mamsia*; This said *John Castriot* was valiant, courageous, and of an illustrious family, who possessed a great estate in the Country of *Epire*. His habitation was in a City called *Croy*, being the chief of his territories, allied to the ancient Kings of *Macedonia* and *Grecian Emperors of Constantinople*. And as he far exceeded all his Predecessours in prudence, gravity, magnanimity and an invincible courage; so his youngest son followed his steps, and soared somewhat higher in reputation: whose lively Pourtraicture I here represent, the same, as it was procured by me at *Bouthe* a City of *Epire*, and had since lent it to *Montieur James de la Bardin*, to enrich his History withall, which was printed at *Paris* in the year 1576. who confessed that he had it copied from my original; whose example I could have wished, they had followed, who disfigured, and counterfeited the Picture of *Plutarch*, which I lent them to be put into the Lives of that Author which they Printed in the City of *Paris*, this present year 1583. they might have confessed to have had that *Plutarch* from me, which they could not so much disguise, but that it plainly appears, they drew the design from that Effigies which they importuned me to lend them. This *George Castriot* therefore did not at all degenerate from the excellent and rare virtues of so noble a father, but rather, from his valiant and heroick exploits, he seems to have elevated the race of the *Castriots* to its highest degree of honour and renown. And though I do not much value the *Prodigies* and observations, which many men as it were adore at some *Nativities*; yet will I not conceal, what was prognosticated of the glory, that should accompany this famous person; his mother dreaming, as soon as he was conceived, that she had brought forth a *Serpent* of that bigness, that it covered almost all *Epire*, and stretching out its head upon the Dominions of the *Turks*, it swallowed them up with its bloody throat, dipping his Taile in the Sea, that looks towards the *Christians*, and especially towards the confines of *Venice*. I know many will be apt, to be encouraged upon this relation to flatter themselves with hopes upon the like predictions; and others too *superstitious* will endeavor to unfold the secrets, that lye hidden under the shadow of such a *Dream*: for my part I shall acknowledge, that by the effects, the advertisement which nature here gave, was not altogether frivolous, whereby every one might know that this *George Castriot* should be eminent in Armes and warlike exploits; a scourge to the *Turkes*, a successful Captain, and a true Defender of the *Christian Faith*; ever retaining an honorable esteem of the *Venetian State*. In a word, the experience and progress of his whole life do manifestly verifie this *supernatural Prophecie*. From his youth he applied himself so much to the Bow, with other military exercises, and acts of valour, that no Historian makes mention of his equal; neither could any famous Captain ever compare with him in *warlike exploits*. It is supposed that upon this occasion the *Turks* gave him the name of *Scanderbeg*, which signifies in the *Turkish* language, *Great Alexander*; and to speak the truth, he was a true *Alexander* indeed, having conquered many Provinces, for the *Turke*, among others *Misia*, forcing *George Uncherich* the *Despote* into his City called *New Mount*, Metropolitane of that Country, where it is reported there are Mines of Gold and Silver. But the name of *Scanderbeg* doth more justly belong to him from another title more eminent and honorable, which is, that being converted to *Christianity*, he behaved himself so resolutely in all his undertakings, that he became very formidable and a terror to the *Turks*, remaining victorious in two and twenty Battels, which he fought against *Amurath* King of the *Turkes*, and *Mahomet* the second his son. In revenge whereof, their malice could reach no further, then to reproach him with ingratitude for his good usage they gave him whilst he was of their party, and called him an ingrateful son, for not acknowledging the great benefits, and honour, whereunto he was advanced by them, yet were they nevertheless much engaged to *Scanderbeg*, as well for the great defeat which he gave the enemies of the *Turkes* in a pitched Battel, as for particular *Duels*, which he had fought in *Andrinoplis* against the *Scythians*, who had defied all the Court of *Amurath* also in the City of *Burse* (which is now the principal of all *Asia*) against two *Persians* called *Juia* and *Zampza*. These tokens and tryals of his courage so captivated the hearts of the *Turks*, that to oblige him the more, and allure him to their party, there was no honor, which in reason could be bestowed upon a subject, but was liberally cast upon him. However after the death of that brave personage, *John Castriot*, it was necessary for *Ottoman* to be more prodigal in his bounty and munificence towards *George Castriot*, the more deeply to engage him to himself, and either to keep him from aspiring to the Kingdom of *Epire*, whereof he had made himself Master, and Possessor, by sending thither a great Garrison under the conduct of *Sebalic*, suddenly after the death of *John* his Father; or at least to keep him from seeking revenge for the death of his Brothers, who were treacherously and secretly made away by poison soon after the death of their Father. But as this kind entertainment of the *Turks*, served only to cloak and cover the double heart of those Infidels towards *Scanderbeg*, from whom they could not detain that Kingdom without incensing him too highly. In like manner *Scanderbeg* was no less wary, and subtle to dissemble the desire he had to repossess that Kingdom, which this Tyrant had usurped, and to shake off the yoke of *Alcoranisme*, wherewith he was more entangled, then he desired, he made shew to be so well satisfied with the *Turke*, that above all others, he confided in the wisdom and loyalty of this *Epirot*, who knew so well to temporise on this Account, as that being invited secretly by his subjects to recover his liberty, he sent them away without any certain hope, or appearance of any magnanimous or generous thoughts.

A prodigie
which happened
at Castriots
birth.

Castriot named
Scanderbeg by
the Turks.

Scanderbeg unjustly reproached by the
Turks.

Scanderbeg temporiseth
with the Turk.

Scanderbeg revolts against the Turk.

The City of Croje obtained by Scanderbeg.

A Diet or Assembly held at Alessia, and assistance given to Scanderbeg.

Scanderbegs great vigilancy

Alibeg Basba marches against Scanderbeg.

Alibeg Basba defeated by Scanderbeg.

Scanderbeg refuses a truce with Amurath.

thoughts which might encourage them to recover that, which being justly detained by *Amurath*, might be restored to him again by the assistance of his said subjects. But having been too long under the terrible yoke of *Turcisme*, waiting daily for a fit opportunity, he did march off much about the time of the battle which was fought between *Hunniades* General for the *Hungarians*, and the *Turks* (in the year 1440.) whereby so great an advantage was given to the *Christians*, as that the *Turkish* Army was for the most part defeated. I shall omit to discourse here with how much care (by the *Turks* order) this *Castriot* was instructed in the most impious Religion of the *Alcoran* by one *Hogia* (to wit) an old Philosopher, which the *Arabians* call a *Siaic*; but I will rather observe what a loss it was to the *Turks* to be forsaken by one on whom he had conferred, the greatest honors and fairest estate, that any favorite of that *Grand Seigneur* ever attained to; and had likewise been employed as his Lieutenant as well against the *Christians*, as *Pagan Kings* and *Princes*, so that indeed besides the disfigurement of the *Turks* by *Hunniades* by the retreat of *Scanderbeg* (which gave him the said opportunity) the *Turk* found himself bereft of *Epire*, and had acquired an enemy, who being a man of great undertakings, and a high spirit, would not suffer him to be idle or without employment: and as *Amurath* understood it very well, so was he not deceived in his opinion, for *Scanderbeg* having taken the City of *Croje* by means of his Nephew *Amefius* and some other friends, and having made a Law that all the *Turks* who still persisted in their savage and obdurate opinions of the *Alcoran* should be put to the sword: Being three and thirty years old he went to the City of *Alessia*, where he made a League and Alliance with the *Albanian Princes*; which City was then under the Dominion of the *Venetians*, & in it was held a Diet of all the principal persons of the Country being assembled there at his request, and among others there was *Paul*, and *Nicholas Ducaginnus*, *Peter Spainus*, *Lech Dufmanius*, *Lech Zacharius*, *Aranish Conyno*, afterwards father in law to *Scanderbeg*, *Andrew Thopia*, and the magnificent Rectors of the *Venetian State*. At which assembly, *Scanderbeg* made an eloquent speech above an hour in length which was very pleasing to all those which were present, who having highly praised the wise advice of this Prince, every one put himself in a posture to reach out a helping hand to restore him to the possession and enjoyments of those Countries, Territories and Dominions which were unjustly detained from him by the *Turks*. And he on his part ceased not to be active every where, to besiege, force, and constrain those, which endeavored to continue their obedience to the *Turk*. One thing very observable, is, confidently related of him, that from the very day he entered into *Epire*, until the perfect recovery of his Estate, he scarce ever took two hours sleep together at any time, so earnest was he to re-establish himself in that right which belonged to him: besides he was so well hardened to heat and cold, and all other inconveniences, that he regarded not the constant travail, and continual watchings which of necessity he must daily endure. It is reported by some Authors, that he was a great eater and a lusty drinker; and that he fought alwayes with his Arms stripped, not fearing either cold or heat: But as he with all eagerness pursued his design of making himself Lord and Master of all *Albania*. Intelligence was sent him by a spie, he left at *Andrinopolis* with the *Turks* that *Alibeg Basba* (accompanied with 60000. Janifaries, Archers, & Musquetiers, and 40000. horse advanced towards him) whereat he was not at all discouraged, although at that time he was but newly declared King of *Albania* and his forces far inferior in number. But with great cheerfulness of heart, as if he already held the victory assured, being followed only by fifteen thousand *Albanians*, and twelve thousand other foot, he bent his march towards that place, where he presumed he might encounter the *Turks*, and made all possible diligence to advance his Army so neer to that of *Alibeg* the *Turkish General* that as they might be necessitated to fight, and charged them with so great fury and violence, as he soon put them to a miserable route; every one wondered how in so short a time so great an execution could be made, in regard the battle lasted but from Sun-rising until the third hour. In this battle were taken four and twenty colours, two thousand *Turks* were made prisoners, and two and twenty thousand slain upon the place: of the *Christians* side a great number were wounded, and about a hundred found dead *Alibeg General* of the *Turkish* forces saved himself, and returned into the City of *Andrinopolis*, called by these barbarous people *Hedrea Valdom*, where *Amurath* was, who had well nigh caused him to be put to death, reproaching him that this Army was betrayed, as well as that wherein *Castriot* dealt fairly with him. To whom this poor old man with cries and sighs replied in these words, *Vallab et bishab benea*, *Verraim hernigustice*: which signifies, *O Sir! by the Grace of Almighty God, I confess all that thou sayest for the present*. As if he meant I have nourished and brought up a man, who now takes up Arms against me, and torments my soul. But that which troubled this poor *Turk* most of all, was, that a peace being concluded between him and the King of *Hungary* for ten years (by the mediation and practise of *George Despote of Servia* and *Rascia* which is the upper *Asia*, by the *Turks* called *Segoria*) and though respectively sworn to by them, upon the holy *Evangelist*, and the *Alcoran*, yet he much doubted it would not be of any long continuance, as in effect it was soon broken. And moreover he having newly received this rude overthrow; there came sudden news that the King of *Caramania* or *Cilicia*, was preparing a strong and powerful Army, therewith intending to invade the *Turks* of *Natolia*, called *Great Turkey*; which perplexed him very much being thereby necessitated to go into *Asia* with the Reliques of his routed forces to secure that Country. And on the other side the *Hungarian* threatening the same danger with the *Caromanian* and *Albanian*, it behoved him to look about him. And hereupon he thinks fit to send an Ambassador to *Scanderbeg* presenting him rich gifts, endeavouring thereby to hinder the *Albanians*, who were, as yet, but newly fresh as it were (with the *Turkish* blood) from advancing further, and from irritating the *Ottoman* fury, desiring his friendship, and that he would abstain from all enterprises that tended

tended to his prejudice. *Amurath's* letter being read, dated from *Andrinople* the fifteenth of June, in the year of our Lord 1444. five dayes after *Airadin* the *Turks* Ambassador was returned with an answer bearing date the twelfth of July of the same year, wherein *Scanderbeg* utterly refused the truce; which letter *Airadin* brought to the *Turk* as he was a hunting, and by word of mouth delivered to him all the rest of *Castriot's* deliberations; wherewith this poor Infidel was so ill satisfied, that he could not contain himself from crying out before his *Basba's*, in this sort, *Senica gunu seyiban binnur*, as if he would say, *I think Scanderbeg is possessed by the devil, that he so little regards my power and greatness*. But *Amurath* being a man experienced in affairs, knew well enough in case he should seem to be discouraged, there needed nothing else to make all the rest Cowards, and therefore to express his cheerfulness, he smiled playing with his Beard, and spake againe these words, *Thou covetest, O unhappy, man! thou covetest some memorable death, believe me thou shalt have it! we will assist, and without thy command will be present at the obsequies of him who was nourished by us, but now become our utter enemy and will accompany thy funeral pompe to the grave for fear thou shouldst complaine in hell, that thou camest not thither honourably enough*.

And however his countenance was compos'd, he had sad apprehensions to himself aside, and thought on other matters, which occasioned him a long time to remain in a musing doubtful posture, and at last understanding that *Scanderbeg* had disbanded many of his forces, keeping the field only with some few light horse, without any body of an Army, he sends for his *Basba Ferife*, appointing nine thousand chosen horse encouraging them with large promises, in case they could conquer the *Albanians*; *Ferife* discharged his duty with all diligence, approaching secretly to the Frontiers of *Macedonia*. And though he marched towards the *Albanians*, more like a thief than a warrior; yet he came not before the news of his approach; *Castriot* being advertised thereof by a spie who came to him from the *Sultans Court*, and so possessing himself of a Straight and narrow Vally called *Mocrea*, the only passage for the *Turks*; It served for a burying place for the most part of *Ferife's* Army, who were so furiously charged by the *Albanians*, that the *Basba* himself was forced to flye, leaving the best part of his forces either dead in the field, or Prisoners, *Ottoman* finding himself so rudely dealt withall by the *Albanians*, sends *Mustapha* his *Basba* with five and twenty thousand men into *Epire* expressly charging him to be wary and not entangle himself in the Ambushes of the *Albanians*, but only pillage and lay waste the Countrey, *Scanderbeg* advertised (by some horse he had sent forth to that purpose) of the spoile *Mustapha* made throughout all *Epire* takes horse immediately, and being followed with three thousand horse onely, and four thousand other good souldiers, led them as privately as he could between two vallies where the enemy was to pass, who as soon as they came neer the place separated and dispersed themselves into several companies, the *Christians* falling upon them in their disorder, soon made their way to the *Turks* Trenches, instantly gained them, and made so great a slaughter that none escaped save only a few that followed the flying *Mustapha*, preserving their lives by the sharpness of their Spurs. So *Scanderbeg* recovered not onely the Pillage they had taken from him in *Epire*, but also all the spoiles of the *Turks*, who had no leisure to save their baggage, being so closely pursued by *Scanderbeg*. But this overthrow did not discourage *Amurath* who commanded *Mustapha*, to raise new forces, forbidding him to spoile the enemies Country or engage in a Battle with *Castriot*, but only to hinder his advancing towards them, which fell out happily for this *Christian Prince*; for soon after he had a war with the *State of Venice*, by reason of the succession of *Lech Zachary* which shall be declared hereafter, because I intend not here to make a diversion and to omit the happy success which *Scanderbeg* had against *Mustapha* the *Basba*, who seeing the *Christians* warring among themselves, very furiously; thought during their disorders, to fish in their troubled waters, and obtain the fruit of a victory, which he earnestly desired, and was very much hoped for by him, whereupon he so much importunes *Amurath*, that he obtains order to begin a new war with the *Christians*, in which he was no great gainer, for *Scanderbeg* quitting *Dadine* charged that *Pagan Army* so furiously, as that ten thousand of them fell upon the place, fourscore and two were made prisoners, and fifteen Standards taken; on the *Albanian* side scarce three hundred men were lost. If this signal victory much puff up the hearts of the *Albanians*; *Amurath's* (that plodding blade) was the more dejected, who could not so well disguise his intended enterprise of setting on foot a mighty and powerful Army against *Castriot*, but that it took vent, and was discovered (by his neerest and greatest favorites) to *Scanderbeg*, who hereupon slept not in security; but gave a general order to raise instantly the forces of his whole Country, and to fortifie and strengthen the Fortresses, Cities and Garrisons throughout all *Epire*.

In the mean time the Great *Turke* transports all his Army into *Europe* by long marches, computed by some to be an hundred and fifty thousand fighting men (to wit) fourscore and ten thousand horse, and threecore thousand foot, others reckoning them but an hundred and twenty thousand in all, deducting twenty thousand horse, and ten thousand foot.

In this Equipage he comes to besiege *Alba* and other Cities, upon which he gained nothing but the diminishing of his forces, which though daily recruited by the new supplies which came to them, yet so mouldred away, that the poor old *Ottoman* affamed of the loss of so many of his men, was constrained to retreat, quit *Epire*, and in all hast march away: whilst *Scanderbeg* with all might and main pursued them, and gleaned up and destroyed such a multitude, as the shame thereof made the Great *Turk* at last so impatient, that he commanded the *Basba* of *Romania* to stay behinde with thirty thousand horse to secure the safe retreat of the residue of the *Ar-*

Ferife Basba sent against *Castriot* is by him defeated.

Mustapha Basba sent against *Castriot* into *Epire*, is defeated.

Mustapha defeated the second time by *Scanderbeg*.

Amurath's first voyage into *Epire* against *Castriot*.

Amurath forced to retreat, *Castriot* besieges *my*. *Feigrade*.

Amurath's second voyage unto Epirus, and siege of Croje in vain.

my. But *Amurath* had scarce taken up his Quarters in his own Country, when news was brought him that *Scanderbeg* had laid siege to *Sferigrade*, whereupon he determines to return by the same way he came, and sends *Sebalim* to besiege *Croje*, and he and his son *Mahomet* invaded *Epirus*, about the end of *April*, and came himself in person before *Croje*, and held it besieged above four months; in which time a very great number of his Forces were lost. He endeavoured to batter it with thirty peeces of Cannon, and other warlike instruments, and Engines, but could do little execution, the place being very strong on all parts, and replenished with a lively fountain of water within, and another in the side of the hill behinde a Rock. Nor must I forget to tell you that at the end of four months, a general assault was given by the enemies, and maintained so furiously on each part, that lasting but five hours, four thousand men remained dead upon the place, although the *Turks* power, strength, and cunning, could gain the place (as I have said) but after all this, the said City rather lifted up her head against the Ottoman fury as *Vilfrice*.

Nor will I not derogate from *Urancontes*, but allow him all the honour due to his great desert: and as this Governor appointed by *Scanderbeg* to command *Croje*, was vigilant and dexterous to oppose *Amurath*; so his Prince was not asleep in creating other employment for his Forces elsewhere; for as *Ottoman* had given a very hot alarm, *Scanderbeg* with a party of his choice horse falls so desperately upon the Enemies Tents, at the said siege, as that *Amurath* could not at that time compass his designs, nor take the place, although he dispatched away *Seremet* with four thousand horse to repulse *Scanderbeg*, and *Mahomet* likewise though in vain pursued him with all possible speed, conceiving so great a hatred against him, as that after the death of his father, he abated nothing of his pernicious and evil affection towards him.

And though death prevented the malicious designs of *Amurath*, yet it could not make any alteration in the heart of his Son *Mahomet* the second (and not the first, as by a mistake it slipped in this work) who took *Constantinople*, and was thereby the more enraged against the Christians, then he was before. However the state of affairs at this time so distracted him, that he was constrained to send Ambassadors to desire a Truce, which was refused him, and an answer was returned to *Sangeas* the Deputy, who was sent to conclude the peace, that he should be gone presently; as for *Castriot* he would not make any peace or agreement with the Infidel, unless he restored him those Cities which *Amurath* had unjustly usurped. In the mean time *Mahomet* retires, and was a long while before he could settle himself in his Fathers Dominion, and therefore could not for that time do *Castriot* any great harm. And *Scanderbeg* being willing to have an heir to succeed him (and being thereunto requested by his subjects) took to his lawful wife the most virtuous and fair daughter of Prince *Aranish Conyno*, called *Donca*; with whom he could not live long in quiet. For so soon as this new *Turke* was settled in his Fathers Throne, he began to threaten *Castriot* our Christian Prince, being not able to endure he should have such Dominion over *Croje* and the rest of *Epirus*. Nor did I here intend to have set down the undertaking of *Scanderbeg* to assist *Ferdinand* the Son of *Alphonso* King of *Naples*, had not the several Historians who have written thereon; omitted how he did redeem this poor King, who was reduced to that misery and non-plus, as that he was imprisoned in the Town of *Bary*, by the siege which the Count *Picevin* had laid to it, who made as sure of him, as if he had been already intangled in his net. But as soon as the arrival of *Scanderbeg* was known, Duke *John* of *Sore*, and the Count *Picevin* packed up their baggage, raised their siege, and in great haste, marched thirty miles from thence, to avoid the fury of that Fleet, and those which accompanied *Scanderbeg*, who had so good success in repulsing *Ferdinand's* enemies, that to him alone doth belong, the honor of recovering of that Kings Crown. But the affairs of his own Kingdom wanting his direction, he was constrained to quit all, and to return to *Croje*, near unto which place the Christians had erected an inexpugnable Fortrefs (sufficient to hinder the passages of the Infidels) upon an exceeding high Mountain called *Modrica*, and having furnished it with Victuals, Artillery, and Munition, made such opposition against the attempts of the enemy, that it secured the pass; wherefore *Mahomet* fainting under so many attempts made upon him, dispatches away a famous Captain called *Sinam*, with five and twenty thousand *Turkish* horse against *Scanderbeg*, to surprise him on a sudden, thinking the war of *Naples* from whence he was but lately returned, had made him secure and careless. But *Scanderbeg* who always slept with his eyes open, had opportunely, since his arrival, sent his Spies abroad, and renewed his intelligence with those near the Sultan, whereby he had timely notice to prepare and to get the first into the field. But kept himself private and close, expecting the advance of the *San-jac Sinam*, and then marched the whole night towards him, during the obscurity whereof, and contrary to the knowledge of his adversary, with eight thousand fighting men horse and foot, he possessed himself of the Mountain *Mocrea*, and there resolutely expected *Sinam*, that being the Avenue through which he was of necessity to pass, and falling upon him unawares, defeated him with all his Army, where the slaughter was so great that two parts of three fell upon the place, and all the Ensignes and Baggage became a Prey to the Christians; and all the General could do was to save himself in this desperate fight, by avoiding it with extraordinary speed. And already *Assambeg* or according to others, *Amesabeg* was advanced already on this side of *Ocride*, accompanied

Mahomet the second desires a truce with *Castriot*, is denied.

George Castriot's marriage.

Castriot relieves *Alphonso* King of *Naples* ion.

Sinam *Sanjac* sent by *Mahomet* against *Castriot* is defeated.

Assambeg invading *Epirus*, is so discomfited.

accompanied with thirty thousand fighting men, but *Scanderbeg* being accompanied only with four thousand, encountered him in so opportune a place, that he soon vanquished them: the Guards on each side of this *Turkish* General were smitten down to the ground, his horse hurt, and himself wounded in the right Arm with an Arrow, knew no better way at last to save himself, then to make trial of a Christian Clemency as well as of the Martial fury of an enemy. Before whom being brought, together with divers other Captains, the tears standing in his eyes, and his hands lifted up to heaven, he spake in this manner to *Scanderbeg*. That being in the service of the great *Turkish* Emperor, his honour obliged him to serve him faithfully, and therefore implored his mercy, favour and clemency; whose speech took so well with *Scanderbeg*, that he pardoned them all, and gave them their lives, paying ten thousand Ducats for his own, and four thousand Ducats for the ransom of the rest, which was performed accordingly. I know many have accused *Scanderbeg* for being so easily persuaded by the *Turk*, and blame him that he knew not how to use his advantage against the *Sferigradians*, who indeed surprised him at that time.

But here we are not upon the same terms, the victory was already in *Scanderbeg's* hands, whose humanity becomes so much the more to be admired, as being exercised against a Capital enemy, whom we can seldom spare when he is once intrapped. But he shewed a far greater mildness towards the *Venetians*, with whom (to his great regret) he had a sharpe and hard war. But in regard it would have been accounted a folly, and have proved a great disparagement to lose a mans right for want of looking after it, he would not therefore seem easily to quit the succession of that, which he pretended was fallen unto him by the death of *Lech Zachary*, and wherein the *Venetians* opposed him, by reason of an agreement made between them and the Lady *Bosse*, the mother of the deceased party. Notwithstanding which, *Scanderbeg* claimed that there being no Will, he ought to succeed *Zachary* (who was murdered by *Lech Dulagin*, the son of the Lord of Saint Paul) and seemed to have the best title as lawful heir to the estate. But after a great contestation, they resolved the sword should decide the quarrel on both sides, wherewith he pressed them so hard (although he abated very much of the rigor he exercised towards the Infidels and *Turkes*) that the *Venetians* had no other expedient, but to desire a Peace with him, which yet they would not conclude it but upon their own conditions, though they were reduced to such extremity, as that if *Scanderbeg* had not condescended, they had in all likelihood been destroyed; but he considering, That the virtue, valour, and magnanimity of a valiant warrior, appears not in being cruel to an enemy, chose rather to mitigate the appetite of revenge, by mildness and kindness; and therefore yielded freely to forgo that which of right belonged unto him, although it was never his custome to quit any thing to Infidels, as appeared clearly in the encounter with the Tyrant *Sebalie*, who besieged *Beke Grade*, where he defeated four and twenty thousand *Turks*, took six thousand prisoners, and set at liberty four thousand Christians, who were detained by the *Babines*, *Moyes*, *Assambeg*, *Isaac*, and *Sinambeg*, and put to death more then fifty thousand of his enemies; and almost as many more two years after, under the command of the *Basha Ballaban*.

These and the like valorous exploits, pleased so well the most part of the Christian Princes; that they were thereby provoked to take up Arms against *Mahomet*, and Pope *Pius* piously moved, seeing the affection of this noble Captain, to the utter extirpation of the Infidels, stirred up all Christian Kings, Princes and Potentates to Arms themselves against the *Turke*, and knowing that there could not be an abler Captain chosen to that purpose, then *Scanderbeg*, to curb and tame the Barbarians, elected and named him the Captain of the League, with promise to make him King, not only of all *Albania* or *Epirus*, but also of *Macedonia*, which holy undertaking was interrupted by the death of *Pius* and Pope *Paul* the second; although our *Albanian* King travelled since to *Rome*, to summon the Pope to joyn in a design so profitable for the safety, and enlargement of *Christendom*. Finally, finding himself frustrated of the succors he expected from the Kings and Princes on this side, he went to *Lissa* upon the River of *Clira*, to consult of the Occurrences of the war with the Deputy *Proncedor* of *Venice*, where he was seized on by a deadly Feaver, and feeling himself stricken by death, he made his Will, and recommended his little son *John*, his wealth and Country to the care of the State of *Venice*, who in remembrance and gratitude for the advantageous peace he had freely granted them, created him and his posterity (after they had called lots) with an universal consent to be Citizens of *Venice*. A few dayes after he departed hence to the other world, in the threeseore and third year of his Age, and four and twentieth of his Reign (for he began his Reign, the eight and twentieth day of *November*, in the year 1443. and dyed in the year 1467.) his body was interred in the Church of Saint *Nicolas* in *Lissa*, with great Pompe and magnificence, whose bones rested enclosed in this place in peace, untill *Mahomet* came into *Epirus* some four yeeres after, to assault *Scutari*. I have formerly observed the great care the *Barbarians* took to finde out the bones of him whom they so much feared, whilst his soul and body acted so vigorously together, as that they would fly away in a maze at the very sound of his name. However I can hardly be induced to believe that the *Turkes* honored him so much as *Paulus Jovius* affirms they did; nevertheless I will not say, but that they might have a greater esteem of his Noble Acts; then of another mans, sith those many famous exploits which are recorded to have been done by him by natural strength and dexterity of body, might induce the *Turkes* to have a reverent esteem of him. As that wilde Savage Bull of an extraordinary fury and greatness, committing a thousand spoiles and murders in the Country of his Sister *Mamiza*, whose neck he quite cut through with one blow of his Cimier on horseback. That monstrous Boar of *Apoville*, which had wounded so many of King *Ferdinand's* Courtiers, which beast he assaulted in the same manner

A difference between *Castriot* and the *Venetians*, appeared.

Several other of *Castriot's* Prowesses against the *Turkes*.

George Castriot created chief of the Christian League against the *Turk*.

George Castriot created Citizen of *Venice*.

Castriot's death and burial.

Several notable exploits done by *Castriot*.

ner and with like dexterity he cut off his head in the open field before the King, as they were a hunting. And it is also reported of him, that after the encamping of *Ballaban* before *Croje*, there being brought to him chained and fast bound together, *Jonima* and *Heder*, the brother and Nephew of *Ballaban*, their fight (putting him in remembrance of the cruelties acted through *Ballabans* occasion, upon the person of *Moytes* and his companions) put him into such a vehement Passion of anger against them, that he had no patience to suffer others to fall on them, but in great fury fell on them himself, and at one blow hewed them both through the body with his *Cimeter*; Which was a Damasked one, of an excellent goodness, two of which he alwayes wore in one Scabbard, both which were often broken or spoiled in one Battel. And *Mahomet* having heard of the excellency of such a sword which would cut asunder Gantlets, Helmets, and other strong Armour) as they were once in a Treaty, sent to desire it for a present, and the *Sultan* causing tryal to be made thereof by the best Armes of the Court and the strongest, and no such miracles proceeding from it as was boasted of, he thereupon caused it to be returned to *Scanderbeg*, saying, That he gave him no thanks for such a present, when he could buy as good and a better one for his money; and that he would no longer believe that which was reported of it. But *Scanderbeg* having made more extraordinary proofs thereof in the presence of the Messenger, sent him word, *That the vertue was not altogether in the sword, but in the Arme which he reserved to himself, to be employed against his enemies.* And *Mahomet* might believe him, having seen the victories he gained in Duels, and particular Combats, when he fought at *Andrinoplis*, against a *Scythian*; and at *Burse*, against *Jaja* and *Zampza*, &c.

The end of George Castriots Life.



THE

THE LIFE OF TAMOMBEUS the last Soldan of Egypt.



An. Mund.
5484.

Christ. Nat.
1517.



Here is no man of judgement, but is sufficiently perswaded that the City of *Grand Caire* (by the *Turks* now called *Adizur*, or *Nizrulatick*) is *Grand Cairé*. not so populous, nor of such a length and breadth, as to contain fifteen *German* leagues in compass, as *Munster* in his *Cosmography* hath falsely described; seeing himself doth therein assure the Reader, that it cannot be above half a league more in extent than the City *Paris* in *France*. It was of old held, and Governed, by the *Soldans* of *Egypt*, who reckoned their originall from the time of *Hanibass* Captain of *Howar* the seconds Army, who succeeded *Mahomet* in the Priesthood of the *Alcoran*, about the year of our Lord six hundred fifty six, and reigned fifteen years, bearing the title of *Admirall*, which the *Arabians* called *Charadinkia d' Emir Quibir*, which signifies in the *Moravian* tongue *Great Lord*, or *Captain of the Sea*. After which the *Governours* of *Egypt* took upon them the name or title of *Soldan*, which signifies as much as *King* or *Lord*; which title continued under the Name of *Chalippe*, untill the time of *Saladin*, who conquered *Jerusalem*, taking it from the *Christians*, and who strengthened himself (chiefly) with the power and valour of the *Mammelucks*, a name which signifies no other thing in the *Syriack* and *Tartarian* Language, then *Slaves*. About the year eleven hundred eighty seven, *Saladin* being dead, and they Royall race failing, the *Mammelucks* put it to an Election, and (accordingly) among themselves made choice of one *Piperick Soldan*, who was a valiant and expert Captain. This man caused many lofty Buildings and Edifices to be erected, most part of which are at present ruined, as I my self have seen. But the *Arabians* have often told me, according to what is written in their Histories, that those buildings were finished by a Governour of the Countrey, called *Gelin*. This custom of Election continued untill the year five hundred and seventeen, at which time *Sultan Selym* the *Turkish Emperour*, and *Solymans* Father, put to flight and vanquished *Campson* Soldan of *Egypt* and *Syria*, by reason that this man (who being but a childe, was brought from the cold Countrey of *Tartary*, and was bred a Slave in the *Seraglio* of *Caire*, and growing up to years, did learn amongst them the Discipline of the *Mammelucks*, and attained to all the degrees of knowledge in the Military Art) *Selym* his enemy being advertised that he favoured the *King* of *Persia*, warred against him; in which Warre *Campson* was slain in a Battel, being seventy years old: Presently after which the *Mammelucks*, and the *Arabians* (at that time their Confederates) made choice of *Tamombe* *Circasse* for their *Soldan*; and *Tamombe* succeeds *Campson*.

The original
of the Sultans
of Egypt.

Piperick chosen
Sultan of Egypt
by the
Mammelucks.

His successor
Campson vanquished by
Sultan Selym
the Turk.

Tamombe succeeds
Campson.

Selim Sultan of
Turkey invades
Tamombey.

Grand Cairo
taken by Selim.

Tamombey
saves himself
in a Cave.

Tamombey dis-
covered in the
Cave and tak-
en.

Hemir being at that time a valiant man of *Alexandria*, and who altogether addicted himself to Warlike affairs; he having (often times) fought against divers parts of *Asia*, and afterwards put the *Turks* to flight, to their great confusion; Being certainly advertised that *Selym* was coming against him with full resolution to fight him, he did make preparation to receive him, and pitched his Camp without the City of *Caire*, in a place called the *Matairre*, being the most beautifullest and pleasant place which was about the City, on that side on which *Selym* made his approaches; who marched towards him with great courage, *Tamombeus* having fortified himself with Artillery, Trenches, and Pallizadoes, sallied out, and when both Armies were come up to each other with great courage and equall hope of victory, which depended on the sole hazard of one Battel, (neither part being ignorant that the contest was both for life and Empire) The *Turks* according to the Turkish manner; sounded the Trumpets, and beat the Drums, and their enemies being over-matched by their strength, the *Mammelucks* were enforced to retreat into the City. At the first entry the *Turks* made, four and twenty thousand of the Citizens were slain, and as many more, (if not a greater number) at the taking of the City. In the mean time there was a very great multitude of women, children and slaves, and all sorts of Tradefmen, in the windows, casting out great square pieces of stone, beams, and timber, barres of iron, wilde-fire, and scalding water, and other things of defence, and engines of Warre upon their enemies: The fight was so fierce for eight hours together, that you might behold slaughtered men lying by heaps, tumbled one upon another, and their blood running down the streets like a river, which I heard from above four hundred old *Mammelucks* and *Jews*, who were in this Warre, in the life of the *Soldan*. Which fury of the Citizens caused *Selym* (to the intent he might thereby terrifie the common people) to command certain houses, in the City, to be set on fire, by which means, and the noise of the Cannon, and volleys of shot, poured forth by the *Janizaries*, he did so affright the inhabitants, and the stoutest *Mammelucks*, that seeing all things in a deplorable and a lost condition, they began to cry out from all quarters (thinking thereby to mitigate the *Turks* cruelty) *Long live great King Selym, the favourite of the great God, whom we humbly beseech to cease his fury, and to have pity upon his poor slaves, who do submit to his greatness and mercy.* Yet all this did not suddenly appease his rage, by reason of his great Governour; and friend, named *Gann Bassa*, who was killed very near unto him, with an iron Mortar, cast down upon his head. *Tamombey* having now left the defence of his Trenches, Rampars and passages in the City, could not longer withstand the fury of the Enemy, but beholding the loss of his valiant Captains, and the flower of his Cavalry, betook himself to flight, and happy were those Lords, who were able to gain the River *Nile*, and fly for succour to the strong *Piramides*; some of which being three leagues distant from the City, were (the next day following) besieged by their Enemies, and were enforced, for want of victuals, (which *Piramides* were erected in a barren and solitary place, as I can testify, having seen them) rendred themselves to the mercy of the Conqueror, who gave them their pardons; but ceased not (with five thousand horse) to pursue *Tamombey*, who had gained the ground of them, but being wholly routed, he rid with all speed (directly) to a fenny place or morish ground, full of Canes and Reeds, and his horse falling under him, and he seeing his enemies at his very heels, hid himself amongst the Reeds, but being discovered by two young boyes, he crept along a little forwarder, (according to the opinion of the *Arabians*, and old *Mammelucks*) into a large vaulted Cave, at which I have been, and seen it, and not above six yeares since, there were found in it many fair Sepulchres, made after the Antique fashion, containing several mummyed bodies; and hard by it, in my time, there were also found more then three hundred bodies, amongst which were certain Idols, some of Copper, others of hard stone, which (I conceive) they worshipped in their life time, in the like manner as (heretofore) the *Greeks* and *Romans* did.

I know that Doctor *Claudian Guichard*, who hath collected the Funerals of the Ancients, makes a mock hereat, and seems not to beleve that which I have said and written in my *Cosmography*; whereunto I answer, that I speak not this by hearsay, but have travelled into, and seen those Coasts and Places; and if he think it not creditable, I will shew him six of those said Idols, which were found in the like mummyed bodies, and also two feet of a Childe, brought hither by the Consul of *Alexandria* in *Egypt*, and presented unto the Queen-Mother of the King, who (afterwards) sent them unto me, knowing that I delighted very much in such rarities; and although this Doctor cannot finde these secrets in his *Bartole*, *Galen*, and other famous Doctors, yet ought it not therefore to be concluded, that these things are not to be received by lovers of truth. But the Geographer *Nicholas Nicholay* opposeth him directly, and writes that such bodies were found from time to time, in the deserts of *Arabia*, by Merchants who travell from *Egypt*, to the *Red Sea*; and that they make great esteem of them. But leaving the errors of *Nicholay*, I will return to our poor and wretched *Tamombey*, who thinking to save himself in the said Cave, could not be so well concealed there, but was taken, to the great regret of all the people of *Egypt* and *Arabia*; with three hundred of the bravest and eldest Captains of his Army, most of which standing upon their guards, (as foreseeing what would become of them) chose rather to lose their lives valiantly, then to be put to ignominious deaths; the rest were taken alive with *Tamombey*, and led to the City of *Caire*, where the next day, and for three severall daies after, *Selym* (forgetting all Regall clemency, and just humanity, which (in reason) he might have

nave suffered his cruell heart to have been possessed with) behaved himself most inhumanely towards *Tamombey*, to make him confesse where his Treasure was, which he had inherited of *Campson*: and being thrice tortured and racked with grievous torments, yet would he not confesse any thing; wherefore *Selym* would needs see him, to question and conferre with him, who being brought into his chamber, remained as resolute and constant as ever he had been. Afterwards, when he had been ignominiously led up and down the streets upon his Camel, his throat was cut in the common Shambles, on the thirteenth day of the moneth of April, in the year of our Lord one thousand five hundred and seventeen, being of the Age of threescore and five yeares. But he was not publicly hanged; as (amongst others) *Paulus Fovim*, and *Munster* have exprest in their Writings.

Tamombey tortured to discover his Treasures.

Tamombey shamefully put to death.

The end of Tamombeus Life.



THE

THE LIFE OF ATABALIPA, King of Peru.



Ann. Mund.
5470.

Nat. Christ.
1526.



The *Inca's* were the most Noble, Richeſt, and powerfullſt men of the Land of *Peru*; a cruell, warlick, and extream politick people, deſcended from *Tiguicala*, (a People ſo called) deriving their names from a City, ſituated near to a *Lake* in the Province of *Colao*, about ten leagues from *Cusco*, ſo called from the abundance of Lead and other mettals which are found there, (by the inhabitants called *Tichior*.) The firſt King was called *Zapalo*, of whoſe linage *Papaopangui* and *Guyanacapa* were deſcended, who was the Grandfather of *Atabalipa*, who as he boaſted, came from towards the River of *Maragnon*, being of the race of the *Cannibals*, which he evidently manifeſted by his *bravado's*, and the ſmall account he made of Chriſtians, whenſoever he could but get footing in their Countries. Yet the inhabitants are a civil people, peaceable, and of a reaſonable good behaviour; but that they are as much troubled with deſires to attain unto the honours and great preferments of the world, as the people of *Cusco*, and thoſe of *Papaian* and the bordering Provinces do. Now *Atabalipa* King of *Cusco* had a Brother called *Atoco*, who was a *Inca*, that is a King of *Guiaſcart*. This *Atoco* being arrived at *Canna*, was very well received, honoured and revered by the people, though he were cruel. *Atabalipa* being jealous of the fortune of his Brother, procured his death; and ſeizing on his Dominions, he made choice of the City of *Cusco*, the chief and Metropolitan of all *Peru* to dwell in, it being the ancient habitation, and Court of the *Inca's* and *Kings*, as *Rome* formerly was of the *Emperours*; *Conſtantinople* of the *Turks*; *Tauris* of the *Sophi's*; *Cathay* of the great *Cham* of *Tartaria*; and *Grand Cayro* of the *Sultan* of *Egypt*. The ſaid *Cusco* being beſt ſituated in all *Peru*, in the middle of thoſe Provinces which were formerly governed by the *Inca's*. After the death of *Atabalipa's* great great Grandfather, he enlarged his Kingdoms, as well on the ſide of the Sea of *Su*, or peacefull, as on the ſide of the great *Ocean*, making the people tributary unto him. But as miſfortune falls often upon great ones, as well as upon poor men, it happened in my time, that the *Spaniards* being covetous of the worlds wealth, ſailed toward a Land called *Nombre de dios*, under the conduct of a great Souldier, named *Francis Piſarre*; who having got footing in thoſe parts, and continued there a while, fortified themſelves, and by degrees attracted unto themſelves the one half of thoſe barbarous people; and being informed of King *Atabalipa's* Treasures and Riches, to gain his friendſhip, *Piſarre* ſent unto him many gifts and preſents; letting him underſtand that they were offered him by his Maſter the Chriſtian Emperour, and that he deſired to contract an Amity with him, and to

The kindred
of *Atabalipa*.

Atoco the Brother
to *Atabalipa*.

Atabalipa procures his
brothers death, ſeizes
his Dominions.
Atabalipa augments
his Kingdom.

The *Spaniards*
under *Francis*
Piſarre make
towards the
Inca's.

to treat freely with his Greatneſs without any fear; and that in caſe he did come to viſit him, he ſhould not be frighted to ſee them mounted on ſuch great creatures which were very docile, and the which they had brought with them out of their Countrey, to carry them through the difficult paſſages, Rivers, Sands, and other inconveniences, which as he was told were in his Countrey, and could not be paſſed on foot without a great deal of danger to their perſons. The *Barbarian* hearing this meſſage, began to laugh and mock thoſe which were ſent by *Piſarre*, ſaying that thoſe great *Muſtaches* (meaning the *Spaniards*) if they attempted any further than they had done, upon his Dominions, he ſwore by the *Sunne*, and the *Image* which he worſhipped, that he would cauſe them all to be cut in pieces: But *Piſarre* not being diſmaied at *Atabalipa's* threats, performed an Exploit beſeeming a very valiant Commander; for being aſſured that the Enemies Army was not aſſembled, and that it was but eight daies ſince he had ſummoned his Captains of the Provinces of *Cusco*, *Quiso*, *Calicuciva*, *Caxamalca*, *Tumbez*, *Puno*, *Nicaraga*, and being moreover informed that he could not aſſemble his Army on a ſudden, *Piſarre* ſent other preſents to the Heathen King, purpoſely to gain time, and the better to ſtave him off from uniting his Forces, he ſent him two Horſes richly harnessed, and Capariſon'd, and thus by degrees gained upon him, deſiring that before he went out of his Countrey, he might be permitted to ſee the great magnificence and glory of his Court, that ſo he might make report thereof to the Emperour his Maſter; who would be very much pleaſed to hear of the greatneſs and magnificence of ſo powerfull a Prince, as *Atabalipa* was. And the better to entrap him, he cauſed him to be informed of the great Maſteſty and excellency of ſuch an Emperour as his Maſter was, unto whom the Chriſtians did take it for a great honour to render obeſſance, and to be ſubject unto him: Inviting him by theſe means to be pleaſed to make a League, Confederacy, and Alliance with him, to the end that by this proceeding of his, two ſuch great Princes might have the better opportunity to keep all ſuch men under, as ſhould dare to attempt any thing againſt their eſtates; which indeed is the true way, whereby States and *Principalities* may be ſettled, for as much as it is an uſuall praſtice; and that Force cannot ſo ſoon break an united body, chiefly when it is thus powerfull and ſtrong. But this was not the thing *Piſarre* aimed at; for he only attempted to get footing on the Frontiers of *Atabalipa's* Territories, aſſuring himſelf that he would quickly ſet it on his neck, as afterwards he did, as we ſhall underſtand by the enſuing part of this diſcourſe.

Now this Maſter *Spaniard* obtained ſo much by his ſmooth language, and forged inducements, as that deceiving him thereby, and approaching with all his Horſe and Foot near unto the City of *Caxamalca*, he diſcovered the Enemies forces to be at leaſt thirty thouſand in number, being for the moſt part naked men, ſome excepted which were clothed with Cottons, interlaced with divers colours, and with plumes of Feathers, having for all defence nothing ſave wooden ſwords, clubs, and Bows and Arrows. *Piſarre* beholding the fierce countenances of the ſavage people, approaching by degrees the one near unto the other, gave order to the *Spaniſh* Cavalry to ſkirmiſh them on all ſides, and by their alluring them to Battel, to make ſeverall ſhews as if they did run away, and the Foot to do the like; whereupon the Enemy began to take courage, chaſing the Chriſtians cloſe at the heels; whereas *Piſarre* commanded two and twenty pieces of Cannon to be fired upon them, which ſore amazed theſe poor people, who had never ſeen any Horſes before, much leſs heard ſuch a noiſe of Ordnance, whereby above ſeven thouſand of the Heathens were ſlain out right: The reſt took their flight to the upper grounds and mountains, being ſwiftly purſued by the *Spaniards*, who that day and the next killed twice as many of them, ſparing neither ſtrong nor weak, old nor young, except *Atabalipa*, and ſix more of his Counſell, who were taken in a Tent, bravely adorned with Feathers, near unto a River called in their Gibbridge *Chelcaion*, as I was told by a *Spaniard* in the City of *Sevill*, who was in the Battel, and had received two ſhots with their Arrows. *Piſarre* having got the Victory, came near to *Atabalipa*, and laying his hand on his ſhoulders in token of friendſhip, he held many loving diſcourſes with him; which being ended, the Captive King privately drew out of his boſom two round fine *Pearls*, as great as a Date-plum, joyned together with two *Emeralds*, the one made like a little *Bell*, the other like an *Oval*, of an incredible value, which he gave to the Conqueror, that he might be alwaies continued in his favour, and that his life might be ſaved, promiſing unto him infinite Treasures; and endeavouring by all means poſſible to content the covetous minde of the *Spaniards*, whoſe only aim was to enrich themſelves. But this *Cacique* now Captive *Atabalipa* could never ſatiſſie *Piſarre*; although he had paid him his ranſom in pure Gold, which he had ſent for from all the Provinces which he poſſeſſed, even to the ſpoiling the golden Idols which were in the Temples, to the value at leaſt of ten millions of Gold, which did him but very little good, for as much as a few daies after, his body was bound and made faſt to a Tree with cords (as if he had been the moſt miſerableſt creature in the world) three whole daies and three nights together, to make him confeſs if he had any more wealth; upon which occaſion, not apprehending death in the leaſt, he uttered a thouſand reproaches againſt *Piſarre*, aſſuring him, that the God which *Piſarre* worſhipped (and whom he ſaid was a juſt God) would in a ſhort time puniſh him and his brother alſo; which likewiſe happened, for a while after *Francis Piſarre* was killed, and his brother *Ferrand Piſarre* was beheaded in the ſame Countrey. Now thoſe of *Piſarre's* Counſell being at odds, and diſagreeing, whether or no they ſhould kill this King, or ſend him to the Emperour *Charles the fifth*, at laſt they concluded that he ſhould be ſtrangled, which was done, the night after he was condemned, by the advice of a Counſell of ſome *Biſhops* and *Monks*, for fear he ſhould be reſcued by his own ſubjects. It was a *Morian* ſlave

The pretended
courteſies of
Piſarre toward
Atabalipa.

The craft of
Piſarre to ſur-
prize *Atabalipa*.

Piſarre's Forces
get entrance,
diſcover the
Enemies
ſtrength.

Piſarre's ſubtilty
to draw the
Peruvians to a
Battel.

The *Peruvians*
overcome by
Piſarre.

Preſents given
by *Atabalipa* to
Piſarre.

Cruelly uſed
upon *Atabalipa*.

Atabalipa
ſtrangled.

No Printing among the Turks and several other Nations.

The Egyptian Characters like unto Printing.

An error that Printing should have been used in the Territories of Mexico.

The Mexican written Characters much like to the Egyptian Hieroglyphicks. Warlike Instruments and Printing first invented in Germany.

The Germans happy in Invention, but Tardist in bringing it to perfection.

The benefits which accrue by the Art of Printing.

Modern Printers who were famous.

two, as we have formerly said. True it is that *Paul the Venetian* did four hundred years ago, or thereabouts, write the first description and situation of those Countreys, and their Customs, but he doth not at all mention that Printing was in use there; And that which makes me the more confident is, that both the *Grecians, Armenians, Mingrelians, Abissinians, the Turks, the Moors, the Arabians*, and the *Tartars*, do write all their Books: Which became in use amongst the *Turks*, by the command of *Mehazeth* their Emperour, the second of that Name, by a Decree which was published in the year one thousand four hundred fourscore and three, forbidding Printing, or the use of printed Books, upon pain of death; which said Ordinance was confirmed by his Sonne *Selimus*, the first of that Name, in the year one thousand five hundred and fifteen: Moreover my self being in *Egypt*, I did there see several long Table-books, composed of the barks of *Palm trees*, which were so well written, that you would have thought they had been Printed. And likewise the Merchants who travel from the *Indies* by the *Red Sea*, and who do traffick amidst several Nations; do only write upon such Table-books. Some other Writers have maintained that the Art of Printing was extant even in the Territories of *Mexico*, which is quite opposite unto *Cathay*, the one being in *Asia* towards the *Arctic* Pole; and the other in *America* towards the *Arctic* Pole: but the said Authors are mightily mistaken, for as much as the *Mexicans* did never make use of the Art of Printing. However, I must needs confess that the *Mexicans* do make use of several Characters, resembling several Terrestrial, and Aerial creatures, as also the head, legs, arms, and other members of man, whereby they do explain their conceptions, as formerly the *Egyptians* did by their *Hieroglyphicks*, and likewise the *Ethiopians*; several of the like Characters having been publick and extant, whereof I my self have a couple, which were written in the City of *Themistion*, full of such like Figures and Characters, together with the Interpretation of them: Now as the Antients did suppose one Goddess *Pallas*, who presided over Learning and Warre, as having founded Learning, and invented Warlike instruments; so the *Germans* above all other Nations may attribute this glory unto themselves, to have born away the prize of both these faculties; *Bartholdus Schwartz* a German, having been the first Inventor of Powder and Guns, and *John Guttenberg* of the Art of Printing: one only default there is, which doth not a little dimme the lustre of their glory; and by reason whereof they may be very well likened unto the *Magnanimous* and Warlike General *Flannibal*, of whom it is said, That he very well knew how to overcome and assuage the fury and impetuosity of an Enemy, but that he made no good use of his Victories, suffering himself afterwards to be overtaken by carelessness and neglect. In the like manner the *Germans* are full of Invention, but they are so negligent and careless in the thoroughly polishing and bringing their inventions to perfection, as by reason hereof, the same thing befalls them which happened to the *Hebrews*, who, as they may justly term themselves to have been the first Inventors of all Sciences, yet however other Nations by their labour and industry, do appropriate them unto themselves, by their refining of them, and thereby in a manner laying a certain claim unto them, and accounting them as their own, they do rob the first Inventors of the honour which they ought to reap upon that account.

Finally, This Noble Art of Printing cannot be sufficiently praised and valued, by reason of the manifest and great benefit which, as we see, it doth daily bring along with it: For thereby we are assured that the Law of God is spread abroad throughout all the world, even amongst Barbarous and Savage people; that ignorance is hereby suppressed; and that all the liberal Arts and Sciences have been and are as yet thereby greatly Illustrated and Ennobled, by the multitude of rare Treatises and excellent Books (unvitiated by the hands of such ignorant Clerks, as had well-nigh corrupted all the good Authors, by their erroneous Transcriptions) which at present are extant; and do daily flow as it were unto us by the facility and easiness of this admirable Art. And that we may not omit those who have embellished this famous Art, we shall only name some few unto you, whose memories deserve to live to Posterity; as *Aldus Manutius* at *Venice*, *Frabennus* and *Operinum* at *Basilea* in *Germany*, *Christopher Plantin* at *Antwerp*, *Robert, Stephen, Henry, and Francis, Plantin* brothers, at *Paris*, *Griphius*; and *Toornes* at *Lyons*; and several others most learned and exquisite men in this Art, who have enriched the same, and still continue so to do with a great deal of Honour and applause throughout the world, &c.

UPON

UPON THE
PORTRAITURE
OF
JOHN GUTTENBERG,
CONCERNING
The Excellency of the ART
OF
PRINTING.

Translated out of *Theuets* French Copy.



Pollo's darling; Of the Muses Nine
Sole Favourite: thou offspring most Divine
O'th' Gods: Splendid Adorner of our Age:
The Memories first-born: On this our Stage
Times Looking-glass: of Ages long since past
Sublime Recorder; Thou who didst make hast
T'outstrip thy Grandfirs; and first to Essay
This rare Composure; Thou didst leade the Way
By Characters, well marshald, to disclose
(Upon the back of Nimble Time) to those
Of future Ages, Mysteries unknown,
Wrapt up in such dark shades, and shapes, that none
Could them unfold; had not thy skilfull Art
A means produc'd, whereby thou dost impart
What ere th' Almighty, by his powerfull hand,
Effected hath, i'th' Heavens, i'th' Sea, on Land:
And unto us his Lawes thou settest forth,
In such an ample manner, as their Worth
Eternally to all Mankind appears;
Their Praises shall outlive the length of Years.
Thy rare Invention, Guttenberg, doubtless,
Not brooking Error should our Age oppress,
Nor Ignorance should gain the upper hand
Of Knowledge, Learning, Science; and withstand
The Truth; thee mov'd, these Treasures to bestow
On us, which secrets were; and ne're did flow
Save mid'st the Gods; from Mortals being reserv'd,
Least such a knowledge (by them undeserv'd)
Might elevate their generous Souls too high
(AsSouls too subtil, should the soar too high
Th' Eternals secrets) and plod so attain
To hidden Mysteries; a Science vain,
Which draweth down th' Almighty's wrath on those,
Who thereby strive his Dictates to oppose.
But thou content'st thy self to make us know
Th' Ethereal Fabrick, and the Orbs below;
And dost confine thy self within the bounds
Of th' Earth's round form, the which the Sea surrounds:
The ruddy circle of the daily Torch;
The radiant Planets; and the Zones which seereh:
The wondrous Changes of fair Cynthia's bowrs,
Causing both th' Ebbs and Floods, at certain hours,
Which Noble Sciences, and many more,
By Printing are disclos'd, and kept in store:
And Guttenberg by his most Noble Art
To us a thousand such like doth impart.
Thou caus'st Savage Nations to be milde,
By reading of such Books as are compil'd

The Table.

Alciades, his lineage and Tutors: his beauty: he
lispeth, 165. his studies: his infoleny to Anitus,
166. his liberrall fact: he ran from Socrates: he is
given to pleasure: he striketh a Schoole-master
his first warfare: he saveth Socrates life, 167. his
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F I N I S.

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The Hebrew Commonwealth, Translated out of Petrus Cuneus, in 12^o. 1653.

Hugo Grotius his two Treatises, Of God and his

Providence, and Of Christ and his Miracles: together with the said Authors judgement of sundry Points controverted, in 12^o. 1653. Both Translated by Clem. Barksdal.

Certamen Religiosum, or a Conference between the late King of England, and the late Lord Marquess of Worcester concerning Religion 4^o. 1652.

The Battel of Agencourt, fought by Henry the fifth; The Miseries of Queen Margaret, with other Poems, by M^{ic}. Drayton Esquire. 8^o.

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The Tillage of Light, A Treatise of The Philosophers Stone. 8^o.

The Right of Peace and Warre, in three Books, written in Latine by the Illustrious Hugo Grotius; together with the Life of the said Author, in English, 8^o large. 1654.

A Sermon of the Nature of Faith, by Bartsen Holyday Doctor of Divinity. 1654.

The Innocent Lady, or the Illustrious Innocent, written Originally in French by the learned Father de Corisiers of the Company of Jesus, rendered into English by Sir William Lower Knight, 1654.

A Disputation at Wincheomb in Gloucestershire, wherein is much satisfaction given in many Fundamental Points of Religion, in the presence of many Eminent Persons. 1654.

A brief Discourse of changing Ministers Tithes into Stipends, or into another thing. 1654.

Books Printed for W. Lee (and some others) and are to be sold at the Turks Head in Fleetstreet.

The Christians Warfare against the Devil, World, Flesh, by John Downam. Fol.

The Theater of Plants, or a large Herbal, by Job. Perkinson Apothecary.

Orlando Furioso, Englished by Sir John Harrington, with the Translators additions of his Epigrams, in Fol.

Mare Clausum, by John Selden Esquire, of the best Impression, in Fol.

Books Printed for William Lee, M. Walbank, D. Pakeman, and G. Bedell.

Reports or new Cases of Law, by John Marsh of Grays-Inne Barrister. 4^o. 1648.

The Attorneys Academy, being the manner of Proceeding in all the Courts of Records at Westminster and other Courts of Law or Equity. 4^o. 1647.

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The Argument upon the three learned Readings, 1. By the Lord Dyer. 2. By Sir J. Brograve. 3. By Th. Ridsen Esquire.

Writ of Habeas Corpus, in Court of Upper Bench, with the opinion of the Court thereupon.

The Touchstone of Common assurances, by W. Shephard Esq; of the Middle-Temple. 1651.

The Book of Oaths, and the several Forms thereof, both Antient and Modern, in 8°. 1649.

Fleta, an antient Manuscript of the Laws of England, published in Print by John Selden Esq; and is to be sold by W. Lee, M. Walbanck, and D. Pakeman, 4°. 1647.

Books Printed for W. Lee, D. Pakeman, and G. Bedell, and are to be sold at their Shops in Fleetstreet.

The History of the Civil Wars of France, written in Italian, by H. C. Davila: Translated out of the Original. Fol. 1647.

De Præcis Anglorum Legibus, being the Antient Laws of England, in Saxon & Latin, out of the Author (Mr Lamberts) own Manuscript Copy. 1645.

Divine Essays, by the Honourable Walter Mountague Esq; 4°. 1648.

Reports or Cases in Chancery, Collected by Sir George Cary one of the Masters of the Chancery.

The Reading upon the Statute of Bankrupts, by John Stone Esq; 1656.

The Clerks Vade mecum, or a Choice Collection of Modern Presidents, according to the best form extant: Published by T. P. Barrister of the Inner-Temple. 1655.

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A perfect Abridgment of the Eleven Books of Reports, of the Reverend and Learned Knight Sir Edward Cook, sometime Chief Justice of the Upper-Bench, written in French by Sir John Davis, and now Englished. 1651.

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These Books following are to be sold by W. Lee, and D. Pakeman at their Shops in Fleetstreet.

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Pulton of Lincolns-Inne, in large Fol. 1640.

The second part of the Institutes, containing the Exposition of many antient, and other Statutes of Magna Charta. 1642.

The third part of the Institutes concerning Pleas of the Crown and Criminal Causes

The fourth part of the Institutes, concerning the Jurisdiction of Courts: All written by Edward Cook Milite, sometimes Chief Justice of the Upper Bench. Fol.

The Reports of that Reverend and Learned Judge Sir Henry Hobard Lord Chief Justice of the Common-Pleas, being enlarged and perfected by his own Copy, in Fol. 1650.

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The Abridgment of my L. Cooks 11 Reports, by Edw. Ratman, 8°.

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A little Treatise of Bail and Mainprize, by E. C. Knight.

A Declaration of Nufance, concerning dwelling-Houses, with the Resolutions of the Judges of Assizes, upon Questions touching Parishes.

Special and Selected Law-Cases, out of the Reports and year-Books, concerning the persons and estates of all men whatsoever. 4°.

The Compleat Justice, carefully and truly corrected from the gross Errors of the former Impressions, in 12°. 1656.

Statuta Pacis, containing all the Statutes in order of time, as concern a Justice of Peace, in 12°.

Kelaways Reports. Fol.

The Laws Resolutions concerning Womens rights, in 4°.

The English Lawyer, by Judge Dodridge. 4°.

Vicesimo primo Jacob. & primo & tertio Carol Fol.

An antient Learned Book of the Law called Britton. 8°.

There is lately Printed for W. Lee, D. Pakeman, J. Write, and others, An Epitome of all the Common and Statute Laws of this Nation, now in force, by W. Shephard Esq; Published by his Highness Special Command. 1656.